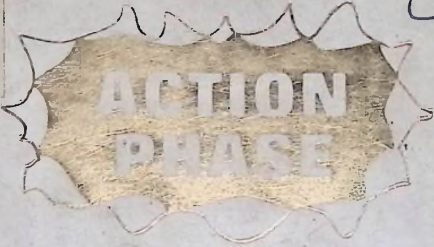


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THE

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OF ETHICAL  
REVOLUTION



(1999 - 2000 AD)

Mazi Kanu Oji



1991-2000 AD

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ISBN - 978-30029-1-0

*Design and Typesetting by Print Support Services Ltd., Lagos.  
Printed in Nigeria by The Caxton Press (West Africa) Limited, Ibadan 1993*

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**THE ACTION  
PHASE  
OF  
ETHICAL  
REVOLUTION  
1991 ~ 2000 AD**

*MAZI KANU OJI, LL.B., M.B.A.*

*Ruling Elder*

*Lagos Presbyterian Church*

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Dedicated to the  
**Late General Murtala Muhammed**  
who first lighted the torch of  
Ethical Revolution  
in the nation in 1975-76

and to the  
Nigerian Mass Media  
In solemn acknowledgement of their role  
as watchdogs of civil liberties,  
citizens' rights and duties, and of the integrity  
of the nation in  
freedom and civilisation.

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## *Corrigenda*

- Page 82 line 1 distributors
- Page 88 line 16 newspaper
- page 100 paragraph 2, line 5 1843
- page 120 paragraph 1, line 5 educational
- page 125 paragraph 3 line 6 freaky
- page 132 paragraph 2 line 14 enterprise
- page 157 paragraph 2, line 9 delete comma after in
- page 167 Paragraph 1, line 8 inconclusive
- page 169 paragraph 3 line 9 Nigerian
- page 171 paragraph 3 line 10 letter of
- page 174 paragraph 3 line 3 Adebo's
- page 319 paragraph 1, line 6 'itself'
- page 341 paragraph 1, line 6 parapsychologists
- page 344 paragraph 1, line 8 from
- page 352 paragraph 1, line 1 of
- page 365 paragraph 2, line 4 governments
- page 378 footnote \*4 Chief S.O. Adebo
- page 415 footnote \*3 Appendix C 49

# Corrigenda

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Page 82 line 1: distribution

Page 88 line 16: newspaper

Page 100 paragraph 2 line 2: 1943

Page 120 paragraph 1 line 2: educational

Page 125 paragraph 2 line 6: busy

Page 125 paragraph 2 line 14: complete

Page 127 paragraph 2 line 9: debate comes after

Page 167 paragraph 1 line 8: inconclusive

Page 169 paragraph 3 line 9: Nigerian

Page 171 paragraph 3 line 10: later of

Page 174 paragraph 3 line 2: Africa's

Page 219 paragraph 1 line 6: best

Page 241 paragraph 1 line 6: unpredictable

Page 244 paragraph 1 line 2: then

Page 252 paragraph 1 line 14: ...

Page 262 paragraph 2 line 4: ...

Page 278 footnote 4: ...

Page 278 footnote 5: ...

## Foreword

Nigeria emerged at Independence as a nation poised to lead other emerging African nations in nation building. But the mean and unwholesome acts of Elections '83 still fresh with us seemed to say that we learnt no lesson from the last civil war. For some, it seems we have been trapped in some kind of political or national quagmire. It is good to note that we also have our optimists and Mazi Kanu Oji is one of them. There is in him no resignation to fate or to Nemesis. Seeing an expression of his inspiration in the Dutch slogan: 'God made the world: The Dutch made Holland', he affirms, 'God has made Nigeria part of the world, and a very fortunate part indeed....' In consequence he believes that 'to make Nigeria great for Nigerians is really a task that only Nigerians can take up....' This is the main thrust of this book written as a sequel to *The Nigerian Ethical Revolution* by the same author. The word 'Revolution' sounds foreboding to many. The writer anticipates the fears of such people when he states the motivation for any kind of revolution as 'the desire to improve the state of affairs now existing through conscious and concerted effort of people who feel concerned enough about the short-comings of the present situation'. He calls forth our sense of pride and nationhood when he defines the Nigerian Ethical Revolution as that which 'is aimed at creating in the long run a powerful distinguishing national ethical culture for Nigeria...'. The writer makes no attempt to suppress differing revolutionary view points. Instead he points out their merits and demerits before stating why he prefers the one he advocates. He does not hesitate to name his choice of tools the 'Nationalist Approach' to reflect the posture which a truly patriotic statesman who is genuinely nationalistic would take in the matter.

Nevertheless, the particular issues discussed in this book bear careful study. It is written from the vantage point of one who had reached political maturity when the ethical decay of the nation was set in motion. Chapter Four deals analytically with the training function in which a solid foundation for the Nigerian ethical orientation was laid, and how it floundered with the inception of Independence. He then makes a strong case for the family in nation building in Chapter Five.

The Nigerian National Anthem at the point where it asks God to:

'Help our youth the truth to know

In love and honesty to grow

And living just and true

Great lofty heights attain

To build a nation where peace and justice shall reign',

will remain a matter of wishful thinking unless we are prepared to work for it in the way advocated in this book.

In many and varied ways God had shown us that He means us to be a leader in Africa. We are not free to thrust that role away without incurring the Divine ire as it did when Moses turned down God's call to lead the people of Israel out of Egypt (Exodus 4:14). Mazi Kanu Oji's book is a summons in keeping with the Nigerian National Anthem when it says:

'Arise, O compatriots, Nigeria's call obey

To serve our Fatherland

With love and strength and faith'.

Akanu Ibiam

Ezeogo, Isiala 1 of Unwara

23 October, 1983

# Preface

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution has come a long way from 1980 when the very expression was invented and first used to describe a movement whose genesis was really the great ethical shake-up of the early Muhammed/Obasanjo regime, which left obvious imprints on the 1979 Constitution in the Code of Conduct provisions, new National Anthem, the Pledge and the revised oaths of office for public officers.

Before the Second Republic, Nigeria had gone through three main stages of her existence as a nation: namely, the Colonial Era under British rule; the First Republic; and the military Interregnum that ended on 1 October, 1979. All of it has happened in the life span of many living Nigerian patriots and analysts, like the writer; and the memory of the journey of the young nation to the beginning of the Second Republic has been compact and panoramic enough to permit an accurate assessment of how well or how poorly the nation has fared ethically on that journey.

One encouraging, striking feature of the commencement of the Second Republic, however, is the fact that the whole nation, including the military leadership itself, was unanimous about ending military rule and so made thorough preparation for a satisfactory return to civilian administration under a new constitution written, debated and approved by the citizens. For once, we had the hindsight, so to speak, of previous political experiences to guide us in our effort to build a new nation for ourselves and posterity in freedom and civilisation. Many ugly social traits had emerged in our checkered political history; and everyone was bitter and full of complaints about the state of affairs as we set out on what appeared like the final lap of our journey to that promised land of Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress.

In the bewildering maze of ethical confusion and the smouldering heat of mass disgust for the ugly new state of affairs that has virtually been stopping everything that spells progress, a

man of proven record of probity with sizeable political following emerged and accepted to do something specific to stem the tide of ethical drift. It is no wonder that numerous patriots, including the writer, had to jump out to throw in their weight in support. The result is the Nigerian Ethical Revolution, which slowly but steadily engaged the interest of all religious bodies, many intellectuals, traditional rulers, women societies and all well meaning patriots in all walks of life, albeit with lingering skepticism as to how the revolution programme itself would be prosecuted.

For me, it has been the fulfilment of a life ambition to be able to play a role to motivate such a movement for specific action to move Nigeria towards ethical rectitude. The mere fact of our starting something as an act of organised public policy under ostensibly trusted top leadership has been very encouraging.

I am very grateful to fellow citizens and organisations, too many to name specifically here, that have given me great encouragement in this effort since my first book was launched in 1982. I am particularly happy that I served as a member of the National Ethical Reorientation Committee, which obliged me to widen and intensify my research and study in the subject area. This, together with the free and active interaction I had with fellow members of the Committee and the public, has enabled me to keep my interest at peak level on the subject; so that, despite my preoccupation with the Committee until mid-July, I have been able to complete this book at this time.

Mazi Kanu Oji  
30 August, 1983

## *Postscript to Preface*

The grim economic predicament which has faced the nation in recent times, but which the military takeover on 31 December, 1983 made more vividly clear to all Nigerians through shocking revelations of mismanagement and heavy indebtedness of Nigeria to her trading partners worldwide, prevented the book from getting published in February 1984, as was previously planned.

While we waited for conditions to improve so the book could go to press, trading conditions grew more crippling as the Federal Military Government rationed limited foreign exchange judiciously to ensure that the nation procured the most essential import items, like drugs, agricultural inputs and industrial raw materials. Consequently, books, printing paper and related supplies naturally fell within the category of the not-so-essential imports.

In the meantime, the new regime moved swiftly into the action phase of the Nigerian ethical revolution, when it declared the historic War Against Indiscipline (WAI) on 20 March, 1984. To update the book to reflect this great movement, I have added PART FIVE - THE ACTION PHASE, covering chapters Eleven to Fifteen - which also has earned the book its current title.

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Mazi Kanu Oji

29 November, 1984

## *Second Postscript to Preface*

WHEN finally the book was sent to the printers in Europe in 1985, another change in leadership overtook Nigeria on August 27, 1985, within twenty-four hours of my return from a London hospital after a serious illness. A young military officer, whom I had met a couple of years previously at the home of Mr. K. C. Okoro, and who had impressed me as full of bright ideas for nation-building, was the new head of State in place of Major-General Buhari. He was Major-General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, who at once took the title of President and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, unlike his predecessors in military regimes.

The changes he introduced upon taking over and the first few appointments he made of highly renowned professionals as Ministers quickly brought a needed breath of fresh air and relaxing feeling of confidence into the tensed-up atmosphere created by the operational style of the ousted regime. On Wednesday, September 4, 1985, President Babangida did me the greatest honour by a Nigerian head of State, when he invited me to his office to be considered for appointment to his Cabinet. Remembering that I had sent him a copy of my first book when he "was still in the army" (to which his Chief of General Staff, Commodore Oko Ebitu Ukiwe, retorted that Mr. President was indeed still in the army), he wanted me to encompass activities of ethical and cultural re-orientation of the nation in his administration.

This appointment was not to be, coming barely ten days after my discharge from hospital with stern instruction to rest completely for at least three months; but that gesture of personal recognition made me more interested in his administration. For one who initiated the idea and wrote the first book ever on the Nigerian Ethical Revolution, it would be unethical to accept the advice of friends and take the job just to have the Government pick up my bills for further check-ups and treatment as Federal Minister. I, however, vowed

to offer all advice and support to his programme in anyway I could without undue strain.

When I observed that he had a plan to reshape the entire political, social and economic structure of the nation to attack the roots, rather than just the observed symptoms of ethical decay in the society, I decided to delay publication of this book as a mark of respect for his all-embracing structural engineering of the Nigerian polity, economy and society, while continuing to be ready to offer advice in support of his regime. This decision also allowed at least seven years to elapse from the end of the Second Republic, some inside materials from which have been quoted as appendices in this book. Thus the ACTION PHASE yielded place temporarily to a period of Structural Adjustment Programmes - the SAP PHASE.

President Ibrahim B. Babangida (fondly called IBB), shares a number of similarities with Nigeria's first President and foremost nationalist fighter and Africanist, the legendary Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, popularly and fondly called Zik. (One Niger State enthusiast has even claimed that it is so because both Nigerian leaders were born in Niger State).

Like Zik, whose stated objective, as broadcast daily in his most potent official organ, the *West African Pilot*, was: "Show the Light and the People will Find the Way", IBB, upon assuming office, left nobody in doubt that he was embarking principally upon the structural engineering of the Nigerian Polity, the economy and society, to enthrone democratic processes, human rights and personal freedoms; to usher in free enterprise and self-reliance; and to put in place the sanctions mechanisms for an ethical revolution, while leaving it to his civilian successors and the Nigerian people to pick up the ACTION PHASE of this multi-faceted revolution.

Understandably and realistically, his programme is ample in a two-term presidency, of which he took one and three quarters only. So if during this last year of his regime, armed and pen robbers are still operating; dare devil smugglers are today active as ever; bank fraud is increasingly rampant; and work ethic is no better than a decade ago when the first book on ethical revolution was written, blame it not on IBB, who made it clear that he was but a structural adjuster - the SAP President, if you like. With all aspects of SAP now

complete within six years of his taking power, the Nigerian people must set the revolution in motion, which can propel and land this blessed nation "upon the solid and respectable platform of world leadership, internal order, and stable prosperity", as was enunciated in the first book.

Like Zik also, IBB exhibited a single-minded objective of making Nigeria a viable and relevant cohesive world power in an era that saw effort targeted globally on peace, rather than on confrontation and war, hot or cold.

He has been luckier, though, than the Great Zik of Africa in two respects. Firstly, as a military leader, IBB has had one disciplined organ or national platform to operate with - the armed forces of Nigeria, if you discount the likes of Vatsa and Orkar who created intermittent ripples. Secondly, Nigeria is now a free country and no more in the domination of a colonial power, as in the era when Zik operated. It is, therefore, not convenient today to disrupt IBB's programme objective by financing clandestinely the emergence of Incartha-like, upstart tribal parties, such as emerged to confront Zik's National Council during the battle for national independence.

IBB's single-minded dedication to building a unified and harmonious nation can be discerned also from the way he handled the internal religious conflicts and dichotomy, especially the explosive OIC tangle started by the immediate predecessor regime; the question of diplomatic relations with Israel, beginning a year after he took office; the creation of new states to a total of thirty, to right the wrongs of past regimes; and the special attention paid to the weaker components of the body politic, namely, local administration and rural infrastructure, and the programmes for the upliftment and protection of minors and women, spearheaded by Nigeria's outstanding "First Lady of Distinction", the indefatigable Maryam I. Babangida.

For those who will not buy the "SAP President" theory of exonerating IBB from blame for the continuing ethical morass, despite his seven year term in office, of which he has just spent six years, I refer to the long list of structures for constitutional, party political, economic,

and social environmental control of the Nigerian nation, which he put in place year after year, since he became President. There are hardly any remaining measures discussed or suggested in this book, besides actual rigorous enforcement, for which IBB has not yet put up the mechanism for their implementation by the Nigerian people and their future governments hereafter.

A people have to want freedom very seriously in order to fight to acquire and retain it, like the western democracies; they have to appreciate deeply the value of self-reliance and free enterprise in order to fight for its enthronement in the economy, as Americans have done consistently at home for themselves and abroad for the rest of the world; and a people, indeed, have to understand the ruinous and cancerous effect on the economy and society of rampant, free-for-all corruption, dishonesty, lawlessness, indiscipline and bad faith in the march to material progress in our competitive world of inter-dependence, in order for them, willingly and zealously, to join an ethical revolution. It cannot be done for them by proxy, not even by a "messiah". This administration has prepared the ground and set up the structures for an all-embracing revolution. It is up to the good people of Nigeria to pick up the gauntlet hereafter and join the revolution, as civilians take over from the IBB regime. The real ACTION PHASE of ethical revolution should logically set in from now through the year 2000 AD. So help us God

Mazi Kanu Oji

28 August, 1991

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# Introduction

In a 1976 document on this subject matter, it was the writer's contention that most of the unethical behavior patterns of present day Nigerians 'tend to be grouped under the ready and chastising terms of indiscipline and greed. Admittedly, many Nigerians, in a situation of chaos, tend to be undisciplined and greedy; hence distributors hoard commodities to extort higher prices; drivers in a traffic jam ride on sidewalks, gardens and road-side lawn; public officers abuse their position to make money fast to escape poverty for all time; et cetera. Yet a more accommodating psychological analysis of the Nigerian citizen may reveal another vital angle to his impatience: a somewhat over-reaction to excessive deprivation'. \*1

This contention remains valid today and any day for that matter. Nigerians being human are like most other humans worldwide in certain basic traits, while possessing their own distinguishing characteristics derived from genetic heredity and modified by controlling environment. If one recalls that the present state of indiscipline and ethical confusion in Nigeria was noticeably absent before the middle 1960's, reflecting different modes of environmental control of the nation between then and now, one is led to the inevitable conclusion that, like all other humans, the Nigerian is perfectly educable and the impact of his genetic heredity can be suitably modified by means of the right type of environmental control of society.

Psychologists tell us that the two principal determinants of group behaviour or societal action of man are heredity and environment. Given that the genetic heredity of the Nigerian does not defy modification by environmental control of the Nigerian society as observed in the last paragraph, it stands to reason to say that an imaginative programme of environmental control of the

\*1 Mazi Kanu Oji - *The Nigerian Ethical Revolution, 1981 - 2000AD, 1982*, p 35.

Nigerian Society can effect substantial modification of the behaviour patterns of future Nigerians if we start now to work for it.

That the use of specific national programme of environmental control of society is inevitable in order to change the behaviour patterns of Nigerians for the better is what my thesis of ethical revolution is all about. It connotes the establishment of institutional arrangements, new national policies and on-going programmes of a long-term nature to steadily and permanently modify the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the entire citizenry to the desired ends.

This is the concept of ethical revolution; a revolution in personal ethics, national ethics and professional ethics in Nigeria.

The actual programmes of action may vary in accordance with the opinion of our leadership as to what exactly are the issues to be encompassed in the effort; what are the likely solutions; and how the pursuit of such solutions has got to be carried out, that is, the question of style of operation by leadership.

The Shagari administration styled it National Ethical Re-orientation Programme, but had still not made up its mind as to the nature and pattern of its campaign up till when it was over-thrown. The Buhari regime approached it with a total immersion programme, styled National Consciousness and Mobilisation Crusade, which started on 31 December, 1983 in effect but as a formal programme on 20 March, 1984 with the launching by the Chief of staff, Supreme headquarters, of the War Against Indiscipline - WAI.

Thus WAI is the desired official programme of corrective action, while the revolution in the ethics of this nation is the desired powerful current thereby to be generated, which will sweep Nigeria and Nigerians back to the shores of discipline, ethical order and greatness. The unanimous acclaim which WAI has drawn from the entire nation confirms unequivocally that Nigerians have accepted a self-imposed, corrective, non-violent revolution, in place of a potentially bloody violent revolt; which was the central message that was advocated by the writer in the first book in this series.

As Nigerians increasingly accept this idea of a Nigerian Ethical Revolution: its need, feasibility and inevitability at this time; the other

need, to restate the issues and the corresponding implications on methodology, becomes even more pronounced, in order to bring out fully and more sharply into focus what the authors of the idea have had in mind all along and why.

It is important to do so, not only to strengthen the minds of those who accepted the movement from the outset, but also to inform and embrace the rest of society. Many people have been rather skeptical about the feasibility of the idea, having regard to the failure of previous efforts at enforcing a high standard of probity in the affairs of this nation. Some are skeptical because they do not believe in the approach which the Nigerian Ethical revolution has elected to take; and still others are skeptical - even opposed to it - because they believe that the battle line in the revolution is drawn between the wrong parties.

Truly imaginative nation building, from the standpoint of rooting it on ethical rectitude, demands that the effort be made, for the benefit of the reading public: to identify and analyse the bases for these strands of skepticism among our citizens; to articulate the issues that are involved in this all important new movement; to evaluate methodology; and to help generally to increase the level of public awareness of the needs and purpose of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution to a pitch where it can become the people's own revolution, which is the ultimate intention of those who pioneered the initiatory efforts in this regard.

The nature of the issues may appear clear; the problems we all face in consequence may seem readily identifiable by all; and the state of affairs acceptable as a meaningful solution to those problems may also appear easy to specify; yet these factors differ widely in the opinion of many Nigerians, depending upon the political and ideological orientation of those who may be looking at them at any material moment.

Advocates of individual freedom, civil liberties, and private free enterprise see the issues from one perspective, as well as the way to handle them to solve the problem; while budding Marxists see them from another opposing angle. The lethargic and passive in society see and feel the problem but are convinced that absolutely nothing can be done about it until perhaps one day God gets angry

enough with us all and decides to destroy everything and start afresh. And yet another lot, which may quite conceivably include the active agents of the ethical decay in the nation, swear emphatically that evolution will take care of these matters in the fullness of time and it is a blatant waste of time trying to consider any specific remedial action for the teething pains of a new nation, which all the 'older' nations in our world have experienced in turn at one time or another.

It is in the light of our analysis of these various approaches to the idea that a meaningful evaluation of the Nationalist approach can be made and citizens' appreciation and massive support of this new initiative can be predicated. It is imperative, therefore, that such an analysis of issues and approaches to them be made early in the movement to permit timely dissemination of the information for public enlightenment as well as to spur other writers to contribute to the volume of literature on this all important subject matter. That is the rationale of this publication, which has been planned from the outset as the logical follow-up to the first book of the writer on this subject, *'The Nigerian Ethical Revolution, 1981 - 2000 AD: Selected Source Documents'*, launched on 29 November, 1982.

The book is divided into five parts. PART ONE, which comprises Chapter One, considers the salient preliminaries, such as definitions of terms and concepts used, explaining why they have been used in preference to what other reasoning might suggest. PART TWO comprises Chapters Two to Five, in which the issues involved in the ethical revolution movement are considered in detail. In PART THREE, which comprises Chapters Six and Seven, is analysed the challenge which the present state of affairs poses to us of the present generation. Here effort is made to identify probable causes of the problem, why it has grown and how the challenge has been accepted hitherto. PARTFOUR, which covers Chapters Eight to Ten, considers the methodology for ethical revolution. The various possible approaches are considered in detail in a manner to bring out vividly the basis for our choice of the Nationalist approach, which is analysed in specific outline in Chapter Nine. Chapter Ten offers the ethical rationale for the masses of this nation to assume their legitimate role in defence of the Republic in this regard.

**PART FIVE, comprising Chapters Eleven to Fifteen, surveys the ACTION PHASE of the revolution, embracing within it the on-going War Against Indiscipline - WAI.**

# PART ONE

## PRELIMINARIES

## CHAPTER ONE

### Definitions

# Chapter One

## DEFINITIONS

### On Definitions

### Ethics

### Revolution

### Ethical Revolution

### Issues and Methodology

### Discipline

## *On Definitions*

In the first book on this subject \*1, effort was made not necessarily to put forward any classical definitions of Ethics or Revolution, as would be considered appropriate or even necessary in an academic work on moral philosophy or political science. The intention was rather to explain in as direct and clear a language of the layman as possible and to get across the urgent message to the Nigerian people which the book was meant to bring to them. A new expression, Ethical Revolution, was coming into popular use for the first time and it had to be explained to the reading public precisely what that new expression meant for the purpose in hand. What was given to be a definition of the phrase, Nigerian Ethical revolution \*2, was therefore no more than a working explanation of the new idea which the book was meant to popularise, rather than an abstract definition.

This second book is not meant to be a classical text in either moral philosophy or political science. While we shall handle the definition assignment a little more differently this time, it is not intended to go into any rigorous exercise of abstract classical definition here either; because the purpose of this work calls for even more straight forward and easily comprehensible treatment of the subject matter, in that it is intended to carry the message of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution from the point of identification of its root, which is where the other work ended, to that of identifying the issues encompassed in the movement itself and the approaches available for its prosecution. While the older book might be of special interest to scholars and others interested for source material in the development of texts and other works on ethics and the contemporary social history of Nigeria, this book is rather expected to be one for mass readership, in that it goes straight to the issues and the methodology of handling them. Simplicity of treatment is essential for this book, therefore, in order for the average Nigerian

\*1 *Mazi Kanu Oji op. cit*

\*2 *Ibid p. 17*

to get the issues easily and perceive promptly his own role in the over-all movement, without requiring the help of a teacher, nor battling with the distraction of excessive classical abstraction or web of detail of the subject matter. The fuller definition given here is designed to aid such easy and full comprehension.

## *Ethics*

The word, *Ethics*, has its root from the Greek word *ethos*, which means, a habitual mode of conduct, and was most probably first used in the context of its classical meaning of moral philosophy by the famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle, in his work, *Ethica Nicomachea*, or Nicomachean Ethics \*3, in which he addressed to Nicomacheus his philosophical analysis on *goodness*, analysing what constitutes the good for man; moral virtues and vices; intellectual virtue; friendship; and happiness. Coinciding as well with the Latin term for morals or morality, ethics has come to mean the study of man's actions from the point of view of analysing whether such actions are right or wrong. Whereas a consideration of morals per se or morality is concerned with the actual patterns of conduct and the actual rules of moral action, ethics is the general science that makes a systematic study of right or wrong conduct - the actions of social groups as well as of individuals, such as are taken voluntarily, or intentionally, and what makes them right or wrong. It is that involvement of knowledge, volition and intent that permits a moral or ethical judgement of such acts to be possible; just as knowledge and foresight of consequences of a criminal act form a basic element in the establishment of guilt, or *mens rea*, in criminal law.

We are faced daily by such questions as, shall I tip a traffic policeman ten naira to evade full scrutiny of my motor vehicle particulars that I know to be legally deficient. What ought to be my duty to an unconscious pedestrian knocked down by a hit-and-run vehicle operator? Which is morally right for me as a taxi driver in Lagos: operate with the utmost discipline and fail because of the persistent traffic jam (termed 'Go-Slow' in Nigerian parlance) to

\* 3 *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by W.D. Ross from *The Works of Aristotle* by arrangement with Oxford University Press.

make enough per day for a living, or cut corners, go on the side walks, etc, and earn my keep? What do I do for good citizenship as an importer whose main line of business has been put on specific import licence but who cannot obtain an issue of the import licence - wait and go bankrupt, or smuggle in the goods without licence and if possible include some lucrative contrabands for the wherewithal to stay alive and in business? Several duties, somewhat conflicting, are involved in these questions regarding morality and loyalty to the state and its laws. Ethics has evolved as a process of systematic determination of a general doctrine on moral life which emerges from a consideration of such difficult choices. It affords us the analytical basis to seek answers to such other difficult questions as to why we should be moral or respect moral obligation in the first place. Yet ethical principles are rooted invariably in religious morality and convictions, because religion has been throughout history the fountain of the principles for moral judgement both of individuals and of the society at large. Most religions have many canons of ethics and morality common to them, and this has tended to promote a development of a universal ethical system as a science for the examination of typical judgements in which man expresses his moral decisions.

Professional ethics is that branch of the ethical system which deals with the regulation of the conduct of members of a profession in the practice of their profession. Professional bodies usually draw up a code of ethics which seeks to set the highest standards for their members in respect of operational competence, relationship amongst their members, and their over-all duty towards the community for the welfare of all as well as for the success of the professions themselves as integral parts of society. This practice may be traced back to a famous ancient Greek physician, Hippocrates, who lived some four hundred years before Christ and who swore solemnly and pledged on behalf of the medical profession an irrevocable duty to save human life and to serve mankind selflessly to that end. This has formed the basis of the Code of Ethics of the medical profession, popularly referred to as the Hippocratic oath. In all civilized countries of the world, most other professional bodies now have

similar codes of ethics which attest to their professional standing and responsibility to society. In Nigeria, it is hoped that under the ethical revolution programme, all professional bodies, trading and industrial organisations, whose members render services or supply products to the public at large, ought to be required by law, as a condition for their operation, to draw up and register suitable codes of professional ethics which would regulate their operations in like manner.

Personal ethic is the system of ethics which guides and permeates the thought process and conduct of an individual. A person's ancestry, his specialized training from early life and his own particular circumstances and life time career role may imbue him with a distinctive, compassionate sense of personal ethic. Correspondingly, national ethic is the body or system of ethics of a nation, which operates as the guiding light of the nation in its pursuit of national goals for the upliftment of its citizens. The national ethic of Nigeria, as contained in Chapter Two, Section 22 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, is stated to be "Discipline, Self-reliance and Patriotism". This is only a capsulized rendering of the Nigerian national ethic, which if fully analysed and expanded encompasses a very wide scope of duties of citizenship needed to sustain the integrity of the nation and safeguard the corresponding rights and privileges of citizens. As in the case of an individual, national ethic of a country is derived from the hereditary traits of its citizens; its history; the customs, religions, tradition and culture of its people; and the ethical goals it sets for itself as a nation and for its citizens through conscious and deliberate educational policies rigorously pursued over time. In our case, the statement quoted from the constitution above is as yet a statement of the goal of this nation from the point of view of developing a national ethic, rather than a description of what is in existence in that regard. The pursuit of a conscious national policy to actualise that stated goal, interacting with our innate attributes as the citizens of this new nation, will permit the emergence in time of a Nigerian national ethic, which can then be a description of what we have, rather than what we are

aiming at, as is the case at present. National ethic can thus be influenced by conscious effort of leadership sustained long enough to forge a trend.

## *Revolution*

The term, *Revolution*, has a wide application in its meaning both in the political and in non-political fields of human affairs, like the economic, social and cultural spheres. The most terrifying experiences in human existence tend to be more readily remembered; like a devastating earth-quake; a ravaging epidemic; or a bloody war that is costly in human life and physical devastation. They tend to occupy conspicuous chapters in history and secure corners in the memory of mankind. Happier times tend to be more readily forgotten in the scheme of things. This principle has marked application with respect to the definition of the word, *Revolution*, as ordinarily understood by most people. In political science, the term tends to be understood most readily as a forcible change of the system of government of a state by extra-legal processes frequently involving violence and loss of life on a large scale.

History is full of examples of this sort of revolution, including the American revolution of 1775 in which the thirteen British colonies in North America declared themselves independent of the British monarch and fought the American War of Independence to sustain that change, culminating in a new independent union - the United States of America. The change effected by the American Revolution was really no more than the severance of those settlements in North America from control by the mother country of Great Britain. No radical change in the social structure of the new state occurred besides the fashioning of a republican constitution as against the previous monarchical dispensation that was controlled from London. The French revolution and similar revolutions that followed on its heels across Western Europe, e.g., in Germany, Italy and Austria, in the middle of the nineteenth century were

similar and had similar results, when angry citizens rose against their oppressive kings, seeking to set up a republican dispensation in their places. The social and economic organisation that followed did not change radically in consequence, but the change of system of Government was fundamental enough to justify the use of the term revolution.

The notion of class struggle emerged from the events that followed the French revolution, giving rise to a new trend of thought that drew strength from the works of thinkers like Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as others like Machiavelli, Jean Bodin and Hobbes, who had stressed realistic power politics on the basis that the end justifies the means and that the existential necessity for survival in this class struggle mandates the oppressed to face the realities of material advancement. Propelled by this new consuming doctrine of scientific materialism, secularism and class conflict, another form of violent revolution emerged, in which the propertied class in society was marked out for total elimination in order to clear the stage for a permanent, supposedly classless, dictatorship propagated in the name of the working class.

The first one of this type of revolution was the Russian Revolution of 1917, also called the Great October Revolution, or the Bolshevik Revolution. Not only was the monarchical head of the Russian empire, the Czar, overthrown, but the entire social and economic system was altered by the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, making everybody an employee of the state or a forced labourer on state farms. On the political sphere, the leaders of the revolution, in continuous succession ever after, formed the communist party which to date has sought to monopolise political power in perpetuity by force of arms, out-lawing the emergence of any other party in the body politic.

Another revolution occurred in China in which for over twenty years the communists fought the nationalists whom they defeated in 1949 and set up a similar structure as in the Soviet Union. It is estimated that in each of these two countries, the revolution cost over a million lives.

It is this bloody, extra-legal type of revolution that seems to come to the mind of most people when the word, revolution, is mentioned. It need not be so, because, in general, the term implies only a fundamental change in the state of affairs as previously known and need neither be sudden nor violent. It is the extent of the change in relation to the pre-existing order that connotes the idea of revolution in any such change, and not its speed or bloodiness. Instances of movements abound in the political sphere, to my mind wrongly styled revolutions, which ought more properly be called revolts, insurrections or simply coup d'Etat, where all that happens is the installation of a new ruler or a military junta. No fundamental change from what previously existed takes effect as a result.

There is, however, a much wider and healthier application of the word, especially in strictly non-constitutional and non-political sectors of social contrivance. The motivation for any kind of revolution is similar, understandably, which is, the desire to improve the state of affairs now existing through conscious and concerted effort of people who feel concerned enough about the shortcomings of the present situation. There have been many such revolutions in the peaceful, non-political affairs of mankind which were promoted by the rigorous effort of concerned people and organisations that have brought remarkable change with fundamental beneficial impact on human existence. The expression, Green Revolution, was first used to describe the result of an arduous research in south-east Asia financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Inc, which developed a multiple year cropping variety of rice that revolutionised rice production and food supply, saving the teeming millions of the area and the rest of us from perennial shortages that characterised the era of a single annual crop variety.

In this country, the government has borrowed the spirit of this great feat when it launched the Green Revolution and proceeded, by means of a very ambitious integrated programme of dams and river basin development for water supply and irrigation, as well as the supply of farm equipment, fertilizers, financing and agricultural extension services on a massive scale,

to promote agricultural development to a degree of aggressiveness hitherto unknown in this country. It is doing so in the hope of making Nigeria self-sufficient in food production by 1988 and a net exporter of food and agro-allied products thereafter. This kind of sustained onslaught on a basic economic problem, pursued to a point where a fundamental change in the character of the Nigerian economy - from that of a net importer to one of a net exporter - emerges within a decade, is certainly revolutionary; and the term, Green revolution, rightly describes such a programme.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Western Europe witnessed the development of new ways of doing old industrial chores, leading to permanent structural dislocation of the rural life of the people, which had to yield place to a new urban society whose members were linked by nothing more than the new cash nexus that bound employees to their employers in factories and mines. The process of inventions and innovations in technology and operational patterns, which this new development brought in its wake, lasted over a hundred years. This phenomenon is universally known in history as the Industrial Revolution. It was neither sudden nor violent; but the change it brought about was more fundamental than what is generally perceived when, for instance, the military takes over in a Latin American Country, or, as often happened in several countries on this continent in the 1960's and 1970's, when the coup leaders would form themselves into Revolutionary Councils on taking over.

Today a lot of peaceful revolutions are taking place in our world, consuming no human blood nor happening in a flash. The Middle-East oil embargo which followed the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1973 sparked off an energy revolution in the Western industrialised nations. Before then, most industrial designs for new development, as well as the plans for such simple industry as home construction, were based on oil as the source of energy for driving the machines and for the heating systems. This development had taken root by a decision that was made repeatedly for many years back on the drawing boards of most Western industrial designers, when the oil mining corporations held the host countries conveniently on their palms and dictated the price of oil.

There was nothing foreseeable at the time that signalled the possibility of a drastic change in that position, as long as crude oil sold conveniently for decades at the fixed price of less than three U.S. dollars per barrel.

Then came the crisis in the Middle-East when the oil embargo was imposed. The West was taken absolutely by surprise. The price of oil sky-rocketed to more than six-fold the pre-crisis level, and continued to rise steadily ever-after at the pressure of OPEC<sup>\*4</sup> members. The United States, which is the world's largest user of oil, was particularly hard hit. The United States under President Nixon and Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, was rumoured in confidential circles to be seriously considering the possibility of landing troops in the Middle-East oil-fields to secure oil supplies for Western industries and establishments in the event of continuing further crushing oil embargo. The rationale here was that shutting off supplies that were secured by long-term peaceful agreements mutually contracted amounted to economic aggression; and the United States (and the West generally) would feel justified, in self defence upon such an unprovoked aggression, to land troops to secure such supplies. This would have been an extra-legal remedy of a new dimension in international affairs. Good sense prevailed all round: the Arabs did not mount any new crushing oil embargo; the United States did not send any troops to the oil fields to secure supplies for Western countries. \*5

<sup>\*4</sup> OPEC: Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

<sup>\*5</sup> It was also rumoured that this philosophy was meant to encompass both outright embargo and the raising of the prices suddenly beyond reach for practical purposes. One might wonder whether the pro-U.S.A. stance of the OPEC leader by over producing its quota in recent years to force other OPEC members to restrain the urge for further price hikes was in partial strategy to forestall this interpretation and prevent a landing of troops, as well as the desire to acquire AWAC planes and retain enough influence over the U.S.A. in the Arab-Israeli struggle. Whatever was the case, it helped sow the seed of the current oil glut.

It is important to note, however, that since then things have never been the same again. The confidence of the industrial West had been shaken irreparably. In several boardrooms as well as in cabinets across the West, plans were hammered out to cut back permanently on their dependence on crude oil so far as its main source was the OPEC countries. New energy sources were commissioned for rapid development; while known alternatives received increased votes for their fuller exploitation. It is beyond debate to assume that most of those who occupy key seats in the design rooms for new equipment systems will not now make oil the main source of energy for their operation unless it cannot absolutely be helped. The oil glut we have experienced in the past few years is only a sign of things to come. As soon as it becomes possible to develop viable alternative energy sources and for the major oil corporations, who for now operate most of the known reserves, to diversify their holdings and assets into new viable areas in the near future, we could well experience not an oil glut but an oil flood that might sweep some complacent producing countries out of economic existence. A new revolution<sup>6</sup> in energy consumption patterns will have taken effect; but for now it is slowly and steadily in the making, unannounced and bloodless. It is quietly taking its time, and the impact could fully emerge in the next decade but well before the turn of the century.

#### 4. *Ethical Revolution*

Thus the word, revolution, in a more dynamic definition, has generally been used to describe any fundamental change that has been deliberately promoted by man with above average zeal and effectiveness, either by swift extra-legal or military operations, or by legal often more prolonged but rigorously sustained effort under strong pressure for change massively applied. The Nigerian Ethical Revolution falls under the latter category. This new revolution advocated in Nigeria is ethical in the sense that it is aimed at creating in the long run a powerful distinguishing national ethical culture for Nigeria, which will exemplify the impact of our strong religious

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tradition and be a mitigating influence on the onslaught we face from disruptive foreign cultural influences in this age of rapid global interaction. It is meant to produce in us deliberately a fundamental change of a long-term decisive impact, to move this nation steadily and permanently in a discernible new direction of self-reliance and dedication to excellence in leadership, in discipline, in orderliness, in hardwork, in honesty, in morality, in mutual respect and tolerance, along with the submission of our citizenry to God in national affairs and personal pursuits" \*7.

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution, like other typical legal revolutions that have been noted in the definitions above, cannot come about in a flash. Time is required to enable all the facets of society that need ethical transformation to benefit from the new movement. Some aspects will begin to reflect the impact of the emerging new order in a matter of a few years, while others will need a couple of decades or more to conform to the new order. That is why a twenty year period of intense revolutionary \*8 campaign was suggested when the idea was conceived in 1980. This twenty year period is no more than an objective time reference to guide the planners and leaders of the revolution in their effort. Results could emerge impressively earlier or later, depending on how the drive is made and received.

### *5. Issues and Methodology*

The issues, as used in this book, are the questions or problems which are encompassed in a discussion of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution. They relate to the state of affairs as it is today and why such a state of affairs is considered so unsatisfactory that the national leadership and the citizens at large are driven into a revolutionary resolve to want to effect a total transformation within two decades. The issues thus defined have other implications, including the belief that the problem is incapable of resolving itself without a conscious

\*7 *op.cit* page 17

\*8 *Ibid*, page 67.

push of a massive nature. This other issue of employing a conscious programme of action raises yet another question, that of methodology; that is to say, the question of possible approaches to the problem. Related to that are the questions of choice of approaches and the rationale for such choice, having regard to the special circumstances of Nigeria. This is the context in respect of which the two terms, issues and methodology, are used in the book.

Several approaches to tackle the challenge posed by the issues encompassed in the ethical revolution programme are considered in specific detail in the body of the relevant chapters. The name tag attached to an approach either suggests the author of the approach or connotes a similarity of such approach to one previously used in similar circumstances in history. For instance, the Nationalist approach refers to the one which a truly patriotic statesman considers most appropriate to the special needs of Nigeria, just as Clifford Constitution refers to the Nigerian constitution introduced when Sir Hugh Clifford was colonial Governor of Nigeria, and as Udoji salary scale refers to the scale of salaries for public employees established on the basis of the report of the commission in the 1970's with Chief Jerome O. Udoji as Chairman. No other connotation whatever is implied. On the other hand, Noah's Ark approach refers to the one often proposed by irate zealots for complete perfection, who suggest that all who have ever had an ethical infraction should be liquidated so that only the perfectly upright should be spared, similar to the story of the Biblical Noah and his Ark narrated in Genesis chapters six to nine. It is on similar principles that the other name tags, like Marxist approach and Evolution approach, have been used to describe the other approaches considered in this respect.

## *Discipline*

The term, discipline, defines the state of the mind, character or disposition, frequently acquired through training, inculcation or drill, which produces the habits of obedience, order and self-control. It represents a state of neutral perfection in conduct, which affords maximum room, or minimum distraction or disturbance, for the performance of the routines of desired acts or the attainment of set objectives. It is the starting point of orderliness in the affairs of mankind. Ethical order pre-supposes universal justice that is equal in its impact upon all in society. The enforcement of such equal justice enjoins citizens to stay within certain norms and limits of conduct in order not to impinge upon the rights of one another. Ability to stay within such limits of conduct, no matter the amount of temporary inconvenience suffered in so doing, reflects the level of discipline of any people; while the propensity to go out of such bounds, to take advantage of others, to ease the pains of staying within, or for some other such selfish reasons, is a mark of indiscipline among them. It is the meticulous discipline acquired by soldiers through rigorous training and the prolonged inculcation of a consuming spirit of nationalism and patriotism, for example, that drives infantry men forward in obedience to marching orders of their superiors, even when enemy shells are falling and posing present mortal danger to their ranks. With discipline, every task is just more easily performed in every field of human endeavour. It is in this particular context of its meaning that the word, discipline, is used in this book.

# PART TWO

## THE ISSUES

### CHAPTER TWO

The Political System

### CHAPTER THREE

The Bureaucracy, Economy  
and Society

### CHAPTER FOUR

The Training Function  
Education

### CHAPTER FIVE

Family in Nation Building

# Chapter Two

## THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

### Constitutional Development

### Political Parties

### The Military Factor

## *Constitutional Development*

The making of Nigeria as one nation, after the formal partition of Africa a decade and a half<sup>1</sup> earlier, began in earnest right at the last turn of the century, when British expeditionary forces took over the various communities in a series of operations in 1901 to 1903. Before then, contact with the Western world for the people was limited to merchant traders and missionaries, especially along the coast; and of course, the British Consuls, as well as British colonial authorities to whom Lagos had been ceded in 1861 as a crown colony. The rest of the territory beyond Lagos formed the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria with headquarters at Zungeru, and later Kaduna; and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria with headquarters at Enugu, moved from Calabar<sup>2</sup>. Nation building by the British had begun as these two territories, each a miscellany of kingdoms and rural communities, were gradually co-ordinated into governable units with a British Chief Commissioner in charge. In 1914, Lord Lugard, who started as the Chief Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, became Governor-General<sup>3</sup> in Lagos when the two protectorates were amalgamated in that year into the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. The one nation of Nigeria was born.

At home, the British did not, and do not today, have a written constitution; and there was no need to write one for Nigeria at that stage of its existence as a nation. The thought of any form of representative government did not even arise and the new Nigerian nation was administered at that point as a crown colony for all practical purposes on the basis of Colonial Office instruments<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Berlin Conference of 1885*

<sup>2</sup> *For a full account of the origins and legal bases of British jurisdiction in Nigeria, see B. O. Nwabueze, Constitutional History of Nigeria, C. Hurst and Company, 1982.*

<sup>3</sup> *This title was personal to him, because each of his immediate successors in office in Lagos was styled Governor until Nigeria became a self-governing Federation with Regional Governors, when the title of Governor-General was restored for the Lagos position.*

<sup>4</sup> *Letters Patent, Orders in Council, and Royal Instructions.*

given to the Governor-General. The evidence of the idea of protectorate could perhaps be gleaned from the use of indirect rule to govern the territory outside Lagos through the chiefs of the various communities which had been united into the protectorate. Also the British Constitution is unitary; naturally the pattern of administration which the British colonial officers could readily forge and control had to be unitary. Nigeria, therefore, started out in 1914 as one nation with a unitary form of administration, as Lugard had argued strongly in his recommendation to the colonial office in London.

The implications as well as the value of this form of administration are quite significant for many reasons. For one thing, the British came as one team of administrators, similar to a military regime with one command structure. Colonial officers operating in the hinterland were responsible up the line of organisation to the Governor-General in Lagos. They had no independent powers or initiative, save what powers and initiative were specifically delegated to them on behalf of the Governor-General in Lagos, who in turn acted in the name of His Majesty the King In London.

Details of local administration varied from area to area in accordance with the customs and tradition of the various communities that were then ruled under the system of indirect rule; but overall policy was the same basically and was co-ordinated under a single jurisdiction. Thus, while indirect rule worked to slow the pace of change to a uniform, totally British type of rule and justice, the unitary nature of national jurisdiction was a healthy mechanism for national integration. Basic infrastructure and utilities were gradually developing on a nation-wide basis. For instance, the railways, which started from Lagos and Port Harcourt towards the hinterland well before the amalgamation, continued to the northern parts of the country, enabling the country to move produce to the ports and imported wares upland, as well as passengers. This permitted internal contact on a higher scale between the northern and southern communities than was previously possible. Some postal and telecommunications services were added to permit official and public communications between key centres. Gradually the whole country developed skeleton communications service coverage, maintained at first under British strict operational direction and supervision.

The British colonial officers lived like an army of occupation, segregated from the rest of the population in their secluded European Quarters with other 'European' facilities like hospitals, clubs, etc. Other such facilities meant for use by the citizens were branded 'African'; hence we had African hospitals, African Staff quarters, etc. To the British we were all simply Africans; while they were Europeans, a term which was used perhaps to accommodate other European (non-British) missionary personnel and staff of trading establishments that operated in the territory. It was thus a two camp division: Europeans for all British and European nationals, and Africans for all Nigerians and any other blacks allowed into the country, like some of the officers of the Royal West African Frontier Force who were drawn from the other English speaking territories like the Gold Coast (Ghana) and who first came during the expeditionary campaigns.

While the unitary nature of the political administration promoted the spirit of oneness among the people as they came into more frequent contact with one another in government offices, schools, et cetera, the segregation into Europeans and Africans tended as well to forge a loose front of solidarity among Nigerians, particularly the small band of emerging educated elites. This group watched with envy all the privileges and power that the colonial masters enjoyed. Helpless and colonised as they were, they could do no more than try to be like whites. They copied their dress and feeding habits, where they could afford to, and generally looked up to the Europeans as models. Some of the more well-to-do elites who had managed to obtain university education in the United Kingdom, like Mr. Herbert Macaulay, formed the vanguard of leadership to this group. They frequently agitated for better civil rights for Africans. It was perhaps partly to control this newly emerging vocal group of educated elites within the system that new constitutional changes introduced from 1922 to 1946 included the injection of few members into the white dominated Legislative Council in Lagos. Three members were elected from Lagos and one from Calabar, while few others were nominated to represent the chiefs and special interests.

With the arrival of some American educated Nigerians in the late 1930's and early 1940's, notably Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Mazi Mbonu Ojike, the pressure of the educated elites for equal civil rights became radicalised, returning as these learned Nigerians did from the United States, where civil rights agitation was an age long movement by the American blacks. World War II compounded the problem of colonialism for Britain worldwide, besides her huge losses of foreign investments. Weakened by a devastating war in which colonies like India and others in Asia and Africa had played a great part, she could not very easily resist the pressure for self-government which the leading ones, like India, demanded as a prize for their contribution to the war effort. India became independent in 1947 and that gave the fillip to nationalist agitation in Nigeria, which at this time had become a campaign for self-government and not just for civil rights to match the privileges of the whites.

To elicit the support of the masses and build up supportive confidence in our own pristine culture, some of the leaders advocated a return to our own mode of dress, culture and tradition as basis for building a self-reliant, self-governing nation. One of them, popularly called Boycott King,<sup>5</sup> not only spread the campaign for independence in his freedom songs but also demonstrated his interest in Nigerian indigenous culture and tradition by himself wearing traditional Nigerian dress at a time it was almost taboo for a university graduate to do so, eating Nigerian style food and promoting actively festivals of arts and culture. A new stage in the nation's political evolution was rapidly emerging.

The British colonial authorities saw the hand writing on the wall. Self-government leading to full independence for Nigeria was becoming not just a possibility but a clear probability. The Richards' Constitution of 1946 and some enactments made under it by the

<sup>5</sup> Mazi Mbonu Ojike advocated a departure from slavish imitation of European culture, with his popular slogan of "boycott the boycottable"

Governor had tried to make the Crown beneficiary of mineral rights in the country, on account of which the aging Herbert Macaulay led his body of fiery nationalists on a nationwide tour to obtain a mandate of the people to present a protest to the Colonial office in London against this and other obnoxious provisions which the then Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, was believed to be trying to foist on the territory before giving it any measure of meaningful representative government. Analytical opinion even speculated that the intention was to appropriate to the British Crown crude oil and gas deposits known secretly to the top Colonial Officers to abound in commercial quantities in the Niger delta region of the country. The fact that this particular Governor was alleged at one time to be seriously contemplating moving the capital of the country from Lagos to Port Harcourt might tend to lend some credence to this speculation.

There is no question that the early British colonial administrators were exceedingly talented, well trained and dedicated officers of the British imperial power. The research they made of the various communities to support a division of the whole territory into provinces seems so thorough that even today those provincial units appear in effect to be averagely more compatible units than our present states structure. The facts often adduced in support by the states creation movement of recent times have tended also to give credit to the validity of the provincial sub-divisions of the country by the British. It is quite conceivable, as many analysts have alleged, that when the colonialists realised that they could neither stem the march to self-government nor appropriate the minerals by a constitutional provision, they probably decided to retract from the policy of sound administrative arrangements on a unitary pattern which they had used to try to integrate the territory into one viable nation. The next constitutional measures they introduced in 1951, based on a minority report of an all party conference in Ibadan earlier on, popularly called the Ibadan General Conference, represented a clear movement in reverse gear with respect to the vaguely emerging national integration trends. Many nationalists opposed the measure\*6 as representing a carbon copy of what the

\*6 *The local nationalist press, like West African Pilot, named it Pakistanisation, i.e., a divisive partitioning of the new country to ensure it did not achieve self-government as one fully united nation, and to set the component tribes into warring conflict.*

British did in India by splitting up the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan before the grant of self-government to the territory. The British paid no attention to their protests and went ahead to consolidate future constitutional developments of Nigeria on the basis of a Federation of three unequal regions, which coincided as well with the three major ethnic blocs of the new nation: Northern Nigeria; Eastern Nigeria; and Western Nigeria. It was on this basis that independence was won on 1 October, 1960, with each of the three sub-divisions commonly called Region.

The seeming unity among the early nationalists vanished with the emergence of federalism on the basis of regionalism just described. The British taught Nigeria the form of government they know best - the parliamentary system. The regional hegemony which dominated the political leadership of Nigeria at Independence made unity even more difficult. Agitation for more states to rationalise the components of the Federation for greater measure of unity was rather politicised. Before the military take-over in January, 1966, only the Mid-west Region was created in 1963 out of the old Western Nigeria. The structural imbalance of the federal arrangements coupled with the nature of the parliamentary system, which for instance enabled a leader of his party to become Prime Minister without the obligation to campaign outside his own Region but on the strength of votes of his native constituency, increased parochial outlook of most political leaders during the First Republic. Elections were fought with acrimony. Particularly in the Western Region, civil commotion became very common place, beginning with the brawl in the House of Assembly in May 1962 in which the Mace was broken, and including the widespread arson and killings in 1964 and 1965.

It was no surprise to anyone, with all the rumors of coup in the air, when on 15 January, 1966 a group of idealistic young officers of the Nigerian Army struck in a dawn coup attempt, which resulted in the death of many prominent political leaders and the handover of power to the Armed Forces under Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi as Head of State and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

A military interregnum, which was to last for thirteen and a half years, had begun. Major General Aguyi-Ironsi and his advisers were quick to conclude that the failure of the First Republic was most probably due as much to the mutual suspicion, immaturity and lack of purposeful leadership of the politicians of the time as it was to the structural defects in the four Regions federal arrangement. They probably also suspected some measure of insincerity in the British abandoning the unitary form of administration which they had used to bring the new nation together; and doing so just when the nationalist movement for independence became an unstoppable wind of change in the affairs of Nigeria. Consequently, one of the earliest measures of the Ironsi administration, in an effort to achieve a reasonable semblance of unity to repair the shambles into which rioting, arson and killings had thrown the Nigerian body politic by the time of the military take-over, was to revert to a unitary form of government based on the twenty-two provinces into which the country had previously been divided under British colonial rule. This, of course, would have as well matched the military command structure of the Nigerian armed forces, who were to run the show till the return to civilian administration in due course.

The National Military Government, which Ironsi proclaimed, was, however, shortlived. There was apparently no prior full consultation or public debate and study of the measures in order to gain the confidence of the people to accept them. Many sections of the nation had bought the British idea of regionalism; and during all the constitutional conferences leading to self-government and independence, happily or grudgingly, all the leaders went along on the basis of fashioning a federation and not a unitary state. Analysis of the political casualties of the coup attempt did not help matters, as the most aggrieved sections of the nation probably thought Ironsi must have been acting on behalf of some group that was bent upon outright domination of the other groups. Federalism had earlier been promoted on the ground that it made for local independence, decentralisation of political power and prevention of dictatorial tendencies in the central administration in a nation that had only recently emerged as a heterogenous amalgam of differing communities.

Rather than reduce suspicion and forge a stronger measure of unity in the country, Ironsi's measures most probably worsened matters, resulting in periodical widespread planned killings, mostly in the northern parts of the country, of victims who were invariably southern and predominantly Eastern, culminating with the counter coup of 29 July, 1966 that brought Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon to power as Head of State and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. It is significantly interesting to recall that Gowon's administration was promptly declared to be the Federal Military Government, as contrasted with Ironsi's National Military Government.

One fascinating observation must be made at this point with respect to the choice of federal or unitary form of government for Nigeria. With the Southern Cameroons detached from Nigeria after a referendum just before the Nigerian independence, we had left only some twenty-two of the British created provinces within the country. Today we have nineteen states, some of them coinciding almost with the old provinces. In the light of the extreme popularity which the creation of new states has commanded in recent times, in which the possibility seems to exist for the creation of more states to raise the total number <sup>\*7</sup> to more than double the number of the British created provinces, one may wonder what measure of local independence will remain available to any one state in the proposed forty-eight (48) states structure which the legislators have been threatening to create of late. Perhaps a unitary form of government operated through twenty-two (22) to forty-eight (48) provinces might have been much cheaper to run, more effective and more conducive to the promotion of national integration and unity by reversing the centrifugal forces generated by federalism since 1951. It might as well have been a more logical successor to the military interregnum, which itself was unitary in character; perhaps helping to retain the counter-vailing centripetal forces for unity which were produced in the thinking of citizens during the thirteen and a half years of military rule, despite all the disruptive commotion and civil war encompassed.

*\*7 A joint conference session of the National Assembly in June 1983 adopted a resolution to refer 29 new states to a referendum for their creation. This was even a dressing down of the number from the forty-eight (48) new states which the Senate had some weeks earlier recommended.*

This observation is important, because the quest for unity is still a major ethical problem in our geopolitical setting today. The introduction on 1 October, 1979 of an American type Presidential Constitution was designed, among other considerations\*8, to take the consolidation of national integration and unity one stage further. That stage includes specifically the emergence of a Head of State who has the whole country as his constituency and depends upon the mandate of all the citizens to govern. As we create more states to meet the popular demand for new states, two major issues arise which demand serious consideration. One is the dwindling power and local independence of each state in a structure of a larger number of states. This leads to the virtual extinction of local government areas as an effectively functioning tier of administration. Since 1979, the states have found it politically inexpedient to hold local government elections, while multiplying the number of Local Government Areas (LGA) and sitting tight on the Constitutional allocation of ten percent of federally collected revenue meant for them.

The other major issue which arises from the possible emergence of a large number of states is the one of administrative cost of government. Just as local government areas have been multiplied since 1979 in all the states to a point where most of the revenue goes into staff salaries and allowances, with nothing left for physical development and services to the people, so can it be surmised that the emergence of forty-eight states in place of the present nineteen will increase the financial load of the resulting bureaucracy to an intolerable level. Unless there is a drastic reduction in the size of the government of each state, such a new states structure may well wipe out the funds for meaningful development in the country. As at now, some states have commissioners, advisers and permanent secretaries almost surpassing or at least approaching in numbers the level of deployment in the Federal government. One of Lugard's arguments to the Colonial

*\*8 For a full account of the legal arguments against the parliamentary system in the special case of Nigeria, see B.O. Nwabueze, op. Cit. pp 256-268.*

Office to support an amalgamation of the two protectorates and the colony of Lagos into one nation under a unitary administration was the issue of administrative cost of running them separately. Governor Hugh Clifford, who succeeded Lugard in 1920 and was the first to introduce something that could be called a formal constitution, laid the constitutional foundation for the new nation with Lugard's thinking clearly in prospect. The Clifford Constitution<sup>49</sup> was unitary and the country was run along such lines until Athur Richards introduced the makings of regionalism in the late 1940's.

This part of the book is not necessarily arguing for a unitary form of government, particularly now that we are running the American type of Presidential Constitution which is inherently federal. Yet it is not impossible during future amendments of the present constitution to consider what elements of unitarism we can adopt to tone down the blinding glare of sheer financial cost of running the present system, particularly if and when the new states become created. It might also help to do for Nigeria what unitarism did for Ghana by way of national integration under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Experience has shown that if we can be careful to continue to have calm, God-fearing and purposeful Heads of State through the turn of the century, what the nation really needs for its advancement and welfare of its citizens is more of national integration and even development, rather than the so-called local independence that lured us into federalism in the first place. The tone of political campaigns during the 1983 general elections confirmed this opinion. Also the demand for the creation of forty-eight (48) new states by state agitators and the adoption of a motion by a joint conference session of the National Assembly to refer as many as twenty-nine (29) new states demands to referendum for creation, in addition to the existing nineteen states, seems to be an

<sup>49</sup> *The Clifford Constitution of 1922, was unitary with provincial units which did not require the expensive paraphernalia of separate legislative assemblies, teams of commissioners, civil services and federal liaison officers required for states now in our federal constitution.*

obvious acknowledgement by all in the political leadership of the country that the issue of local independence of states is no longer over-riding. Independence naturally goes with the size of the component units in any federal arrangement.

There is no doubt that there may be some valuable features of federalism for a country like ours, if only for the experience of a test drive, so to speak, in alternative ways of running our affairs. The federal structure enables political power to be decentralised, giving chance for local autonomy and wide participation at the state level. This arrangement naturally could well help to diffuse ethnic tension, when each major group, as at present, has opportunity of control in some part of the country. Total exclusion in a winner-take-all constitutional dispensation could lead to explosive frustration. The big issue here, however, is that our leaders are not showing enough sense of proportion to determine when and where to stop, having regard to how some of these state functionaries are carrying on. Some have shown unhealthy despotic tendencies: pitching themselves in apparent confrontation to the Federal Government; threatening the independence of the judiciary; desecrating the cherished cultural heritage of the people by indiscriminate deposition and creation of traditional rulers; and misusing the mass media for destructive political partisanship to the utter debasement of the honoured role of the mass media as the fourth estate of the realm. Federalism has also been misused as an unpatriotic medium to promote an extreme case of the national cake sharing syndrome which drives all and sundry to grab everything for self with nothing, literally nothing, left to support the polity. It seems to be: self first; state second; region third; everything else next; and Nigeria last!

It is quite probable that there may be workable trade-off point somewhere between unitarism and federalism within the confines of our constitution. It will be the point where we can sacrifice so many utils of local independence in order to acquire an equivalent dose of national integration and saving in bureaucratic expense. When people cry out for what they call, strong leadership, I do not suppose they mean that we should have either a dictator or a self-willed bull in a china shop for a leader. It is impossible to have one for long in our type of Constitution, any way. The two Heads of State,

Ironsi and Muhammed, who tried to move too fast with reforms never lasted more than six months. What perhaps people are yearning for is the facility for a God-fearing man, dedicated to total national integration by peaceful democratic processes, to be able to act expeditiously and effectively without the obstruction of confrontational elements in our body politic. It is a call for firm leadership supported by responsible and patriotic followership of the citizenry at all levels.

The Judiciary under the present Constitution has acquired a new role which it did not have under the Parliamentary System of government, that of examining and pronouncing upon the constitutionality of legislative measures and executive acts. This is possible because supremacy belongs to the Constitution rather than to the Legislature under the Presidential Constitution of the Second Republic. Along with some inter-locking mutual control of one another, there is clear separation of powers and independence amongst the three branches of government. Further illustrations of this principle are as follows. Members of the Judiciary are appointed by the Chief Executive but cannot be removed from office except in case of gross misconduct established and supported in an address to the Chief Executive by the legislature passed with at least a two-thirds majority. The Chief Justice, or in the case of a State the Chief Judge, swears in the Chief Executive upon his election to office. The Chief Executive has to assent to every bill passed by the legislature before it can become law. The with-holding of such assent, called a veto, defeats the legislation and makes it of no effect; unless the legislature is able to over-ride the veto by mustering a two-thirds majority vote in favour of the bill. The legislature has powers to impeach the Chief Executive in cases of gross misconduct; but here again a two-thirds majority vote of the legislature is required to support the move after independent inquiry to establish his guilt in the allegations.

In this way each of the three branches of government is rendered independent in the discharge of its role but is made to impinge, in some specific way as a check, on the other to prevent excesses that might affect the good government of the nation and general welfare of the citizens. These are the so called checks and

balances built into the Constitution to force those who operate it to bear constantly in mind that their exercise of the powers granted them under the constitution must be in co-operation with all others who share roles and responsibilities thereunder, to the end that there is due regard for the integrity of the nation and welfare of the citizens all the time.

Specifically for the Chief Executive, he is required to draw his support from at least two-thirds of the states of the Federation, or of the local government areas of the state in the case of the State Executive. To give every state a sense of belonging, and by logical deduction every local government area in the case of a state, the Constitution requires that the appointment of public functionaries should as far as practicable reflect the nation's federal character. Also to ensure that only the best candidates become public functionaries, there is a Senate screening requirement for key non-elective appointments to executive positions. Public probity and accountability are assured through a code of conduct provision of the constitution which regulates the conduct of all public functionaries at federal and state levels, including the declaration of assets and liabilities upon assuming office and on leaving the service or every four years. For the citizens at large, a charter of fundamental rights and privileges for self-fulfilment and social security is also included.

This brief survey of the nation's constitutional journey from the early colonial years of unitary dispensation to the federated regionalism or regionalistic federalism of the First Republic, on to the unitary type military interregnum, and now to Presidential federalism fashioned for ourselves by our own selves, lays bare the political issues which affected ethical development in the country from the birth of the nation to date. A consideration of the emergence and operation of political parties will fill the remaining gaps in the analysis in the rest of this chapter.

### *Political Parties*

As we noted earlier in this chapter, political consciousness started with few educated elites in the coastal urban centres inhabited by Europeans in large numbers but most particularly in

Lagos which was a full crown colony in total administrative control of the British colonial officers. At first political agitation was no more than one for equal rights for Africans as enjoyed by Europeans. Upon the injection of three elected members from Lagos and one from Calabar into the Legislative Council, nationalist movements became in effect political parties by which such elections were fought.

Among the earlier parties, which were active mostly in Lagos, was the Nigerian National Democratic Party, (NNDP) formed in 1923 and led by Mr. Herbert Macaulay, a powerful nationalist, nick-named the 'Wizard of Kirston Hall'. It was an all-embracing organisation that included in its support base many Lagos intellectuals, learned muslim leaders and Imams, the rich and influential Lagos Market Women, and some Lagos Chiefs and elders. Another was the Nigerian Youth Movement, NYM, formed fourteen years later in 1936 and led by Chief H. O. Davies, Dr. Vaughan, Oba Samuel Akinsanya and Mr. Ernest Ikoli. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe joined soon after his return from the United States of America and Ghana in 1937; but he quit some years later over alleged discriminatory treatment of Oba Akinsanya and switched his support to Herbert Macaulay. It was under the new auspices that more all-embracing, nationwide movement was forged in 1944 on the spur of students unions and other social and cultural organisations, under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay. This new body which succeeded the NNDP was the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, NCNC, on whose platform the nationwide tour to garner support for a protest delegation to London against the Richards' Constitution was undertaken in 1946. The delegation to London was later led by its first National Secretary, Dr. Azikiwe, as its new leader, because the octogenarian leader, Herbert Macaulay, died during the nationwide tour in 1946, before the trip to London in 1947.

The constitutional measures developed under the governorship of Sir Arthur Richards reached a maturity stage under Governor John Macpherson, introducing a larger measure of representative government and the new concept of federated regionalism. Other purely cultural groups that were in existence either became political parties or sponsored and nurtured some. Examples were the

Northern Peoples Congress, NPC, of Dr. A. E. Dikko and other northern intelligentsia; Northern Elements Progressive Union, NEPU, of Mallam Aminu Kano; Borno Youth Movement; and the United Middle Belt Congress led by Mr. J. S. Tarka, all in the Northern Region; Egbe Omo Oduduwa led by prominent Yoruba intellectuals in the Western Region; Igbo State Union and Ibibio State Union in the Eastern Region.

The NPC and NEPU became recognised political parties to fight elections in the North, while the other northern organisations did much the same thing but through the medium of alliances with other major parties to push specific political issues of interest to them in their localities. The United Middle Belt Congress was particularly interested in a Middle Belt State. A prominent founding member of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, with the inspiration of some natural rulers and supported by other key personalities like Chief Bode Thomas and Chief S. L. Akintola, formed the Action Group under the ostensible patronage of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, virtually on the eve of the coming into effect of the new regional arrangements, which members of this camp had supported also at the Ibadan General Conference of 1950-51. By now the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, NCNC, was led by its first National Secretary, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The Igbo State Union, which was one of the cultural organisations that were affiliated to it during the 1946-47 transitional years of protests against the colonial power, naturally leaned heavily in support of the NCNC, which also had become a political party. The Ibibio State Union, lead by Dr. Udo Udoma, also followed suit but later restricted its political activities largely to the agitation for a Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers, COR, State, and used its influence like the United Middle Belt Congress to ally with parties from which it could secure support for its demands.

Thus the stage was set for the development of political parties along regional lines. The aristocratic elements and the entire mainstream of the Northern Region population were in the Northern Peoples Congress, now led by a powerful descendant of the Shehu, Uthman Dan Fodio, Sir Ahmadu Bello, popularly called

the Sardauna of Sokoto. With more than half the nation's population and more than two-thirds of the land area comprised in the Northern Region alone, the Northern Peoples Congress did not need to win votes or candidates in the two southern regions to win an election. It is alleged that the suggestion was once made to it that the 'N' in its name be changed from 'Northern' to 'Nigerian' to give it a more national image, but that suggestion was alleged to have been turned down. This was understandable also, from the point of view of honesty of purpose, for a party that was led by a highly religious group at the top. It might just be a shade dishonest to claim for the party at that time an image it did not need nor could claim to have in good conscience. Parties like Northern Elements Progressive Union, Bomo Youth Movement and United Middle Belt Congress, where they operated actively at election, had their say in their localities, but the Northern Peoples Congress usually had its way at elections all over the Northern Region.

In the case of the south, the position was somewhat different. The early start of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons as a nationalist movement long before the emergence of the Action Group, was a definite advantage. Its leader, Dr. Azikiwe, lived in Lagos and already won election on the NCNC/NNDP/Market Women Grand alliance platform during the colonial days before the formation of the Action Group, when he was known as the Second Lagos Member in the old Legislative Council, where he had frequent brilliant debate duels with Sir Hugh Foot, the Chief Secretary. The NCNC also had abundant support in the Western Region, especially in Benin/Delta, Ibadan, Egbaland, Badagry and Ijebu - home-town of Oba Akinsanya of the NYM connection. If the Action Group had not been formed, the NCNC would have held undisputed sway in the West. In the Eastern Region, the NCNC was virtually the only party, despite the existence of the United National Party, UNP, of Dr. Alvan Ikoku, which was really a one man party and which virtually ceased to exist when the revered gentleman lost his Assembly seat to his son, Mr. S. G. Ikoku. With powerful leaders like Prof. Eyo Ita, Chief E. O. Eyo and Chief M. T. Mbu from the minority areas in the main stream of its leadership, the NCNC was almost as comfortably seated in the Eastern Region as the Northern Peoples Congress was in the

Northern Region in the early years, though the crust of its base support was in Igboland.

The newest arrival among the big three was the Action Group, AG, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. It brought a new dynamism in organisation and financing. It featured brass bands at its political campaigns, and with its slogan of 'freedom for all, life more abundant' and the palm tree as its symbol, it held itself out as the party of abundance as some of its songs in Yoruba were interpreted to say. It campaigned aggressively but only in the Western Region in the 1952 elections, losing narrowly to the N. C. N. C., which won 43 seats in the 80 member House of Assembly. By the time the Western Region Assembly was to have its inaugural meeting at Ibadan, it had secured the decamping of some twenty elected NCNC members, thus achieving a majority of 57 members in the house for itself instead. The leader, Chief Awolowo, had to become the Leader of Government; while Dr. Azikiwe, leader of the outwitted NCNC, was forced into leading the opposition. Carpet crossing or decamping had been born into Nigerian politics; an issue which constitutes a thorny ethical problem that is still haunting Nigerian political party system to date. Money as a potent weapon in politics also had its roots from this point in time.

In the Northern Region, the NPC won easily and its leader, the Sardauna of Sokoto, became the Leader of Government. In the Eastern Region, a deputy leader of the NCNC, Prof. Eyo Ita, became the Leader of Government when the party won easily also and formed the government. In the Western elections, which included Lagos, the NCNC candidates had cleared all three seats from Lagos, two of whom were entitled to be elected into the federal legislature in Lagos from the Western House of Assembly. Dr. Olorunimbe and Dr. Azikiwe had been tipped by the NCNC for the election. To make things harder for Dr. Azikiwe as Leader of his party, the AG members managed to convince the other Lagos member, Prince Adeleke Adedoyin\*10, who won his

*\*10 It was understood that this honoured gentleman, who was otherwise known as carefree in tribal matters and a straight-forward party loyalist, was under intense pressure from his people to do this; and, to rationalise his action, he made the now historic statement: 'a fool at 40 is a fool for ever'; meaning that at 40 it would be unwise to defer to a nother in matters of State responsibilities.*

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*\*10 It was understood that this honoured gentleman, who was otherwise known as carefree in tribal matters and a straight-forward party loyalist, was under intense pressure from his people to do this; and, to rationalise his action, he made the now historic statement: 'a fool at 40 is a fool for ever'; meaning that at 40 it would be unwise to defer to another in matters of State responsibilities.*

seat also on the platform of the NCNC, to offer himself for election in place of his party leader. He did, and Dr. Azikiwe had to remain in the Western House of Assembly as unrecognised Leader of the Opposition. Humiliated by the reduction of its national leader in this way, the NCNC hatched its own plans to remedy the anomaly. It precipitated a crisis in the Eastern House of Assembly in which Dr. Azikiwe had to resign from the Western House of Assembly, contest into the Eastern House of Assembly to become the Leader of Government-Business like the Sardauna in the North and Chief Awolowo in the West. Prof. Eyo Ita and some NCNC leaders affected, who did not take kindly to the arrangement, were expelled and, at the end of the tussle, Dr. Azikiwe and the party loyalists won, when the new order was installed. Each party had thus succeeded in placing its strongest leaders in its regional base, sending only junior lieutenants to the centre - a startling centrifugal current towards national disintegration and disunity.

Another grave ethical issue had arisen - the hydra-headed, old time disease of Nigeria, tribalism. The NCNC members in the West who crossed carpet to enable Chief Awolowo to form the government were driven by tribal feelings to prefer their kith and kin as leader of government; and they were prepared to do anything, however unethical, to have their wish fulfilled. The AG leadership who procured the decamping deal and their patrons in the Western society<sup>\*11</sup> who backed the arrangement did not do the cause of national integration any good by that incident; nor did the Lagos member who allowed himself to be used to block his party leader from election to the centre in Lagos.

<sup>\*11</sup> *In this connection, the Western electorate gave its verdict fairly at the polls, in no way affected by tribal feelings at that time. Really, it was the new ruthless style of leadership which was to blame for injecting tribalism into Nigerian politics. That Western Nigerian citizens as such did not exhibit any intrinsic tribalistic voting propensity, without high level incitement, was confirmed when two years later the NCNC won the Federal elections in 1954*

To confirm that all the leaders of the time were incapable of lifting themselves above the parochial level to move the new nation ahead to greater heights in rapid integration, the NCNC carried this new disease across the Niger River to the Eastern Region, when Dr. Azikiwe succumbed to the temptation to replace his party's Eastern leadership horse in mid-stream, knowing the tribal implications for himself, an Igbo, having to force out a deputy leader who hailed from a minority ethnic group and who had otherwise remained a faithful member of the party. Tribalism had indeed arrived and was spreading like the cancerous disease that it represents in our body politic. This was one of the reasons why the Ibibio State Union became vocal for the creation of a COR State from Eastern Nigeria; and it was supported actively by the AG in this demand.

As the three governing parties strove to consolidate, some of them began to reach out beyond their original home bases. The NCNC was already in both the East and the West but needed a presence in the North. This it did by allying with the NEPU. The AG did so through alliance arrangements with UMBC. These efforts proved largely futile not only because of the weakness of the northern allies but also because of the impregnable stranglehold which the NPC had all over the North and which it strove to enforce more often than not by means of unethical manoeuvres: like blocking a bridge to on-coming party leaders from the south; arresting them on trumped up charges; or refusing them hotel accommodation in the north. The southern party leaders, who frequently sent teams of lawyers to the North for self protection, often wondered whether the North was indeed part of the one country of Nigeria for practical purposes of common opportunities for political influence. The North being solidly Moslem in most parts, Southerners were often regarded as unwanted unbelievers; and the NPC was making no effort to campaign in the South, since it did not need southern seats to win a federal election.

*in Western Region as in the East and was able to send eight ministers to the centre, four each from the East and the West; who, together with the four NPC ministers from the North and one KNC minister from the Southern Cameroons, formed the Federal cabinet.*

Unethical tactics were even more rampant at elections. The big parties liked to have their big-shots returned unopposed. This was desirable not only for such party stalwarts to show off their popularity on account of which nobody around was willing to stand against them, but also to save the strain and expense of election campaigns. If it was possible to buy one's way into the Assembly in one shot deal, who needed the aggravation of electioneering? Better qualified but poorer opposing party candidates simply had no chance and often allowed themselves to be bought out of the contest at nomination time. The recalcitrant ones, who were foolhardy enough to test the patience of the political 'juggernauts', often were either kidnapped or just became missing until after the nomination time. The more refined big shots simply bought over the nomination officers after filing their own papers; and, since the rule required that the candidate should hand in his nomination paper to the designated nomination officer in person, all that was necessary to stop the foolhardy candidate of an opposition party was for this almighty nomination officer to endeavour never to be met in his office during the specified hours for submission of the nomination papers. With such unethical tactics perpetrated in varying degrees by all the major parties in their home bases, these regional parties could not but consolidate at home and lose out in other areas. Regionalism was working as was probably intended for us by the highly intellectual Governor Richards who had laid its foundation.

In the actual elections, there was hardly a limit to what tricks the parties could play on one another. Perhaps the present notorious Nigerian ingenuity for circumventing the law; for defeating any proposition, however foolproof its conception may be, dates back to the unethical quick wit displayed freely by the Nigerian political party strategists of the First Republic. Women went into the polling booths pregnant with ballot papers. Since ballot boxes in each polling station were separate, one for each party, a party enthusiast could go in towards the end of voting pretending to want to vote but merely to get into the polling booth to pour acid into the box of the opposing

political party, wiping out the ballot papers already put in by voters. Some even tried to smuggle away the whole ballot box of the opposing party. Fights and commotion were often deliberately provoked so as to destroy some boxes in the confusion, where a contesting party suspected he was losing. There were numerous examples of cases where the election was even orderly and the votes were collected and counted; but the returning officer, who had been bought over by the sponsoring party that must win at all costs, announced the loser as the winner and vice versa!

That was election under extreme regionalism, when the home base party must win at all costs; otherwise loss might imply probably (one might reason) the superiority of the tribe of the leaders of the challenging outside party. Whatever the reason was, the situation was extremely chaotic and, to say the least, grossly unethical and in no way conducive to national integration through representative democracy. Rigging elections had become in some parts the rule rather than the exception. The electorate in such areas naturally felt deceived and robbed when they saw candidates whom the voters actually voted in now declared the losers. Grumbling and recrimination among the people became the order of the day as party politics continued along this deplorable line. The open explosions of 1964 and 1965 were clear testimony of the depth of the frustration of a people who had seen too much ugly politics.

The net result was that both the voters and those who claimed to have been voted into office lost faith in the ballot box. The citizens realised it first when the election results were announced after polling. They later saw it more vividly when those who had thus rigged themselves into power began to wield the power like a purchased personal article. They neither cared too much about serving the people faithfully in order to gain their confidence and voting support at future elections, nor paid serious attention to public accountability in the way they handled public funds and enriched themselves illegally. Another major ethical issue, the one of public probity and accountability

of public functionaries, had now also become a severe national problem. Since opposing parties which would offer alternative approaches and programmes by criticising the governing party and exposing inefficiency and financial mismanagement could naturally be the regional parties from the other tribal regions, supporters of the home base party simply dismissed any mention of mismanagement or corrupt administration as mere tribal effusions calculated to bring the home tribe down and into disrepute. Surely, Nigeria, during our three Region federalism as operated in the First Republic, was clearly rested on what looked like a stable tripod of trickery for self disintegration by the mutual distrust and immolation of the operating regionalist parties.

The political parties were supported by many nationalist newspapers, some of which started long ago in the colonial era. The earliest newspapers included: Lagos Daily News, Lagos Weekly Record, Daily Service, Nigerian Pioneer, Nigerian Daily Times, and West African Pilot, all in Lagos. Others were the Hausa newspaper, Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo in Kaduna, and the Comet at Kano; Southern Nigeria Defender at Ibadan; and the Eastern Nigeria Guardian at Port-Harcourt. Many of them, having begun as nationalist organs, had very laudable mottos and slogans, like one major Lagos daily whose editorial policy was generally known to be that of: 'Independent in all things, neutral in nothing affecting the destiny of Africa'. Thus the idea of making Africa the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy was already being propagated by some of the more popular nationalist dailies.

All these newspaper houses were privately owned. As competition grew in intensity with the advent of party politics, some of them which did not develop political party patronage died away. The only major independent newspaper, which survived, actually grew bigger partly on account of its prudent non-partisan stance, besides the obvious advantage it derived from its earlier European ownership with consequent efficient management. This was the Nigerian Daily Times, which later became just the Daily Times. The Daily Service along with the Express became the official organ of the Action Group; while the

West African Pilot and its three sisters in Kano, Ibadan and Port Harcourt supported the NCNC and its Kano ally, the NEPU. Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, of course, served the NPC. By then, all the earlier Lagos papers had ceased to exist.

Subsequently, each Regional government sponsored a newspaper and radio station. The West and the East also started television stations very early in the First Republic. The Federal Government started long before with the Nigerian Broadcasting Service, NBS, which later became Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, NBC. It also established a newspaper, the Post. In this way ownership of mass media organisations by governments to propagate the policies and programmes of the party in power gradually became an indispensable feature of Nigerian party politics. This development sentenced independent minded Nigerians to the practice of buying as many newspapers as there were Regions - and now, almost as many as there are states in the Federation.

Therefore newspapers have necessarily had to develop along very shallow lines, reporting mostly the matters which concern their political mentors, usually handed out in Ministry of Information press releases. In-depth reporting, predicated upon thorough independent research, investigation and analysis of issues and nationwide collection of facts and news naturally has suffered. This is particularly the case today when the number of newspapers has increased almost exponentially since the beginning of the Second Republic. Many media practitioners engaged in official organs of State Governments particularly have the deep sympathy of this writer, as they are understood not to have any powers to report freely and objectively on national issues, but rather are obliged frequently to report sheer fabrications and palpable rumour as news, if their political mentors think such fictitious reporting has some partisan political purpose to serve in their favour.

Most of these newspapers thrive on government subventions, obituaries and other forms of advertisements, because they cannot on their present jaundiced standard of journalism achieve any self-sustaining level of national circulation. It is indeed a pity and very

frustrating to the poor Nigerian reader, who is often forced to pick up about a dozen or more blotted folds of newsprint called newspapers, but who still cannot read meaningful news or properly researched articles on national issues, problems, challenges and prospects in the political, social, economic, cultural or sporting spheres of life in this nation.

The military interregnum had some sobering effect on the politics of the country. Upon taking over, the military banned all party politics, political parties and the powerful tribal unions. The governments did not set out to establish any new newspaper houses, but it strengthened the ones that were already in existence as vehicles of public information to publicise government activities. Later in their long thirteen and a half years rule, the military became increasingly sensitive to adverse news reports and management, especially in the hands of very powerful organs, like the *Veteran Daily Times* and the *New Nigerian* which was established two weeks before the coup of January, 1966. Perhaps in their opinion, leaving these two powerful newspapers in private hands on the country's return to civilian rule might give undue advantage to any group they supported when party politics returned. Whichever the reason was, the regime bought over control in these two newspapers, up to one hundred percent in the *New Nigerian* and sixty percent in the *Daily Times*. The position has remained so to date.

### *The Military Factor*

The take-over of the nation's government in 1966 was a major factor in the analysis of issues in the Nigerian Ethical Revolution. Many of the issues as they affect the bureaucracy, the economy and society at large will be reviewed in the appropriate chapters later. Here it is sufficient to consider the military as a major political force in the country and the consequent need for an ethical revolution, having regard to the fact that this nation since independence has had a longer span of military rule - thirteen and a half years - than of civilian rule in both the First Republic and the Second Republic to

date put together, totalling only ten years in 1983.

It came, officially, as an involuntary obligation thrust upon them when the attempted coup of Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu failed to achieve total control. Yet it was the military who demanded power from the rest of the civilian cabinet on the coup day, ostensibly to enable the armed forces to put down Nzeogwu's rebellion, instead of allowing the choice of a successor Prime Minister to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and perhaps fighting to quell the rebellion on the orders of such new Prime Minister. The latter would have been very similar to what happened on the assassination of Gen. Murtala Muhammed in February, 1976, when his deputy, Lt. Gen. Obasanjo, took over with the rest of the Supreme Military Council, and suppressed Lt. Col. Dimka's rebellion and brought the rebels to book.

However it happened, by involuntary acceptance upon an urgent call to national duty in grave emergency or by deliberate intention to snatch political power in the face of widespread civil unrest in a corruptly run democratic set-up that had obviously broken down, as was evident in Western Nigeria, the armed forces of Nigeria took over power in January, 1966<sup>\*12</sup> and ruled the country until 1 October, 1979, when power was handed back to a democratically elected government under a new constitution. During that long military interregnum, the country fought a civil war of National Unity, which lasted for thirty months, from July 1967 to January, 1970. There were also two coups after the war: one bloodless and successful on 29 July 1975, which deposed Gowon and brought in Muhammed; and the other bloody but unsuccessful, in which Muhammed was assassinated and Obasanjo, who then took over, successfully completed the regime's political programme and handed over power to elected civilians in 1979.

*\*12 There was a counter coup on 29 July, 1966 which removed Ironsi and installed Gowon until his own overthrow on 29 July, 1975. For a reasonably objective analysis of what led to this counter coup, see Amadu Kurfi, *The Nigerian General Election 1959 and 1979 and the Aftermath*, Macmillan, 1983 pp. 23-41.*

The military, more than any other organised group, were faced most grimly by the nation's perennial problem of unity in all aspects. The War of National Unity itself (as I prefer to call the civil war) brought the first test. Having reverted to federalism when Gowon assumed power on the overthrow of Ironsi in July, 1966, the new Federal Military Government had to face the same problem which Ironsi had sought to solve by means of his short-lived unitary arrangements. The four Regions were too structurally incongruous and out of balance to make for any meaningful unification of the country whose integrity was severely threatened by secession just when the country's new found oil wealth was coming to light. It quickly created twelve states - ten short of Ironsi's twenty-two provinces - to make it look a true federation with meaningful local independence of the larger size component states. Some areas that had for long agitated in vain for their own states were satisfied, like Benue-Plateau (for Middle Belt State); while others got even more than they previously thought possible in the First Republic, like South-Eastern State and Rivers State both of whose leaders had in the earliest days of state agitation settled for one C. O. R. State.

At the end of the war, these states settled down to consolidate their infrastructure to face the problem of development as viable units of the new federal dispensation. With the exception of Kano, Lagos and Rivers states, which coincided roughly with the original British created provinces, the others were unions of two such provinces in each case; except North-Eastern State that also included the former Northern Cameroons territory, which was renamed Sardauna Province, plus Adamawa (Now Gongola). In this regard the military and their advisers showed another sound political sense by creating six states out of the Northern Region and six in the Southern Regions, three on each side of the River Niger. This made for zonal balance; and most sections were happy for a start.

More valuable reforms followed during the latter half of the regime. These include the relocation to Abuja the nation's capital from over-crowded Lagos that seems to defy every effort at improvement; creation of more states to increase the number

from twelve to nineteen; reform of the local government system; and the preparation and promulgation of a new constitution. Other activities of the regime, however, which have dysfunctional features to them, include the take-over of schools from religious voluntary agencies; concentration of some eighty percent of all new industries in the Lagos area, with just about twenty percent only going to the rest of the federation after the ravaging effects of war; hasty jump into free education at all levels goaded probably by pseudo-Marxist intellectuals who were spreading the doctrine of 'the Nigerian citizens' Right to Free Education at all Levels'; involvement in expensive prestigious projects, like FESTAC and the Trade Fair Complex; and the take-over of well established media houses, viz, The Daily Times and New Nigerian Newspaper. These developments have seeming marxist traits about them. The regime, having received so much help from East European countries during the War of National Unity, must have fallen to some pro-marxist recommendations in return, as was evidenced by other policy measures that had obvious socialist colouring: like the Land Use Decree; heavy involvement of Government in enterprises, rather over-stretching the 'Commanding Heights' doctrine of economic policy; and the Angolan involvement on the side of MPLA.\*13

Side effects of some of the political programmes of the regime might be dysfunctional, while others of its activities might have been misdirected for lack of requisite experience and proper guiding mandate; but the motivation, from the vital point of consolidating national integration and unity, was clearly patriotic. This can be confirmed from such other minor but significant political measures as the introduction of a National Pledge and the preparation and adoption of a new National Anthem written by Nigerians.

*\*13 MPLA: Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, a Marxist backed nationalist movement fighting for the independence of Angola.*

If the regime could have listened to the advice of the writer, it should have included as a condition for return to civilian rule the emergence of two and only two political parties when the ban on political activities was lifted in 1979. Nigerians often behave like spoilt children when given too much latitude to use their judgment to elect when and where to stop in matters of unity. With such a condition, many of the leaders of the several one-man parties, driving vans around and spending tax payers' grants from FEDECO would have found enough grounds of compatibility to join such two parties, if they had no alternative. National unity is one issue that can no longer be compromised in this country if Nigeria is to assume its natural role of leadership on this continent. The present bickering among tribal based parties which revolve around the personalities of some famous First Republic politicians should give way, one fervently prays, to just two national parties that cut across state and ethnic boundaries, whose presidential candidates should never be discernible in advance by merely observing the hierarchy of their leadership, but by the democratic process of choice, such as permits every member from every section of the country equal opportunity of getting selected for that number one spot on the leadership scale.

Ours is a Presidential system, not the parliamentary system in which the party leader automatically becomes Prime Minister. Usually under our type of Presidential Constitution, which has no provision for official opposition but makes the whole country the constituency of the Chief Executive, or the whole State in the case of the State Executive, political parties are essentially a mechanism for broad national policy articulation and elucidation, as well as for the persuasion of the electorate to follow a specific party policy or ideological path to national goals. By means of such mechanism, the Chief Executive and the legislative members of government are chosen at general elections, when they receive the mandate of the people to rule. Constitutional convention demands, as happens quite conspicuously in the United States of America, that party chairmen, at national and state levels, ought properly to fade into the back-ground after elections, yielding place and pre-eminence to the elected Chief Executives who now hold the official mandate of the people to run the affairs of state with all the appurtenant perquisites,

while earning their well deserved respect from such Chief Executives as king makers.

Those Nigerian political parties that combine the role of the Chief Executive with that of party Chairman in one individual are obviously confusing our present system with the parliamentary system of the First Republic. Such an arrangement, which seeks to have the best of both worlds, in a sort of greedy approach of 'have your cake and eat it too', is inherently undemocratic and rather unsuitable for Nigeria with a constitution that requires politicians to reflect the nation's federal character in public administration. It is only possible in small parties, such as still owe their existence to the personality cult of their First Republic celebrity leaders. Hopefully, as all such leaders eventually retire from active politics, party politics will be able to develop along true democratic lines compatible with our kind of Presidential Constitution. When that happens and, along with it, we are able to end up with two major political parties, this nation will definitely witness the minimisation of intra-party squabbles, such as lead to factionalisation, de-camping and carpet crossing, with all the disgraceful 'super-market' shopping for supporters which are frequently reported towards general elections. Such a development would also reduce the current tendency to politicise the judiciary by the political parties when their members litigate on minor intra-party disputes which party constitutions, by-laws and regulations should guide the members to settle within their organisational frame-work, without resort to the law courts.

It is possible that, going by the trend of factionalisation and alliances before the 1983 general elections, we may yet be able to end up with two major national parties by the natural process of survival of the fittest. It may be argued that it would have been too undemocratic if the military had simply decreed the formation of only two parties. To answer that, one might very well point out that there was nothing very democratic about the military forcing the Land Use Decree into the constitution which was supposedly drafted by a non-military Constitution Drafting

Committee and approved by an elected Constituent Assembly; nor is there anything democratic about military rule itself. When we had the military in power and they saw for themselves the great task of nation building ahead of us, they should not have allowed a process that was sure to resurrect ethnic parties again.

The military, in spite of their shortcomings, have done more than any other group to keep the nation one. That additional step to ensure the retention of the results they have achieved would have been well worth the try. In this respect, I am not impressed by those political leaders who, in a diplomatic reaction to recent developments, claim that we could do well with even a three party system; because that will ultimately lead us to the emergence of regional parties similar to the ones of the First Republic. It is only a two party system with carefully conceived zoning arrangements that can truly cut across the three major ethnic blocs and unite citizens on the basis of ideology and programmes.

# Chapter Three

## THE BUREAUCRACY, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

### The Public Service

### The Economy and Society

# *The Bureaucracy, Economy and Society*

## *The Public Service*

The early British colonial administration included some of the most highly qualified officers that came to Africa, particularly those in political positions, who were relied upon to set the pattern and lay the foundation upon which the public service of the new nation was to be rested for a long time afterwards. The elaborate system of regular periodic reporting enabled the Governor-General in Lagos to keep up-to-date with affairs in the hinterland and to receive input therefrom for broad policy formulation in liaison with the Colonial Office in London for political control and economic management of the country. It was a hierarchical structure, rising from the District Commissioner or District Officer at the base of the pyramid, who was responsible for a specific Local Government District, to the Provincial Commissioner or Resident who was in charge of the whole Province. The Resident was in turn responsible to the Chief Commissioner or Lt. - Governor, who reported to the Governor-General \* 1 in Lagos through the Chief Secretary's Department of the Governor's Office.

Most Nigerians who served in these offices could only be clerks and never rose beyond the title of Chief Clerk.

\*1 The title of Governor-General was personal to Sir Lugard. His immediate successors, before Nigeria became a Federation with Regional Governors, had the title of Governor.

Even those Nigerians who managed to travel overseas and returned with university degrees could not be given administrative or executive positions in the colonial service. In fact this was one of the grievances of the early nationalists who agitated for equal rights for Africans. Those who served were subjected to the discipline, sense of duty and probity which the British officers exhibited in abundance while they were in full control. The Nigerians learnt a lot from the British officers. As agitation for self-government gathered credible force, many more Nigerians entered the service, some to be trained and groomed for higher than clerical positions in due course, and in fact later became the vanguard of the indigenous civil service at independence.

Three important and different ethical issues merit attention in the discussion of the evolution of the early civil service which we inherited from direct training under British Officers. The leaders of the indigenous senior clerks and upcoming officer cadre of the service included some of the most highly motivated officers in public service that this country ever produced. When the federated regionalism of 1951-60 took effect, the ablest of such officers who were in the Central Secretariat in Lagos were lured away to their regions of origin, where also the party leaders were leaders of Government and later Premiers. The result was that the regional services tended to be richer in top quality talent and more effective than the remaining federal service. Each of the three regions had its share in this regard, but I shall mention just one example of such an officer who was so outstanding that at some point the Federal Government had to lure him back for multiple roles. This was Chief Simeon O. Adebo, who was earlier transferred from the Financial Secretary's Department of the Secretariat to the Western Region Service at Ibadan. He headed up that service and laid the foundation for effectiveness, of which the early politicians there boasted proudly. He was in 1962 transferred back to the Federal service as Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs in North America. The dedication which this officer brought to his roles and the inspiration that he passed on to younger officers in the service can only be described as legendary.

Secondly, while the federal public service was bracing with the impact of the officers it lost to the regions, more losses occurred at independence, when many British officers elected to receive lump sum compensation and leave the service on early retirement. A Nigerianisation programme to train Nigerians to take over from British officers was in progress, but it was not fast enough to cover completely the adverse effects on continuity and efficiency which the early departure of the British officers inflicted on the federal service. Even some of the British civil servants who stayed behind were no longer really as zealous as they were when Britain was in complete colonial control. The Nigerians who were taking over certainly made serious effort to understudy them and accept the challenge of self-government. In this respect, the regions were somewhat better off, not only, as noted above, because they lured away their top citizens in the Federal service, but also, in the case of the Northern Region which seemed to have more rapport with British officers, because such sudden departure by expatriate officers did not occur in large numbers.

The scene for the fiercest nationalist agitation was largely in the south and particularly in Lagos which was the seat of the colonial administration and a crown colony. In the north, on the other hand, indirect rule had been more effective than it was in the southern provinces while it worked. Consequently, Northerners probably never really felt as deprived of power by the British as Southerners did; hence the disparity in the heat of nationalist agitation. The nationalist movement in the country, nevertheless, used strictly non-violent<sup>2</sup> approaches to fight for independence, including boycotts, work to rule tactics in offices and other work places and other forms of civil disobedience.

<sup>2</sup> This was why one of the leaders of the independence movement, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, once said that self-government was granted Nigeria 'on a platter of gold' as against other colonies where protracted guerilla warfare was needed to win self-government.

Government work was styled white man's job and civil servants over the years, especially at the lower levels, developed the mentality of not taking it as their work or their country's work. The third ethical issue which arises in the evolution of the country's public services therefore is this feeling, which has lingered on to date, that public service work was white man's job.

The most senior colonial officers were members of the colonial executive organ - the Executive Council - and were also the official members of the Legislative Council. With the introduction of a wider measure of Nigerian representation, Nigerian Ministers replaced most of the British officers, leaving only a few key officers like the Chief Secretary, Legal Secretary/Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. The early ministers took pains, like their civil servant counterparts, to follow the standard of dedication and accountability which the British had set in the running of the country's affairs. This was particularly so at the time most Permanent Secretaries were still British civil servants.

With the departure of such white officers and their replacement by Nigerian Permanent Secretaries that owed their new positions to the political efforts of the nationalists, who were now ministers and were usually also in parliament, many of such frontline leaders and Ministers of the First Republic felt it was time to enjoy the fruits of their labour by showing that they were now truly the masters. The rules of the game as set by the British Officers probably became too rigorous for that purpose and as well incompatible with the urgent need for such politicians to find the money for political campaigns in a life-and-death struggle to retain power at their regional bases. With each regional team of Ministers behaving as potentous delegates from their regions of origin, accountability to and control by the Federal Prime Minister were not effectively there. The Prime Minister, who was generally acknowledged to be a gentleman and a God-fearing leader, was largely impotent in controlling his Ministers, even including those from his own North, so long as they had the backing of their party leaders who were Premiers

of their Regions of origin. It is no wonder then that there were widespread allegations of corruption, flamboyant living and conspicuous consumption against some of the Ministers of the First Republic. The unethical demonstration effect on the rest of Nigerians in all walks of life of such non-exemplary and unexalted performance of the roles of top political leadership at that crucial turning point in the life of the emerging new nation could well be the genesis of ethical decay in this country.

Another ethical issue which came in the wake of the ones noted above, was the centrifugal propensity in the general thinking and actions of the early regionalistic leadership of the new nation, leading to the nefarious syndrome now commonly referred to as national cake sharing. This negative force moved many of our leaders to think only of how they could get the most of the young nation's meagre, agriculture based resources for their own regions of origin, caring little about the need to sustain a viable, effective federal union. The country under the British had been nursed up on the foreign exchange from such resources as coal and tin from the Enugu coal and Jos tin mines; oil palm produce mainly from the Eastern Region; groundnuts and cotton from the Northern Region; and cocoa, timber and rubber from the Western Region, including the Benin/delta area. The fortune of these resources had fluctuated in turn with world market demand, and each succeeding item on the list had tended to become a more prominent foreign exchange earner for the nation than the foregoing one as the years went by.

On the introduction of federated regionalism as a form of government for the country, the British set up the Chick's Commission in the early 1950's to examine the thorny question of revenue allocation for the country. Some leaders argued that any formula must take account of the needs of the component Regions in view of the fluctuating fortunes of basic resources: but most of the strongest advocates of regionalism wanted the extreme of basing any formula for allocation strictly on region. This was because, by the state of the world market for these resources at the time, the latter saw an opportunity for

deriving the largest revenue for their own Regions. It was only the coming into pre-eminence of petroleum and into power of the military coincidentally that reversed this sort of thinking in such leaders.

The military interregnum created its own set of ethical issues for the nation. With the departure of Ministers from the scene, there emerged the Military Commissioners, who were quite often ill-equipped for their new roles. Those commissioners naturally depended heavily on the top civil servants, the Permanent Secretaries of the key ministries. The latter became known as Super Permanent Secretaries, from the way some of them wielded power arrogantly. Since they usually sat in the Federal Executive Council beside their less informed Commissioners and were permitted to make contribution to the debate on questions under discussion, they tended to acquire the tacit recognition, from their superior performance, as the *de facto* ministers. Remembering how their deposed Ministries had carried on during the First Republic and now observing their new political bosses, the Commissioners, many of whom did not particularly appear to want to let their turn of slicing the national cake pass by untaken, some of these Super Permanent Secretaries were alleged to have joined the bandwagon of grab and greed in apparent abuse of office. The civil service, which under the British had been the bulwark of the nation's public administration in honesty, dedication and meticulous accountability, guided by the famous General Orders and Financial Instructions, now also absorbed the penetrating filth of bribery, corruption, embezzlement and all the other evils that plague the Nigerian society toady. Once it started at the apex of the main body of the porous civil service pyramid, this disease, like molten liquid, could not but seep through and down to the base, where today messengers hide files to exact graft and gatemen turn visitors back until a suitable tip is handed out.

Another such ethical issue, which was a product of the military interregnum, was the permanent dislocation of the tradition of the civil service. This happened in two major stages.

The First occurred within about a year of military take-over. There was a massive movement of government employees from posts they had for long held and developed certain expertise in so doing, in a functional relationship with one another that grew gradually through careful selection, brick by brick so to speak, as the public services were built up over the years. The outbreak of civil commotion and war dislocated the balance of this employee mix in the services as citizens fled to their home areas in the panic, which the heavy cloud of political uncertainty engendered. New hands were hurriedly recruited; but they had neither the pre-induction training nor the on-the-job experience to equip them for the roles they were happy to assume but unfit to discharge competently in the sad bonanza of vacancies. Those who remained behind were naturally too few to cover their own roles effectively while simultaneously grooming and directing the untrained and often haphazardly selected new entrants, most of whom came in on grounds other than merit. The effectiveness of the public services had been shaken, somewhat irreparably, to the very foundation. Next came the ethical shake-up of the services at the beginning of the Muhammed/Obasanjo administration, when many public servants at all levels were dismissed or compulsorily retired from the public services in an effort to clean up the growing mess in the place and to knock some discipline into those who remained. It had a salutary effect in putting fear into the minds of public servants; and it seemed to do a lot for awhile to reassure the bewildered and cheated public that at last there was hope that probity and accountability in public service could ever be enforced. It was an unprecedented and most courageous step ever taken so far by any administration in this country to tackle the problem of abuse of office, bribery, corruption and other such evils in our public services.

When this great purge was announced it received thunderous and spontaneous applause from all the people, who were sick and tired of the problem, which the oil boom of the early 1970's had made more widespread and heavier in terms of

the naira values encompassed. It was a sign of great relief to the public. The programme soon ran aground, however, when these dismissals and retirements showed clear traces of some ugly hand of vendetta which the favoured functionaries of the new regime frequently visited upon their often innocent rivals to settle an old score. The programme had to be rested, but not before a lot of damage had been done to many careers and homes in the country. And what is even more fundamental an ethical issue, the old time tradition of security in the public services became shattered by the haphazard upheaval that accompanied the implementation method of the purge. There had been no formal investigation of the matter to determine carefully the parameters for action in a manner to sustain public confidence that the clean-up process was inherently free and fair and the execution of it transparently just to all concerned.

Thus, twice in a decade, massive disruption occurred in the entire hierarchy and membership of the nation's public service. This sad development has not helped the growth and consolidation of an efficient and effective public service able to transcend sectional or selfish distractions and pursue nation building goals. The political and administrative condition in the country and the ethical issues engendered thereby, as shown in our analysis so far, did not obviously permit the emergence of clearly defined long-term national goals to which citizens' patriotism could be concretely directed and channeled for orderly progress. Consequently, public functionaries were frequently able, by suitable manipulation of policy parameters, to substitute their own personal goals to fill the vacuum to the detriment of the common good, of national integration and of social progress. National development plans invariably looked ahead only for periods of four to six years at a time, with no longer-term set strategic goals to act as over-all guide for them.

## *The Economy and Society*

The earliest days of the new nation featured a continued predominance of the European trading companies which had previously run the affairs of coastal strips and inland market centre enclaves in the territory until the British expeditionary forces set out from 1900 to take over formally. These companies brought manufactured ware, tobacco, wines and textiles and took away forest products and other locally produced raw materials to be sent to European factories. Import and export trade was therefore the exclusive preserve of these trading companies for very long. For internal distribution they developed branches in key inland centres and used indigenous Factors and Sales Agents to penetrate deeper inland and reach out to the far outskirts of major communities.

With indirect rule as the form of political control, village communities remained largely in tact. The idea was not to disturb what was there, but to use it as an inexpensive basis to run an orderly administration, in which law and order as known and enforced by the people's own chiefs and leaders of communities prevailed, with Pax Britannica super-imposed as the ultimate limit of last resort in administration and justice. The rural communities carried on what they did all along, which was largely subsistence farming and petty trading in periodic fairs and markets. Agriculture and farming produced basic food crops, including some new items, like cassava, which Portuguese traders had brought over from the new world in the last century. Farmers, besides growing food, also produced cash crops on the spur of demand by European trading companies. Some of them, like palm oil, palm kernels and timber, were simply collected wild, while others were being cultivated strictly for export, such as cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, cotton, soya beans and ginger; although during World War II even wild rubber was in great demand and was collected and sold at premium prices. It was a strictly free enterprise oriented economy, both as the European traders and British colonialists found the territory and as the British themselves happened to want to run the economy.

Along with the advent of European trading companies came the Christian missionaries, beginning in the first half of the last century, who settled in the coastal belt and moved gradually inland. In the North, Islam had been with the people for centuries. The British, who had dealt with Muslims in India, the Middle East and Sudan, did not have much problem in managing the Muslim communities up North; while in the South Christianity had made great progress by the time the new nation emerged. The combined effect was an ordered society in which law and order prevailed not only by the pristine customs of these rural communities that remained largely undisturbed, but also by the reinforcement which good religious life generally bestows. Upon it all was super-imposed Pax Britannica, to remove the harsh elements of local customs, like slavery, human sacrifice and killing of twins, and to administer an organised judicial system based on English law and on local Nigerian customs where they did not conflict with the former. There were no dazzling riches about, but the people were generally contented and happy. Crime was not common, as most communities had well established and sometimes rather harsh sanctions for various crimes. For instance, the prison in Arochuku when the writer was a little kid later had to be moved elsewhere, because the British Officers observed that no Aro citizen was ever an inmate there for a very long time. The people were simply law abiding; and that went for many other communities across the land.

The Christian missionaries also brought Western education along with Christianity, which helped to train teachers and the clerks who worked both for trading companies and for the British colonial administrators as office staff and interpreters. Many of the employees of European trading companies later became factors and distribution agents, supported with varying amounts of credit lines as they deserved from their record of performance as shown in monthly rendition of accounts. Thus over the years many indigenous trading companies developed and grew as off-shoots of the European trading Companies,

either as distributors or as produce collection agents who bought from farmers cash crops for resale to them at the ports. The technique of modern trade was learnt in this way and many Nigerians of the early colonial era treasured their experience in this respect. Some other Nigerians, who showed talent and good management ability, went high in the hierarchy of some of the European Companies before breaking out on their own. One of the presidential candidates in the 1979 general elections did not hide the confidence he had in the kind of experience he acquired when he ran the affairs of one big trading company. In fact he felt satisfied that the expertise he thus acquired would enhance his operational efficiency in the management of the Nigerian economy as President. In short, our traders and business men learnt a lot from the foreign trading interests in our midst by way of dedication, good accounting and honesty of operations by British officers.

The Government stayed severely away from commercial and industrial enterprises, keeping to traditional areas like the utilities with the exception of the coal mines at Enugu, which were run to supply fuel for electricity generation, some exports to West African countries and for use by the railways. One area of government involvement in economic activities was, therefore, the railways, which ran from the two major ports of Lagos and Port Harcourt inland to move imports in and export produce out to the ports for shipment overseas. Another was the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which even in England was also a government venture. Power generation for electricity supply to the big cities was started in a few centres, some by private companies, like NESCO \*3 in Jos and Bukuru for the tin mining communities, others by a series of government ventures

\*3 *Nigerian Electricity Supply Company.*

co-ordinated by a body which later came to be known as the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, E.C.N. \*4. Water supply was undertaken by various Water Works, co-ordinated by the public Works Department, in the vicinity of cities and large urban centres. A west African Airways Corporation,, W.A.A.C. with the elephant emblem, was created to serve Nigeria, Ghana (Gold Coast before 1957) Sierra Leone and the Gambia under joint ownership. When Ghana created Ghana Airways soon after her independence and pulled out of the joint airline, Nigeria Airways was born as our share of the assets of WAAC.

All these parastatals and utility ventures were run by British Officers in charge, with Nigerians usually serving in the lower junior service ranks. The economy was quite small compared to what we have today. With the exception of such noticeable cyclical trends as the depression of the 1930's and the effect of World War II, economic trends were generally stable, with no gyrations of sudden booms and alternative recessions. The key minerals which helped sustain the economy were coal, tin, columbite, alluvial gold and lead-zinc. The British made no definite effort to develop the economy by way of manufacturing facilities. Rather, effort was concentrated upon effective production and collection of produce for export in their raw state to Europe. Some British companies established plantations, like the one by the United Africa Company Limited at Adiabon near Calabar in the East for the production of oil palm produce from cultivated and well tended early yielding palm trees. Research stations for oil palm and other cash crops were started to aid improvement in output, qualitatively and quantitatively. Commodity Marketing Boards were also established to collect and grade the various products for export by the trading companies. It was much later on, during the era of internal self-government, that the marketing boards acquired the power to sell their own produce overseas.

*\*4 Electricity Corporation of Nigeria was set up by a Central Government Ordinance in 1950 to manage the widely scattered separate undertakings and to plan for the expansion as supply.*

In this sort of economy, there was little inducement to urbanisation. The only urban centres which developed during the pre-independence era, besides old trading entrepot towns like Ibadan, Kano and Onitsha, were the ports, like Lagos, Port Harcourt and Calabar; or inland rail and road junctions; or mining towns and seats of Government. With the national revenue earned from the sales of agricultural products going back in large measure to the peasant farmers in their rural communities, such communities remained largely in tact, sustained by that cash inflow at produce seasons. The people also ate indigenous Nigerian food items, frequently grown in the same communities. There was food for subsistence and cash from export crops for purchase of other necessities and imported wares for villagers all there in the villages; and there was no need for people to move to the cities.

The British controlled import trade very carefully, bringing in by way of luxuries mainly what European residents needed, with a little more to accommodate the very few Nigerians who might have acquired the taste for foreign foods and the like. There was no need or evidence of smuggling, except the few daring Abiriba traders who smuggled in Spanish wines in canoes from Fernando Po Island through Calabar port and similar operators in the West who brought wine into Badagry from the neighbouring French Dahomey (Republic of Benin). The British were in charge at the Customs and Excise posts, assisted by Nigerian clerks. The rules were enforced strictly as made to protect the economy both to serve the British industry with raw material supplies and to sustain the local population alive, working, and consuming cheap imported manufactures from European factories.

Economic affairs and the pattern of life in society continued along much the same lines during the early period of internal self-government through the beginning of the First Republic. By the time of independence, Nigerian political leaders had seen the need to do some active promotion of economic and social development, if the economy and the nation were to realise their full growth potentials. Frantic effort had been made to reinforce educational development, particularly at the post-secondary level, in order to help train the managerial manpower that would run the affairs of the nation after

independence. The Yaba Higher College was previously the only institution of higher learning in the country. As a result of pressure from Nigerian nationalists, the British had appointed the Elliot Commission in the 1940's to study the whole question of the need for a University, which the British at the time suggested should serve the whole of West Africa rather than just Nigeria alone, and to recommend a site. The commission easily established that there was such a need and considered Nsukka or Ibadan as a possible site for it. Of course, Ibadan had to be chosen to serve the need for nearness to other West African countries which it might have to serve. As a result the University College, Ibadan was established in 1948 as an affiliate college of the University of London, beginning as a liberal arts college, with a University teaching hospital gradually developed as part of the nucleus of that premier institution. \*5

Three Federal Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology were later established at Zaria, Enugu and Ibadan. On independence day, even before University College, Ibadan became a fully fledged independent University, Eastern Nigeria established a new University of Nigeria Nsukka, with early affiliate co-operation from the Michigan State University of the United States of America. Thus at independence, Nigeria had two universities, when the British had planned for only one to serve not only Nigeria but also other English speaking West African countries. Before long, the Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology at Ibadan and Zaria were each made the nucleus respectively of the University of Ife and the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Later still, Lagos University was established as the fifth University in the country during the First Republic. This also had overseas university affiliation, notably New York University, which helped set up one of the schools, like the faculty of business administration, which a university in a commercial centre like Lagos must have.

The Federal Government of the First Republic was also very active in the promotion of economic development generally.

*\*5 For a full account of the Elliot Commission and the evolution of university College Ibadan as a historical record per se, see A. Bal's Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, pp 144-151.*

It developed the policy of import substitution and promoted industries which could manufacture substitutes for wares imported from abroad, to give jobs to Nigerians and develop indigenous industrial tradition for future economic take-off in the nation. The Nigerian Industrial Development Bank was established to give loans to Nigerian industrialists in support of this policy. It also established a Stock Exchange to enable and encourage Nigerians to trade in stocks and shares and thus develop the habit of saving and investment as essential elements in the successful running of a self-reliant economy.

The import substitution policy of industrialisation, as it later developed in time, had a lot of fallacious reasoning to it, which obviously is a major issue in the economic affairs of this nation today. For one thing, the marginal propensity to demand imported goods has always been very high among Nigerians, especially during economic boom, because of the historical development in which we started as a nation colonised by Europeans, whose mode of dress, food and other living gadgets and paraphernalia we sought to copy as models. Not having an indigenous tradition for manufacturing goods coming from Europe. If we also base our industrial development on importing raw materials and components from Europe to make competing wares to replace these imports, we are really in effect increasing the basis, or installing a built-in factor, for reducing our income elasticity of demand for imports\* 6 during any income down-turn; because even when our national income (foreign exchange earning) is falling and our marginal propensity to

\*6 Income elasticity of demand for imports,  $e_{YM} = \frac{\Delta M}{M} / \frac{\Delta Y}{Y}$  (where  $M$  = imports;  $Y$  = Income;  $\Delta$  = Marginal change), is a measure of the relative response of imports to relative changes in national income. A unitary income elasticity is where 1% change in income induces the same percentage change in imports. Where 1% change in income induces less than the same percentage change in imports, then imports are relatively inelastic to income, and vice versa.

import \*7 ought to be falling correspondingly, our average propensity to import \*8 rather increases, as we endeavour to sustain the level of imports of industrial raw materials and components to keep factories open and citizens working and supplied. Since the quality of locally produced goods are rarely able to match that of imports, smuggling complicates matters further to the same effect.

Although there are striking exceptions like Japan, in traditionally industrial societies, local manufacture is based largely on the raw materials that are abundant locally; and citizens' consumption pattern is trained to preponderate on manufactures with strong local basis. In our case, consumption of manufactures when it started bore no relationship whatever to the products whose raw materials abound plentifully in Nigeria. As a matter of fact, some products whose raw materials came from Nigeria, like chocolate candy, were not even in brisk demand over here. Import substitution industrialisation was therefore not only largely against the elementary doctrine of international trade but as well tended to increase our dependence upon foreign economies which supplied the industrial inputs of raw materials and components for our industries. In a period of global recession, such as we have experienced in recent years along with oil glut, the fallacy of this policy as a development parameter can very easily be seen. If we should get into really serious depression, as in the 1930's, it could be the formula for total national bankruptcy. \*9.

The present administration has been wise to the development by taking steps to veer industrial policy away from import substitution industries to those based upon the availability of raw materials locally; and, in other cases, providing the spur to industrialists to research and develop suitable local substitutes of such raw materials,

\*7 Marginal propensity to import,  $MPM = \frac{\Delta M}{\Delta Y}$ , is the proportion of any increase in income which will be spent on imports.

\*8 Average propensity to import,  $APM = M/Y$ ; measures the relation of total imports over total income during a given period of time.

\*9 This is because stability of this policy depends upon the strength of the foreign exchange earner that pays for the inputs, since no re-export of the assembled products is involved to amortise the foreign exchange cost of the inputs.

where we do not ordinarily have them abundantly but need to be in the industries using them.

There was also the other related issue that accompanied the rush to import substitution industries - the problem of foreign equipment sellers arriving here as investors only to dump questionable industrial plants and machinery as their contribution to joint venture industries. Some even supplied such facilities at inflated prices as turn-key industrial projects to government related ventures and provided another avenue for shady deals, yielding kick-backs to the functionaries concerned with such transactions. The foreign collaborators frequently had no home base industrial parent company to fall back upon for the sustenance of technological and staff support for the related Nigerian joint venture or turnkey industries. The staffing usually consisted of a body shop of hurried recruits, who were probably rejects in their home countries floating about to respond to newspaper and magazine advertisements through which they were usually hired for onward transmission to this country. It is no wonder that many of such early industries never stood the test of prolonged existence; and those that did merely lasted long enough just to take advantage of the tax-free holidays and other industrial incentives usually granted industrial ventures freely at that early stage of the country's development.

The Federal Government undertook also to expand the transportation network to open up the hinterland for trade and development. For example, the railway line was extended from Jos through Bauchi towards Maiduguri with a World Bank loan; while trunk A roads were gradually constructed to link the key commercial centres in the country. More post offices were built. The Nigeria Airways was set up as a Nigerian parastatal, when Ghana pulled out of the West African Airways Corporation, WAAC, and later started international flights outside Africa to London and in the mid 1960's to New York - Operation Fantastic \*10 in association with Pan American World Airlines.

\*10 *This was the political catch phrase which the then minister of Communication and Aviation, Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe, used to describe this trans-Atlantic air service.*

The Regional Governments could not be left out in this feverish effort at economic and social development. Each of the three Regions had already built itself a new University as noticed earlier on. They all embarked upon very ambitious pre-university educational programmes as well. They tried free primary education, as a de facto, unannounced, selective programme in Northern Nigeria; but as a political trump card in the West, which was later copied in the East, used as a campaign issue at elections. The programmes achieved questionable success because of the inadequate pre-introduction planning and preparation; and, of course, the mounting cost which forced them to be modified or abandoned later on. The regions however achieved noticeable success in other areas, like road construction, where some of them built up a network that has served to date with only occasional repairs afterwards.

They also saw to the break-up of the commodity marketing boards, and set up in their place omnibus Regional Boards that managed the affairs of all the marketing board export products within each regional boundary. This enabled them to fix producer prices for payment to farmers in their Regions of jurisdiction and to receive the proceeds of sales overseas of such produce through the Federal Department of Marketing and Exports. This was the politicians' first true taste of handling commercial enterprise as a government parastatal; and some of the mismanagement tactics prevalent today in the affairs of government parastatals most probably have their genesis in some of what happened in these regional marketing boards and their funds under political party stalwarts as Marketing Board Chairmen. Instead of the net proceeds going to the farmers in full as in the past, the marketing boards kept back a good part of such proceeds ostensibly to build up a reserve with which to hedge against violent fluctuation in world market prices for these export commodities. They also used part of the money to finance the spraying of the tree crops, like cocoa in the west, against insects, and the establishment of new plantations, like the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation, ENDC, oil palm and cocoa estates under the inspiration of the then Premier,

Dr. M.I. Okpara. Besides few examples like the ENDC which also established farm settlements \* 11 for food production as well as for cash crops and life stock breeding, the marketing boards did little else to pump the export receipts back into the rural areas, but rather diverted excess funds to develop property investment corporations and the like in the big cities, in some cases channeled in such a manner as to yield commission and kickbacks into the funds of the ruling political parties of the related Regions.

The general civil commotion and uncertainty which prevailed during 1966, the year of military take-over, continued to the outbreak of the War of National Unity in July, 1967. Many serious ethical issues arose from the War and from military rule itself concerning the economy and the society at large. We shall attempt to identify and analyse them here as part of the roots of the challenge we now face as a people to mount a remedial ethical revolution programme to save the nation and save ourselves. Perhaps it is only legitimate to acknowledge from the outset that this climate of uncertainty and commotion represented an unfair start for the armed forces, so that one does not judge them too harshly by looking for results and quality of performance that could not properly be expected in the circumstances prevailing when they took over. One may also want to argue that the very nature of the military presupposes ability to handle commotion and war as circumstances mostly within their traditional field of operations, and that once law and order had broken down and the armed forces came in to restore peace and tranquility, it was up to their discretion to do so very quickly and get out, back to the barracks. Once they choose to stay on and run affairs as if they were civilian politicians, then there was really no ground for one to argue any immunities on their behalf; and they should be judged like any other group of citizens in respect of the results which they produced while they were in political office.

*\*11 This was one of the special pet programmes of the Eastern Nigeria Premier, Dr. M.I. Okpara, who was an indefatigable advocate of domestic self sufficiency in food production on account of which he invited foreign expertise to help in this scheme.*

Shortly before the open hostilities, the Supreme Military Council had decreed the creation of twelve new states on 27 May 1967, including three of them within the Eastern Region which declared its secession three days later on 30 May, 1967. The disruption of settled residences of citizens across the nation was heightened as many Easterners fled home into their regional enclave, while most non-Eastern others\*12 were ordered out of the secessionist territory. The natural routine of economic life was violently upset for many. The first year of the war saw minimal starvation and food scarcity, because the war broke out almost towards early harvest time in the Southern states; and the nation had a bumper crop in food items. All basic imports were in substantial supply, and those who were engaged in trade were able to supply the needs of people as best as was convenient in a war environment.

As would be expected, however, most young people and able bodied adults enlisted in the war as new soldiers or became part of the militia. They naturally had to abandon their farms and other productive activities in consequence. Many farmlands and plantation establishments were not only neglected and abandoned, but some were physically destroyed in the hostilities or were abused in the war effort. Many of those who were traditionally rooted to the land and their rural communities as peasants and farmers were thus thrown into the wage-earning life pattern of city dwellers when they joined the armed forces. After the war, resettlement efforts did not include a programme of the massive return of peasants to viable farmlands and agricultural related jobs in the rural areas. Meanwhile, oil boom followed almost immediately enabling the government to face physical and structural reconstruction. The large float of ex-service men on both sides who were not retained or recruited into the reconstruction operations most probably fed the rampant band of armed robbers that terrorised the nation in the early 1970's, giving

\*12 *Non - Easterners of Benin/Delta origin were not included in the order to quit.*

rise to the ugly Bar Beach shows \*13 of the time. A new element previously unknown in Nigerian social life, armed violent crime, was thus introduced by the war and has unfortunately lingered on to date.

The coming of oil wealth in unexpected abundance lulled the Gowon administration into relegating agriculture to the back ground at a time farming was already down and out from war devastation. Nigeria, which before the war was self sufficient in food production, gradually became a net importer of food, including some items like palm oil and groundnut oil, products in which Nigeria ranked as the largest exporter in the world at Independence.

It was indeed a sad transformation and bitter legacy of the War of National Unity and the oil boom. The Middle-East oil embargo of 1973 so much swelled Nigerian oil revenues and foreign exchange reserves that some of the Super Permanent Secretaries were understood to have said frequently that money was no longer a problem in the Nigerian development equation. It was no wonder that the report of the Udoji Commission on the re-organisation of the public services of Nigeria was used as an excuse to pay fantastic arrears of salaries to all government employees - a step which the Udoji report itself specifically advised against.

This single blind decision was largely responsible for the inflationary economy in which everyone has been labouring ever since. The new pay scales and the way they were implemented upset the long standing equilibrium between wage incomes and productivity, further making it impossible to secure farm labourer at the new rates. People tended to demand more money because they thought the government had it available from oil revenues - the national cake - rather than because increased productivity called for commensurate adjustment in the return due to the factor input of labour in production. The most noticeable phenomenon to any keen observer was the way the Udoji arrears were generally spent by most of the workers. Very few indeed used theirs to deposit

\*13 *Bar Beach show* was the term popularly used to describe the public execution of armed robbers by firing squad at the Bar Beach in Victoria Island.

on a new home or to buy stocks and shares for investment or even left much as cash savings for future investment. Most workers used the twelve months lump sum arrears to buy new cars, motor cycles, television sets, radiograms and similar other luxury consumable imports, demonstrating in no uncertain terms Nigeria's high marginal propensity to import.

In spite of this phenomenon and its glaring macro-economic implication as a policy parameter for development and planning, that military administration and its learned advisers increased the tempo of growth for import substitution industries to the neglect of agriculture, agro-allied industries and others based on local factor endowments in the country. Assembly plants aimed at the Nigerian market for motor vehicles, motorcycles, radio, television sets, electric fans, carpets using imported man-made yarns \*14, et cetera, were multiplied rapidly all over the place, especially in the Lagos area where this development added to the population explosion of the Lagos metropolis to a point of suffocation. Since these factories were not set up to assemble the products for re-exports, but for home consumption only, the stability of such industries and the economy that supports them depended largely upon the fortunes of the foreign exchange earner - crude oil - which was used to procure the industrial raw materials and components required. Since also there have been certain inherent inefficiencies in the Nigerian economic environment, these factories have tended as well to turn out high - cost, low -quality products as compared to imported equivalents. The net result is the rampant seemingly unstoppable smuggling that has been the bane of the Nigerian manufacturing industry to date. With the oil glut and worldwide recession, what part of the manufacturing industry that smuggling has left alive is virtually dying out for want of foreign exchange to import industrial components and raw materials.

*\*14 We yet have no petro-chemical industries to yield synthetic fibre and other materials, nor wool production for this industry that is really a necessity only in cold countries.*

Along with the oil boom came the era of the emergency contractors and front operators, male and female, who from the indiscriminate award of contracts became millionaires overnight without any genuine effort at producing anything or rendering valuable services. The notion soon crystallized that it is possible and clearly preferable to get money without work. Numerous government related commercial and industrial ventures, state and federal, also were set up, some as parastatals, and became avenues for waste, embezzlement and get-rich-quick objectives. Dedicated service to the people gradually became relegated to the background. Prestige projects, like FESTAC and the Trade Fair Complex in Lagos, contributed to the waste of valuable resources. Unco-ordinated planning left many otherwise good projects of NEPA, Post and Telecommunications, et cetera, uncompleted, with vast amounts of capital sunk into them but with no income arising from them to amortise the investment and provide the services intended. Rapidly growing demand for the services of such major utilities coupled with inefficiency of their operation, dysfunctional salary policy and consequent rapid staff turnover, and similar intractable problems to create the high cost and low productivity economic environment in which everyone has operated to date.

Simultaneously, certain other high tension policy measures produced results which were probably not expected although they should have been anticipated as possible. The first was the Indigenisation Decree which many Western investors seriously regarded as veiled nationalisation. These measure set a current of massive flight of capital from Nigeria, disguised only by the stupendous inflow of oil revenues when it started. The rate of inflow of new foreign investment capital also was reduced. Consequently, major expatriate companies which were forced to sell shares to the Nigerian public could be observed to reflect noticeably diminished rate of return on investment over the years. This was accomplished in several ways to ensure a retention of the previous rate of return before the new measures, including false invoicing, importation of rocks and saw-dust as spareparts and raw materials and inflated home office contribution to local productive effort.

Some of our foreign investors even attributed the new measures to creeping marxist influence. This notion became strengthened by the promulgation of the Land Use Decree later in the military administration; a measure which had the added fatal effect of sometimes diverting development funds from actual operative inputs into impressive concrete structures that ended up frustrating the ventures themselves. Since under the Land Use Decree land could no longer be accepted by the banks as collateral security for a loan, farmers who needed loan, for example, used whatever fund they had to put up structures for the loan of equivalent value. Instead of putting such funds into farm inputs, farmers had to have concrete buildings in order to attract bank financial support. The same went for home or factory construction and operation: the land by itself could no longer be an acceptable collateral security. This also hampered the effort of private estate developers who could have participated actively in the ambitious national housing programme which the military initiated at the time. Direct housing construction by Government was as well rather wasteful and full of logistical problems in the light of the rushed approach to the programme and the official red-tape attendant upon payments to building contractors for the jobs completed on sites.

The net result of these policies and their ramifications on the economy included the emergence of food scarcities at a time of galloping inflation. The early Muhammed/Obasanjo administration tackled the problem by massive, supposedly temporary, importation of meats\*15 and grains to alleviate the suffering of citizens. This importation almost tended to develop into a permanent feature of the economy until the dangers became so apparent that General Obasanjo's era had to launch the Operation Feed the Nation in order to orient the nation back into the track towards economic self-reliance in food production. However, for a regime which had publicly announced when it would hand power over to civilians, it

*\*15 Everyone remembers the tender, inexpensive beef imported from Latin America and sold through local consumer shops, which grateful consumers lustily called, 'Muri meat' in honour of General Murtala Mubammed who ordered the importation on taking power.*

is perhaps somewhat understandable why the approach to the O.F.N. programme was rather half-hearted, as it dwelt mainly on the supply of fertilisers and on everybody planting fruits and vegetables in his back yard as a part-time effort. This sort of approach could never have honestly been expected to reverse our emerging position as a net importer of food.

On the purely social side, some of the effects have already been noted. The uprooting of large masses of rural communities from their farms and rural occupations; destruction of farms and plantations in the war effort; emergence of ill gotten wealth and its poor demonstration effect on legitimate honest enterprise; the introduction of violence into the habit of many people who saw deaths daily during hostilities; unruly soldiers who snatched people's wives and 'married' them, as they were often understood to say to the protesting husbands or relatives, for 'a few hours' or 'a few days', contrary to the printed orders of General Gowon; and the fact that many of the uprooted, violent elements were not motivated back to gainful farming after the war, all add up to the loose life which developed, characterised by laziness, violent crime, smuggling, corruption, embezzlement, arson and general moral decadence of this era.

# Chapter Four

## THE TRAINING FUNCTION - EDUCATION

Early Development

The First Republic

The Military Interregnum

The Second Republic - Slogans and Programmes

The New Realism

# *The Training Function - Education*

## *Early Developement*

Indigenous early education in Nigeria was not organised in a formal classroom pattern, as is Western-education. Education started right from the earliest age of childhood in the hands of parents, senior relations and peers of the child as a practical learning process that was built into the routine of doing and learning by doing. Everyone who could guide or correct a student or learner did so in mutual support of fellow members of the community to attain proficiency in art, craft, occupation or interpersonal behaviour. It was virtually the collective duty of the whole community to lead every member along the path of understanding into functional maturity for effective contribution in basic attributes of physical skills, good moral character and social habits. From this point of view, one may say that early indigenous education was free at those levels, in the sense that the whole community assumed the role on communal basis.

There was also the system of apprenticeship, when a student wanted to learn a new trade or profession, like herbal medicine, iron-smithery, wood working and merchandising. Such a student would usually become attached to the accomplished practitioner, whom he would understudy as trainee and serve as journey-man before he qualified to set up as a master of his own. His tuition consisted in the services he rendered to his master during his training and journey-man period, which varied from trade to trade as well as with the ability of the student and the rapport he had with his master. Attention was paid to diligence and excellent workmanship; especially in trades involving skill and craftsmanship; an overriding idea being

to make the trainee a self-fulfilled master rendering valuable services to the community while earning his keep. And all through the process of education, be it the early general or the more profession-oriented later education, considerable emphasis was placed upon character training and moral up-bringing as the most indispensable ingredient of an educated person. Thus, we may also be able to say that early indigenous education tended to emphasise quality\* 1 and functionality \*2. In this regard, A. Babs Fafunwa has listed what he called the 'seven cardinal goals of traditional African education'. 'The aim of traditional African education', he wrote, 'is multilateral and the end objective is to produce an individual who is honest, respectable, skilled, co-operative and conforms to the social order of the day. Although the educational objectives cannot be really distinguished, seven aspects can be identified.

1. To develop the child's latent physical skills.
2. To develop character.
- 3 To inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority.
4. To develop intellectual skills.
5. To acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour.
6. To develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs.
7. To understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large. \*3

Invariably, education was combined with religious training in the early stages, and it was largely in that connection that moral

\*1 *Mazi Kanu Oji, op. cit. pp. 83-86*

\*2 *Ibid pp. 115-117,*

\*3 *A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1974, p 20*

inputs and traditional imperatives were inculcated. An education system which can be free at all feasible levels, and which emphasises quality and functionality, with sound moral content and indigenous African values, will truly be a bold return to our indigenous African heritage in this nation.

Early formal education in this country began with the advent of the Christian missionaries in the first half of the 19th century. The leading ones were the Methodist Mission from Great Britain in 1833; the Church Missionary Society of England (from Sierra Leone) in 1843; the Church of Scotland Mission from Scotland and Jamaica (United Presbyterian Mission) in 1846; and the American Baptist Mission in 1850. The Roman Catholic Mission from Ireland joined later on in the 1870's along with Qua Iboe Mission from Northern Island. There was also the Basel Mission from Germany and Switzerland earlier in 1827, that came first to the Cameroons.

These missionaries built churches and schools wherever they settled. They also built hospitals and clinics and trained nurses in the effort to check the spread of diseases, including dreaded ones like leprosy.<sup>4</sup> Education was particularly an indispensable tool for them in the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They set up primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges, and crafts and trades institutions for the training of craftsmen and other technicians, who were to assist them in their work as well as serve the needs of the territory.

The leading bands of pioneer missionaries were invariably teachers or taught in some way: teaching either the Gospel or miscellaneous courses in the training of indigenous teachers and evangelists. This is amply illustrated in a typical case of the

<sup>4</sup> *The Itu Leper Colony, as an example of this daring missionary effort, was founded by the Church of Scotland Mission at Itu, Cross River in the 1920's. It was the first and largest leper settlement in West Africa, where lepers were cured and made to return to normal life, thus bringing new hope to those who whilst living were considered as good as dead. See an illuminating account of this great feat of missionary endeavour in Dr. A.B. Macdonald's book, Can Ghosts Arise? The Answer of Itu, printed by Mc Corquodale (Scotland) Ltd, Glasgow, and published by The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, Scotland.*

Church of Scotland Mission from the following quotation from an account of Rev. Donald M. McFarlan. "Early Presbytery records indicate that much of the time of the monthly meetings was taken up in examining the students and prescribing further studies for them. 'Teachers' classes were held at regular intervals, and courses of lectures given by the missionaries in turn. The quiet toil of teaching, translating, writing textbooks, superintending schools, and encouraging young teachers is not the spectacular side of a missionary's life which appeals to the home church. But it was this careful, devoted building up of an educated Christian community which led to true progress'. \*5

Even at that early date, during the second half of the 19th century, many missionary educational programmes showed a great emphasis on the teaching of trades, as well as regular secondary school courses. Using the Presbyterian Mission once again as an example, Dr. Donald M. McFarlan recorded in his book that as early as 1879, the mission already had a strongly argued recommendation for 'the establishment of an Industrial Institution for the training of our native youths'. They had in mind the training of engineers, carpenters, bricklayers, printers, blacksmiths, and tailors, as well as clerks and messengers. They readily received the backing of the government, which promised to assist the mission with an annual grant.

A composite institution was later set up along these lines at Calabar to provide facilities, in addition to a regular secondary school, for a normal college to train teachers and pastors who were still in great demand for work in other inland areas; a mission press to train printers and provide needed stationery for use of the mission; and workshops to train carpenters, tailors, engineers, technicians, and other tradesman. Technical Instructors were recruited from

\*5 *Donald M. McFarlan, M.A., Ph. D: Calabar, The Church of Scotland Mission Founded 1846, by Thomas Nelson and Son Ltd. p 103*

Scotland to form the industrial staff. Named after the leader of the first band of members of the Church of Scotland Mission who arrived at Duke Town, Old Calabar on 10 April, 1846, Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, 'The Hope Waddell Training Institution grew very rapidly and became one of the foremost training centres in West Africa', \*6 to which boys from all over the territory as well as from all the mission stations eagerly sought admission. It was soon followed by a Girls' Institute in nearby Creek Town.

The concluding decades of the 19th century may rightly be regarded, in the words of A. Babs Fafunwa, as the era of exclusive Christian Missionary education in Southern Nigeria, which is understandable, bearing in mind the haphazard medley of territorial acquisition that were still largely under the control of European trading companies supervised by British Consuls, some offshore in Fernando Po Island. In describing the development in this period of government indifference, Fafunwa had this to say:

'The missionaries without exception used the school as a means of conversion and each found that children were more valuable for this purpose than adults - though adults were not ignored in their evangelical programme.\*6A In addition to "book learning" vocational training was added to the programme. At Abeokuta, for instance, and later at Onitsha, Lokoja and Calabar, agriculture, carpentry, bricklaying, ginnery, etc., were encouraged by the C.M.S., the Church of Scotland and other missions. In Topo near Badagry the famous Topo Industrial School for delinquent children was started in 1876 by the Roman Catholic Mission.

During the period under review, the missions, while emphasising religion, set the moral tone for their members. Character-training, a stern code of European ethics and the like were enforced.

\*6 Donald M. McFarlan *op. cit.*, p. 102

\*6A This is understandable, because one has to be literate in order to read the scriptures, and the youths are more easily taught than hardened adult illiterates. No forcible conversion of youths was ever recorded.

Naturally, conflicts developed as the traditional African way of life conflicted with the European. Polygamy was the order of the day, but a "good" Christian was expected to be monogamous. This caused no small conflict within the Church and the issue was destined to plague the Church to the present day.

'Some of the missions, for example the C. M. S. and the Methodist, set up management boards to help regulate the curriculum, teachers' salaries, conduct, etc. The achievements of the missions during this period of government indifference to education included: translation of the Bible into the local languages, for example Yoruba and Igbo, Efik and Nupe; introduction of vocational or industrial education, character-training, use of the "vernacular" and English; regulations concerning training, employment, payment of teachers; and establishment of a Code of conduct for teachers and pupils".<sup>7</sup>

The missionary fervour, which characterised the single-minded dedication of these early teachers and evangelists who taught in missionary schools and other educational institutions, set a tone of excellence which carried educational progress and the quality of the product effectively far and wide all through the areas covered. The Government later also built some schools to supplement the effort of the missions as well as provide grants in aid to the missions. The Headmasters of these early Government schools were invariably British teachers recruited through the Colonial Office, apparently knowing that they were coming here in effect as missionaries in the field of education. They were just as dedicated as the missionary teachers.

All the teachers, missionary and non-missionary, were kept on their toes by the British Inspectors of Education, who visited all schools to check progress, standard of instruction, environmental quality and general discipline. The tradition of probity and accountability in schools management followed the general pattern, which the British officers had brought along with them and had to maintain in the effort to husband very scarce resources to cover an

<sup>7</sup> *A. Babs Fafunwa, op. cit. pp 92-93.*

overwhelming need in the vast new territory of teeming millions, compared with other West African territories. The best of the early graduates of secondary schools, teacher training colleges and similar institutions generally sought employment in the Government offices as clerks, interpreters, etc. and as teachers. The teaching profession was very highly regarded, and teachers, therefore, had great moral influence on their students, whose confidence they abundantly enjoyed. That state of affairs, in the light of efficient management, ensured a very high standard of discipline in schools, as well as of the quality of instruction and learning.

All schools featured nature study, gardening and agriculture in the curriculum, as most of them usually owned school gardens and farms. Arts and crafts were also compulsory as practical courses in which pupils were taught to make such saleable items as baskets, trays, cane and bamboo chairs, mats, brooms, raffia objects and bags. In most mission schools, pupils could not receive their First School Leaving Certificates unless they successfully turned in their handwork projects. Physical training was also compulsory and a daily affair; so pupils and high school students were generally alert, disciplined and very ready to use their hands and appreciate the dignity of labour. The demonstration effect upon the youngsters of those days, which the example of the tireless white missionaries had, was matchless as a motivating factor for industry and a sense of duty and service to others.

In the Northern Region, the Christian missionaries made some inroads mainly in the non-muslim areas of the middle belt, with only a smattering presence in the muslim communities. There had been a long history of religious education in the North in Koranic and Arabic classes conducted by highly learned Mallams. It was essentially a religious oriented pattern of instruction; bearing in mind that in the years around the turn of the century through the early 19th century a most powerful revival of Islam that ended in a Jihad had taken place, led by the Shehu, Uthman Dan Fodio. Therefore, a wide curriculum similar to the Western style education introduced by Christian missionaries in the South did not exist. Community leaders who feared adulteration of their own Islamic culture did not readily

encourage Western education, which they generally called 'Book Education'. When, however, colonialism took firm hold, they could not but see the handwriting on the wall, as to where the future needs for progress would be met from. Many natural rulers and other community leaders often joined to select the candidates for Western education, which in most cases was financed as a community effort and paid for by the local Governments of the candidates, communities or by the Government of the Northern Provinces. Several government schools were set up in key centres for this.

Up to the introduction of wider measure of representative government in the early 1950's, development in education proceeded largely along the above lines; that is, at the initiative of the religious missions, with the government establishing some schools, primary and post-primary, to supplement the splendid effort of the religious missions and a few other voluntary agency school proprietors. By this time, also, several Muslim educational organisations were working very actively, as did their Christian counter-parts, in running schools, especially in the Western Region and Lagos. The leading ones were the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, Nawar-Ud-Deen Society, Ahmadiyya Movement, Jamaatul Islamiya, Zamratu Islamiya among others, which opened primary and secondary schools beginning in the late 1930's.

All schools were fee paying but were subsidised by the Government by way of annual grants to develop infrastructure and upgrade the staffing to the requisite levels of quality set by the government. With respect to these government grants, great emphasis was placed on built-in incentives to promote discipline and dedication to excellence in the performance of the teaching staff, using a result oriented formula copied from the British Education Act of 1844. The relevant portion of this Act, which was culled into a West African Ordinance in 1887, made the following stipulations specifically with respect to the criteria for grants for teachers' salaries:

- a. grants for organisation and discipline, with special grants to schools which obtained a large percentage of passes and reached high standard of general excellence;

- b. a capitation pass grant for each subject; and
- c. a capitation grant in proportion to the average attendance at the school.

### *The First Republic*

Beginning with the time when full representative government was introduced in 1952 and operated under a system of federated regionalism, more ambitious ideas for educational expansion in the country were floated, especially in the Southern Regions. The first Region to announce such a programme was the Western Region under the leadership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the Action Group, the party which formed the Government after the 1952 elections. Under the programme, primary education was to be free. A couple of years later the N.C.N.C government of the Eastern Region under Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe came up with a similar programme, though not completely identical to the Western Nigerian programme. Both had limited success with it, because of many shortcomings. Inadequate statistical information and insufficient prelaunch planning were the most obvious of these shortcomings. Annual running cost rapidly outstripped the wildest estimate of cost of the programme, ranging from 40% to 60% of the total annual budget of each Region. The programme had to be abandoned or seriously modified by the early years of our independence.

The position in the Northern Region was already briefly touched earlier on in this chapter. Not only was Western style education given a cool reception generally, but when it became accepted it was handled collectively as a community responsibility in order to train candidates who would serve in the Western type of government and economic activities which self-government was to bring with it. Frequently, the relevant local government authorities or the Regional government itself paid to sponsor such

candidates. It was not a matter for party political campaigns but one of need which community leaders acknowledged and decided to tackle as such. There was therefore no soap-box broadcast of the quiet programme of virtually free education, which even went beyond the primary level. The only point was that it did not pretend or seek to be universal; which it was never meant to be and never could have been then, having regard to the lingering reluctance of parents and guardians to expose their children and wards to the cultural 'hazards of Book Education'; quite apart from the question of cost for the large Northern population.

At Independence, all the governments, regional and federal took bold steps to expand education at all levels. University College Ibadan, set up in 1948, had by this time almost grown into a fully fledged university. October 1960 itself saw the birth of an ambitious new university which started as a fully fledged one with a large student intake - the University of Nigeria Nsukka - sponsored by the Eastern Region Government. The other two Regions replied soon with the University of Ife and the Ahmadu Bello University, each using the local branch of the three Nigerian Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology as nucleus of the new university. The University of Ibadan thus remained the only federal government initiated university during the First Republic until the establishment of the University of Lagos, and later Benin.

Overseas scholarships played a great part to supplement the contribution of local institutions in the development of senior manpower with which the new nation was to face the challenges of independence. All the Regional Governments and the Federal Government spent vast amounts of money annually to sponsor candidates overseas in many fields of study. At that early stage when all that was required was a university degree from a good university, there was no detailed functional analysis of needs to support the fields of study which would fit into any preconceived long-term socio-economic national goals to guide the award of those scholarships and setting up of university faculties. Vague guidance as to current needs at the time was, of course, there; but the nation had neither the statistical information base nor a long-term strategic national plan

to predicate such detailed functional analysis and placings. <sup>8</sup>

The same was the case at the secondary school level, even though specialisation at that level was not of paramount significance in itself. Most Secondary Schools taught liberal arts courses with only few key institutions teaching science subjects. This was a natural hang-over from the early colonial era when the most pressing need was for clerks and interpreters. In the Northern Region the position was even more precarious, in that there was only one fully-fledged science school, Barewa College. Later on, in 1947, the teaching of science in 'middle' schools was even stopped altogether on the orders of the Colonial authorities <sup>9</sup> who could apparently be acting on the advice of some powerful natural rulers who might have considered some aspects of science courses somewhat subversive to established Islamic teaching about the creation and the like at that school age level. Therefore at this important tier of education, effort at educational expansion was targeted primarily at making citizens literate - a sort of extension of the primary school function.

The highlights of the education programmes of the three Regional Governments in particular noted above reflect the disruptive element of hasty thinking to catch electoral votes, which was introduced into the educational planning process of this country during the pre-independence era of internal self-government. This fact was made abundantly clear by the various expert commissions which these Regional Governments later appointed to review the programmes they had introduced. In the West there was the Banjo Commission report of 1961. It was followed later in 1963 by the Ajayi Commission report, which studied specifically the rise in fees charged by public grammar schools and teacher training colleges in the Western Region. In the Eastern Region, it was the Dike

<sup>8</sup> *The only Region which showed the most constructive foresight in the award of overseas scholarships was Western Nigeria; which, when the other two gave most of their awards to candidates for university degrees, also devoted a good percentage of its awards to the professions and trades, like accounting, textile technology, etc; which policy has today enabled its citizens to excel in most of these fields, rather than just in the popular professions of law, medicine and engineering.*

<sup>9</sup> *David Williams, President and Power in Nigeria, The Life of Sbebu Sbagari, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, 1982, p. 27*

Commission, which reported on the difficulties of the education system in 1962. This was followed very quickly by the Ikoku Commission of the same year, which reviewed the whole education system and its progress with special reference to primary, secondary and teacher training education in the Region. These were the two Regions that became drawn into the vote hunting political competition on free education.

The findings of these various commissions stressed similar problem areas, including particularly the hasty jump into the free education programmes, when adequate preparation had not been made: to ascertain the exact numbers of pupils to be catered for; to train the teachers who could cope completely with such numbers; to set up viable classrooms to accommodate them; to acquire the fixtures, fittings and instruction materials to ensure quality education as the desired end product; and to make sure that the necessary funds would be there to cover the programmes reasonably and continuously as they were conceived. The result of the chaotic state of affairs, which emerged after some years of roughing things up by cutting corners and making do with far much less than the minimum required for efficient implementation of the free education programmes, was the drastic fall in standards of instruction, supervision and discipline in schools. It was the genesis of the ethical problem of indiscipline which became compounded into outright juvenile delinquency during the military era of mass takeover of schools by Government.

The Northern Region had a different kind of problem in this respect. It did not join in the soapbox contest to make impulsive offers of free education as did the South, not only because from the size of its population and revenues it was financially impossible even to think of it, but also because as we saw earlier there was still some lingering reservation among the generality of Muslim parents about the probable socio-cultural effects of Western education on their children and the settled Northern Islamic community. Yet the inevitability of acquiring Western education crystallized more vividly as independence approached for Nigeria and later became a reality.

So in 1961 the Northern Regional Government invited a British Educationist, Mr. H. Oldman, to head up the Oldman Commission with the orders to study the probable financial and management problems which would have to be faced in an effort to implement a programme of universal primary education to catch up with the South. What emerged from the report of this Commission was a partnership plan between the Government and the voluntary agencies, in which the Government assumed overall responsibility for promoting primary education. There was no free education slogan to it.

Even here, numbers grew very rapidly as the government struggled to build up the base for the educated manpower, which it sorely needed to catch up with the Southern Regions of the country on level terms. The only stringent impedent here, as in the South, was the problem of finance. Standards also became affected as the necessary trade-off between cost and overwhelming numbers seeking to be covered.

The whole of the period between independence and military takeover was therefore one of the review and reassessment of the efforts made and programmes of education initiated in the era of internal self-government, and of consolidation and readjustment as dictated by the experience gained and problems encountered. One feature was paramount at that stage, which was, that government effort at the provision of primary and secondary education had overtaken those of the religious missionaries in terms of financial outlay, number of schools, student enrollment and overall control.

If the rapid growth had been preceded by prior adequate planning, so that expansion followed closely laid out path of progress in terms of all the necessary supporting inputs for efficient operation, one would be justified to designate the decade, 1956-1965, as one of educational revolution in Nigeria. Such a designation could hardly be justified, however, in the face of all the upheavals; unfulfilled expectation and makeshift panic adjustments, such as use of shanty sheds as classrooms, untrained semi-illiterates as teachers and overflowing classrooms with fifty or more pupils; leading inevitably to fall in the standards of discipline, instruction and dedication of the staff and all in the system.

Most probably, our greatest undoing in respect of our educational efforts, as in fact it was in most other respects of our national development, arose from the ruinous distraction of our divisive politics. Rather than sit down to plan effectively on how to use educational development, upon achieving independence from colonial rule, to become masters of our economy and to develop it for self-reliance and long-term growth, our leaders set out instead on a myopic and ill-conceived vote catching contest among themselves, dissipating resources, confusing the citizenry and frustrating the stability of a long religious missionary established qualitative base for educational expansion. That has laid the foundation for the restless and soul-less rat race that has endured to date, in which people seek quick results from ill-conceived and ill-digested utopian plans for sharing the national cake, while lacking the national outlook, long range vision, painstaking perseverance and the tenacity of purpose needed to create lasting value and build for enduring progress for the whole nation.

As we observed in the discussion of the political system and political parties in an earlier chapter, the Federal Government, up to to the military takeover, tended to operate under the shadow of the powerful Regions, in which resided all the party leaders as heads of the regional governments. Working under the perpetual handicap of coalitions and alliances, the Federal Government was not really in a strong position to project a viable long-term national policy on most issues. That is why it is even a surprise to the writer that it had the bold vision to set up the Ashby commission, whose terms of reference included 'investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-Secondary School certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years, 1960-1980'. It was the longest period ahead that the Federal Government would for a long time look formally in its plan strategies.

Coinciding with and affecting the content and application of the Ashby Commission report was another commission, the Harbison's Commission, which studied the nation's high level manpower needs for the period, 1960-1970. This latter commission, although not as all-embracing as the permanent needs of this country would warrant,

was truly the first genuine attempt at functional educational planning<sup>9</sup>, which if properly undertaken ought to be a continuous process, encompassing the whole economy, and the master-plan updated continually from new sectorial plan inputs of long-term objectives.

### *The Military Interregnum*

The overall school population explosion of the First Republic seriously adulterated the sterling standards, which the religious missionaries had hitherto managed to establish. With independence, there was really neither the inclination here for mass recruitment of white missionaries nor the relevance any more in Europe of stories of a dark age civilisation here in order to whip up then similar pioneering spirit and missionary fervour, such as drove the earliest white missionary teachers to decide to accept the evangelical challenge to come to Africa to civilise us, help stop slavery and spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Though some Nigerian missionaries had emerged - some of them, like Elder Dr. Akanu Ibiam<sup>10</sup> of the Church of Scotland Mission (renamed the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria), no less devoted and dedicated in their example of personal sacrifice and supreme service to others - their numbers were still small, especially of those truly so dedicated.

However, the mixture of religious missionary schools with the numerous new Government schools provided healthy competition between the two systems for school proprietorship, which tended to prevent complete collapse of all standards as well as afford parents some choice for the education of their children.

<sup>9</sup> see Mazi Kanu Oji, *op. cit.* pp 118-119.

<sup>10</sup> This exemplary Nigerian Christian Missionary, later to become the effective successor to the Scottish missionary leadership of the local Presbyterian church, was also the first Nigerian Principal of the Hope Waddell Training Institution, Calabar.

This was perhaps the only feasible arrangement at the time, because if the religious missions had been requested to handle the staffing and management of the over-zealous expansion programmes and the stupendous increase in school enrollments that resulted, it would have been a tall order indeed which would have been turned down for all practical purposes, unless the possibility of securing massive support from the home churches in Europe was considered.

Then came military rule in 1966 and the outbreak of the War of National Unity in 1967. A lot of able manpower, including a good deal of the student population and teachers, became engulfed in the war effort; and in thirty full months of protracted commotion and military hostilities, schools were virtually non-existent in the Eastern Region and at least seriously disturbed in other parts of the country. As if to compound an already complicated problem, the military decreed a takeover of all voluntary agency schools after the war. In so doing the military authorities excluded from the management of such schools the proprietors who previously managed them as voluntary agency schools. The experience which such educationists and educational organisations had accumulated over a full century of pioneering effort in educational development was lost to the new school system introduced.

In the case of the war affected areas of the Eastern States, the position was even more pathetic, because many of the white missionaries with long experience and meritorious service in the field of education and Church work were not allowed to return to or remain in the country on account of the help they were alleged to have rendered, most probably on humanitarian grounds, to the local population during the military hostilities. As a design to punish alleged activities on the part of such Christian missions and to eliminate the continuance of any emotional attachment of citizens to the missions for the valuable effort of these religious bodies in the field of education, the military administrators of the area tried to change the religious names by which many such schools had been known since they were founded. It was only in the Muhammed/Obasanjo administration, which began in 1975, that a new crop of

military administrators\*11 reversed this negative act by ordering a return to the old names of the affected educational institutions. The net result of the war at a time characterised by post-war shortages and pre-occupation of the Federal Government with reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation, was the exclusion of a large number of children of school age from the school system. School infrastructure had been devastated in large measure in the war affected areas. Effort was made within the bounds of available resources to repair and rehabilitate them. Teaching staff available was more a motley collection of ill-prepared job seekers ready to do anything for a living than qualified teachers properly trained or driven by any special natural pedagogical propensities. With school management left to inexperienced civil servants of the new generation without the assistance or benefit of the experience of the previous school proprietors, the state of Nigerian schools, especially in the war affected areas, was to say the least truly chaotic.

When, therefore, the military authorities decided to introduce from 1976 a programme of Universal Free Primary Education, UPE, to be followed almost immediately by tuition-free high school and university education, it looked to realistic analysts\*12 like a formula for compounding the existing problems, in the light of this impulsive triple jump approach to free education, with no visible thorough pre-launch planning and preparation. Just as happened when free primary education was first introduced in the Southern Regions in the internal self-government era and the First Republic, school enrolment far outstripped all projections, as over-age children swamped all classrooms; and the provision of physical structures and facilities to accommodate all in good time proved

\*11 *The first Military Governor of East Central State, himself a devout Roman Catholic, Col. Anthony Ochefu, started this corrective move which was one of his most popular acts during his short-lived but extremely popular administration in the area before E. C. S. was split in February 1976 into Anambra and Imo States.*

\*12 *See the writer's protest memorandum to the military authorities in Mazi Kanu Oji, Op. Cit pp 35-40. See also pp 75-101: 'Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law Abiding Society'*

impossible, despite the abundant inflow of oil money propelled by the effect of the Middle-East oil embargo a couple of years earlier. Staffing proved to be an even more intractable problem.

Whatever remained, as a semblance of the pre-independence high standards of discipline and instruction, most certainly vanished as the whole system churned in utter confusion and mismanagement. With the total elimination of the moral hand of religious missions from the management of schools, and the increasing spate of materialism as the controlling psyche of most people of the new breed, fuelled by over-flowing oil money which army contracts dished out with matching abandon, waste, inefficiency and misappropriation of funds intended for the programme were widely reported. The position was made worse by the separation of the new state run school management authorities from the financial authority of the Federal Government that provided all the funds. Financial irresponsibility, as some of those involved took illegally their bite of the national cake, was consequently rampant in the operation of the free education system when it collapsed under its own weight of inefficiency, even before the regime exhausted its self-imposed four year term, 1975-1979, with seeming tacit official connivance in the face of impending oil glut crisis whose signals first appeared in 1978.

### *The Second Republic - Slogans and Programmes*

That was the summary of the status of public education in Nigeria when the new political parties prepared and launched their manifestoes\*13 in 1978 in preparation for the 1979 general elections which ushered in the Second Republic on 1 October, 1979.

Conscious of the past history of free public education in Nigeria, some of the five registered political parties before the 1979 elections were rather cautious in what they offered to the electorate

\*13 For a summary of the highlights of these manifestoes in this respect, see Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op. Cit.* pp 147-156

in their manifestoes. Luckily for all, the Constitution itself has a provision in it which requires the nation to strive towards free education at every level, to be attained in effect as far and as soon as financially practicable. Instead of making any blanket commitment on free education, most of them stated the specific steps they would take to better educational development in the country.

One described its programme as qualitative and functional, which it would strive to make free at all levels ultimately. Two others pledged 'to work towards free high quality education at all levels'. The fourth seemed more bent on outright class struggle between the privileged few - the conservatives - and the progressives, whom it would back to overthrow the conservatives. The assumption here is that upon this victory, everything else, including education, would be free to the progressive masses (and possibly denied to the ousted oppressors?). The fifth party, which perhaps secretly did all its homework already during the military regime, was the most categorical\*14. It promised free education at all levels immediately upon getting elected in the 1979 elections.

History has a rather unkind way of repeating itself sometimes. In a sense as we can see, the same old soapbox challenge of 1955 in respect of 'universal free primary education' UPE, was indeed repeated in 1979 as 'free education at all levels', and was more or less also accepted; and all this by political characters that are not too different from those in existence and performing both in 1955 and today. It is sad that many Nigerians took this new offer of hasty contest seriously enough for it to influence their votes, having regard to the sad experiences of the nation with two jumpy introductions of free education in the past - in the First Republic and during the succeeding military regime.

\*14 One of its gubernatorial candidates even promised a refund of all school fees to be paid at the re-opening of schools in September, before the official swearing in come October 1979, while the Presidential candidate himself promised that the free education at all levels would commence nation-wide at 10 a.m., 1 October, 1979.

To confirm the belief of the parties that free education is indeed a hot election issue any day, most of them had something new to offer the Nigerian electorate for the 1983 general elections. The party which in 1979 pledged to work towards free education as soon as possible in accordance with the Constitution but would offer it as a qualitative and functional system in any case, went ahead to offer fully from October, 1983 free qualitative and functional education at all levels. Its leaders explained during the campaigns that the experiments it made in the governments it controlled during the last term in office had enabled it to make a full study of the needs and resources, and to make adequate preparations, which it could not honestly claim to have done in 1979. It even pointed to examples of its trial runs, so to speak, with some measure of free education, which it would now make official and of universal application.

The other two parties limped along half-heartedly by stating in their pre-1983 election manifestoes virtually identical promises as in the pre-1979 election manifestoes, but then went along during actual campaign rallies and interviews to contradict themselves. Some top functionaries promised that education would be free come October 1983, only to be contradicted by other top functionaries who cast doubt on the feasibility of free education at all levels in view of the prohibitive cost of education, which could guzzle up to 60% of the annual budget. To make up for the confusion, one of these two parties now described its own system as 'free meaningful high quality' education at all levels; while the other claimed its programme would be 'free comprehensive' education. The fourth party remained virtually unchanged in its stance, since it is basically a party of the future, when it hopes to win the class conflict. The confident fifth party, of course, had records of performance to point to and wanted a bigger mandate so it could consolidate and spread free education at all levels across the land come October, 1983.\*15

\*15 *All these claims were being made in the face of many glaring deficiencies like shanty classroom sheds, automatic promotions, fees disguised as levies, and teachers' salaries unpaid for many months in many states across the nation run by these parties.*

What is perhaps more interesting to independent analysts - and ought to be to the Nigerian voters listening to all these slogans - is the criticism of education in each other's states by the various political parties. Many faults in the various systems that were in operation in the states controlled by all the parties during the first term of the Second Republic certainly raise a number of issues for our study. The first issue which arises is that of quality. There is no question that education has to have a purpose to be relevant to the life of people; and unless the quality of the education offered meets the special needs and purposes of the nation, it is no more than an exercise to bestow mere literacy to its citizens. All agree in Nigeria today that the quality of education in this country has been sliding downwards in the past decade and half, let alone the steep dive of discipline and moral character of students at all levels. There is an urgent need for all political leaders to put their heads together, forget short-term political gains and fashion out a quality level in basic respects, below which our education system must never be allowed to fall, whether it be totally free or only partially so. In short, free education is fine; but in the final analysis education for Nigeria now has got to be more than just free.

The other issue which arises is one of accessibility of education to the people of this country. Education can no longer be an ivory tower privilege of the few, which as in the distant past was unreachable to many citizens. This issue should perhaps be taken together with the other one of functionality. The planning process should be over-hauled to permit the expansion of facilities and the split of enrollment percentages to tally with the sectorial needs in society and the economy. The nation must decide as a long-term objective where it is headed in the next fifty to hundred years in commerce, industry and other fields of human endeavour. This will permit the development of a permanent national manpower masterplan, indicating minimum and optimum sectorial needs in this respect. Such functional analytical approach to educational planning will tend to ensure that the student body is guided into various courses of study in relative proportion to the pre-determined sectorial needs of the nation's economy. It could be a mechanism for reducing unemployment as well as for a more efficient allocation

of human resources for the effective attainment of national objectives. It should also eliminate the current cut throat competition between parties, which has tended to create different standards\*16 for different parts of the nation in education.

Funding remains an issue for education, as for all other social services in any society. The right system of education is not necessarily one that is totally free. It is equally important to emphasise the provision of competent, well trained teachers; suitable infrastructure; teaching aids; and laboratory facilities. It is also important to pay attention to the content of what is taught in the system and to some reasonable balance between the various levels as well as between sectorial requirements of the economy. These are all issues that seem to be glossed over invariably in the effort of many political parties to stampede the nation into totally free education of every kind at every level, now.

### *The New Realism*

The change of government which took effect on 31 December, 1983 has put into effect a new realism, almost in line with what the writer advocated when he addressed his memorandum in May, 1976 to a member of the then Supreme Military Council, titled, 'Balancing Needs and Resources between Generations of Nigerians,'\*17 on this very issue of education. The daunting economic crisis of the times has strengthened the hands of government and also compelled sober reflection by the citizens, leading to the realisation by all that free education at all levels of the type promised by the politicians during Verdict 83 is not only impracticable today but possibly ought to remain only as a target rather than as a plan of action in our life time.

The present administration has, under this new realistic policy, established the concept of partnership in the field of education. The Federal, State and local governments, all have a role

\*16 For a discussion of possible impact of over-emphasis on cost-free education, see Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op. Cit.* pp 94-96

\*17 Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op. cit.*, pp 35-40

in this partnership concept. Parents and Parents/Teachers Associations also have contributions to make. And what is perhaps the most important component of this concept is the expected return of well established religious missionary agencies to a meaningful role in the running of education institutions and in the formulation of education policy. The Federal Military Government has set the ball rolling for consultations at federal and state levels between such voluntary agencies and the government to determine the pattern of such involvement, while some state governments, like that of Benue State, have already gone a step further by inviting established religious voluntary agencies to take over the running of the schools previously run by them as a starting point.

Not only will the re-introduction of such private initiative make for improved efficiency and standards of instruction, but the resurgence of God fearing discipline in the nation's school system will be a great help for a successful prosecution of the historic War Against Indiscipline now raging across the land in all walks of life. Nor must one overlook the possible huge savings in the total cost of education which will accrue to the nation when the religious missions husband the resources as they are known to be able to do, assisted as they often are by internal free contributions in kind by members and sister organisations.

Thus relieved of the burden of routine management of schools, the government can concentrate on the vital questions of finance, planning, enrollment policy and inspectorate services to control standards of instruction, learning and environment. This is the new realism in educational policy, which, if it includes functional planning as previously advocated in this chapter, should put a stamp of stability to educational development in this country for a long time.

# Chapter Five

## FAMILY IN NATION BUILDING

### Dedicated To

Nigerian motherhood with the patriotic challenge to rise against the materialist psyche of recent times, which has soiled both individual conscience and collective soul of this nation, and to embrace her natural role in moral leadership; for the gentle hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.

### *Family In Nation Building*

In our early rural communities, the family plays a most significant role as a pace setter in establishing social and ethical standards and norms. The family unit is the irreducible base upon which progress is built in upbringing, in education, in religion, in industry and other activities. It is the common reference point in the vital social contract of marriage, in which one family is in effect joined to another as in-laws when a member of one takes the hand of a member of the other in marriage. The extended family features, while imposing onerous responsibilities of mutual assistance and duty of care, also serve as built-in insurance for family members against the sort of absolute helplessness that could face poor aged citizens in the so-called advanced countries, unless there are efficient social security arrangements as a hedge.

Our family unit has always been in most parts of the nation patri-lineal and certainly of a patrilocal focus in its setting. This patrilocal tradition obligates the man - husband or son- to be the bread winner, the defender and protector of the family from danger and hazardous toil. He has to be brave, upright and valiant, and expected to uphold the cherished customs and values of the lineage and the community. He is in effect the leader of the family unit and is so respected by his wife, sisters and even his mother in the absence of his father. It is a matter of ordering the social unit for functional discipline, rather than the case of adjudging one member as superior or inferior to the others.

As the saying goes, behind every successful man there is a woman; just as behind the downfall of any man there is usually also a woman. This popular saying is particularly relevant to life in our rural past. The mother, the wife or the sister is expected to be more gentle, more caring and more painstakingly protective of the family nursery - the home. This role requires another kind of talent, finesse, temperament and innate faculties, which come as natural gifts to a true female. She can scold and not generate bitterness in response, as well as caress and cajole with soothing innervation. She can cry and win sympathy of all for her cause, whereas a crying male makes a strange and ludicrous spectacle. Her intuition and mature realism border on the matchless as a counter-vailing influence on masculine exuberance at moments of contest and passion.

Yes, this better half of man is truly better in her own right in the special roles cut out for her, by nature; and every society is the better for it when she plays those roles with full dedication and pride. Any society that tries to reverse the gender roles tends to come out subverted and dazed by the confusion that replaces the natural order of things. The mother or the wife, who dutifully reminds us of our moral duties to live up to the norms of the family and the clan, is really the keeper of the guiding ethic of the kindred. Her domain of authority and reign is the home; wherein her gentle hand that rocks the cradle has nursed up kings, presidents and generals, all of whom invariably return thereto to be mothered by her at the end of each day of pompous duties. That is perhaps why the wife of the United States Democratic Party Senate Leader once said, during the heat wave of the women's liberation movement in the early 1970's: 'I do not want to move down to equality; I am comfortable up here'.

In economic life, everyone does what he or she can best accomplish. On the farm, for instance, land clearing, digging and harrowing are the preserves of the man; while the sowing of the seeds and later tending to check weeds and similar lighter tasks are shared by the female and the children, in an effort that involves the entire family in total co-operation. The whole family toils and enjoys together at restivals and other occasions: and it is little wonder that it invariably stays together and endures together in harmony. What goes for one family applies by extension to life in the whole rural community, as the various family units co-operate in communal ventures, like road and market development and maintenance. Even in home construction and farming, pooled operations amongst family units to help members in turn can ease the strain of the task involved. It is a communal life that is based on patent fairness justice to all and voluntarily enforced ethical order.

It is not a case of total blissful utopia. Deviants and criminals can be found; but they receive their just (even if harsh) punishment promptly meted out and not obstructed by legalistic argument of professional counsel sworn to win for his client and not necessarily for social justice per se. The pre-occupation in such a rural setting is to do justice to each and everyone among citizens who are

members of the same kindred for all practical purposes. And if rivalry among the male leaders threatens the peace and harmony of the community, women leaders have been known to bring moderating influence for peace and better understanding by crying out and often stubbornly resisting the menfolk who may be exceeding ethical limits for an orderly community; because when the chips are down in any full confrontation, the women realise that it is they as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters who will weep loudest for the dead and caress most tenderly the broken heads of the surviving combatants.

This is rural Nigeria as the writer either saw it or heard an account of it in his earliest days in his village. The experience of most other Nigerians from most other parts of the country cannot, frankly speaking, be too different from this account, granted that while one may have been a farming community, another may have been a community of hunters or of wandering herdsmen tending and pasturing their cattle. The basic principles will tend to be similar and any differences being those of detail with particular reference to the characteristic pre-occupation of the people. The feature of down to earth cohesion in co-operative harmony, mutual fairness and just relationships permeates the entire rural setting. The core of this harmonious co-operative life is the closely knit family unit, structurally sound, with no discontinuous reversal of gender roles, and rested upon a solid ethical base in the patrilocal setting that makes the mother the all caring custodian of everyone else's welfare and the father the bread winner.

Things have changed of late in no small measure. It all started in the 18 and 19 centuries in the societies of Western Europe, as was noted in chapter one where we defined the word, revolution, with respect to the industrial revolution. The settled rural life of artisans and farmers, who previously worked at their trades under the regulation of craft guilds and similar voluntary associations, was drastically transformed when these people had to work in factories and mines for wages. Aggregations of such wage workers formed urban centres around the locations of these industrial establishments. Urbanisation increased in turn as the mutual dependence of one

factory upon another for industrial inputs attracted clusters of manufacturing establishments in key localities, leading to massive rural depopulation and migration to the cities. The old links between residents in rural surroundings were broken and replaced by a tenuous new one of pure cash nexus between worker and employer, with nothing linking employees amongst themselves until the coming of trade unions later in history.

As we have seen in the summary analysis of the Nigerian society and economy made in earlier chapters of this book, Nigeria has gradually entered the industrial economic environment and has absorbed as well a heavy bombardment of acculturative pressures associated with western civilization, education and industrialisation. Conquered and colonised as we have been before these developments, we have tended to copy rather slavishly what we see as the mode of life of the Western European countries with which we have come in close contact in our economic, political and social existence.

Unfortunately, we do not always reach into the families of those who really control the lives of such nations. A Nigerian student, for instance, in the U.S.A, Great Britain or West Germany, most probably lived in the ghetto and never really associated very closely with the families that control affairs in those countries. He observes freaky habits and manners of speech of his co-residents in such ghettos and imports them wholesale to Nigeria to confirm that he was indeed overseas. That is why a young Nigerian (male or female) who spends three months in Brooklyn, Harlem or Southern Bronx in New York city may no longer be able to say yes, but would rather say yeh, and pronounce every t as r, with the whole speech made to sound as if he or she has a stuffed up nose; and with 'maan' interspersed with every phrase or clause in the conversation. That is really not how an educated American speaks, even if a Nigerian has to speak like one just because he has lived in America.

Freaks apart, this country has been affected by other cultural trends in Western societies, and the danger is that we have not really been conscious of what the basic crust of our own culture is, below which we may not consider it to our advantage to dig and excavate what we have and refill the vacuum with alien culture. We have as well shown matching inability to select what is compatible with ours

for absorption from the multifarious jazzy cultural patterns of Western societies.; rather we have tended to want to absorb everything that comes along, and the more we replace ours with alien habits the more sophisticated we are considered to be, we think.

In hardly any other aspect of the social life of Nigerians is this indiscriminate intake of alien culture more pronounced than in family affairs. Any disease which attacks the family pattern and order in any society can truly be lethal in its impact on such a society, because the stability of the family unit and the intra-family relationships are the brick and mortar with which any stable societal structure can be built.

Examples of some of the ethical issues which arise from the impact of these developments are well known and are freely discussed by concerned citizens these days. One is the supposed Western style of choosing a hand by a suitor in marriage, wherein a man settles it with the girl as a one-to-one affair, as against the Nigerian customary approach of involving the two families, and even two whole villages, in the steps leading to the eventual marital union. The former has tended to reduce marriage to the level of a casual contract, in which the parties can change their minds freely, often on less than substantial grounds. Marriage in this approach is a means to an end - for position, affluence, children or needed help - rather than an end in itself, which it ought to be, as the permanent union of two people for better or for worse. The alarming rate of divorce in recent times, which responsible organisations, like the National Council of Women Societies, have condemned frequently, is the logical result of this trend in our culture.

Another serious issue is that of the current rat race in which man and wife struggle to rush out in different directions every morning to salaried employment or some other such full-time outside engagement for income. The result is that the home is left without a settled gentle hand to rock the cradle. The role of caring for the health, welfare and pleasures of all the children (including the big child himself - the husband!) is therefore not provided for. The home is consequently unco-ordinated, because there is no full-

time mother to be in charge to constantly put all the children, some of whom may be unruly, in line for ethical order, emotional harmony and true material progress. The baby sitter, nanny or house maid of recent times is really irrelevant in this respect, having neither the authority nor the training and experience for the task of family management.

There is no law which says that once a woman has a university education she has to work full-time in outside paid employment, when married and rearing children. The writer put this as a question to the House of Representatives Committee on Veteran Affairs and Social Welfare during its public inquiry on juvenile delinquency in Nigeria; although no categorical answer to it was given, the issue raised by it was ample food for thought among the members of the committee<sup>\*1</sup>. Education of the wife makes her a much more efficient and effective mother of the household, whereas dissipating her energies in outside full-time paid employment, especially during her child bearing and rearing period, detracts most severely from such invaluable role, quite apart from other distractions and complications which arise from regular outdoor occupation away from her family. The extra cash which she brings into the family purse is really not an acceptable price for what the family loses in tender care, moral upbringing, marital stability and overall family cohesion. Family management is an extremely important role which has to be acknowledged and appreciated as such for ethical order.

Perhaps by far the most frightening issue of ethical decay emanating from a weakening family base is that of rampant materialism among females of this age. In our pristine rural culture, it was the caring mother, the good wife or the loving sister who would exhort and encourage the male relative to summon up courage to pursue the path of virtue and decent valour and never succumb to the demeaning temptation to seek success by unethical path, which was not in the tradition of the family lineage. With such tender succour to his spirits from a beloved better half, any man of

\*1 See Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op. Cit.* pp 135-141 for the writer's memorandum to the Committee, which held a public inquiry from 29 to 31 December, 1981.

honour would bear any honest burden with equanimity.

The case in Nigeria of the past decade and half is so different that one truly wonders if it is still the same country that one grew up in just a few decades earlier. It is the wife, mistress or girl friend who incites her man to unethical ways of achieving material success, be it by smuggling, embezzlement or outright robbery, quite often participating actively personally with him. A religious leader, who is heavily involved with reconciling feuding couples about to seek a divorce, has given countless instances where all that is wrong is the wife's disappointment that her man is not making enough effort to acquire wealth at all costs, pointing to others who have done better, albeit by apparently unethical methods. The argument, which sounds familiar, is that bills are never paid nor dresses purchased with honesty or integrity but with naira no matter how acquired. 'War is the time to make money', was the way one materialistic wife scolded her ethically meticulous husband during the civil war, whom she later 'punished' off with divorce, after acquiring enough education for her brothers and for herself at his expense to be independent.\*2 Army contracts during the military interregnum had trained many a housewife into immoral switch of traditional gender roles. Since the Second Republic, smuggling has opened up an alternative avenue for get-rich-quick drive by many members of the fair sex, leaving the nation's soul and conscience trapped in the ethical morass without the salvaging hand of motherhood to beckon us out of it and offer emotional succour. The latest version of drug trafficking by Nigerian women does not deserve to be put into permanent print: it is an outrageous desecration of motherhood.

In many other civilized and economically advanced nations of the world, including some of the ones we pretend to be copying, the importance of gender roles and the sanctity of family security are

\*2 As if secular materialism was her family doctrine, her brother whenever he went visiting used to ridicule the husband as well with questions such as 'How is the church business?' because the husband liked to go to church regularly. She very quickly went through three successive marriages with supposed ready made tycoons - some fake, unfortunately.

taken very seriously by the vast majority of citizens, in order to preserve the social stability needed for lasting progress and happiness of the people. Take the United States, which is the home of the Women's Liberation Movement. The puritanic ethic of the early settlers in the American colonies continues as the impregnable rock foundation of American national ethic in many respects. This position is no less conspicuous in the great conserving roles played by American motherhood in many respects. Most American women get married between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, in spite of great strides in education and almost limitless educational opportunities for all in the country. This is because most women still believe that home management is truly the most important gender role for the female. This is further confirmed by the fact that many working women resign their appointments upon getting married and stay out of full-time outside employment until the children are big enough not to need motherly care and direction. Family stability is considered so fundamentally important as a symbol of security of the nation itself that a divorcee has a slim chance to get nominated to run for the presidency, talkless of getting elected. The case of Nelson A. Rockefeller, four time governor of New York State, is recent enough to emphasise this puritanic ethic of the American people and American motherhood in particular. Here was a powerful, otherwise popular and experienced politician with almost limitless funds for electioneering, who was unable to secure the nomination of the Republican Party for the 1968 presidential elections, largely because he had a divorce in the early 1960's and remarried to another divorcee, Mrs. Happy Rockefeller, soon afterwards.

Many Nigerians who have lived in the United States seem to ignore developments and trends such as have been noted in the last paragraph and to remember only that in Las Vegas it is possible to get a marriage solemnised with a few hours' notice, and to secure almost equally instant divorce. The latter really is but an aberration from the standard norm for the average American family, whose tradition of strict religious life and puritanic ethic in such matters remain reasonably unassailable. One would also have to search very extensively indeed, in the whole of the United States, to find one

woman emergency contractor, whom we have in large numbers to the moral pervasion of all in this country. The matter is worthy of further study, may be by some of our universities; because while one might find some matriarchal tendencies among major minority groups, most American families have a patrilocal focus in their setting. In the case of minority groups, the development is understandable, where discrimination and racism until recently denied employment and economic opportunities to the normal family bread winners, leaving the female members to earn the family keep through unethical patronage from members of the oppressive majority. The matter is further compounded by the many unmarried mothers who naturally emerge from this process in a country where illegitimate children are truly illegitimate and social big-shots have no pride in showing off their children born out of wedlock as in Nigeria. Such loose moral aberrations among the oppressed blacks in the United States are perhaps what non-descending Nigerians observe in their brief sojourn there and struggle to import into this country as examples of life in America.

Nor can one find American television commercial advertisements of alcoholic beverages in which women are depicted as freely and boisterously gulping beer and doing immoral 'bottom belly' dancing in glorification of alcohol as one sees in recent times in Nigeria. Yet the United States is reputed to be the home of the television commercials. They not only make women the focus of such commercials in Nigeria, apparently to beef up pornographic propensities in consumers associated with drunken sexual maniacs, but they also in some cases associate alcohol with brave, sportscar fast life, risking the impression that drinking and driving simultaneously were a compatible pastime. One does not readily recall any country in Europe or North America where such commercials are permitted to assault the citizen's moral psyche in this manner and misrepresent the normal social habits of its womanhood to the same degree on public state-owned television service.

Some Nigerian Television Authority drama series, like 'For better for worse' and 'Mirror in the sun', are really no more than a dramatisation of immoral relationships between easy-going tycoons

who are sexual maniacs with little regard for the sanctity of married life and virtual prostitutes in glamorous display of characteristically materialistic sophistication of this decadent age. The moral lesson if any which such drama should be made to teach never comes out clear, except only to lure the unwary into copying the ignoble antics of the 'stars'. One can understand private film producers, who are numerous in America, wanting to make quick money by offering whatever movies they think will sell rather than what has constructive appeal for social development. It would be quite another thing altogether to imagine the U.S. government spending tax payers' money to shoot and screen such films to show to American homes.

Even in sports, one cannot discern what Nigerian sports lovers are supposed to enjoy or learn when they see wild Texan wrestlers grab iron chairs and such other lethal objects to hit one another in and out of the ring, in apparent breach of the rules of wrestling anywhere; or when an eight foot tall Big John Stud is regularly matched against some feeble diminutive contestant, whom he mercilessly pummels and mangles into utter senselessness and stupor, and this naked bestiality beamed compulsorily into the homes of all Nigerian families at television prime time. It may be exciting sports in the cowboy country that is Texas, U.S.A., but it is certainly against the Nigerian tradition of fair match in such contests, and Nigerian homes can do without such shows of terror on public television.

To prevent undue adulteration of American culture in the early impressionistic age, either the American wife insists on staying at home to have the children in school when the husband is abroad, or there is an American school in the place of sojourn of the husband on official duties of his organisation. American schools are dotted all over the world where United States citizens live in large enough numbers to justify their establishment. In such places, the children and their mother are able to live with the head of the household, returning to the United States almost invariably during the long vacation each summer, to ensure perfect fit of the children emotionally into the American society. In Nigeria, the opposite is the case, when the elites send their children, often with their mother,

to live in luxury flats and mansions purchased by the father in Europe and North America, and the children receiving all their education in boarding schools, from elementary school through university, overseas. Frankly speaking, how does anyone expect us to develop a typically Nigerian attitude in cultural matters if this practice persists unchecked?

In the oriental countries, like China, Korea and Japan, the Confucian ethic does for those societies what the Christian puritanic ethic does for the real America (not the television created America of gun totting, cowboy bullies and ghetto freaks that we seem to accept as real here). These countries are, to begin with, saved the agony of the American tradition of violence which was born with the first set of British colonies, as the new settlers fought their way through to eliminate and replace the American Indian natives; then fought for independence from mother Britain to become a country in the first place; and finally fought the American civil war to forge a truly United States of America to become a nation. Violent crimes, and indeed all kinds of crime, are far much less evident in a country like Japan<sup>\*2</sup> than in the United States, even though both countries are democratic, free enterprises societies with the same aggressive work ethic and high productivity. In recent times the orient is clearly surpassing the United States in real economic growth, technology and social cohesion, leading many American companies and other organisations to initiate specific studies to ascertain what makes the orient tick so effectively in this way.

<sup>\*2</sup> According to the BBC's 'Letter from America' by Mr. Alistair Cook, broadcast on Sunday morning, 7 August, 1983, annual total of street murders in Japan for the year 1982 was 13. Although this figure represents a 90% increase from the previous year total and has seriously alarmed the Japanese police, who are now digging feverishly into the root causes of such sharp increase, the police department of any major U.S. City, like New York or Chicago, would be happy to keep down to 13 the number of such murders in any major long holiday weekend.

A careful observation will reveal that orient peoples are even far more patrilocal in their family setting than Western societies, or even Nigeria of any era, leading many American magazine stories in the past to ridicule orient societies, so to speak, in the way wives are supposedly kept in the kitchen. The great feature of these countries is that they have managed to remain impervious to the corrupting acculturation of Western influences, picking out judiciously what they need to learn from the West for their own effectiveness in economic competition in the modern age of rapid global interaction. The Japanese housewife, for example, is usually a highly educated woman who frequently has a university degree, but who almost invariably quits full-time outside employment on getting married, in order to assume her pivotal role as the manager of the home. Like her male counterpart who is universally acknowledged as the world's most productive worker today, the Japanese housewife is a really enthusiastic and methodical home maker and manager, bringing up every member emotionally with her lavish care, industry and superlative sense of discipline to enforce the natural order of family structure. For all practical purposes, her husband is as much her child as any of the children of the marriage and, it is often reported, receives even more tender care sometimes than the children, especially if he comes home grouchy from the events at work.

With such emotional support and loving care for the breadwinner, he remains a stable worker in his occupation. Divorce is consequently not as rampant as it is in Western societies. The stability which exists in the family unit in turn affects the wider society in other respects. Firstly, industry and commerce are in effect organised as families, most employees remaining loyal and ethically correct in discipline, honesty and hardwork, making for life long employment in the same organisation for most workers and executives. S upendous productivity of the Japanese industry, which the whole world talks so much about in recent times, is partly the logical result of the nation building effort of Japanese motherhood. Secondly, with a highly educated non-materialistic home maker, installed in a full-time role in every family, education starts in earnest

at home, where morals, religion, social behaviour, as well as academic educational rudiments, are taught by a loving, relaxed, full-time mother. Social cohesion, stability, discipline and matchless productivity in all activities, are the result.

Compare the above with the current trend of thought in Nigeria, where young female undergraduates ridicule the Christian marriage vow of, 'for better or for worse', by saying it is really 'for better not for worse'.<sup>3</sup> These youths are not only reflecting what they see happening everyday in today's Nigeria but are possibly giving expression to what they may have to do in their future life in the materialistic rat race of the present Nigerian society. The song, 'Juliana', by Tony Okoroji, and the other, 'Christiana', by Prince Nico Mbarga<sup>4</sup> describe actual true life stories of a trend that is rampant in recent times in Nigeria, in which all that a woman seeks is the unethical material accumulation and enjoyment of wealth, to the total rejection of family, of moral responsibility and of the supreme role of caring motherhood essential to meaningful nation building. Juliana and Christiana ring a bell of ethical disaster in our family life in this nation; and, truly, Nigerian motherhood is seriously challenged under the ethical revolution drive to foster a timely change of heart to arrest the proliferation of crafty and wily Julianas and Christianas hunters are a disgrace to Nigerian womanhood and responsible motherhood everywhere; but our young 'acadas'<sup>5</sup> in the making seem to think it is a mere funny prank that could well be played when convenient for the ease of luxurious living in our materialistic Nigeria of this generation.

<sup>3</sup> As an *acada* of Igbo extraction would put it, 'Di gba kwaa oku', meaning, let marriage go up in flames, confirming her preference for the life of a career girl.

<sup>4</sup> The songs, *Juliana* and *Christiana*, based on almost identical lyrics by two well known Nigerian artistes, Tony Okoroji and Prince Nico Mbarga, describe the sorrow of a duped husband, who as a suitor was trapped into agreeing to give professional university education overseas to his bride-to-be of poor parentage, but only to be deserted on completion of his expensive task by the wily bride, who now follows some ready made tycoon, in search of more material accumulation and life of luxury.

<sup>5</sup> *Acada* is a popular Nigerian expression used to refer to the young lady university graduate, especially where she holds outlandish women's liberation views.

Waning religious interest among many people of the present generation is a major issue in the ethical revolution programme in Nigeria. People seem to value every activity these days in terms strictly of the material results achieved thereby. If they pray and do not see instant reply in terms of the specific need sought to be met by prayer, they tend to lose faith in the efficacy of prayer, as well as in the relevance of religion itself. It is this desire to turn religion into a general hospital for curing material ailments and providing specific material relief to such pressures as monetary, health and employment problems that has led to the popularity, in recent times, of mushroom religious sects, which claim to be able to solve such problems promptly on request. The rampant allegations of unethical conduct by the unscrupulous proprietors of such mushroom sect religious enterprises constitute a serious issue for consideration in the Nigerian ethical revolution programme in devising proper programme of religious and moral education in the country.

Another very important issue involved in the training function is, therefore, that of religious education and practice, as narrated in chapter four. The place and role of the family in the educational process cannot be over emphasised in this specific respect. Education in our early history, as we saw, had strong religious connections and foundation. Families worshipped together in churches and mosques, and at home parents helped the children with the rudiments of religious lessons taught in schools and in religious houses\*6 as well as set examples for practical religious life to guide the children. Since people learn more effectively by doing and living through the practical experience of what is taught than by formal instruction, the part which the family plays in moral and religious upbringing of children is extremely crucial. Here again, a full-time mother and dedicated home manager with serious religious inclination is essential to a full, practical religious life in a family, and ipso facto in the entire nation.

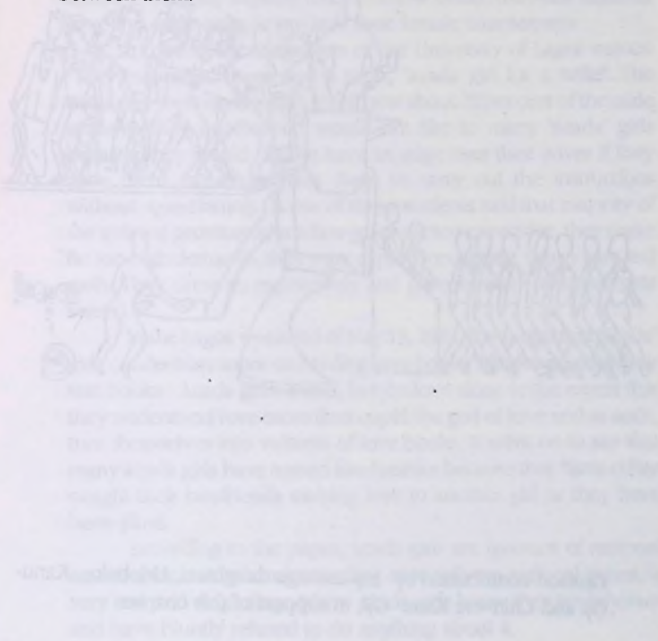
\*6 *This is particularly true in the muslim communities in the Northern parts of the country, where most parents at that early age of our national evolution were literate in koranic literature even though illiterate in Western education.*

Also Nigerians love children a great deal, so much so that many deem it a sign of perverted thinking to consider family planning seriously. Parents go to any length of self denial to fend for their children and their upbringing. Under the extended family tradition of the people, children in turn take care of their aging parents when the latter are no longer income earning or able enough to work for income. This is a most valuable tradition which Nigerians must retain for social stability and order, because aging parents are just as helpless as new born children; and since the children will eventually become aging parents in their turn, this tradition is far superior to the misery of old people's homes in western societies and must be retained as something the rest of the world could copy from Nigeria in the future.

Those who look down upon the indispensability of the role of motherhood in effective nation building as analysed in this chapter; who judge contribution only in terms of cash and other material rewards physically acquired directly from role performance; who measure equality only in terms of actual direct participation in the 'rat race' scramble for cash income; and who are so blind, in their analysis of immediate and latent factors that make for national order, cohesion and effectiveness of any country, as to evaluate success only in terms of the physical prowess and mental ingenuity of the male, without considering adequately the female emotional support that gives him the invigorating internal peace within his mortal frame: they are the nation wreckers, agents of ethical instability in any nation. They need thorough re-education for the sake of ethical progress of this nation. So also do the sexual maniacs and social misfits who regard sexual relations as sport and love as electric current which can be turned on and off by flipping a switch at will to reflect the material return they can achieve in a mechanical love game.

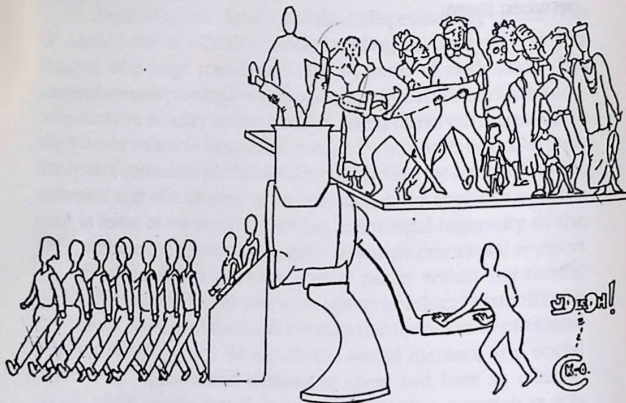
In Appendices A and B to this chapter are two newspaper articles featured in the *Woman's Eye* speakout page as a special report titled: 'Acada girls - A much maligned group, reproduced from page 5 of *The Guardian* of August 16, 1983. The first is an article highlighting the ordeal of educated girls; while the second one is a survey conducted by female inmates of Ahmadu Bello University

halls of residence, headed 'ABU as an environment for women' by Laraba Bhutto of Amina Hall commonroom. These typical reports on what represents the average state of affairs in our institutions of higher learning in Nigeria provide further food for thought to educators, parents and all who have genuine interest in effective nation building through a restoration of stable family life with a natural order of gender roles accepted as mutually supportive and complimentary for family stability. As my two teenage daughters, Udobaku and Chinyere, put it in the cartoon published here, what is wanted is equal recognition for both sexes in their respective fields of excellence, and not a blind drive to achieve unisex identity between them.



# WANTED:

EQUAL RECOGNITION  
NOT UNISEX IDENTITY



Cartoon contribution by my teenage daughters, Udobaku Kanu-Oji and Chinvere Kanu-Oji, in support of this chapter.

## *The Ordeal Of Educated Girls*

By Ifeoma Nwankwo

Educated girls in Nigeria popularly referred to as 'acada' girls face a lot of problems today. Open a Nigerian Magazine and what do you see, 'Acada girls for a wife?'. Turn over to the middle pages of a Nigerian newspaper and what do you read 'How academic are "acada" girls, or 'Acada girls, liabilities or assets.

The attitude of our men towards our educated women is getting worse everyday. Even in our higher institutions of learning where everybody expects them to know better, the male students have the same attitude towards their female counterparts.

In one of the magazines of the University of Lagos named "The Pragmatist" there was a topic, 'acada girl for a wife?' The magazine went on at length to tell how about 70 per cent of the male students they interviewed would not like to marry 'acada' girls because they would like to have an edge over their wives if they gave them instructions, want them to carry out the instructions without questioning. Some of these students said that majority of the girls are prostitutes, acada women are too expensive, they make far too high demands, they want expensive dresses, luxury cars and cash. They dress so expensively and provocatively that one gets scared.

In the Lagos weekend of May 13, 1983, it was said that 'acada' girls concentrate more on reading love books than on reading their text books. Acada girls, it said, live on love alone to the extent that they understand love more than cupid the god of love and as such, turn themselves into vultures of love books. It went on to say that many acada girls have turned into lunatics because they have either caught their boyfriends making love to another girl or they have been jilted.

According to the paper, acada girls are ignorant of national issues, their level of understanding especially on national issues, is very low and degrading. Many acada girls know they are ignorant and have bluntly refused to do anything about it.

This is not true of all educated girls. I do not see any reason why a person who claims to be educated can make such a sweeping statement. If he has really had serious discussions with some acada girls, he would have discovered that all acada girls are not empty brains.

On another page in the same paper, it was said that some parents demand high bride-price for their educated daughters which makes them lose their best suitors and once they are approaching their late thirties, turn to prostitution.

I happened to be in the midst of friends when an issue on educated girls cropped up. The men were saying that they would marry educated girls because they would be fetching in some money into the family.

This is a very wrong approach. Most suitors having in mind that they are marrying assets forget the fact that they are dealing with human beings and not goods. It is no wonder that marriages of today do not last.

Fathers, on the other hand, see their daughters as assets too. Some parents do not want to part with their precious 'money-yielding-machines' and even if they have to, must demand exorbitant price for them.

Tell people that you are the manager of a bank or a corporation and the expression on their faces will be that of hostility. This is because Nigerians believe that any woman who gets to the top does so through sleeping with the directors. This is popularly known as 'bottom power'.

So, why are these girls being harassed by society or to put it frankly, by our Nigerian men? Would it be because our men feel threatened by the new position the Nigerian women are beginning to occupy in the society?. During our forefathers' days, women used to be relegated to the background . But today, the white man has come with his culture and everyone, and I mean EVERYONE, has absorbed a part of that culture. So why does the Nigerian man expect his woman , most especially the acada girl who has been exposed to a greater part of the white man's culture, to follow exactly in the footsteps of his grandmother?. Is he his grandfather's double.?

## *'ABU As An Environment For Women'*

By  
Laraba Bhutto

of Amina Hall Commonroom

The results of a questionnaire filled in by women from all areas of ABU, \*1 showed that all seventy-nine (79) respondents had all either been a victim of, or had a close friend who had been victims of, instances of the following:-

\* Verbal Sexual intimidation - catcalls; jibes; insulting language; verbal harassment in class; threats of poor marks, failures, refusal to accept assignments by lecturers, if demands for sex are not satisfied.

\*Physical Sexual attack or intimidation - touching, hitting of breasts and buttocks, being locked in offices and threatened, being beaten, attempted, and in a few cases, actual rape.

It was not only fellow (male) students who are guilty of some of these offenses, but also male lecturers, from heads of department downwards.

These incidents are not reported because girls feel that they would be further humiliated and that nothing would be done to help them. The procedures for dealing with grievances are so lengthy that no punishment results.

Women cannot feel safe to walk freely about the campus, especially after dark and even more so when there is no electricity. It is a very rare sight to see a girl walking around on her own - there is 'safety' in numbers.

A workshop attracting 67 participants was held at the beginning of this year to try to think of ways in which the image of women can be improved; to try to identify specific problems and suggest possible solutions to be put to the university authorities so that they can fulfil their obligation to give women security recognition and respect.

\*1 *ABU = Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.*

Women are very poorly represented in ABU, from the highest level down. There is only one woman on the Council, none among the Principal Officers of the University, one in the Senate, and one has only just come in to the Disciplinary Committee, there were no women on the Organising Committee of the 20th Anniversary Celebrations and the only event that women were involved in was the beauty contest. Amina Day is a regular event in ABU and yet there was no mention of it.

The following topics were discussed and suggestions made:-

### *Sexual Harassment*

Women are urged to summon the courage to report all incidents to the Committee on Sexual Harassment which was set up for victims to talk to and to discuss with sympathetic listeners the best course of action to take. Incidents could also be reported to the Students Affairs office.

Women are advised to put up resistance if they encounter such unpleasant experience, not to accept it as inevitable, and not to feel helpless.

### *Counselling for Women on Campus*

The Amina Hall (the women's hall) advisers should be more actively concerned with the well-being and interest of the students: The hall Administrators should be concerned with the physical well-being of the hall, as well as the guidance of its inhabitants.

### *Amina Day Celebrations*

The celebrations should reflect the strength of personality and dynamism of Queen Amina, in order to uplift the image and promote the interest of women. "Amina Awards" should be established, both for social and academic achievements.

### *Amina Hall Magazine*

There was discussion of the representation of women on campus. It was strongly felt that the view of female students represented in such student magazine as pyramid was very derogatory.

It is necessary therefore to set up a magazine which also provides a forum for women on campus to express their views.

### *The Physical Problems in Amina Hall*

The security men and porters are not supervised and therefore do not do their job properly. There is a strong feeling that Amina Hall should remain off limits to men, even during campus campaign periods.

Amina Hall is not connected to the generator even though it is very close and it is disturbed by the noise. This is despite the fact that Amina Hall is more in need of security lights and safe study areas than for example the men's hostel Suleiman Hall.

A reading room should be provided especially as the situation in the library is not conducive to study.

# PART THREE

## THE CHALLENGE

### Chapter Six

#### The Problem

### Chapter Seven

#### The Buck Stops Here

# Chapter Six

## THE PROBLEM

### Its Nature and Why It Grew

#### Blame Colonialism

#### Blame Neocolonialism and Multinational Corporations

#### Blame Class Conflict

#### Blame Entire Citizenry

#### Blame Top leadership

#### Conclusion

survey we have made earlier of our constitutional and political evolution from separate communities into a unified nation state; of our economic development effort all through the period to date; and of our programmes of social and cultural development of our citizenry, both at government level and as private organisational effort. In the search for the reason why this problem has grown to its current level, many popular, at times simplistic, explanations have been proffered. Some of such explanations are considered here.

### *Blame Colonialism*

For reasons which are quite understandable, our colonial past has been for most people in this country, and sometimes for some others outside, a ready whipping horse when it comes to finding the causes of any national deficiency in our body politic. Ethical decadence in Nigeria as capsulised in the last paragraph, is no exception in this respect. We became one nation state in the first place by the very historical fact that Great Britain in the heyday of her colonial expansion lumped our several communities into one Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria early in the present century, as we noted in Part Two. The newly acquired territory constituted a promising large market for British manufactures as well as source of many raw materials for British factories. It was important to get it organised efficiently for that purpose, since from the outset there was no consideration whatever of Britons settling permanently in this mosquito infested jungle that bristled with many deadly diseases like malaria, leprosy and yellow fever. Consequently, Lugard argued strongly for the most inexpensive mode of administration which would unite and civilise the heterogeneous ethnic communities into a controllable body politic in the shortest possible time for the orderly pursuit of the economic objective of Britain noted here.

At that earliest formative stage of our nationhood when Lugard made his representation to the Colonial office in London, the British Imperial might, built up during the prosperous Victorian era, was virtually unchallengable world-wide, with the empire spreading to all corners of the globe to qualify for the popular description of it as

the empire in which the sun never set. It was only such might that could have stopped the slave trade. The first challenge from Germany was yet to come in the First World War; while the United States of America, which would eventually take over as world leader after two world wars that were to see the near total dissipation of British foreign investments and provoke the disbandment of her colonial empire, was only just consolidating internally with her policy of isolationism. Nor did anyone in the then world contemplate in his wildest dream the possibility of anything emerging like the Great October Revolution in Russia, which gave birth to the mighty Soviet Union with its perpetually and aggressively anti-colonialist foreign policy of permanently rocking the boat of all colonial empire builders. Within the policy perimeter noted in the last paragraph, therefore, Lugard's administration set out to fashion a unitary state divided into a manageable number of provinces, each encompassing a population of reasonably homogeneous and or compatible ethnic groups. Many of the top colonial officers were liberal arts graduates in social science fields relevant to the task in hand. Christian missionaries supplied education and a strong religious guiding light to complement the unifying effort of the colonial officers, while the trading companies carried the economic policy into effect for mother Britain.

As we saw in chapter two, Hugh Clifford, who succeeded Lugard as Governor in 1920, continued the same policy of objective integration of the territory into a viable, harmonious whole. By the time the learned governor Arthur Richards arrived, however, all of the historic global developments hinted at the beginning of the last paragraph had emerged; and Great Britain was harrassed right and left by agitators for self-government in her numerous colonies, with obvious disastrous economic implications for a world power that had just concluded the fiercest and most costly war in history. She naturally had to do something to slow down some of the leading colonies that were of economic significance to her, after the exit of the Indian sub-continent into political freedom.

The divisive constitutional arrangements, which the era of Arthur Richards and his successors in office fosited upon the new

nation, in place of the unitary plans of Lugard, are widely believed in the circle of seasoned political analysts as colonial Britain's last card in the game to halt a 'liquidation of Her Majesty's empire.'<sup>3</sup>

In this connection a well known African leader, Late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, had the following to say in one of his books:

'The constitution imposed on Nigeria at independence divided the country into three regions (which have since grown to four) loosely joined on a Federal basis but with sufficient powers left to the regions to cripple overall economic planning. If the other states of West Africa are examples of political balkanisation, Nigeria is an example of economic balkanisation. Ghana escaped a similar fate by the resistance put up by the Convention People's Party government to a British plan which would have created no less than five regions, some with a population of less than one million, yet each possessing sufficient powers to defeat central planning...'<sup>4</sup>

And with respect to the force which propelled the ex-colonial power to act exploitatively towards its former colonies in economic affairs, he said further in the same book:

Today the need both to maintain a welfare state, i.e, a parasitic state at home, and to support a huge and ever-growing burden of armament costs makes it absolutely essential for developed capitalist countries to secure the maximum return in profit from such parts of the international financial complex as they control. However much private capitalism is exhorted to bring about rapid development

<sup>3</sup> Sir Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, was once quoted about then as saying: 'what we have we hold....I am not prepared to preside over the liquidation of Her Majesty's empire.'

<sup>4</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *NEO-COLONIALISM: the Last Stage of Imperialism*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1965 pp 15-16

and a rising standard of living in the less developed areas of the world, those who manipulate the system realise the inconsistency between doing this and producing at the same time the funds necessary to maintain the sinews of war and the welfare state at home. \*5

The fallacy in part of this reasoning concerns the distinction between private capitalism and government supplied capitalism, whether the supplying big power investor is capitalist (free enterprise) or communist (socialised economy), which he makes in this regard. Experience shows that all the super-powers have vast armaments and crippling expense bills to maintain and upgrade them, while attempting to provide welfare services for their people - and in this case the commitment of the communist super-power is even more all-embracing and categorical as a constitutional right of all citizens; except only that in the exercise of allocating available resources between guns and butter, the guns invariably win out, leaving the poor citizens perpetually short changed in a system where they cannot vote out of office the government that makes the unfair allocation. We all know also that no aid is ever totally without strings, whether it comes from the East or from the West, especially when supplied by a government.

Other issues which emanate from non-political sources have been given colonial policy contamination or initiative as well. There is no way we can, for instance, discuss the dysfunctional features of the infrastructure and public utility system and some social services in this country without pointing an accusing finger at British colonial policy here. The narrow gauge railway net-work that runs only north to south to the ports; the international telecommunications system that reaches other countries in Africa and elsewhere only via London; and an early education system that emphasised liberal arts and ignored the natural sciences and technology, are ready examples.

What surprises one, though, is that Nigerian critics of British colonial policy in this regard stop there, neither giving credit to

\*5 *Ibid*, p 257.

colonial Britain for knowing what she wanted and doing just that, nor learning a useful lesson from that fact for the protection of our national interest now that we are in control of our affairs.

Very often we still rely upon or continue some of the misleading policies that British Colonial Officers introduced and fail to show a long enough range and clarity of vision in our perception of the future needs of the country.

For example, in the decade ending 1956, the demand for electric power in Nigeria grew at the average rate of some 22% per annum, according to published official records available at independence, yet estimated growth of demand for electric power in the country was projected, early at independence, on the expert advice of some British\*6 consultants, at a rate that seemed destined to hit a below zero growth before the turn of the century, as shown in the table reproduced below for illustration.

Estimated Rate of Growth of Electrical Demand\*7

Period	Average rate of growth per year
1953-54 to 1958-59 .....	22.5%
1958-59 to 1963-64 .....	20.8%
1963-64 to 1968-69 .....	14.0%
1968-69 to 1973-74 .....	9.8%
1973-74 to 1978-79 .....	8.1%

This curious projection was made in connection with a proposed new aggressive industrialisation policy over a period of twenty years in this richly endowed brand new developing country, whose population for the previous decade had grown at a rate of well over 2% per year. One seriously would wonder what sort of

\*6 Messrs Merz and McLellan, Preece Cardew & Rider, Sir Alexander Gibb & partners, and Balfour Beatty & Co., December, 1959.

\*7 Ministry of Trade and Industry Kaduna publication titled, *The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria*, 1 October 1963, page 206, table 73.

micro - and macro-economic factors were used in this projection by the British experts, and in checking it for acceptance by our own officers, in the light of the seemingly insatiable thirst of the Nigerian economy for electric power, the demand for which has continued to grow at an actual rate approximate to the one of 22.5% for the period 1953-54 to 1958-59, from which the projection was supposed to have been extrapolated. May be there are yet other factors to blame, besides colonialism, for the ethical drag on our affairs.

### *Blame Neo-Colonialism And Multi-National Corporations*

Many other analysts of our situation point to instances of issues, like the one discussed in connection with the projection table quoted above, and argue emphatically that most of our problems, ethical and other, have roots in the fact that we have not been truly free, despite our ostensible political independence. They argue that the ex-colonial masters still teleguide and confuse our economic and political policies to our disadvantage, creating the atmosphere for domestic confusion and inefficiency in order to collaborate with unpatriotic citizens to exploit the nation, cart away our resources and retard our effective growth and development for the benefit of the masses of our people. In short, the argument is that we still remain colonised mentally and emotionally in another plane of neo-colonialism, in which we are readily induced to do things to fit into the policy strategies of the neo-colonialists for the attainment of their own economic and political objectives: just as the actual colonial administrators had, during the first few decades of this century, for example, dumped upon the nation the obsolete narrow gauge railway, which is today an economic drag on the nation's transportation services.

On neo-colonialism, Kwame Nkrumah wrote further as follows:

' The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and

has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside.'.....

The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

'The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed. '8

The most effective agent of neo-colonialism, it is argued is the multi-national corporation, MNC., which operates in the country in most fields of economic endeavour open to private free enterprise initiative. Since the typical MNC, as a legal person, is really a foreign national with citizenship loyalties owed to a foreign super-power nation that is out to dominate third world nations, it cannot possibly have the interest of this country at heart in its operations, profit maximization being its usual pre-occupation by definition. Hence MNC's have introduced, it is argued, false invoicing, invoice loading, smuggling, bribery of public officers, fronting with local directors, illegal foreign exchange transfers, and inflation of home office contributions and inputs into local plants, just to mention a few examples. Such practices have taught indigenous business men new tricks with which to cheat their own country, defeat government effort at prudent economic management and amass personal wealth which they spend lavishly and ostentatiously to the moral depravation of other observing citizens. However, if one realises that the sort of practices listed above is more rampant here than in the home countries of the MNC's and even than in many other third world

\*8 *op. cit.*, pp ix to x.

countries, one is driven to continue the search for still other culprits to blame for our deplorable ethical plight, besides neo-colonialism and its chief agent, the MNC; because, in the final analysis, it takes at least two to have a fight, or to commit the crime of conspiracy.

### *Blame Nigerian Constitutions*

There is yet another school of thought which would rather lay all the blame for our ethical confusion in this country squarely at the door of our checkered constitutional development. In our discussion of the issues in Part Two, constitutional and political development occupied a good deal of space. In it many issues were identified, which are relevant in assessing the authenticity of this point of view. We saw, for instance, how from the inception of our nationhood in 1914 the British colonial governors, beginning with Lugard, made genuine effort to unite the territory and effect national integration using a unitary constitutional framework.

Later on after the Second World War when Great Britain faced a barrage of demands for independence by many of her colonies, subsequent colonial governors, beginning with Arthur Richards, evidently sought to undo what they had previously been doing in all good faith, when they introduced the federated regionalism of three grossly unequal ethnic bloc regions to replace unitarism. It is even speculated in the circle of seasoned observers that some of the fiercely regionalistic leadership, which suddenly emerged at the time with stupendous financial facility, might have been sponsored to blunt the nationalist movement towards meaningful early self-government in unity.

If the young nation of mutually suspicious regions nevertheless achieved independence, it was certainly beset by enough constitutional traps designed to trigger its eventual collapse as a stable nation state; which was indeed the case in 1966, leading to a military interregnum that lasted for thirteen years nine months. What the colonial masters could not achieve by Governor Richards' obnoxious constitutional arrangements, seeking to vest the country's mineral rights in the British Crown, most certainly was achieved fortuitously during the Nigerian War of National Unity, in the lavish

waste of the new found oil wealth through the confusion of haphazard war-time mismanagement of the oil flow, as well as in the purchase of military supplies, largely from Britain, with which we fought ourselves and destroyed much of our little national infrastructure in the war affected areas. Oil had actually been discovered in commercial quantity in the country and known to be so confidentially to the world as far back as 1951, but a positive acknowledgement of its availability in commercial quantities and of the intention to commence active production was not made until the eve of the crisis.

During the early military regime of Ironsi, the main concern seemed to be with the federal set-up. Consequently his constitutional plan of action to set matters right was to restore the unitary arrangement, using the British created provinces as a base. With his overthrow six months after his assumption of power and the restoration of federalism, emphasis of national concern centred rather on the creation of a twelve states structure. As this new structure was being consolidated, more undercurrent pressure for more states was building up, as well as a pressure to move away from the parliamentary system of government which lumps executive and legislative powers in the same hands, backed by a parliament that is supreme and cannot be over-ruled by the Supreme court in defence of citizens' freedom and liberties. In the opinion of some political analysts, it is a formula for tyranny.

When therefore the military took definite steps to return the nation to civilian rule, these two problems were tackled. Firstly, a nineteen states structure was adopted in place of the twelve created in 1967. Secondly, a presidential constitution with separation of powers was adopted for the Second Republic. To cover the special Nigerian problem of extreme divisiveness national spread of the support for a candidate for the presidency was made a cardinal condition for his election to office under the new constitution. This feature is designed to play down the instinct of ethnicity, regionalism or sectionalism, which had plagued the nation since 1952, by forcing every such candidate to campaign and seek the support of every section of the country, as against the parliamentary system in which the potential Prime Minister needed only be able to win in his own constituency.

At present the nation is gripped with the convulsive demand for more states. There were a few genuine cases for the creation of new states which the military suppressed in its bid to prevent a proliferation of states to possibly the same or similar number of provinces which Ironsi proposed with tragic consequences. If these genuine cases had been considered favourably during the last exercise, the present threat of real proliferation could have been averted. The question of new states is expected to be tackled decisively during the second term of the Second Republic before 1987.

The main argument in placing the blame for our ethical drift on our checkered constitutional development is the continuous state of uncertainty which it has created in the minds of most citizens, from those who still regard Nigeria as a mere geographical expression to others who honestly hold the belief, albeit a treasonable one in effect, that the state will have to be partitioned out into a few independent countries for real lasting peace of mind and ethical order to its various communities. This emotional state of unease in the polity, they argue, has not permitted long-term planning for effective development and integration to take place. It is this quest for emotional stability in the political psyche of the citizenry that has led to the present constitutional arrangement which are clearly designed to sink the most glaring obstacles to national unity and integration. With the issue of new states tackled with good sense in the new administration due to commence in October, 1983, the nation is expected to be dexterously poised to build for lasting unity and genuine development.

Yet, all our ethical problems will not disappear automatically. The issues of our personal attitudes as individuals, as families, as ethnic communities, religious groups and business associations will continue to be a matter of national concern. May be there is really no single cause to blame for our ethical malady, if our present constitution and the creation of enough new states to satisfy most genuine requests for them cannot see the end of our ethical problems. We ought, therefore, to look at other points of view which have been peddled about in the search for the roots of our ethical problems.

## *Blame Class Conflict*

Exponents of marxist thinking in search of an egalitarian society for Nigeria postulate the existence of unethical practices in Nigeria as the logical outcome of the exploitative designs of the conservative class to oppress the helpless masses of progressives for their own selfish enrichment. As a result of this division, which they seem to bedeck presumptuously with the toga of premeditated intention of evil aimed at permanent subjugation of the poor masses by the conservatives, the whole nation is locked up in fiercely grim combat for mutual elimination. That is why, they argue, the conservative capitalist class engage in corruption, embezzlement, smuggling, ostentatious living and other forms of economic crimes against the state to get the material wherewithal to perpetuate their powerful oppressive positions in society.

The oppressed progressive masses have a duty in self protection to face the realities of material betterment of their lot by fighting to defeat the oppressive conservatives in order to install a new social order which will guarantee them total redemption from oppression. Some progressive exponents of this remedy have even invented new expressions for the conservative exploiters. One school of thought has styled them metaphorically as rats and mosquitoes that eat up our national wealth and suck our blood. With the victory of the progressive masses, every ethical infraction will disappear from the Nigerian society, they conclude.

One major flaw with this sort of imported explanation of our domestic social problems is the stark unreality of the doctrinal analysis of a seeming fairy tale situation, which might have existed in some far off European country, in the guise of describing the every-day situation here in Nigeria. I do not frankly know who in this country can identify the characters described in the above account as truly relevant to real Nigerian creatures of any generation since we became a country.

### *Blame Entire Citizenry*

Perhaps the most realistic path to identifying the root of our ethical problem in this nation and why it has grown worse in recent years is the one that leads to the doorstep of every Nigerian. A people will tend to have an environment and a society which such people deserve. That is why societies make arrangements for their own succession, their own protection and their own advancement to the extent that their natural faculties, hopes, aspirations, desires and achievement capabilities allow them to attain. It is silly, perhaps, to try to look for some foreign body or elements to blame in such circumstances as prevail in this country today concerning its ethical order.

The essence of this reasoning is that if foreign bodies have been disorganising our affairs in Nigeria, then it is our duty to stop them. If we do that duty of self protection as we should in our own interest, we will certainly stop the corrupting interference in the ethical order of our society. Since such duty is essentially one of self protection, we need no outside force to induce us to discharge such duty to our own selves. If we do not do it, the implication may be that either we condone or connive at what is done or the force interfering with our ethical order is beyond our capability to ward off. The former is the opinion of the school of thought that places the blame on the entire Nigerian society; while the latter agrees with the view of those who blame it all on neo-colonialism and similar extraneous forces.

One flaw with this argument is that ethical decay, while rampant and pervasive, has not yet engulfed the entire citizenry. There is still a lingering group of upright citizens who are bent upon resisting the corrupting influence of ethical turpitude in this nation, with all the pains and deprivation this group may suffer. There are numerous pockets of such great men and women of good conscience everywhere in this nation, who are ready to stand up to the challenges of restoring the fatherland to a place of honour in the eyes of the world, doing their duty to the country with dedication and patriotism. They are, however, unorganised; and the self-perpetuating process for the preservation and growth of this group of citizens is a rather tenuous one in the face of the competing cancerous spread

of ethical decadence. This is so, because it is more tempting and more convenient and materially rewarding to join in the laxity of the times than to stand up against the downward slide of the nation in this respect. What this dying group needs is leadership so that the resistance effort can be organized and purposeful for the objective in view.

### *Blame Top Leadership*

The issue of the last paragraph leads us to the school of thought, which is perhaps the most vocal in the Nigerian society. This is particularly so because this school of thought has the ready support of the media through which its point of view is blasted around daily to heap the blame on the designated villain - top leadership of the nation. Leadership by example is acclaimed as the sure way to teach Nigerians to do it right, they argue; but top leadership since independence has failed the nation in providing the guiding light for the rest of society to follow by watching his own acts and life style.

It is indeed difficult to fault such an argument, which is virtually a truism in itself. I remember a discussion I had in 1981 in connection with the preparation of one chapter of my first book on ethical revolution. It was with a highly respectable patriot, Chief Simeon O. Adebó, Chancellor of the University of Ife, and I put the same sort of argument and sought his reaction thereto, with particular reference to the lucky happenstance of our having Alhaji Shehu Shagari for President at that time. The honoured Chief promptly agreed, but was equally prompt to point out the confrontational reaction which President Shagari was receiving in return from some, while others<sup>99</sup> simply ignored his practical ethical lessons to the nation. In his view, it takes more than just the example of one good

<sup>99</sup> Including some of his own appointees and party members of the National and State Assemblies.

leader to change a people; and he thought the plan to launch a specific programme of action to involve the whole nation in support as crucial and indeed indispensable, since citizens must reciprocate the example of top leadership.

The problem here is, perhaps, partly one of definition and partly that of assignment of roles. There is usually over-emphasis on top leadership in this country when ethical issues are discussed. Top leadership is not the only component of leadership of this nation relevant in this regard. Leadership at all levels has a role to play in guiding the nation along ethically acceptable path to the attainment of national objectives and social order. Nor can we do without the need for disciplined and dedicated followership, as was implied obviously in the concluding clause of Chief Adebayo's comments noted above. Yet when indignant patriots comment in newspaper and magazine articles or in discussions on the electronic media, they seem to dwell exclusively upon the part of top leadership, as if other categories of leaders and the entire citizenry that constitutes the followership in our nation are irrelevant in this consideration.

## *Conclusion*

Some have even been tempted to accept the racist thesis that we are incorrigible and it is no use discussing the matter of our ethical decadence as a serious matter of concern. This is the thesis that I refuse to accept, because of my basic faith in the educability of man. Nigerians are human, and what affects humans elsewhere on this planet can affect us as well, *mutatis mutandis*, within our own special circumstances and history. Most of the factors discussed in this chapter most probably have a bearing on the nature and extent of the problem of ethical decay in this nation. Some may have had more impact on its growth than the others, but it is prudent to take all these factors and others into account in any realistic appraisal of the problem and its effect on contemporary Nigerian polity and society.

The thesis that leadership at all levels, not just on top alone, is as indispensable as disciplined and dedicated followership is perhaps amply illustrated by the Biblical legend about Moses and his leadership of the Israelites out of bondage in ancient Egypt to the promised land. The frailty, indiscipline and lack of abiding faith in God of his people to follow their leader, whose God ordained leadership had been repeatedly demonstrated in the course of their exodus from Egypt, not only prolonged their suffering and delayed their own arrival at the promised land, but also exasperated Moses to lose his patience and incur the wrath of God, on account of which he never himself arrived there.

# Chapter Seven

## THE BUCK STOPS HERE

### The Buck

### It Stops here

## *The Buck*

In the last chapter, we 'passed the buck' from one group to another as we sought to place the blame for our ethical depravity in Nigeria on some body or group of persons or foreign forces. It was a very conscientious try, as the argument of each school of thought was analysed in concise summary and evaluated in the light of our historical background and contemporary circumstances as a nation. There may even be other schools of thought that were not covered in the analysis, as only the leading factors, commonly associated as causes with our ethical quandary, were included in the discourse.

The most significant fact that emerged from it all is that no single villain was identified conclusively, upon whom all the blame could be heaped justifiably. Each and everyone of the factors may have contributed in some measure to the worsening ethical climate in the nation. Some may have naturally contributed more than the others; and it is quite conceivable that some of the factors discussed may even be totally irrelevant at one time or another, or altogether for that matter. In the history of our evolution as a nation, public, especially governmental, perception of the significance of the various factors, as contributory elements in our ethical decline, is reflected in the nature of action, if any, that was taken to try to tackle the development.

During the colonial times, when Pax Britannica and the Christian ethic guided the hands of the colonial masters, Christian missionaries and European merchants, British colonial administrators sought to instal a familiar operational environment in which to carry out their activities. The Nigerian citizens of the time, having been conquered and colonised, had to conform to the tenets of the new order set for them in the emerging society. It needed considerable adjustments on their part, emotionally and culturally, which they managed to do over the period of nearly a century of colonial rule.

At home in Britain, representative democracy is the polity; which enjoins public office holders to be above board ethically while in such posts. All incidents that smack of the slightest abuse of office have to be subjected to public investigation, so that those who are

entrusted with the affairs of state as public appointees or elected representatives of the people can enjoy complete confidence and co-operation of the nation. Once any office holder is proved to fall below acceptable standard of probity and responsibility, he is usually obliged to resign; and is considered unsuitable for public appointment afterwards, because of the taint in his previous record of service.

The same practice was introduced into Nigeria by British Colonial officers, when they set up numerous Royal and Judicial commissions to investigate serious ethical infractions, in addition to other administrative tribunals and boards of enquiry they used to investigate minor lapses in operative efficiency and public assets management. It worked while the British were firmly in control, because culprits received deserved public disgrace and potential abusers of public office learnt their lesson and had to behave.

When, however, the British left Nigeria politically, the territory reverted to the citizens, with all the implications which were analysed in Part Two above. There were many commissions of inquiry set up by various regional governments, after the manner of British colonial officers ostensibly. It is common knowledge in this country that many of such inquiries were politically motivated tools of vendetta upon political opponents and intra-party rivals, the recommendations of whose reports were rarely enforced.<sup>1</sup>

The military were a little bolder and considerably more vocal in its acknowledgement of the national ethical problem in Nigeria. For one thing, abuse of office, corruption and general absence of ethical order in the nation are usually among the societal evils listed as the reasons justifying a military takeover of political power in order to set matters right. These claims figured prominently in the statements issued by Nzeogwu in January 1966 in his attempted coup that brought Ironsi to power. Departure from the tenets of freedom and political drift also numbered among the issues raised

<sup>1</sup> Mazi Kanu Oji, *op. cit.* pp 43 - 47

in connection with Gowon's coup of 29 July, 1966 which ousted Ironsi; and so it was in the Murtala Muhammed's coup that removed Gowon from office in July, 1975.

Ironsi got into trouble partly from his over-zeal to repair what he saw as a seriously dysfunctional centrifugal drift into destabilising divisiveness in the body politic, when he tried to foist an undigested system of unitary administration without adequate nationwide prior consultation and public enlightenment to garner support for the move. Gowon suffered the same fate basically, but for the opposing reason, when he announced what amounted to a retraction of his earlier pledge to hand political power back to the civilians by 1976, claiming that he had to stay on in order to fight corruption conclusively. This sounded incredible to all inside and outside the army from the head of a regime that was widely rumoured to have increased the scope and level of public corruption beyond anything that was previously known. A plot to remove him was soon hatched in order to restore some respectable measure of credibility and honour with which the Nigerian armed forces have been generally associated in and out of this country.

The position was even more conspicuous under Murtala Muhammed's and Obasanjo's regimes, if we can treat them as separate complements of what was ostensibly styled as one regime. In the former, there was a stupendous shake-up of unprecedented proportions, as we saw in Part Two, in an attempt to solve the problem of our ethical decay in the manner of a quick surgical operation. With hindsight from the out-turn of that effort, the latter half of the regime under Obasanjo took to the reverse approach, in which sermonising and pontification replaced impulsive action. The Jaji Declaration on the subject of our declining national ethic made by Obasanjo at the staff college, Jaji is still a landmark speech in highlighting the problem and the challenge it poses to this nation in our effort to survive and develop in freedom.

All these efforts made by the various leaders of the nation from the colonial times to date have one feature in common. They were all inconclusive; that is to say, they produced no conclusive result or discernible impact towards improvement upon the problem of ethical decadence which they were supposedly designed to halt, or

at least minimise. Instead the malaise seemed to grow in intensity as the years passed by. The citizenry became dazed by the sheer glare of its alarming growth during the short lived era of oil wealth, and the notion seemed to gain ground at that point that the problem was now so intractable that there was no point talking about solving it, when one could simply join up in the scramble as a legitimate attempt to slice a piece of the national cake. Perhaps this incoherent and conclusive action by earlier administrations dashed citizens' hopes that the problem could be solved and thus aggravated it.

This had to be the case, naturally, because there was no guiding force for all the effort; nor was there any conscious plan of action. Aggrieved patriots, whose personal ethic could not be subdued in order for them to join up, as weaker ones were frequently suggesting vocally; could do little beyond complain and curse the present generation of Nigerians for this fast creeping abomination. Some of them even weakened under the pressure of family responsibility and joined in the unethical scramble for the national cake, blaming other groups who started it all. The mutual recrimination associated with the buck passing shuffle became louder as everybody in society gradually felt the pains of the escalating ethical disorder. Everyone complained and blamed everyone else but refused to accept the blame. Everyone simply passed the buck of responsibility to someone else.

### *It Stops Here*

'The Buck stops Here' is a four word sentence which was made very historic and dramatically eloquent in its implications for decisive leadership and statemanship by an American President, Harry S. Truman. He had this sentence inscribed on a tablet which he placed on his desk to remind him and his political aides that action on any matter which arrived at his desk could not be shuffled over to anyone else but had to be taken by him, the nation's Chief Executive. Truman, though he did not have the charisma of Roosevelt, whom he succeeded at the latter's death, proved to be one of the most decisive United States presidents to date. He took

many historic decisions that helped shape the pattern of global balance of power after World War II, including the first and only known use of the atomic bomb to end that war, and the American military presence in Europe to consolidate the position of the allies in Germany and similar locations to ward off the territorial ambitions of the ideologically opposing new force of Russia.

With respect to ethical decay in this country, the first person to make that sort of statement, not only in word but in action, was General Murtala Muhammed of blessed memory, when on assuming power after the 29 July 1975 Coup d'Etat he took the most revolutionary action thitherto against corruption in high places in the Nigerian public services. Before him, we had numerous time wasting commissions of enquiry that achieved nothing. Their reports were never implemented as the buck of responsibility for the enforcement of ethical discipline was passed from one elite group to the other in a muddle that seemed to encompass large numbers in every conceivable elite group in the nation. The two hundred amazing days of General Murtala Muhammed jolted the whole nation with a stunning welcome surprise that raised serious hopes that Nigeria could after all be made to accept the duty of accountability in public service.

Several state governors and permanent secretaries were removed from office on grounds of unethical conduct. Some of them had their ill-gotten properties confiscated to the Federal Military Government. Several other officials of public establishments were removed on similar grounds, and for once fear was knocked into the heads of those who served the Nigerian public to the realisation that they were accountable for their deeds, as 'no condition is permanent' - a statement made popular and historic by our First Head of State, Ex - President Nnamdi Azikiwe, not too long before the coup of 29 July 1975.

Yet the clean-up measure was neither total nor attended with commensurately severe punishment beyond removals from office and confiscation of part of the properties illegally acquired. The private sector was left totally untouched in a drive that ended up as a one time revolution. Perhaps the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed did not permit the possibility of extending the clean-up

effort to other sectors to develop. With his death, the whole exercise was rested. It was no wonder that before long most public functionaries gradually returned to unethical escapades and gross indiscipline in high places, aided by collaborators in other sectors of the society.

It was in fact the aftermath of General Murtala Muhammed's untimely exit that drove the writer to initiate the campaign for the development of an on-going programme of action by the government to stem the tide of ethical decay and indiscipline in the Nigerian society. One of such early writings, dating back to May, 1976, may be found on pages 35 to 40 of the author's first book, 'The Nigerian Ethical Revolution, 1981 - 2000AD'. He also continued to discuss the matter with friends and all who showed dissatisfaction with the prevailing ethical state of affairs in the country, especially as the methodically unfolding Muhammed/Obasanjo political programme made it clear that a second civilian administration would in fact be installed within that decade. The fear of an ignoble repeat performance of the First Republic's political tragedy by a second chance dispensation heightened as the hand-over of power to civilians approached in steady steps with military precision and according to the time table which General Murtala Muhammed had himself announced to the nation upon assuming power in 1975.

When therefore the makings of the Second Republic crystallised and political parties were formed, the writer took active interest to study the manifestoes and leadership patterns of the parties, not with any interest whatever to become involved directly in politics but to see which party would have a leadership popular and credible enough to be persuaded to resume the initiative of General Murtala Muhammed in battling the cankerworm of ethical decay and indiscipline, but this time doing so as an on-going effort. Hence the expression, Nigeria Ethical Revolution, was invented in the process. The choice fell on Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the presidential candidate of the NPN, whom the writer happened to know personally and whom most people, including his political adversaries, regarded as ethically upright among the First Republic politicians with the leading probability to win the presidency.

The contact in pursuit of this objective started with his nomination as the NPN candidate in December, 1978.\*2 He was briefed in private discussions during the 1979 campaigns as to the need for the nation not only to avoid the ethical atrocities of the First Republic but also to mount a long-term citizenship enrichment programme of action to fight in the general Nigerian society the evils of ethical decay and indiscipline. He consequently emphasised his condemnation of the prevailing ethical decay among his key electioneering campaign issues in the 1979 elections and promised to do something about it if elected. The writer was happy. It is no wonder, therefore, that a day after he was declared elected by FEDECO on 16 August, 1979 the writer sent to him what he called 'Policy Paper Number One' arguing that such a programme of action was indispensable to the stability of the evolving new Second Republic.\*3 The newly elected leader seemed to want to move quickly into action with the ethical programme when he made his first broadcast to the nation in the evening of the inauguration day, on 1 October, 1979. He said as part of that address:

The problem of creating a national government, a viable economic base and the integration of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria in fairness and without acrimony, overwhelmed the First Republic. These problems are still with us. And it is our determination to do our utmost to contribute to their resolution. The Second Republic is a great challenge and a new opportunity for all of us.

This administration is determined that the slogan of "One Nation, One Destiny" shall be translated into reality. We are not so naive as to think that nationalism is a natural phenomenon which comes about automatically as we grow. It has not been so in any part of the world. National integration requires hardwork. There is need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for "One Nigeria".

I am convinced that these goals are attainable because we are at this time operating in more auspicious circumstances. Surely, we

\*2 *op. Cit*, pp 17-20, 29-44

\*3 *Ibid*, Chapter One, pp 29-40.

have learnt great lessons from the past and we have no need to permit divisive factors to continue to undermine our national well-being.<sup>4</sup>

By the expiration of the first year in office of the new Second Republic administration, the writer's expectation of some concrete action on the idea increased. He therefore applied for audience in the State House and was granted one for 27 October, 1980<sup>5</sup>, during which it was stressed to the President that a healthy revolution in the discipline and morals of the nation could be viewed by history as a tribute to the fact that a man generally accepted by all as ethically upright was leading the country. However, when nothing still happened, a similar audience was repeated on 27 December 1980, three months later, at which the writer went into more specifics and coined the phrase, Nigerian Ethical Revolution, to encompass such a movement<sup>6</sup>. This was followed on 24 January 1981 by a letter advising the President that the prosecution of a plan to ignite the Nigerian Ethical Revolution was the substance of the writer's new year resolution.<sup>7</sup>

At this point the President realised how serious the writer was, both in terms of the clarity of his ideas and in the picture of escalating urgency of the need to stem the increasing tide of ethical decay and indiscipline in Nigeria. He therefore detailed some state House advisers to liaise with the writer to assemble the views and ideas in presentable practical fashion. The communication of the political adviser to the writer, included here as an appendix, confirms this directive.<sup>8</sup> As a result the writer held meetings with a State House adviser on 13 February, 1981, which was confirmed in his letter recapitulation dated 16 February, 1981, <sup>9</sup> which summarised the writer's underlying philosophy and motivation in the drive. By then he also arranged to pick up an NPN card in order to overcome the protest of party stalwarts who had resented the appearance of an outsider allegedly playing angel to the party leadership.

<sup>4</sup> *Shebu Shagari: My Vision of Nigeria, Edited by Aminu Tijani and David Williams, Frank Cass and company Ltd, 1981, pp 8-9*

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix C1

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix C2

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C3

<sup>8</sup> See Appendices C4 and C5

<sup>9</sup> See Appendices C6 and C7

A similar representation to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, made on 13 April, 1981 \* 10, was part of the effort used to involve the active collaboration of the NPP leadership in the NPN/NPP Federal Government of the time in the matter. The writer continued to experience dilatory obstruction to the promotion of any programme of action early enough in the administration before too many public functionaries had dipped their hands in the ethical quagmire which this effort was seeking to clean up. The pressure continued but with hardly any tangible result.\*11 The writer consequently issued a veiled ultimatum to the State House 'advisers' on 1 June, 1981 insisting that they make up their minds immediately for the President to be briefed in readiness for action in the matter,\*12 otherwise the nation might face dire consequences in future.

To actualise the impact of the ultimatum, the writer prepared and printed in the short space of 3 weeks at a cost of N3,200 to himself a booklet containing the summary of his argument in the matter titled, 'TO GIVE EVERYBODY A CHANCE: AN NPN STRATEGEM TO MAKE NIGERIA WORK THROUGH MAKING NIGERIANS WORK: A case for Nigerian Ethical Revolution, 1981-2000 AD.'\*13 In it the writer pulled some clauses from the NPN Manifesto and made strenuous effort to 'prove' that, as a matter of fact, the idea he was advocating was already what the party promised the nation in its Manifesto and related documents.

The intention for thus giving total credit for the idea to the party was to side-track the obstructive State House 'advisers' and appeal direct to the party leadership under confidential cover. The booklet was therefore boldly marked 'Confidential' on the front cover. The bulk of the print was on 22 June 1981 sent in two parcels, hand delivered by the writer's secretary, Mr. Benjamin O. Etakibuebu, one to the President and the other to the NPN Secretariat,

\*10 See Appendix C8,

\*11 See Appendices C9 and C10

\*12 See Appendices C11 and C12,

\*13 *op. cit.*, chapter two, pp 41-73.

beautifully wrapped like expensive gifts and bedecked with ribbons that were arranged in the NPN party colours of green-white-and-blue. Few other copies went straight to selected respected patriots, and religious leaders.

The effect was electrifying. The side-track plan worked perfectly as conceived. The 'advisers' were stunned by the tum of events and were apparently instructed to get in touch at once with the writer, judging from their repeated telephone calls received at his home in the month of July while he was away in the United Kingdom. On his return on 3 August, 1981, he later received a letter dated 5 August 1981 from the State House 'adviser', which appeared to have been written in panic under stern pressure from above, judging from the misspelling of the writer's surname and a wrong street address which the letter and its forwarding envelop bore.\*14 And what is more, many party leaders and eminent Nigerian patriots across the nation who received copies of the booklet sent letters of congratulations \*15 to the writer, while others did so in person verbally.

The pressure did not stop at that. The writer's other major 'source documents' in the drive to ignite a revolution in the ethics of the nation followed rapidly, one after another, at similar financial cost, all through 1981;\*16 while the writer's interaction with the leadership continued unabated, to ensure the launching of an all-embracing and dynamic programme of action by government to ignite an ethical revolution that could reshape this nation for the better in our life time.\*17 Such interaction took the form of working documents, personal advice or discussions with those who were disposed to do something about the problem. It covered not only

\*14 See Appendices C13 and C14,

\*15 See Appendices C15 to C39 as sample letters received by the writer

\*16 *Op. Cit.*, chapter 3, 4 and 5. See also appendices C40 to C44

\*17 Complimentary copies of his book were always autographed for recipients as coming with the writer's compliments and best wishes for a better Nigeria under God and the law in our life time.' See also appendices C45 to C48A

voluntary suggestions but requested material which could throw some light on the methodology of prosecuting a government sponsored programme of action in the matter. It finally included a tedious, eight and a half months service in the National Ethical Reorientation Committee from 2 November, 1982 to 14 July, 1983. And along with it all were letters of warning when the effort of those who were bent on sabotaging the programme posed compromising ethical obstacles to the national leadership. \*18

Yet the writer's hopes that Alhaji Shehu, Shagari might well match in words and in practical terms the Truman's historic leadership slogan continued only in prospect. As the administration grew in strength and battled to lay the foundation for a safe return to power in 1983, increasing numbers of NPN top men and public functionaries grew more hostile to the idea of an ethical revolution, which some styled ethical heresy and others considered too idealistic and impractical in a multi-party democratic setting, which was blowing the ethical issue out of proportion. \*19

The inability of Alhaji Shehu Shagari to actually launch a programme of action, beyond the mere preparatory steps he took, tended to prove the truth in chief S.O. Adebo's statement to the writer in early 1981, that it would take more than one good leader to change Nigeria; even though, with the example of General Murtala Muhammed, I sort of doubted the complete truth of that assertion. The difference, though, is that General Murtala Muhammed had numerous idealistic young disciples in the armed forces, who fanatically bought his ideas for a serious surgical operation to tackle the ethical issue in the nation. Alhaji Shehu Shagari hardly had more than a handful of such disciples, especially among the party stalwarts, who completely and honestly agreed with the wisdom or expediency of his acceptance of the new toga of chief ethical revolutionist. When he was returned to power in an election 'land-slide' victory by means of electoral practices that turned out to be

\*18 See Appendices C49 to C50 for selected samples of such letters of patriotic advice.

\*19 - See Appendix C51 for writer's desperate petition in response.

much less than ethical, such disciples' support as he might have had before the 1983 elections most probably vanished. An urgent white paper on the Ethical committee report, which he promised in July 1983, consequently could not be completed in six months.

The skepticism with which the whole idea was received all along by the public, and particularly the Nigerian Press, heightened with the escapades of Verdict 83; and the surviving disciples of General Murtala Muhammed in the Nigerian armed forces, who had apparently followed many of these ignoble escapades and general gross indiscipline in public offices, probably concluded that the ethical revolution idea must have been Alhaji Shehu Shagari's diversionary gimmick to garner electoral votes and fool the nation into complacency.

When therefore the Nigerian Armed Forces struck on 31 December, 1983, they not only proclaimed that they were indeed an extension of the Muhammed/Obasanjo regime but have since proved to be ardent disciples of General Murtala Muhammed on this important ethical issue. Truman's leadership slogan, *The Buck Stops Here*, has since been installed as the guiding philosophy of the military administration. This assertion is borne out by many corrective measures which the new military administration has undertaken during its first year in office; from problems of the economy to social issues and even foreign policy matters like the Western Sahara stalemate. Indeed and at last the buck of tackling the huge ethical question in Nigeria has finally stopped at the desk of the present action regime. They may not have the charisma and stature of General Murtala Muhammed; but, like Truman who excelled himself in effective decisiveness despite his charismatic deficiency when compared with Roosevelt, this young team of Murtala's ardent disciples have so far surprised many in and out of Nigeria on the breadth of their vision; consistency of their policy trend; maturity of their grasp of our ethical problems; tenacity of their enforcement of sanctions against ethical infractions; and general decisiveness comparable only to what this country saw in the early Murtala days in 1975-76. One seriously hopes that this trend continues long enough fairly and uniformly enough in order to help forge a truly unified nation that has meaningful objectives and

conserving ethical tradition to support it.

To confirm that the writer's permanent interest is for honest prosecution of an on-going programme of action to fight ethical decay, no matter which administration is in power (Obasanjo or Shagari or Buhari, as earlier writings have proved), he has continued the campaign of support for ethical revolution in Nigeria under the Buhari/Idiagbon administration with unabated zeal and commitment.\*20 His only prayer is that any current initiative should continue consistently without any compromising dilution of the implementation policy and practices by the infiltration of sectional bias and other similar well known forces.

\*20 See Appendices C52 to C62

# Appendix C

CONFIDENTIAL



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA  
STATE HOUSE  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

16th June, 1980

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji

### The Nigerian Green Eagles

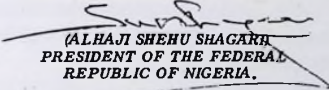
Thank you for the recognition accorded the role played by my Government towards the success of the Green Eagles. However, I do not believe that honour should be ours alone. It is something to be shared by all Nigerians, because it gave us the opportunity to demonstrate that, where there is a United Will, the sky is the limit for our country.

2. While you may describe your effort as 'widow's mite', you are not excluded from this glory because you were motivated by an altruistic feeling - love of fellow Nigerians who made you proud of your country.

3. Unobtrusively as it may be, you will long be remembered for your unconditional donation.\* May God grant you more success in life to be able to make more donations of 'widow's mite' to causes of National interest.

4. I pray that God Almighty grant all of us in Nigeria more opportunities for sharing a common joy. With common hope and joy, I believe that we will gradually and steadily succeed in building a permanent indestructible bond of Unity.

Yours very sincerely,

  
(ALHAJI SHEHU SHAGARI)  
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

CONFIDENTIAL

\* Writer donated ₦1,000 to the victorious Green Eagles football team.

# Appendix C1



STATE HOUSE,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Reference: 1907/S.3

27th October, 1980

Mr. A. Kanu Oji  
6, Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere.

Dear Sir,

I am happy to inform you that you have been granted an appointment to see Mr. President on Tuesday 28th October 1980, at 6p.m.

Yours Sincerely,

(MICHAEL PREST)  
Chief of Personal Staff  
to the President.

# Appendix C2



Reference:

1907/S.3

**CONFIDENTIAL**

STATE HOUSE,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

16th December, 1980

Chief A. Kanu Oji,  
TEI (Nig.) Ltd.,  
9 Bode Thomas Street,  
Surulere.

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to inform you that you have been granted an appointment to see Mr. President on Saturday 27th December, 1980 at 1 p.m.

2. With warm regards and compliments of the season.

Yours sincerely,

(MICHAEL PREST)  
Chief of Personal Staff  
to the President

**CONFIDENTIAL**

## *Appendix C3*

833637

24th January, 1981

Alhaji Shehu Shagari  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria  
State House, Ribadu Road  
Ikoyi, Lagos

My Dear Mr. President:

re: National Ethic and Discipline

I present my loyal greetings and refer to our meeting of 27th December, 1980, during which we touched upon the above topic in our discussions.

I have continued to make consultations with eminent personalities in many areas of our social leadership. The task ahead in this regard is tremendous, but not altogether insurmountable in the long run, once proper start is made in good time and the effort sustained. I shall like to have an opportunity to meet you again soon to review my effort in support of the action to be recommended.

The highlight of the feelings of both my humble self, as well as of the people I have consulted, is for the appointment of a **PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION** to:-

1. study the causes, nature and extent of the apparent break-down in our National Ethic and Discipline with consequent ramifications; and
2. recommend measures, immediate and long-term, which might be undertaken in an effort to reverse the trend and hopefully propel this nation on a new path of Ethical Revolution in the next two

decades through 2000 AD.

It could be the makings of our quiet twenty years plan as a nation to restore our character and morals to a stable foundation and our sense of duty and of the dignity of labour to work for the emergence of a self reliant economy and society that could be the pride of the black race by the turn of the next century.

My dear Mr. President: I truly had a dream of the contribution I could make to the credit of your presidency in this field. After my meeting with you on 27th December, 1980, I prayed daily for God's inspiration and later adopted this project for vigorous prosecution in my New Year Resolution on 1/1/81. I hope that you will be disposed to encourage my effort in this regard; because to do nothing about this matter in this decade may, in the words of Shakespeare, be tantamount to neglecting the favourable tide in our affairs as a nation, which taken at the flood could lead us on a smooth sailing voyage to fortune, but neglected could expose our nation's journey into leadership to the risks of shallows and miseries on the river path. As I argued in my memorandum to you of 17th August, 1979, we are afloat now on such a river with you as President.

The purpose of this letter is to keep the matter alive in your mind and permit you to have a hint of the main thrust of the direction into which action is likely to be required to move; so that when you get to receive the full report of my consultations at your earliest convenience, you will have given the matter some thought and perhaps developed your own ideas for reviewing and deciding on any recommendation you receive in the matter.

Finally, it is pertinent to bear in mind from the outset that, while this project could in the later history of our nation prove to be one of the most important attempted in this Administration, it is not one that should be rushed. I am thinking of a carefully selected body of

distinguished and disciplined people who will have ample time to complete their study and should not be given a two to three months dateline to submit a report. The matter is certainly urgent, but must

not be hurriedly considered or pursued otherwise than in depth. Frankly, I look at it as part of our twenty years plan as a nation that rightfully aspires to a leadership role in Africa and indeed in the black world.

Looking forward to an early appointment as requested above, I remain as ever,

Your humble friend

A. Kanu Oji, Snr.

# Appendix C4

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT SPECIAL ADVISER ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS



Reference :

STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

2nd February 1981.

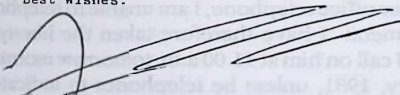
Mr. A. Kano Oji,  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji,

The President of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, has directed me to acknowledge with thanks, the receipt of your letter dated 24th January, 1981, on 'National Ethic and Discipline'.

You may wish to discuss your idea of a Presidential Commission on National Ethic and Discipline. If so, please make contact with Dr. George Obiozor, Special Assistant (Research), in the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Political Affairs.

Best Wishes.



DR. CHUBA OKADIGBO  
Special Adviser to the President  
On Political Affairs.

cc: Dr. George Obiozor  
Special Assistant (Research).

## *Appendix C5*

833637

12th February, 1981

Dr. Chuba Okadigbo,  
Special Adviser to the President  
on Political Affairs,  
Office of the President,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi,  
Lagos.

Dear Hon. (Dr.) Okadigbo,

Re: National Ethic and Discipline

I thank you very much for your letter dated 2nd February, 1981 which was hand delivered at my residence yesterday afternoon, and in which you showed your concern for the subject matter by promptly arranging a channel of communication through Dr. George Obiozor.

As I do not know your office telephone, I am unable to telephone him for an appointment. I have therefore taken the liberty to suggest hereby that I call on him at 11.00 a.m. tomorrow morning, Friday 13th February, 1981, unless he telephones to indicate a more convenient fixture. I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Obiozor for necessary action. My telephone Nos are 833637 and 830848 (Office).

Please rest assured that I shall move swiftly to liaise with Dr. Obiozor as directed, so that you may be placed in a position soon to be able to make a meaningful report back to the President as soon as pleases him.

Best wishes from

Yours sincerely,

A. KANU OJI, SNR.

cc. Dr. George Obiozor,  
Special Adviser (Research)

Above is for your information and necessary action with reference to the penultimate paragraph thereof. Earlier background reference materials are enclosed for your information in preparation for our meeting tomorrow (hopefully).

## *Appendix C6*

833637

16th February, 1981

Dr. George A. Obiozor,  
Special Assistant (Research),  
Office of the Special Adviser  
on Political Affairs,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

Dear Dr. Obiozor,

Re: Presidential Commission on  
National Ethic and Discipline

It was nice meeting with you on Friday, 13th February 1981, when we surveyed approaches to the above subject matter. We have a meeting on Wednesday, 18th February, 1981 to go a little more deeply into the matter, and I have made additional comments herebelow to assist you in building up the case for our final meeting with Dr. Okadigbo as envisaged during our last meeting.

Perhaps we may ask ourselves the basic question, which Dr. Okadigbo would most probably want to have answered before he could feel officially obliged, as Adviser on Political Affairs, to give a favourable opinion to the President for some action. The question is: what is the nature of the problem or the emergency against which we are demanding action? The answer is ready on the lips of every Nigerian, to be narrated with varying degrees of emphasis on one aspect or another, depending upon the particular background and experience of the individual answering; but the unanimity with which all agree on the existence of the problem, and on the fact that it is getting worse and crippling national development and stability, is only matched by the unanimity with which humanity adores motherhood, i.e., with hardly any dissenting voice. Yet no single person can summarise fully the extent of the problem or prescribe

the solutions thereto.

The problem, spelt out in some detail, is the breakdown in our National Ethic: work ethic, morals and general social discipline. It has grown increasingly worse in the last fifteen years or so. The country is virtually grinding to a halt economically and socially. In my opinion, the problem is now assuming the proportions of a national emergency similar to earthquake, dangerous plague, epidemic, flood, or such other national disaster. In the last decade, one can observe, in our decadent Nigeria, seriously declining morals and morale; waning discipline in all we do; and anti social traits in the citizenry. People want money without work; nobody feels he owns Nigeria enough to want to fight for it, except for pre-agreed reward; nor to save its national assets and social infrastructure, nor to save its name and its image. There is no fellow feeling among citizens as brethren of one nation - every-one is simply rude; angry at everything; and abusive to all. Nigerians never can take their turn in anything, but must scramble disgracefully to get attention, to board aeroplanes or just to move along the roads - always in a hurry to grab for self, and never thinking of the rights of others. Nobody ever smiles at work to serve the public better and make fellow citizens happy. No laws are diligently enforced for social protection, but are rather freely compromised for personal gain by those engaged to enforce them. Nobody knows where or when to stop in any dispute or encounter. Nobody wants to work honestly and diligently for anyone else or organisation, with the result that indigenous Nigerian organisations and companies are stymied in growth, and services are woefully inefficient and ineffective for promoting social and economic progress of the nation. The reward system is wrong, in that those who are engaged in productive endeavour make far much less than those who cheat on the system via nepotism, tribalism and corruption, further depressing operational morale and productivity.

Perhaps someone should consider organizing a consistent economist reproduction-cost analysis to estimate the social and economic cost, in naira and kobo, of these problems as are for instance shown in the operation of such public utilities as NEPA, Water Corporations, Nigerian Railway Corporation, Nigeria Airways, and the P & T, and in the sub-marginal level of efficiency in all other service industries of this nation, and then quantify such cost as a negative element of the Fourth National Development Plan. The figure could be staggering enough to make many people, who may not now consider it urgent, to quickly join the crusade for positive action now to reverse the worsening trend. Put another way; imagine that our Fourth National Development Plan were to be executed by and for eighty million immigrants from Japan, Western Germany or China, who came on a five year citizenship exchange programme with Nigeria. Bearing in mind the work ethic in these three countries, estimate the level and pace of execution of the plan at the end of the plan period, as against what Nigerians would make of it under our present social order. It could make an interesting comparison, startling enough to set many Nigerians thinking seriously about the problem we have been trying to highlight for urgent solution.

Consider the Nigerian consumer's astonishing propensity to demand imported goods. Owing to inefficient utilities, infrastructural and other services to industries, Nigerian factories are grossly inefficient, both in product quality and in the high cost of finished output. Consequently, imports from more efficient sources are invariably cheaper and of higher quality, making smuggling such an attractive occupation to many Nigerians these days. Since nobody wants to work for his pay, galloping inflation at home combines effectively with the dissipation of our foreign exchange earnings on imports to push us nearer everyday to the crash-point of economic collapse sooner than we realise, fooled as we are by our present favourable oil revenue posture. The fact is that this position could change drastically with a technological break-through that leads to a major new energy source; and the Western Industrialised nations are working round the clock to try to play out OPEC in this regard. Shall we wait till then before we re-join the productive nations of mankind? This is the gist of the national emergency against which we seek Presidential action to tackle - now.

In short the present *worsening state of affairs demands urgent but thorough investigation by a body powerful enough, knowledgeable enough and prestigious enough to command the respect of every Nigerian and oblige him to listen to its findings and to follow a programme of action instituted on its recommendation to try to reverse the trend sketched above. If the facts are properly ascertained, as to what the nation loses daily in productivity, in prestige and in internal and international effectiveness as a leading African nation, the result will be stunning indeed. Hence we recommend a PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION to study the nature, extent and causes of the apparent break-down in our national ethic and discipline as well as the impact of its ramifications upon society and the economy, and to recommend measures, immediate and long-term, which the nation could undertake to reverse the trend and set Nigeria on a new path of an Ethical Revolution as our special twenty year national plan through the year 2,000 A.D.*

I say now is the time, because we are lucky to have at the helm of affairs a man of acknowledged discipline, integrity and unusual humility, whose personal life style and example will inspire the nation to follow his foot steps. Nigerians are very good copyists and will follow very readily a teacher who practises what he teaches. Two hundred days' rule of Murtala Mohammed is a good case in point. Alhaji Shehu certainly has no skeleton in his cupboard and will be undeterred in launching Nigeria on an Ethical Revolution now to coincide with and strengthen the new nation-building effort that he has already started as our First Executive President.

Furthermore, it will be added proof that, despite the machinations of "opposition" parties who would want to have him bugged down to the basic routine of just making up and passing budgets, etc, Alhaji Shehu has the breadth of vision and the forward-looking determination and confidence to attend to the wider and future needs and aspects of our national consolidation. As a descendant of Usman Dan Fodio, who waged a holy war upon ignorance and peganism to bring the faith of Islam to peoples of his area and time, it would be a logical historical development for Alhaji Shehu in this generation, as a renowned man of peace, dedicated to unity and high quality of

human life, to ignite in to-day's Nigeria a quiet Ethical Revolution to redress the nation's path to that of unity and progress through discipline and beneficial work ethic, and to lead Nigerians back to civilization in their everyday relations with one another and with the rest of humanity.

His political foes could be taken by surprise if this drive is properly launched; and, before they might know it, the nation could already be following happily along, on the new inspired march to self-reliance and confident pride. Yes; this is the time; and we who know and support Alhaji Shehu have a role in helping to build the path now, through proper design of methodology and intellectual analysis of route alternatives. It is then that he can order the march, with himself holding the torch and leading the way, along a path that has been surveyed properly and cleared of disruptive stumps.

As I mentioned to you, I have held consultations with many eminent citizens, who are known to be endowed with a very high order of discipline in their various walks of life. Some are people I have known personally and worked with in the past, like Dr. Akanu Ibiam, Chief S. O. Adebayo and Mallam Aminu Kano; as well as Church leaders and Traditional rulers. All agree that we have a severe social malady that needs a carefully designed surgical operation and prolonged treatment for permanent recuperation. All agree also that whoever starts action for its cure must himself be a man of exemplary character and discipline, like Alhaji Shehu. We are all agreed indeed that there is need to act at a very effective level and that the time to act is now, when some of those who are products of the old school of discipline and patriotism are still around for us to look back to for moral support in the exercise.

Already some leading intellectuals (e.g. Mr. S. G. Ikoku) have indicated their readiness to send in their memoranda to and testify before such a Presidential Commission if and when it is appointed.

An Ethical Revolution is, indeed, an idea whose time has arrived, and we in the NPN could use it to garner grassroot membership support in all areas of the nation by 1983, if properly pursued. Besides, the

drive could have additional, advantageous diversionary political effect, by having the nation engulfed in pursuing and discussing some issue that everyone agreed was of interest for our stability and social integrity, thereby drowning out for a while those who might instead want to trigger their own disruptive revolution of a type dysfunctional to the nation's legitimate set objectives.

We cannot, therefore, afford to waste the opportunity by reducing the idea to an academic seminar exercise for the personal glorification of its originators and discussants. I am more interested rather in seeing Nigeria moving again as an efficient, productive nation of happily related, proud citizens with the discipline and cohesion to stand our ground against any nation in defence of our interests. That is my ambition, and not the chance to appear on T.V., receiving credit for the idea. Let it be, instead, that our President had the idea; and, after chatting with some of his friends who share similar concerns as himself on the matter, ordered a Presidential Commission to investigate the matter and recommend a line of action to reverse the trend for the nation. That is why I gave the President my advice privately and confidentially; and, each time I spoke to people about the idea, I always referred to it as a matter of serious concern to the President, on which I volunteered to sound out eminent citizens and report back their feelings to the President for his consideration. If he chooses to give me any credit, either by including me in the Presidential Commission, or in some other way in relation to the prosecution of the idea, I shall live happily with whatever he decides to do.

I just want to see Nigeria change for the better in my life time. The country I returned to in 1974 was not the same one I grew up in and left in early 1960's to go to New York as Nigerian Consul; and the position is much worse today than in 1974. The thought of it chews me up everyday as I grind through the rigors of living in the chaotic Nigeria of today, after twelve convenient years of top quality living in America. The idea for specific action to remedy the position may

be mine; but the credit will have to be that of the entire NPN membership, who resolved to build an all-embracing, unity-oriented, forward looking party that picked Alhaji Shehu as leader of our Nation in this decade, and of the President in particular, whose personal qualities make this time attractive and opportune for me to even think the idea feasible at all.

This, Dr. Obiozor, is my stand: and I hope that Dr. Okadigbo will see with me; as I think you already do, from the trend of discussions during our first meeting.

Best wishes; and see you on Wednesday, at 11 o'clock.

Yours sincerely,

A. Kariu Oji. Sr.

## Appendix C7

833637 or  
830848

6th April, 1981

Dr. George A. Obiozor,  
Special Assistant (Research),  
Office of the Special Adviser  
on Political Affairs,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

Dear Dr. Obiozor,

Re: Presidential Commission on  
National Ethic and Discipline

It has been quite some time - almost two months - since we last got together in your office on the above subject matter.

At that meeting, on Wednesday, 18th February, it was our understanding that further liaison between us was necessary to prepare material for subsequent presentation to Dr. Okadigbo. As a matter of fact, you offered to take the initiative to contact me, since as you argued it was part of an area which occupied you full time as against myself who merely spared part-time attention to it because I was personally committed to doing something about the matter.

I wonder what is the position today and when it is planned we should meet Dr. Okadigbo. Incidentally, the matter of our national ethic and discipline has tended to attract frequent press publicity these days and my office has built up quite a load of press clippings in the last few months of the many articles written by other citizens crying out on this problem. I could bring the bunch along when next we meet.

Yours Sincerely,

A. Kanu Oji Snr.

## Appendix C8

833637

13th April, 1981

Hon. Representative Ume-Ezeoke,  
Speaker, House of Representatives,  
National Assembly,  
Lagos.

Dear Hon. Ume-Ezeoke,

Re: National Ethic & Discipline

I have heard with great interest, the statement credited to you by this afternoon's news bulletin of Radio Nigeria, in which you were quoted as recommending a return to their previous missionary owners of the voluntary agency schools, which were taken over by states, on the ground that the states have proved unable to enforce proper discipline in the pupils after the take over.

Yours is a very interesting observation, which coincides with my own assessment of the position, but this is only one small aspect of the breakdown in our National Ethic and Discipline in today's Nigeria. There are numerous other examples of areas of indiscipline and morals and operative morale among our citizenry, which have in total tended to weaken our effectiveness as a productive nation and as a cohesive community with common citizenship. Really, I think we have a national emergency which demands urgent action.

Maybe you will want to ask the question first: What is precisely the nature of the wider ethical problem for which urgent national action is being demanded? The answer is ready on the lips of every Nigerian; to be narrated with varying degrees of emphasis on one aspect or another, depending upon the particular background and

experience of the individual answering; but the unanimity with which all agree on the existence of the problem, and on the fact that it is getting worse and crippling national development and stability, is only matched by the unanimity with which humanity adores motherhood, i.e., with hardly any dissenting voice. Yet no single person can summarise fully the extent of the problem or prescribe the solutions thereto.

The problem, spelt out in some detail, is the breakdown in our National Ethic: work ethic, morals and general social discipline. It has grown increasingly worse in the last fifteen years or so. The country is virtually grinding to a halt economically and socially. In my opinion, the problem is now assuming the proportions of a national emergency similar to earthquake, dangerous plague, epidemic, flood, or such other national disaster. In the last decade, one can observe, in our decadent Nigeria, seriously declining morals and morale; vaning discipline in all we do; and anti-social traits in the citizenry. People want money without work; nobody feels he owns Nigeria enough to want to fight for it, except for pre-agreed reward; nor to save its national assets and social infrastructure, nor to save its name and its image. There is no fellow feeling among citizens as brethren of one nation - every-one is simply rude; angry at everything; and abusive to all. Nigerians never can take their turn in anything, but must scramble disgracefully to get attention, to board aeroplanes or just to move along the roads - always in a hurry to grab for self, and never thinking of the rights of others. Nobody ever smiles at work to serve the public better and make fellow citizens happy. No laws are diligently enforced for social protection, but are rather freely compromised for personal gain by those engaged to enforce them. Nobody knows where or when to stop in any dispute or encounter. Nobody wants to work honestly and diligently for anyone else or organisation, with the result that indigenous Nigerian organisations and companies are stymied in growth, and services are woefully inefficient and ineffective for promoting social and economic progress of the nation. The reward system is wrong, in that those who are engaged in productive endeavour make far much less than those who cheat on the system via nepotism, tribalism and corruption, further depressing operational

morale and productivity.

Perhaps someone should consider engaging a competent economist or production cost analyst to estimate the social and economic cost, in naira and kobo, of these problems as are for instance shown in the operation of such public utilities as NEPA, Water Corporations, Nigerian Railway Corporation, Nigeria Airways, the P & T, and in the sub-marginal level of efficiency in all other service industries of this nation, and then quantify such cost as a negative element of the Fourth National Development Plan. The figure could be staggering enough to make many people, who may not now consider it urgent, to quickly join the crusade for positive action now to reverse the worsening trend. Put another way; imagine that our Fourth National Development Plan were to be executed by and for eighty million immigrants from Japan, Western Germany or China, who came on a five year citizenship exchange programme with Nigeria. Bearing in mind the work ethic in these three countries, estimate the level and pace of execution of the plan at the end of the plan period, as against what Nigerians would make of it under our present social order. It could make an interesting comparison, startling enough to set many Nigerians thinking seriously about the problem we have been trying to highlight for urgent solution.

Consider the Nigerian consumer's astonishing propensity to demand imported goods. Owing to inefficient utilities, infrastructural and other services to industries, Nigerian factories are grossly inefficient, both in product quality and in the high cost of finished output. Consequently, imports from more efficient sources are invariably cheaper and of higher quality, making smuggling such an attractive occupation to many Nigerians these days. Since nobody wants to work for his pay, galloping inflation at home combines effectively with the dissipation of our foreign exchange earnings on imports to push us nearer everyday to the crash-point of economic collapse sooner than we realise, fooled as we are by our present favourable oil revenue posture. The fact is that this position could change drastically with a technological break-through that leads to a major new energy source; and the Western industrialised nations are working round the clock to try to play out OPEC in this regard. Shall we wait till then before we re-join the productive nations of mankind? This is the gist of the national emergency against which we seek Presidential action to tackle - now.

In short the present worsening state of affairs demands urgent but thorough investigation by a body powerful enough, knowledgeable enough and prestigious enough to command the respect of every Nigerian and oblige him to listen to its findings and to follow a programme of action instituted on its recommendation to try to reverse the trend sketched above. If the facts are properly ascertained, as to what the nation loses daily in productivity, in prestige and in internal and international effectiveness as a leading African Nation, the result will be stunning indeed. Hence we recommend a **PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION** to study the nature, extent and causes of the apparent break-down in our national ethic and discipline as well as the impact of its ramifications upon society and the economy, and to recommend measures, immediate and long term, which the nation could undertake to reverse the trend and set Nigeria on a new path of an Ethical Revolution as our special twenty year national plan through the year 2,000 A.D.

I say now is the time, because we are lucky to have at the helm of affairs a man of acknowledged discipline, integrity and unusual humility, whose personal life style and example will inspire the nation to follow his foot steps. Nigerians are very good copyists and will follow very readily a teacher who practises what he teaches. Two hundred days' rule of Murtala Mohammed is a good case in point. Alhaji Shehu certainly has no skeleton in his cupboard and will be undeterred in launching Nigeria on an Ethical Revolution now to coincide with and strengthen the new nation-building effort that he has already started as our First Executive President.

I am well aware that our President is very much concerned about this problem and, from the way I observe he feels about it, he may sooner or later want to do something in order to devise a concrete programme of action to keep the problem in public view and awareness as well as to tackle its solution with judicious speed before some impatient wisecrack revolutionary pounces upon society to try to solve it all in one fell swoop of some kind of panacea violent programme of change, to the detriment of our freedom and our social and political stability.

May be you can take the initiative to introduce the matter to the President in your private conversation and perhaps discover for

yourself that the minds of all well meaning leaders have been working in the same direction. It was not long ago Senator Sola Saraki spoke strongly against the threat of armed robbery to this nation. You all could strengthen the hands of the President to do something to set this nation on a twenty year Ethical Revolution through the year 2,000 A.D. The credit will be yours on the golden pages of history and the benefit that of our posterity - your descendants and mine.

To set the record straight, I do not recommend commissions of enquiry on particular individuals and/or organisations. That could be dysfunctional and even counter productive, besides usually solving nothing. Rather we should accept that something is wrong with our society which careful and thorough investigation can discover and which we believe we can correct if we try hard enough over the years in a conscious effort to do it better. This is possible to do and our effort can be potentially fruitful. It is in our enlightened self-interest to clean up our society by a quiet self-imposed revolution than allow things to reach a point where someone will find an excuse to feel justified to impose his brand of solutions upon us in what could be a violent upset of our present fledgling Second Republic on a constructive march towards self-reliant independence with internal effectiveness and international respect.

I seize this opportunity to salute you, Mr. Speaker on your able management of the affairs of our House of Representatives in the past eighteen months of our Second Republic. I wish you God's guidance and protection in your distinguished role of constructive nation building.

Yours Very Sincerely

A. Kanu Oji (Snr.)

## Appendix C9

833637

26th March, 1981

Alhaji Shehu Shagari,  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,  
State House,  
Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of my humble self and my entire family, I present our loyal greetings and welcome you from your historic and epoch-making state visit to the United Kingdom.

Once again, we can hold our heads high in justifiable pride that our President, as he did last year at the United Nations, put up a spectacularly brilliant performance. Not only did you in prepared speeches tell the British Government and people our stand on every crucial issue facing us in our bilateral and international relations, but most impressively you were able at an unrehearsed press conference to supply brilliant answers to tricky political issues with such ease and resourcefulness as must have stunned the world pressmen there gathered, as shown by the spontaneous ovation that greeted your last answer. Some of your answers and the manner and posture from which they were rendered must truly have jolted many pressmen who looked for an opportunity for a slip.

Your answer on the question regarding the ostensibly pre-Apartheid stance of the U.S.A. under President Reagan, and the imagined Soviet threat in Africa associated therewith, is a particular case in point. The clarity and emphasis with which you dismissed the myth of Soviet threat in Africa could not have been bettered if you were standing at the Kremlin rather than in White Hall, underlining your courage

and sincerity on such a sensitive political issue. You declared that Nigeria, and indeed Africa, had not yet concluded that the U.S.A. under President Reagan had now adopted a pro-South Africa stance, but rather we in Africa have kept an open mind to allow President Reagan to complete his process of Africa Policy evaluations now going on before we could jump to conclusions. This wise and realistic declaration was in my view a masterstroke of diplomacy, taken in the context of your speeches earlier during your state visit; because it *did* not shut the door against President Reagan on this crucial issue, but left him with a diplomatic escape route to return to sanity from his recent trial balloon trips on the verge of political insanity shown by a few things said and done by his administration in recent times which tended to encourage South African recalcitrance with respect to Apartheid and Namibia, as well as anti-Angolan guerillas. I should be surprised if that declaration of yours was not the direct reason that triggered the invitation extended to our External Affairs Minister to visit Washington D.C. immediately for talks with his American counterpart on the whole Southern African question in particular and Africa policy in general, as was announced by the Voice of America this morning.

Yes, Mr. President, you have more than met my expectations so far in every aspect of your public performances in the past 18 months of your assumption of Office. Your utterances have been masterly examples of sober reflection and diplomatic prudence; and whenever you have refrained from speech your silence has been truly golden. Your actions have been the very essence of carefully measured steps calculated to lead to precisely set targets for specific National objectives designed to conserve this nation, strengthen its unity and fire its long-term development and prosperity.

You have shown all the signs of prudent and effective leadership. What is called for today to match your performance and personal example is GOOD FOLLOWERSHIP, because good followership must have to support good leadership to produce an effective nation that itself must necessarily end up leading other nations. This is virtually an axiomatic statement that needs no specific proof. To borrow your expression from your kind letter of thanks to me a year ago on my donation to the Nigerian Green Eagles, "where there is

a United Will, the sky is the limit for our country"..... "With common hope and joy, I believe that we will gradually and steadily succeed in building a permanent indestructible bond of unity".

Just as the nation was galvanized by your Administration into giving total moral support to our Green Eagles, and yourself led the way in setting the objective and inspiring the players and football fans each to do his part for eventual victory, so is it now incumbent upon Mr. President, as our great inspirer in this decade, to unfold his programme for veering our citizenry along the path of good followership so we can fully take advantage of the great contribution which you are making as our chief political strategist and spokesman in national and international affairs. You have spoken and the world will for long remember all that you said in London in the past one week of brilliant political exposition of our foreign policy and economic objectives as a great African nation. You will need an effective citizenry, disciplined and dedicated, in order to translate your pronouncements into effective action to accord a respectable measure of credibility to your utterances.

The year 1981 is the one during which a PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION on National Ethic and Discipline must complete its work and allow you to launch your programme for an Ethical Revolution during 1982. The impact of the national ethical drive, which should have gathered storm force in the second half of 1982, should lend a helping hand to the gale of campaign for total victory in 1983, when I foresee you and your NPN administration will be swept unequivocally back into office at the centre and in at least 3/4 of the state capitals.

I have had a couple of meetings with Dr. Okadigbo's assistant, Dr. Obiozor, on the matter at mid-February, and I have been standing by for more concrete action. Now that you are all back after many trips in and out of the country since Dr. Okadigbo first wrote me on 2nd February, 1981, I expect that we can now move ahead rapidly to prepare the path for Mr. President, as I wrote Dr. Obiozor on 16th February, 1981.

In the words of Prof. Aliu Babs Fafunwa, one of the many writers these days on the problem of our National Ethic (Daily Times of 24/03/81), "to become a disciplined nation, we do not need a dictator or any kind of autocratic ruler, neither do we need a police state. In

fact, no nation can police every nook and corner of the country. What we do need is self-directed discipline, reinforced by a fearless judiciary and police force. And above all we need to guarantee certainty of sanction for anti-social behaviour and crimes committed and the certainty of reward for jobs well done".

That is why I vote unequivocally for you to launch an Ethical Revolution. Not only are you not a dictator, you are not even one of the so-called charismatic leaders with oratorical wizardry. Instead, you are just yourself, pure and simple, a most disciplined example of what many of us aspire to be like in this decade of reconstruction following some fourteen years of political madness and chaos in our nation. We need a calm leader who thinks before he says and does anything. The days of shallow oratory are gone: today we should mean what we say and say what we mean and back it up with effective action to win international credibility and domestic self esteem and self reliant independence.

Finally, I want you to realise Mr. President, that ours is a participative democracy. In the Presidential system of the type we have now, citizens are expected to be alert, reacting promptly and logically to the deeds and utterances of leaders, to exhort them when they do it right and chastise them when they do it wrong. The nature and volume of your mail and telephone messages should be a healthy barometer of public judgement of your policies. When I write you letters like this, I do no more than play my role as an alert citizen giving you my own reactions to your policies so you can do it better for the success and happiness of us all. I hope you appreciate.

Please accept my best wishes for your personal welfare and for continued constructive leadership of our great nation.

Very Sincerely Yours,

A. Kanu Oji, (Snr.)

# Appendix C10

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT SPECIAL ADVISER ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS



Reference : PAPA/SH/010/VOL.III/212

STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

7th April, 1981.

Mr. A. Kanu Oji, LL.B, M.B.A., F.C.I.S.,  
6, Anifowoshe Crescent,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji,

I am directed by the President of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 26th March 1981 and to thank you for the compliments contained therein.

Your comments on the establishment of a Presidential Commission on National Ethic and Discipline has been noted. When Dr. George Obiozor of this Office and your good self reach some working agreement, the President will be briefed.

With warm compliments.

Yours sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several sweeping loops and lines.

DR CHUBA OKADIQBO  
Special Adviser to the President  
On Political Affairs.

## *Appendix C11*

833637

1st June, 1981

Dr. George A. Obiozor,  
Special Assistant (Research)  
Office of the Special Adviser  
on Political Affairs,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

My Dear George,

Re: Presidential Commission  
on National Ethic & Discipline

I refer to a letter No. PAPA/SH/010/Vol.111/212 dated 7th April, 1981 sent to me by the Hon. Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, Special Adviser to the President on Political Affairs.

Since I have waited some two months now from the date of his letter without receiving any reaction whatever from you with respect to Hon. Dr. Okadigbo's stipulation in paragraph two of the said letter under reference, I am led to conclude that it is quite conceivable that in his extremely crowded engagements schedule during a time of labour and security turbulence in our nation he might have omitted to pass on a copy of his letter to you for follow-up action. This postulation appeared to be increasingly plausible when I compared the said letter of 7th April with his earlier one of 2nd February, 1981, which was specifically endorsed to you for necessary action, whereas this other one was not so endorsed.

I am, therefore, sending you a photocopy of the letter of 7th April, 1981. The fact is that I shall be out of the country for the whole of July through early August, 1981. If really there is any true intention to put together any working arrangement with which the President is to be briefed on the matter, it is advisable that we get together during the month of June. Do not forget that we met last on this subject some four months ago, when you promised to take over the initiative for contacting me in furtherance of our deliberations on it.

If there is no honest intention to pursue the matter, please feel free to be frank to a man you have known favourably for many years since the 1960's when we were together in U.S.A. You could save me the time and effort to write letters and continue my research on the subject. I can only warn, though, that the issues I have raised in respect of this subject matter are pregnant with much more devastating implications than can be apparent on the surface, and so may not be discernible to those who are too pre-occupied with the overwhelming responsibility for running the nation. The Biafra struggle and our respective roles in the U.S.A will assure you that I could have far vision and reliable intuition in such matters. If really there are people who consider the matter not urgent enough or my ideas too frivolous for prosecution (may be because I have not attained a status of timber and calibre politically or economically) in the face of recent developments, then I would say it is time indeed for those who love Nigeria to weep for her; because South Korean and Ethiopian experience will be like plaything when our turn comes around.

**Best** wishes from

Yours Very Sincerely,

A. Kanu Oji (Snr.)

# Appendix C12

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

SPECIAL ADVISER ON  
POLITICAL AFFAIRS



Reference :

STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

June 4, 1981

A. Kanu Oji, Esq.,  
6 Antifawose Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Sir,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 1981.

I agree with you that a lot of time has elapsed since we met on the subject of National Ethics and Discipline. Please, bear with us for it was the series of rather potential serious developments that necessitated the delay.

Well, I agree with you that June is the month to complete the work on this matter. I shall call you soon.

Sincerely,

Dr. George A. Obiozor  
Special Asst. (Research)

# Appendix C13

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT SPECIAL ADVISER ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS



Reference : PAPA/SII/O10

STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA,  
5th August, 1981.

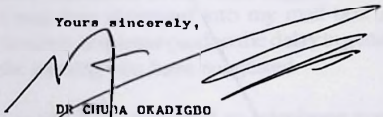
Mr Kanu Orgi,  
6. Anifowoshe Street,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr Orgi,

Mr President has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 22nd June 1981 and the enclosure, this being copies of your booklet. Please, accept his warm appreciations and assurance and action being taken on your propositions.

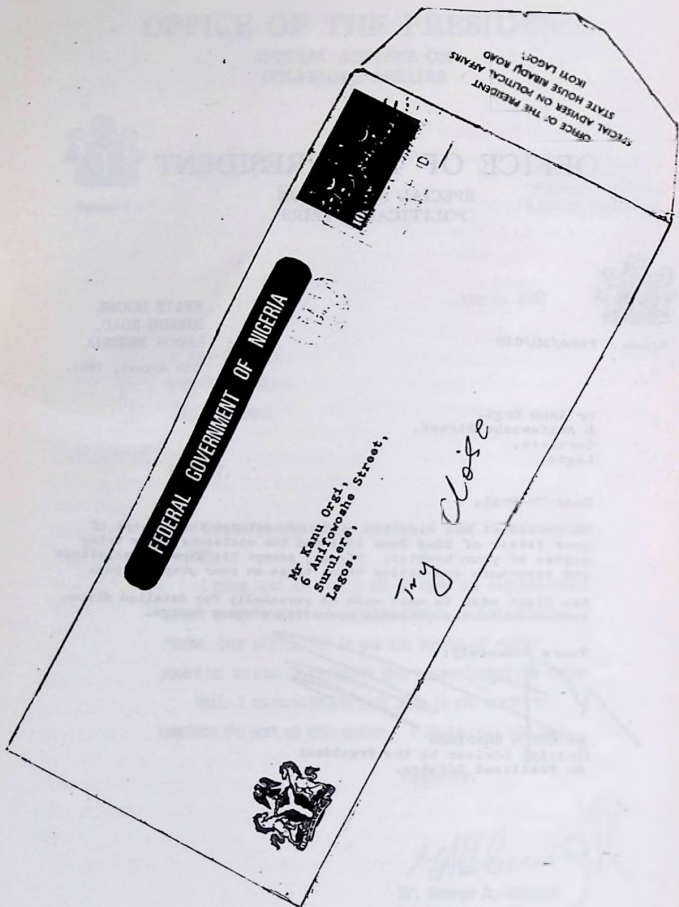
You might wish to meet with me personally for detailed discussions as to the probable operation of your design.

Yours sincerely,



DR CHUNA OKADIGBO  
Special Adviser to the President  
On Political Affairs.

# Appendix C13<sup>A</sup>



# Appendix C14

TELEPHONE: 833637  
830848

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S.  
6, ANIFOWOSE CLOSE,  
SURULERE LAGOS.

18th August, 1981

The Hon. Dr. Chuba Okadigbo,  
Special Adviser to the President on  
Political Affairs,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

Dear Hon. Dr. Okadigbo,

I have only just received your letter, Ref. No. PAPA/SH/010 dated 5th August, 1981, which I am convinced was meant for me, although strictly not so addressed.

As you will observe from the enclosed photostat of the envelop, it was addressed to "Mr. Kanu Orgi" of "6, Anifowoshe Street". The postman must have made several unsuccessful tries at delivering it before someone in his office suggested thereon "Try Close", when it was then delivered into my mail box at 6, Anifowoshe Close, Surulere. So please pardon the delay in getting back to you to arrange the meeting you have suggested.

I would have preferred to telephone you to fix a date and time convenient for the said meeting, but I do not know your telephone number, and your letter bears no telephone number.

Will you, please, be so good as to telephone me on any of the two telephone numbers printed above, or let me have your own telephone number by a hand delivered note to the above address and I shall be delighted to telephone you instead for an appointment.

Please accept my best wishes for yourself and assure Mr. President of my loyalty and complete readiness to play any role in this or any matter in the service of our nation.

Your fellow compatriot,

A. Kanu Oji

# Appendix C15



Reference :

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT,  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA,  
STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD, IKOYI,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

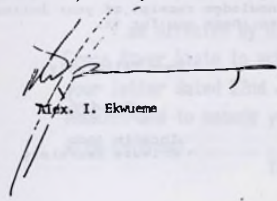
June 27, 1981

A. Kanu Oji, Esq.  
6 Anifowose Close  
Surulere  
Lagos

Dear Mr. Oji

I thank you for your letter of 22nd June, 1981, and for the copy of your proposal for the "Nigerian Ethical Revolution" for the twenty-year period, 1981 - 2000 AD which I am sure will be very useful to this Administration. May I congratulate you on this splendid effort.

Yours sincerely



Alex. I. Ekwueme

# Appendix C16



FEDERAL MINISTER OF INDUSTRIES

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIES  
FEDERAL SECRETARIAT COMPLEX,

P. M. B. 12614,  
LAGOS.  
TEL. 680396, 683975.

TELEGRAMS: .....

REF .....

DATE 7th July, 1981

A. Kanu Oji,  
LLB MBA FCIS,  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Sir,

I have been directed by the Hon. Minister of Industries  
Alhaji Adamu Ciroma to acknowledge receipt of your letter  
dated 22nd June, 1981 and to thank you for it.

Your Faithfully,

Ibrahim Abdu  
Private Secretary

# Appendix C17

## GOVERNMENT OF CROSS RIVER STATE OF NIGERIA

Telegrams: GOV CALABAR

Telephone:

Our Ref: GO/SSG/AD/S/300/vot-11/4 R

Your Ref:



OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

P.M.B. 1056

CALABAR

9th July 81

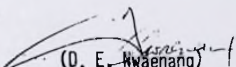
A. Kanu Oji Esq.,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Suru-Lere,  
Lagos.

Dear Sir,

TO GIVE EVERYBODY A CHANCE: AN NPN STRATEGY  
TO MAKE NIGERIA WORK THROUGH MAKING NIGERIANS  
WORK

I am directed by His Excellency, the Governor of Cross River State to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter dated 22nd June, 1981 with the enclosed booklet and to assure you that he will read the booklet with interest.

Yours faithfully,

  
(D. E. Nwaenang)  
for: Chief of Personal Staff to  
the Governor

# Appendix C18

Telephone : 450



GOVERNMENT HOUSE  
P. M. B. 5050  
PORT HARCOURT  
RIVERS STATE, NIGERIA

Ref. No. GH/C/001.....

22nd July, 1981 81

Akanu Oji,  
6, Anifowoshe Close,  
Ikorodu, Lagos.

A Case for Nigerian Ethical Revolution  
1981-2000 A.D.

I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter and brochure on the above subject, and to express His Excellency's sincere appreciation for the write-up.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'L. A. Ndimah'.

L. A. Ndimah (Mrs.),  
Personal Secretary to the Governor

# Appendix C19

Dr. Nwakamma Okoro  
Senior Advocate of Nigeria (S.A.N.)

Phone 254585

P. O. Box 618,  
Enugu Nigeria.

My Ref. \_\_\_\_\_

22 July, 1981

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

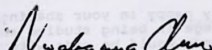
My dear Kanu,

I visited Aro last week-end to find your work 'To Give Everybody A Chance: An NPN Stratagem To Make Nigeria Work Through Making Nigerians Work'. May I congratulate you for your initiative in nation-building and for giving me the opportunity to read the work.

I am certain that you would receive sufficient encouragement and support.

Please accept my warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

  
Nwakamma Okoro, S.A.N.

# Appendix C20

Senator (Dr) Sola Saraki  
Leader of the Senate



P.M.B. 12572  
Telegrams: FEDHOUSE  
Telephone: 835783

OFFICE OF THE LEADER OF THE SENATE  
SENATE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, TAFAWA BALEWA SQUARE  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

REF: SARAK/OA/0220

29th July, 1981

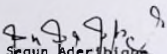
Mr. A. Kano Oji  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Sir,

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 22nd of June, 1981 to the Leader of the Senate in which you embodied a sketch of some of your thoughts.

The Leader was particularly happy in your sharing such ideas with him. Your message is being studied and further communication on the issue would be made with you soonest.

With appreciation,

  
Segun Aderibigbe  
Personal Assistant to  
Dr. Olusola Saraki  
The Leader of the Senate.

# Appendix C21



**CONFIDENTIAL**

STATE HOUSE,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Reference: 1907/

22nd September, 1981

A. Kanu Oji Esq.,  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere.

Dear Sir, .

NPN Qualitative Education

I have been directed by Mr. President to express his thanks and appreciation for sending him a copy of another publication of yours entitled:

"QUALITATIVE EDUCATION  
is a  
GOD-CENTRED EDUCATION  
for a  
LAW ABIDING SOCIETY"

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

*M. Prest*  
(M. MIKAIL PREST)  
Chief of Personal Staff  
to the President

**CONFIDENTIAL**

# Appendix C22



Reference :

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT,  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA,  
STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD, IKOYI,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

September 15, 1981

A. Karu Oji, Esq.  
6, Anifowose Close  
Surulere, Lagos

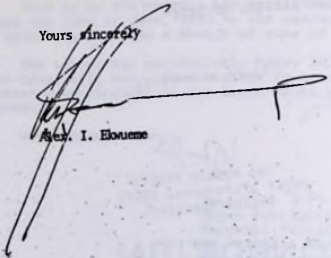
My dear Karu

Many thanks for your letter dated 31st August, 1981, with which you forwarded to me a copy of your monograph on qualitative education. I am inspired by the effort you put in to create the type of intellectual base and support so badly needed by our party.

I am sorry I missed you in London during our visit there.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely



Alex. I. Ekwueme

# Appendix 23

**SECRET**

Telegram: SECGOV BAUCHI

Telephone: 42334

Telex: 83263



Ref. No...GOS/ADM/15/NR/1/118.....

Governor's Office,

Bauchi State,

P. M. B. 0237

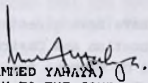
Bauchi, Nigeria.

Date....2nd..October,.....,1981..

Mr. A.K. Oji,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

My Dear Mr. A.K. Oji,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 11th September, 1981 and the enclosed covering letter of your booklet with thanks.

  
(MOHAMMED YAHAYA)  
FOR SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

**SECRET**

# Appendix C24

## GOVERNMENT OF IMO STATE OF NIGERIA

Telegrams:

Telephone:

Your ref

Our ref

MOE/COM/124 / 134



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER  
FOR EDUCATION  
AND CHAIRMAN  
STATE EDUCATION BOARD

P.M. 1281

OWERRI

3rd November, 1981.

A. Kanu Oji, Esq., LLB, ECIS,  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Sir,

NPN QUALITATIVE EDUCATION IS A GOD-  
CENTRED EDUCATION FOR A LAW ABIDING  
SOCIETY

I have been directed by the Acting Commissioner for Education and Chairman, State Education Board, Honourable Oji O. Okereke to acknowledge with thanks the complimentary copy of your publication titled as above. <sup>receipt of</sup>

2. The effort is deeply appreciated and the Honourable Commissioner shall find time to study in greater detail, the contents of the book-let.
3. Thank you once again for the kind gesture.

J. N. Anyatonwu  
Pers. Sec. 1.

# Appendix C25

## GOVERNMENT OF CROSS RIVER STATE OF NIGERIA

Telegrams : PMSACRO

Telephones : 222948

Our Ref : MCE/COM/8/115

Your Ref :



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION HEADQUARTERS  
Commissioner's Office

BLOCK 'A' SECRETARIAT BUILDING  
LEOPARDS TOWN ROAD

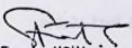
CALABAR  
5th November, 1981

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
L A G O S.

### BOOKLET ON NPN QUALITATIVE EDUCATION

We have received a copy of your book entitled; "NPN Qualitative Education is a God-centred Education for a law abiding society." His Excellency the Governor thanks you sincerely for the excellent piece of job that you have so ably done. We have gone through the book, and are convinced that you have contributed in no small measure to highlight the goals of our great party, N.P.N.

2. We shall make use of it so that our children and indeed the society at large will benefit from its usage. Once again, thank you for making a copy of this book available to us.

  
DR. E. J. USUA,  
COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION.

# Appendix C26

Telephone No. 222001

Telegram:—

Ref No...GUS/S/106/V.111/525  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
NIGER STATE OF NIGERIA,  
MINNA.

.....September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1981.



The Governor of Niger State

A. Kenu Cji,  
6, Anifwose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

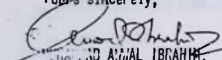
Dear Mr. Kenu Cji,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 11th September, 1981, which carried a copy of your publication entitled NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law abiding Society. Let me hasten to add that the predecessor of this publication was also received. It was very interesting reading. I believe our great party the NPN has to thank its stars for having men of our calibre and talent in its membership. I pray for your success in this solo crusade of yours, which doubtlessly is being pursued for a good cause.

I shall study your NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law abiding Society closely and pass on my reaction to you eventually. In sha Allah.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

  
ABDURRAHMAN AHMAD IBRAHIM,  
NIGER STATE GOVERNOR.

# Appendix C27

From Senator S.M. OJUKWU

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

Residence :

Street/Crescent \_\_\_\_\_

Block No. \_\_\_\_\_ Flat No. \_\_\_\_\_

National Assembly Flats,  
Federal Housing Estate,  
Victoria Island, Lagos.

Telephones \_\_\_\_\_



Office :

National Assembly,  
Tafawa Balewa Square,  
Lagos.

24th September, 1981.

Mr. A. Kanu Oji  
6 Anifowose Close  
Surulere  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Kanu Oji,

I received with grateful thanks your letter of 16th September, 1981 with the booklet titled "NPN A QUALITATIVE EDUCATION IS A GOD CENTRED EDUCATION FOR A LAW ABIDING SOCIETY" accompanying it.

The booklet is inspiring. One can only say that there is great hope for the future of this country since here and there one finds people, even though few, who are genuinely concerned with finding solution to the problems of our nation. Bravo.

I am off again tomorrow to complete my overseas tour and hope to be back in Nigeria on 10th October, 1981. I shall immediately proceed home for the Senate short recess.

Hope to see you when I return finally to Lagos about 26th October.

Best wishes.

Yours Sincerely,

  
Senator S.M. Ojukwu

## Appendix C28

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

ALHAJI ADO BAYERO,  
THE EMIR OF KANO,  
P. M. B. No. 3002,  
KANO, NIGERIA.

23rd September, 1981.

A. Kanu Oji, LLB; M.B.A; FCI,S;  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos,


Dear Mr. Oji,

We thank you for your letter and the copy of the booklet which you sent to us in June, titled, "To Give everybody a chance, An NPN Strategem to make Nigeria work through making Nigerians work. Also the one we received last week NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law Abiding Society.

This is to acknowledge the receipt of both booklets. I enjoyed reading the first one and I am sure will enjoy the latest one, that I have just received.

We thank you very much and wish you all the best.

Yours sincerely,

  
ALHAJI ADO BAYERO,  
Emir of Kano.

# Appendix 29

Chief S. O. Adebo

"ABIMBOLA LODGE"  
10, Hillcrest Road, (GRA), Ibaro  
P. O. Box 139, Abeokuta, Nigeria  
29 Sept., 1981.

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Kanu,

This is to let you know that I duly received the following booklets and have read them with interest:-

- (1) To give everybody a chance,
- (2) Qualitative education.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

*S. O. Adebo*

(S. O. Adebo)

## Appendix C28

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

ALHAJI ADO BAYERO,  
THE EMIR OF KANO,  
P. M. B. No. 3002,  
KANO, NIGERIA.

23rd September, 1981.

A. Kanu Oji, LLB; M.B.A; FCI,S;  
6 Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos,

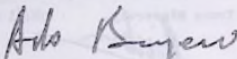
Dear Mr. Oji,

We thank you for your letter and the copy of the booklet which you sent to us in June, titled, "To Give everybody a chance, An NPN Strategem to make Nigeria Work through making Nigerians work. Also the one we received last week NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law Abiding Society.

This is to acknowledge the receipt of both booklets. I enjoyed reading the first one and I am sure will enjoy the latest one, that I have just received.

We thank you very much and wish you all the best.

Yours sincerely,



ALHAJI ADO BAYERO,  
Emir of Kano.

# Appendix 29

Chief S. O. Adebó

"ABIMBOLA LODGE"  
10, Hillcrest Road, (GRA), Ibará  
P. O. Box 139, Abeokuta, Nigeria  
29 Sept., 1981.

Mr. A. Kanu Ojí,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Kanu,

This is to let you know that I duly received the following booklets and have read them with interest:-

- (1) To give everybody a chance,
- (2) Qualitative education.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

*S. O. Adebó*

(S. O. Adebó)

# Appendix C30

**DR. AKANU IBIAM**

(Eze Ogo Isiala I, Unwana and the Osuji of Uburu)

**GANYMEDE**

October 12, 1981.

Telephone: 44

UNWANA  
Afikpo Local Govt. Area,  
P. O. Box 240,  
AFIKPO.  
Imo State Nigeria.

Barrister A. Kanu Cji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Barrister Kanu Cji,

This is a brief note to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 4th September, 1981, together with your book - a complimentary copy -

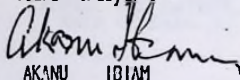
~~NON~~  
QUALITATIVE EDUCATION is a GOD-CENTERED EDUCATION for  
a LAW ABIDING SOCIETY.

The packet came in on October 9, 1981. Thank you for it.

Congratulations to you. I shall read it with interest not as a politician or a Party man, but as some one who wants to see Nigeria closely and genuinely involved in a first class and christian education for every Nigerian.

Greetings.

Yours truly,

  
AKANU IBIAM

# Appendix C31



## NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PATRON: HIS EXCELLENCY, THE HEAD OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

KOFO ABAYOMI ROAD  
VICTORIA ISLAND  
G.P.O. BOX 1727  
LAGOS, NIGERIA  
TELEX: 22638  
TELEPHONES: 611251, 611493, 611122  
TELEGRAMS }  
CABLES } INTERNATIONALS, LAGOS

DIRECTOR - GENERAL  
DR A. BOLAJI AKINYEMI, B.A., M.A., M.A.L.D., D.Phil (OXON)

NIIA-D/445/1/76

28th September, 1981

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji,

The Director-General, Dr. Akinyemi, has directed me to inform you that he read with great interest your publication on education. He would like you to know that he agrees with your sentiment about a God-centered education, and hopes that this would be successfully applied in Nigeria.

He appreciates your sending the paper to him, and he hopes that the number of people such as you, who have the good of this country at heart, will continue to grow.

Yours Sincerely,

Obi Ibekwe  
for Director-General

*File #110:  
30/9/81.*

# Appendix C32

UNIVERSITY OF ILORIN, NIGERIA  
OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR

Acting Vice-Chancellor:  
PROFESSOR A. F. OGUNSOLO  
B.A. (Lond.) M.Ed. PhD



P.M.B. 1516, ILORIN  
Cables & Telegrams: UNILORIN  
Tele: 33144 UNILORIN NG  
Telephones: ILORIN 2526

Ref. No. VCO/111/Vol.III/199

2nd October, 1981

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

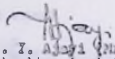
Dear Mr. Oji,

The Acting Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. F. Ogunsoola, has asked me to acknowledge with thanks, the receipt of a copy of the booklet titled "NPN QUALITATIVE EDUCATION is a GOD-CENTRED EDUCATION for a LAW ABIDING SOCIETY" sent under cover of your letter dated 14th September, 1981.

Your patriotism is highly appreciated and we wish to assure you that your points and suggestions are well taken.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

  
S. I. Ajayi (Mrs.),  
Administrative Assistant to the  
Vice-Chancellor.

# Appendix C33

## UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS, NIGERIA OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR



Cables and Telegrams: UNIVERSITY LAGOS

Telex: 21210

Telephones: 86 06 95  
80 05 00 EXT. 601

Vice Chancellor:

**PROFESSOR AKIN. O. ADESOLA**  
B.A., M.Ed., FRCI (Eng.), FACS, FWACS, FMCJ (Nig.)

Ref. No.VC/V/3

12th October, 1981

A. Kanu Oji, Esq.  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
LAGOS.

Dear Sir,

I have been directed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of your book titled "NPN Qualitative Education is a God-centred Education for a Law Abiding Society" with covering memo. I am to further convey the Vice-Chancellor's delight and his intention to read every line of it.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

*O. A. Aderibigbe*  
(O. A. Aderibigbe)

PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT REGISTRAR  
VICE-CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

# Appendix C34

Phone: 635729  
633841.



ARCHDIOCESE OF LAGOS  
P. O. BOX 8,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

24th Sept. 1981.

Dear Sir,

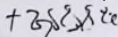
Greetings and Benedictions of the Lord!

I write to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your booklet "NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centred Education for a Law Abiding Society" and the covering letter of 4th instant.. Thank you very much indeed for your love and interest in our little contribution to help eradicate illiteracy. I am indeed grateful.

I have carefully scanned through the booklet and I must say that I am particularly edified and grateful for the explicit and objective way in which you approached the subject. It is my hope and belief that sooner or later, the good Lord will restore security to our Educational System. I must not fail to commend you also for the high quality of the material and the print.

More grace to your elbows.

Yours sincerely,



A. D. Ukongie,  
Archbishop of Lagos.

A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowosa Close  
Surulere.

# Appendix C35

## CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF NIGERIA

**PRESIDENT:**

Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Adefarasin,  
4, Thompson House,  
IBADAN, LAGOS.

**VICE-PRESIDENT:**

Mallam J. H. Dandaura,  
P. O. Box 1282,  
JOS.

**TREASURER:**

REV. J. A. Sholeye,  
1, Bell Avenue,  
IBADAN, LAGOS.

**GENERAL SECRETARY/ADVISER ON EDUCATION:**

Mr. C. O. Williams, B.A. (Hons) Dip. Educ.

**CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION SECRETARY:**

Elder E. E. Etiok.

**LITERATURE SECRETARY:**

Mr. Modupe Odunoye, B.A., B.D.  
P. O. Box 1282,  
IBADAN.

**DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY:**

Miss D. N. Obi, M. Theol. (Hons.)  
P. O. Box 628,  
IBADAN.

Telegrams: Churchcon, LAGOS

Telephone: 844019 836019

139, OCUNLANA DRIVE,  
SURULERE,

P. O. BOX 2838,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

Our Ref:

Your Ref:

19th October 1981

Mr. A. Kanu Oji, LL.B., M.B.A., F.O.I.S.,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
SURULERE,  
LAGOS.

Dear Mr. Oji,

I acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of a copy of your interesting publication on 'Qualitative Education'. Kindly let me have, at your earliest convenience, six more copies.

With prayerful wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*C. O. Williams*  
C.O. Williams,

COV/SAT.

*Ben - Mr Williams phoned for 20 more copies.  
Please wrap up + deliver same.  
Go  
1/10/81.*

# Appendix C36

Ekklesiya Yanƙuwar a Nigeria  
Coordinator for C.A.K.  
Kulp-Bible School

Mubi  
Gongola State

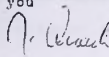
To  
A. Kanu Oji  
6, Anifowose Close  
Surulere - Lagos

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for the booklet "Qualitative Education is a God-centred education for a law abiding society", which you sent to our church,

Since I have to conduct in-service-courses for C.A.K-teachers, I would like to ask you to send me another 10 copies of this booklet. The book will be very useful in our discussions.

God bless you

  
(Rev. Dr. J. Quack  
Coordinator for C.A.K.)

# Appendix C37



THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF KWARA  
BISHOP'S HOUSE  
P. O. BOX 21,  
OFFA.  
Kwara State Nigeria.

Date 29-1- 1981

Dear Mr. Oji

I write to thank you very much  
for the interesting document which you  
have produced on qualitative Education.  
I hope to read it again a little bit  
more intelligently before I could form  
a concrete opinion on the work.  
Thank you very much.

Yours Sincerely  
J. Hebebrand

# Appendix C38



## DIOCESE OF ORLU

Diocesan Catholic Secretariat,

P.O. Box 430, Orlu,  
Imo State, Nigeria

Phone: Orlu

Date 2nd October 1981

Our Ref .....

A Kanu Oji, Esq.  
6 Anifowose Close  
Surulere  
Lagos

Beloved in Christ,

This is to acknowledge, with due gratitude,  
a copy of your publication: "Qualitative Education is  
a God-Centred Education for a Law Abiding Society".

I commend your efforts to the goodness of  
God who gives the increase no matter who plants or  
waters.

It is our earnest prayer that every Nigerian  
may 'retain God' in individual and social life; and  
all programmes and subsequent execution of same be  
"rooted in the love and fear of God."

I am,  
Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ Gregory Ochiagha

Rt Rev Dr Gregory Ochiagha  
Bishop of Orlu.

# Appendix C39



APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE  
IN NIGERIA

N. 2.668/81

S. ANIFOWOSHE STREET  
VICTORIA ISLAND, P. O. BOX 2470  
LAGOS PHONE 814461

20 October 1981

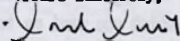
Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 14 September 1981 and the pamphlet "NPN Qualitative Education is a God-centered education for a law-abiding society".

While thanking you for the information, please be assured that its contents are being duly noted.

With all my respects,

Yours sincerely,

  
Archbishop CARLO CURIS  
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio

---

Mr. A. KANU OJI  
6, Anifowose Close  
Surulere Lagos

# Appendix C42



## CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT OF NIGERIA

Force Road  
Lagos

Telegrams  
CATHOLISEC LAGOS

Telephone  
635849

Postal Address :  
P. O. Box 951  
Lagos  
Nigeria.

Your Ref:

Our Ref: CS: 88/VolVI/338

November 16, 1982

Mazi Kanu Oji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere  
Lagos

Dear Mazi Oji,

I acknowledge with deep gratitude the receipt of your book "The Nigerian Ethical Revolution 1981 - 2000 AD" with the conveying letter dated 15/11/82.

Few hours after I received the book I saw the layout fascinating that I read immediately 24 pages of it in few minutes. My conclusion is that this is a work done by a zealot for what is right and just, executed with genuine academic equipment.

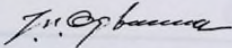
I am very grateful for my copy and your recognition of my moral support. This book will be well received by all men of good will; for all recognise that the nation is sick morally and needs a cure.

But we must pray that this book and the work of the National Ethical--Re-Orientation committee of which you are a member will produce right moral conscience in all our citizens.

I assure you His Eminence, Dominic Cardinal Ekandem will get his copy of your book and will gladly bring to His Holiness Pope John Paul II the copy you have so kindly presented to him.

Wishing you every God's grace,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely

  
Rt. Rev. Magr. J. N. Ogbonna  
Secretary General

# Appendix C43

our ref: NL.260/II/517

your ref:



national  
library  
of nigeria

4 wesley street, p. m. b. 12626 lagos, nigeria  
telegrams and cables bibliolag  
tel: 856590, 856591, 634704

2nd December, 1982.

Chief A. Kanu Oji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

Dear Chief Oji,

The Nigeria Ethical Revolution  
1981-2000 A.D : Launching Ceremony

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated  
22nd November, 1982.

2. Thank you for the books and the invitations delivered.  
Please accept my personal congratulations on this remarkable  
achievement. The effort put into the work is commendable.  
I hope it will be a lasting monument to the efforts of  
revolutionizing the attitudes and values of the citizens  
of our great country. When the stock is taken in future,  
your name will stand emblazoned as one of those who have  
stimulated the revolution.

3. Best Regards.

Yours sincerely,

S.B. Aje,  
Director.

Director S.B. Aje, M.A. F.L.A. A.M.N.I.M. Secretary Mr. B.O. Ifedibe, B.A. (Hons).

the author and the President believe that the corner stone of this ethical revolution or reorientation is qualitative education. Such a belief is based on acceptance of educability of human beings and the possibility of remaking men through education, broadly defined.

Another aspect of this qualitative education is that it is God-centred and moral. Following on this, there is a chapter on Functional Education, broadly defined as 'an education to tailor our educational system to contemporary and longterm economic and social purposes of the Nigerian society'. This implies the form of structure that will be modified to make for the most effective functioning of the graduands of the system.

Parts three and Four considered other aspects of society where the same failings are manifest: juvenile and adult delinquency; the interplay of political parties; political leaders and political followership. What comes out is a point made earlier in this century by the American, F. Verblin, in his 'theory of the leisured class'. We cannot expect the masses of this country to change in the direction in which the book is envisaging unless the elites, the pace-setters, the people that the masses consider their betters set the pace.

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution is a readable book, because it speaks of the problems of today and the dangers of tomorrow. As you read, you are bound to agree with almost every observation and you are left with the eery feeling that there may not be time to even start the revolution. The urgency of the action is probably seen perhaps in the section on Presidential Action. But those who are familiar with Nigerian bureaucracy know the phenomenon of decisionless decisions. When you are pressed to the wall, appoint a commission. When they report, appoint a committee to study the report. While they are doing that, go round in a circle and appoint a commission to study the report of the committee, ad infinitum. Before that happens, we should all bear in mind what the author observes: 'If we refuse to accept the feasibility of a self-correction programme and to give it a try, that means we shall have to resign this nation to the only alternative: Violent revolution'. I hope not: How about you?

# Appendix C45

## OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

SPECIAL ADVISER ON  
POLITICAL AFFAIRS



Reference :

STATE HOUSE,  
RIBADU ROAD,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

January 6, 1982.

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji,

Mr. President has directed me to respond to your letter of 12th December, 1981. We discussed two issues:

- (a) Approach to other Parties
- (b) Ethical Revolution

The President will like you to send two papers on both things, and submit same to this Office for further deliberation.

Wishing you a Happy New Year and all the best.

Sincerely,

Dr. Ghuba Okadigbo  
Special Adviser to the President  
On Political Affairs.

# Appendix C46



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA  
STATE HOUSE, LAGOS

8th February, 1982

Mr. A. Kamu Oji,  
6, Anifowohse Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. Oji,

*I have been directed by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated 29th January, 1982 together with the copy of the Economist magazine you sent to him.*

*Mr. President has directed that with your deep interest and concern for the moral up-bringing of our society, the enclosed book titled "Management of Corruption" be sent to you for your study. The book was sent to him by the author Mr. S. D. Olusoga, a Lecturer at the University of Lagos.*

*I convey Mr. President's good wishes to you and your family and he looks forward to hearing from you shortly.*

Yours Sincerely,

*S. L. Ojenamah*  
(S. L. Ojenamah)  
Private Secretary  
to the President.

# Appendix C47



STATE HOUSE

RIBADU ROAD  
LAGOS

7th March, 1983

Mr. A. Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowoshe Close,  
SURULERE,  
Lagos.

*My Dear Kanu Oji,*

I have the pleasure to formally congratulate you for your recent publication, titled, The Nigerian Ethical Revolution 1981 - 2000 AD, which was launched on the 29th November, 1982.

You are indeed aware that it was in recognition of your contributions to the take-off of the Ethical Revolution, that I had the pleasure to appoint you as a member of the Ethical Re-orientation Committee. I expect the report of this Committee to be of the highest standard and I am looking forward eagerly to the receipt thereof.

Let me also take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciations of your worthy contributions to the integrity and success of this Administration and our great Party, the NPN.

With my warmest compliments.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Shehu Shagari*  
(ALHAJI SHEHU SHAGARI)  
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

# Appendix C48

## SAVE OUR SOUL: VOTE SHEHU SHAGARI



**ALHAJI SHEHU SHAGARI**  
Stimulant of the Ethical Resurrection

Of all the candidates running for the Presidency in these general elections Alhaji Shehu Shagari has served longest in public office from the Colonial era to date. Yet he has NEVER SURRENDERED his hand or allowed his office to become the slightest stepping stone for the Courts and the Constitution, even as Executive President, such being ETHICAL, in fact in Nigeria is simply to graduate!

Some complain that these "evangelist" like, but we all in this nation are "evangelist" here too since past or present alike that most of those who do Government over, if given the chance inside, will tread like the previous leaders.

That is perhaps why this leader of Peace and Advancement of permanent national stability has chosen, not to scratch the surface, but to dig deep into the roots of ethical decay by appointing an expert committee to recommend a permanent remedy to clean both the inside and the outside over and for all time.

Nation we ask any danger into ethical degeneration, but we stand this man back in a hurry to the State House to complete the ETHICAL REVOLUTION he has been leading to launch forwardly.

It is not only that he has served so well, for a nation without ethical soul is doomed to the wrath of God and turbulent times of misery and unrest. A great God is our only chance we cannot afford to lose it, we are fighting our soul.

And last if not, he is a true, simple National Assembly support and two-thirds of the State Governors and Assemblies co-operating to implement Ethical revolution. Let's just vote NPN at all levels, it will mean the great fight for our soul, so help me God.

BY MAZI KASHU OJI  
For and on behalf of the  
COMMITTEE FOR ETHICAL ORDER

# Appendix C48<sup>1</sup>



The Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENT RECEIPT

DUPLICATE

No 050118

Printers and Publishers of Daily Times, Sunday Times, Sporting Record, Evening Times, Special Magazine, Women's World, Times International, Lagos Weekend, Headlines, Who's Who, Nigeria Year Book, Trade and Industrial Directory, Business Times.

3 Kakawa Street, Lagos  
P. O. Box 133  
Telephone 861441, 861421, 861431  
Telegrams TIMES LAGOS  
Cable DAILY TIMES LAGOS  
Telex 21333 TIMES NG

\* ADVERTISERS TO NOTE CONDITIONS HEREIN

Times Press Lagos—0511/279

Size of Display

1/2 Hear 55

**CONDITIONS OF ACCEPTANCE FOR ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALS**

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3. The Publishers accept no responsibility for the return of original copy or for the loss of any original copy.

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Line	CLASSIFICATION:
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	Save our Soul:
9	
10	Vote Sheshu Shagari
11	
12	As per attached
13	
14	
15	

REMARKS

ST Times

Checked by:

REQUESTED INSERTION DATES:

31-7-82

1 insertion @ N 970.20 insertion - 970 20

Block/Art Production Costs

Name: Mr. Maji Kanu Dji

Box Number N5 Extra

Address: Ethical Resources Co. 7

TOTAL COST N

Lagos

970.20

Received with thanks the above sum

10/07/82

Signature

## *Appendix C49*

Strictly Personal/Confidential

18th December, 1982

Alhaji Shehu Shagari,  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

My Dear Mr. President,

I present my loyal greetings and pledge my personal dedication and brotherly affection as ever before. As you are about to end a hectic spate of travels and national engagements all over the Federation as well as outside it, I wish you can give yourself a two week break during this holiday season to reflect and pray for God's guidance for the turbulent election year ahead.

Please treat this memorandum most seriously as you have very graciously done to my other hints in the past. This particular memorandum is provoked by days of sleepless nights and prayer and I believe it is God's wish that some of these revelations should come to light now. Please treat the matter very seriously and with prayer.

With the renomination of yourself and your running mate and the election of our key party officers this month, you now have the mandate to approach the nation to seek a second term to consolidate the Second Republic. Your first term in office has been characterised by effort to lay a solid foundation for peace, social integration and economic self-reliance. You have therefore clearly avoided any serious rocking of the boat, both within our own party and in the Executive arm of the Federal government and in the relations between us and the other parties and between the Executive and the other arms of the government.

For instance, you have not replied other confrontational party challenges in kind but with civilising tolerance and patriotic

understanding. You have refrained from dictating to the National Assembly even in matters where leadership guidance from the Head of State is called for. Also you have accepted every court decision and complied promptly; whether in constitutional matters, like the Revenue Allocation Act, or in matters of ordinary executive function, like the Shugaba case. And in our party affairs, you have allowed strict democratic principles to rule; you have not imposed your will on the party on any issue, as can very well be done by a popular President anywhere; but rather you have specifically inspired democratic practices, like adoption of party primaries, to bear on our party affairs. In conclusion, this is a superb strategy for a smooth takeover from a decade and half of civil commotion and military rule. It has been a good first term strategy.

As you start your stumping round next year to seek a renewal of your mandate, the nation at large and key forces in our geo-political setting must be reassured that there is the will to battle firmly with key social problems that could upset the apple cart. I draw attention to some very sensitive areas which need your urgent attention after deep reflection during this holiday period.

Restiveness in the armed forces is becoming more audibly prominent lately. Recently - very recently - the military secret intelligence allegedly submitted for unofficial review at Jos a catalogue of public officers' misdeeds, including particularly Federal Ministers who have bought luxurious mansions in Europe and flown food from Nigeria to the lavish house warming parties, and others who recently acquired aeroplanes (in whatever guise). The lower ranks and their wives are allegedly murmuring increasingly about these matters, and while they still believe that Mr. President neither participated nor authorised these reckless frauds and shameless display in time of austerity, they are beginning to say that Mr. President knows it all but does not care to do anything about it - i.e. he in effect seems to condone it. Some of your ministers are not helping your position either when they go about boasting openly that they will return to power in 1983 and to the same ministry! Please make your own discrete investigation and you will confirm that the opinion in the barracks is that if this administration survives the crises which the PPA will foment during 1983 and in the elections, the lower ranks of the armed forces might strike within thirty days should Mr.

President put back some of the most glaringly corrupt ministers on returning to office. Personal example may be a good way to teach others, but people at large are increasingly pointing to the fact that Mr. President could not possibly pretend he did not know what is happening around him unless he admits he is incapable of doing anything about it, which could be dangerous. One or two examples of dismissals might rock the nation for a few days, but might well be a good object lesson to rebuild confidence for your return to power. It is better to sacrifice one or two corrupt officers than sacrifice the whole administration and the stability of the nation. My dear brother, sir, this is indeed very serious and you must face it urgently and seriously - now. The style of the first term in office needs some adjustment now.

As the campaigns for 1983 start next January, it is my humble opinion that Mr. President must point positively in the direction to which broadly he intends to move in the 1983-87 term in confirmation that he has gained realistic experience during the first term in order to tackle our socio-economic problems with still greater imagination and competence. While assuring the nation that you are truly serious about a Nigerian Ethical Revolution, for which you have now set up a high powered committee to study the matter and recommend a programme, you also have to show some uneasiness about patently corrupt men staying too close to you without any restive reaction or corrective action. To placate the lower ranks of the armed forces and the suffering public who know that contractors sometimes carry a quarter of a million naira in cash from a bank to a minister who locks his door to count and accept the loot before signing a contract, some dramatic dismissals between now and the election will seem quite prudent and in fact inevitable.

Furthermore, while you cannot substantially change your co-operative stance in your relations with the National Assembly, you should now take steps to indicate that in the back drop of your first term's experience, you intend to perform your role of Head of State in compliance with your oath to uphold and defend the constitution. The constitution enjoins all public officers to declare their assets within three months of assuming office. Only Mr. President and the Vice President have done so; and newspaper editorials, and articles and discussions in the electronic media have made it a daily song

almost to try to whip up the conscience of the rest to do something, to no avail. The National Assembly has seen it fit to sit on the bill sent to it on the subject for nearly four years, in apparent breach of the constitution which all its members swore to defend and uphold when they took their seats therein.

Your example with your trusted Vice President is indeed a great inspiration to the nation and of special pride to me as your beloved brother. But you are the leader of the nation and should urge for action to follow your example. You can no longer point to your own compliance and leave the rest of the establishments to their own devices in apparent contravention of the constitution of the land. I humbly suggest that you do two things immediately (at your earliest pleasure), namely:

(a) Order all your own ministers and advisers to comply with this requirement, using whatever forms are available - the very ones you and the Vice President used - to declare their assets within three months from January 1, 1983. In the spirit of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution, which is underway, you want the personal examples of the Presidency and your functionaries to lead the way; and

(b) Send a polite reminder to the National Assembly that it pass the bill without further delay; because you would not feel within your oath of office if any government in the country took office in 1983 without prompt compliance with this important stipulation of our constitution. Non passage of the bill is causing obstruction to timely compliance.

In this way, the ball will rest squarely in the court of the national assembly and of the state functionaries to comply. Your popularity will shoot up dramatically and in fact not only help to quell the increasing restiveness in the army and among the general public at large but also swing public opinion in favour of your re-election.

Please, my dear Brother: consider this humble suggestion seriously. My intuition, fired by the stories told above, tells me you cannot delay action for too long in the interest of this nation and all you have done to heal old wounds and set us on a path of stable development as a leader nation on this continent. May the Almighty God reveal His

purposes to you in your prayer and show you what to do, what to say and how to accomplish it all.

Yours Very Sincerely

A. Kanu Oji

NOTE to appendix C49

This letter, together with a follow-up one dated 16 January, 1983 (vide appendix C50 following immediately), earned the writer his bitterest dislike from Alhaji Umaru Dikko, who, I later understood, usually saw all confidential matters sent to the ex-President. Four days after the letter of 16 January 1983, we met at a road junction on the way from Makurdi to Gboko on 20 January, 1983 and later during the 'Gboko 83' gathering of the NPN; when his frowning and antagonistic reactions to me generally at the gathering were only matched in rudeness by similar rude reception by his personal secretary later on during a visit to his Victoria Island office in the Federal Government Special Guest House. Whereas Alhaji Sale Jambo found time at that convention to congratulate me specially on the significance of my most recent pieces of ethical advice to the ex-President, Dikko shunned me and literally showed off his rage against me for some unexplained reason. I soon concluded that those two letters must be the reason, because if he read those letters, he did not need any clairvoyant advice to discover which Minister was boasting about returning to power come October 1983 and to the same ministry. He was the only one who ultimately did come back and to the same ministry when ministers were appointed in October 1983. It is no wonder that the concession to be granted to the writer's company to supply bunker to the ships of the Nigerian National Shipping Lines Ltd., which had then reached a very advanced stage of consideration, was at the last moment awarded instead to NPN juggernauts, while other avenues of business to the writer's two companies were blocked.

# Appendix C50

STRICTLY PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

16th January, 1983

Alhaji Shehu Sāgari,  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,  
State House, Ribadu Road,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

My Dear Mr. President,

I present my loyal greetings and felicitations along with all my best wishes for a successful and happy new year.

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your significant New Year address to the nation, which has made all who seek ethical rectitude in Nigeria proud and reassured. It is interesting that the Senate later passed the Code of Conduct Procedure Bill in a day! You have my absolute loyalty and dedication to your leadership because God has willed it so; and you are so consistent and a source of continuous inspiration to me.

A follow-up to my personal note of 18th December, 1982 is as follows. The ideas exposed here are for your guidance to blend with yours in formulating plans and strategies against October, 1983, when by the grace of God you will be sworn in at Abuja for a second term in the Presidency. This is important because, it is really the second term of office which will fully reveal your peak of leadership of this nation. Since you will never run for any public office hereafter, you will be your full free self, not to fly off the handle or off the tangent, but to fully assert all that makes you our God ordained leader and to be our first Executive President after a fifteen year set-back in our democratic history.

Firstly, I like to point to the fact, as it appears to careful on-lookers on the outside, that most of your ministers in this first term have

tended to operate as independent delegates from their states. The party ought to afford Mr. President a larger measure of discretion to choose his ministers rather than be saddled with those who might have purchased their chance at the state level and so might want to replenish their purse from the job as minister. The party machinery will, ofcourse, serve Mr. President in his choice process; but he does need more discretion as to who is appointed and as to what that who is assigned to do in the cabinet. This will make for more deeply rooted loyalty and personal accountability to Mr. President of such appointees.

Secondly, it is advisable to start now to devise the means of control of the ministers and to increase their M. B. O. (Management By Objectives) performance routine. Besides the weekly Cabinet meetings, which can only be for specific topics of the agenda, each Minister must have a way of reporting individually and in writing to Mr. President monthly, or at the very most bi-monthly, on the affairs of his Ministry. A thirty to forty minutes Presidential Reporting Audience with each Minister, rounded up with a hand-in of not more than two pages written report on the matter being discussed, may be a suitable approach.

By the time a Minister reports six times, any inconsistencies will emerge. The need to render this report will put the Ministers on their toes to perform and induce them to apply the pressure on the civil service below; and the impact will seep down the hierarchy and redound to the glory of the overall administration. Cost saving and revenue increasing ideas, such as are now emerging in the Ministry of Communications, can spread to other ministries and parastatals when some element of competition among the office holders to impress Mr. President is engendered by this Presidential Reporting Audience (P. R. A.) requirement of their roles.

Thirdly, the punctuality of Mr. President to his office, which Mr. David Williams pains-takingly recorded in his book, *Presidential Power in Nigeria*, is not remotely matched by the record of your Ministers. Take one historical fact of recent times as an illustration of what simple acts of unusual discipline of top leadership can do to citizens' appreciation of popular leadership - the institution of making

National Day and New Year's Day broadcasts at 7 a.m., first started by General Murtala Muhammed. That, coupled with his occasional visits to ministries unannounced and sometimes occasioning instant dismissals, added a touch of seriousness to people's attitude to work for the short while he was in office.

You are a different personality from that, but just as dedicated to strict discipline. To achieve the same effect, you can use methods compatible with the decorum of your own personality and background as a democratic Head of State. An occasional telephone call to selected Ministers or Advisers at your own resumption time of 8 a.m., may induce the word to get around that Mr. President may want some information from his men as early as 8 a.m. and induce them to be at their desk at 8 a.m., even though 7.30 a.m. is supposed to be the official time. Effect on junior staff will be equally healthy for the service, and spread the tone of seriousness in public service.

I have chosen to offer my advice recently mostly in relation to Ministers because it is in connection therewith that Mr. President receives his most scathing criticism publicly and privately. People think the Ministers are an uncontrolled band of potentous delegates imposed upon Mr. President to make NPN look a party with national spread, but which band consequently steers in disparate directions for own selfish ends to the helpless connivance of the Chief Executive just to keep the party together. I do not share this view completely, but there may be some truth in it. To make assurance doubly sure, I am letting you know what it is, so you can control the situation as best you can.

I look forward to the launching of the great democratic crusade at Gboko this Friday and I shall be there in the crowd to cheer you. Meanwhile, I pledge my personal affection, dedication and loyalty for your resounding success at the polls this summer.

Yours Very Sincerely,

MAZI KANU OJI

## *Appendix C51*

SECRET

Telephone: 833637

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S.  
6, Anifowoshe Close  
Surulere, Lagos.

TOP SECRET PARTY DOCUMENT

**THE NIGERIAN ETHICAL REVOLUTION IS AN  
IMAGE BUILDER AND NOT AN INDICTMENT OR  
WATCH-DOG OF THE NPN AND ITS LEADERS**

A political party, like any other human organisation, is basically people. How a party is perceived is a function of three variables; namely:

- (a) the perception of the general observing public about the character and motivations of its members;
- (b) the criticisms and accusations of its opponents and the reactions thereto by the public at large; and
- (c) the positive, deliberate image making efforts of the party itself to educate the public on its activities, intentions, motivation and political programmes, as well as to counter any adverse features which emanate from the (a) and (b) variables.

When we started in 1978 and got elected in 1979, the perception of the NPN by the Nigerian public was moulded largely on the impact

of variables (a) and (b) only of the image function given above. The third variable was assumed either to be able to take care of itself, perhaps through our performances in office, or to be discountable by the sheer force of the political and economic weight of numerous "juggernauts" in our membership. Therefore no definite, specific effort was made to forge and mount a public relations image building collateral programme of action to supplement our direct line political campaign efforts.

Unfortunately, this very valuable advantage we have in the form of prominent members of heavy financial strength is the factor which our opponents and ignorant or jealous members of the public were using to mow down the whole NPN as a party of treasury looters, inflated contractors and pen robbers (later mosquitos and rats sucking the nation's blood and eating up its assets). Since not every rich business man made his riches by defrauding the public, I found that state of affairs utterly unacceptable for my party, NPN, to swallow such unfair rotten pill and move about with the ugly stigma uncontested nor countered by positive policy attack.

My first bold move was the issue of the pamphlet titled, **TO GIVE EVERYBODY A CHANCE: AN NPN STRATAGEM TO MAKE NIGERIA WORK THROUGH MAKING NIGERIANS WORK**, in June, 1981. It was produced and printed as an emergency confidential item distributed free of charge to the topmost leadership of the party that month at a cost to myself of over N3,200.00. That booklet, which with the approval of the party leadership later became chapter two of my book, **THE NIGERIAN ETHICAL REVOLUTION, 1981 - 2000 AD....**, picked up statements, phrases clauses and action plans in the NPN manifesto and read into them a pre-conceived intention to launch an ethical revolution for Nigeria. My rationale was for the Nigerian public to ponder how we could be a party of looters, etc, if we were the party that planned such a move - thus putting our opponents on the defensive.

I followed it later in August and in November, 1981 with two others on **QUALITATIVE EDUCATION** and **FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION** respectively; with all three and more featuring in my book mentioned

above. With the possible exception of those inside the administration with mass media facility on full time assignments, I would consider my voice, in all humility, the loudest in support of Mr. President's effort in the ethical revolution movement. And during the 1983 electioneering campaign when I was pre-occupied with the Ethical Committee and the completion of my new book on the subject, I added my quota to the campaigns through advertisements like the sample enclosed herewith. Everyone inside and outside our great party sees me in that light.

With the launching of the ethical revolution, I consider that we have confidently thrown the challenge back to our opponents and detractors. Even the most critical press, who pooh-pooed the announcement of the new Ministry of National Guidance, have now come around to take us seriously from their latest range of comments, like the National Concord Thinking Corner of 18th November, 1983 attached hereto. If we can do as conscientious a job of the programme as Mr. President is pushing for, besides the beneficial impact upon this nation that would result, the NPN members will eventually emerge as the near-angels of the Nigerian society, who forged and mounted a clean-up drive to stop all treasury looting, inflated contracting, illegal currency movements in private jets, pen robbery and all the other ethical infractions with which every Nigerian Tom, Dick and Harry is now used to freely associating all NPN members. Someone had to do the public relations planning for it. I did; I have no regrets, because I have never been a treasury looter or else.

That I have championed this cause does not make me a C. I. D. or N. S. O. detective in the NPN fold, who may not be trusted to play whatever necessary games we have to play to run our party. The use and maintenance of political power may sometimes occasion the employment of perhaps unorthodox measures on the basis of least cost alternatives provided we stay within reasonable limits. It is the case the world over. I appreciate this fact and would be comfortable with whatever in that perimeter my party expects of me as the need arises; and I have been a keen student of government and political thought. By my birth and ancestry as a citizen of Arochukwu, keeping secrets and confidence is my second nature within any

organisation I belong to. I have often supplied policy inputs to functionaries of our party leadership, many of which were found useful and were applied, without anybody else, even within the party, knowing from me that I had anything to do with such inputs. It was done as my duty to the party and loyalty to such functionaries and not for personal publicity.

To get straight to the point, some party functionaries and beneficiaries in office have often talked to me sarcastically to imply that my championing the ethical revolution programme makes me some kind of a non-conformist or misfit and perhaps dangerous to deal with in routine matters of running my business with the facility of government services, like import licence, contract awards and similar concessions to which I should be ordinarily entitled as a citizen. Such people, who may be more numerous in number than I can guess, seem to miss totally the invaluable public relations and image building dividends which our party and themselves derive from Mr. President's ethical revolution programme as an effective counter attack to the campaign of vilification directed at us by our opponents and the gullible press and public. In all other civilized countries, the rôle which I assumed for the party would be a fully sponsored drive specifically mounted to supplement the direct line counter fire of other normal party functionaries, knowing that all these efforts combine, dovetail and redound to the over-all success of the party. Instead I am the object of neglect, distrust, disdain and ridicule, persistently outwitted, told to come again and again and again, and shunted aside by all functionaries who are expected to ensure that I stay successfully and honourably in my legitimate business activities.

The result is that all the business I had built up during the military regime have been dying steadily since 1979 for lack of fair ministerial facility which if I were a minister in this administration I would give all manner of people as a matter of course. I have decided to bring this matter formally to the notice of the topmost echelon of our party leadership because Christmas is coming once again and this time I can have no christmas literally by my present state of neglect and deprivation. My children may not even have a decent dinner on

Christmas day, let alone have their school fees for going back to their universities next January. This is absolutely unacceptable for a man who in January 1979 controlled a few hundred thousand naira in cash and net business assets. I refuse to die or let my business die in a democratic administration of my own beloved party simply because NPN Ministers won't give me what is due to me, thinking I am a preacher of ethical heresy. Furthermore, it is grossly unfair for me to continue to bother Mr. President personally by occasionally giving him a hint of my sad tribulations. The party top leadership should now make a policy on me; I am now a special case - the apostle of ethical revolution. If that is a crime I plead guilty and ask for leniency.

If my party thinks, like those functionaries who refuse to give me what is due to me, that what I have done is a mistake I shall gladly retract like a loyal party man, apologise and divert my attentions to other areas. If however my party agrees that my role is supportive of a programme that has now become one of its boldest and most praise-worthy programmes, besides the invaluable image making benefits ethical revolution affords the NPN on the side, then I humbly plead in all humility and loyalty, to be given the protection I need, similar to what would be given to a front line infantryman by way of ready victual and medical supplies. And who doubts that fighting ethical decay in Nigeria today is at least as dangerous as the role of a front line foot soldier in military combat? I need the special attention of our party now, after over four years of being "patient" and starving. There is a limit to human endurance; there is no adjustment left in my belt now. My case is truly special and extremely desperate NOW. Whoever is asked to look into it must be told when to report progress, otherwise I shall be patient for four more years, if I can last that long.

*Highlights of my tribulations are as follows:*

- (1) My company, Devimpex Nigeria Limited, did a carpeting job for Minister of Housing in March 1980 at the 1004 flats valued approximately at N480,000.00. As the job was progressing, legislators raised serious uproar that materials approved for the job were inferior. We offered higher quality alternatives at higher prices

which were approved by the supervising architect attached to us and the job continued in great speed to enable the legislators to move in by the target date. When we put in our claim for the cost differential amounting to approximately N90,000.00, the Minister and his officers found some technical excuse to delay the payment, including the approval of an expected new supplementary budget. Finally he said it was time-barred after twelve months. This loss added to the N50,000.00 later demanded by the party and paid from bank overdraft, wiped out the working capital of this company and put it into permanent overdraft. A copy of my final letter to the Minister is attached.

(2) This same company had been, since the middle 1970's importers of rice and photographic supplies and in fact represented POLAROID CORPORATION for its ID-CARD equipments and supplies. When these items went on specific import licence in 1979 our business was affected. We applied for import licence from all the ministers of Commerce that were ever in office since then and never got any to date for either commodity. One of them told me the licences were issued by Allah and he had no control of the matter! We supported all our applications with invoices, etc, to prove these to be our regular lines of business; yet other fly-by-night new entrants got the said licences (from Allah?).

(3) Backed by POLAROID CORPORATION for whom we were privileged to be sales representatives for the ID-Card line of merchandise, we put in for the National ID-Card programme. The then Minister of Internal Affairs, who coordinated it, made absolutely sure I did not get the deal, even though

(a) our quotation was much lower; and

(b) POLAROID which was backing us is universally known to be the undisputed leader in ID-Card systems.

(4) Distressed by the loss both of this project and consequently of our agency for POLAROID products and seeing our position became more precarious, Dr. Dikko introduced me to the Nigerian National Shipping Line management to discuss what I could do to

serve them. After a few visits and discussions with their very understanding General Manager, I offered, for Devimpex Nigeria Limited, to repatriate to Nigeria the bunkering of NNSL Ships which was procured overseas with foreign exchange. It seemed silly to me for Nigeria which produces bunker fuel and diesel engine oil to buy such products with hard earned foreign exchange overseas instead of purchasing the products from Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation locally to supply the national flag ships of the NNSL, if private shipping lines are not permitted to buy bunker fuel locally because of the fuel subsidy here. I was assured of getting the concession if I could convince the NNPC to modify its rules to accommodate the service. I then approached the NNPC and the Adviser on Petroleum. The latter was quick to agree that placing such a service overseas was bad economics and promised to give me the fuel if I secured the concession from the NNSL. Dr. Dikko was very pleased with my report and handed the matter to his junior Minister to work out the concession for Devimpex Nigeria Limited. We made an engineering and a financial study, part of which took me to Holland twice to identify suitable bunkering vessels and equipment as well as enlist the technical support of a bunkering firm in Rotterdam that had been in the business for thirty-five years, who would supply two expatriate staff. We completed an expensive feasibility report which our bankers readily agreed to support and the Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry agreed to guarantee. All this was in the first quarter of 1982 and I was confident we would go into operations before the end of the year. While I continued to wait and be "patient", the junior Minister allegedly took advantage of my ideas and formed a company to whom the concession was quietly given! The banks are still holding my application and waiting for the formal documents of concession.

(5) My other company, TEI Nigeria Limited which is registered as a consultant with P & T, did its last job in 1976-78 for that Department as a sublet from ITT under which it undertook the commercial survey and design of outside plant facilities for the eastern states. Since this administration took over in 1979 we have regularly tendered for services to P & T in which we turned out to be the lowest bidders or among the lowest; although I consider our U. S. principals, Telcom

Engineering Inc., far superior to the two foreign companies which invariably get all the contracts, no matter how high their bids.

(a) In 1981 the project was:-

**Modernisation and Expansion of the  
Telecommunications Services in the 19 State  
Capitals and other Selected Centres.**

Nobody has yet told us honestly what has happened to this job. At first it was delayed for money and we offered to find U. S. related financing; but we were told to wait for funds approvals. We are still waiting.

(b) In 1982, project was:-

**Project Management of Telecommunications  
Installation Services for the Federal Capital  
Territory of Abuja.**

Here we were the lowest bidder. The foreign outfit which we later understood confidentially was being tipped for the job had a quotation some five (5) times our own in value. In respect of this one, nobody has told us anything besides that there was no money, even though the job has been going on in Abuja. Like (a) above, this is an area in which we are proud to claim unrivalled competence of our U.S. principals.

(c) In 1983 the project is

**Training of four hundred (400) Engineers for the P & T  
Department**

This is sequel to Mr. President's instruction that the perennial consultancy bill of some N29 million paid annually be stopped and Government should take steps to train high calibre engineers to replace the need for those foreign consultants.

The competence, expertise and worldwide experience of TEI in the field of training are virtually unchallengeable. TEI not only has mounted training programmes and long-term masterplan (20 years and over) for many countries worldwide, including here on the

African continent (e.g. Egypt's 20 years masterplan and six hundred engineers (600) being trained NOW), but it is the one outside organisation that trains engineers for many American independent Telephone companies, including some of the world's largest and most successful telephone organisations.

The contract for training four hundred (400) engineers at eighty (80) engineers per year for the next five years beginning immediately, was supposed to be consummated last July/August, but the elections took the Minister away too often for that to be possible. With the change of Ministers on 1st October, I do not know where we stand on this now.

I seriously pray my party leaders to save these two Companies, DNL (with respect to the bunkering services) and TEI (with respect to at least the training programme) now, and save me in the process.

(6) My Company, DNL, acquired a 2.092 acre plot freehold in 1978 in the IREAKARI Scheme, Isolo, adjoining the industrial estate, around which we have put up pre-development fencing at great cost. Lagos State UPN Government took over the land to build schools upon coming to power in 1979. I petitioned the Governor for an alternative allocation in compensation. The matter was seriously under consideration until my booklet titled, "NPN Qualitative Education is a God-Centered Education for a Law Abiding Society", was shown to the Governor. (It later became chapter three in my book on Ethical Revolution). Later a long time boyhood friend who had been persuading the Governor to give DNL an alternative land allocation, informed me that my "NPN activities" had spoilt my case. Till today, I have received no further response to my petitions and reminders.

I approached every known leader of the party for some party leverage to assist me get an alternative land allocation to save what I paid for the plot, but nobody has shown any interest to even listen in detail to my story. Yet when Chief Nkwocha lost his plot by a similar action of Governor Nwobodo's NPP Government in Enugu,

many top party leaders issued statements to demand a return of the land to Chief Nkwocha. I have never understood the difference between the two cases.

In conclusion, I have taken this opportunity for once to establish that

(a) I am an extremely loyal and dedicated party member of the NPN;

(b) I have shown sufficient initiative in promoting the good name and programmes of the NPN to merit some dignified recognition;

(c) I have the personal competence to stand for the NPN in any position of responsibility and be a reliable credit to it and the nation;

(d) I have been denied my rights to carry on my legitimate business, partly because some ministers will not show me genuine comradeship and even consider my ethical revolution activities as heretical nuisance and so deserving of punishment for me, making it difficult for me to make my full contribution to the party and the nation besides meeting my family responsibilities;

(e) At this point only a top level party caucus decision can resolve the tribulations I have suffered in consequence; and I need, rather desperately, such intervention NOW.

I most humbly remain,

Your fellow compatriot

Mazi Kanu Oji

22nd November, 1983.

**Distribution List**

Mr. President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari

Mr. Vice President, Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme

National Chairman, Chief A. M. Akinloye

National Secretary, Alhaji Uba Ahmed

Director-General of NPN Presidential Campaign, Dr. Umaru Dikko

Elder Statesman and Leader, Eastern Zone, Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe.

## Appendix C52

Telephone: 833637

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S.

6, Anifowoshe Close

Surulere, Lagos.

2nd January, 1984

His Excellency Maj. Gen. M. Buhari

Head of the Federal Military Gov't &

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria

Supreme Headquarters

Lagos.

Dear Sir,

I send hereby my warmest congratulations on your great sense of justice, national duty and patriotism in coming to the rescue of the nation when it became absolutely necessary at this critical hour created by sorry leadership ambivalence and ignoble surrender to a crippling cabal of corrupt selfish forces around it. God is surely supreme.

I am particularly impressed by the terse statement you made to the nation on taking over highlighting in concise form the grim challenges we face and your determination to be up to them in the same manner as the Mohammed Obasanjo administration implemented to the letter its political programme to hand over power to elected civilians in 1975-79. It is very refreshing and gives hope to our people at large.

Your promise to combat decisively the perennial problem of corruption and indiscipline and to bring to book all known corrupt public officers and their agents is perhaps the greatest single promise

you have made to this nation and the most fundamental programme which will make your new administration succeed better in all other fields of its programme of action. If you can carry out that solemn pledge to our nation to the letter you will certainly emerge as the only true hero of Nigeria since independence. I make this categorical assessment in the name of Almighty God and with all the emphasis at my command, because I am thoroughly convinced that, whatever are the problems we have as a nation, such problems are made worse in exponential terms by corruption and the gross indiscipline of past leadership and its demonstration effect on society.

I have preached against ethical decay and indiscipline tirelessly and continuously now for a full decade since I returned from America in 1974. My book, *The Nigerian Ethical Revolution 1981-2000AD*, enclosed herewith with my patriotic compliments, bears ample testimony to this fact. Most of it is a collection of memoranda and booklets I sent to Alhaji Shehu Shagari and his party leadership to argue the cause. I even joined the party in 1981 in order to successfully influence them from the inside to accept the need for an Ethical Revolution as a national policy. While Alhaji Shagari seemed to accept my views personally and the need to stop all forms of corruption and to stem the drift into uncontrollable mass indiscipline, his party chieftains and greedy juggernauts apparently did not and certainly hated me for allegedly blowing the ethical drift issue out of proportion to their embarrassment. In fact they made sure that since the 1983 elections I was kept severely at a safe distance as a preacher of ethical heresy (I completed my second book on 30th August, 1983, titled: *ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY IN THE NIGERIAN ETHICAL REVOLUTION*, a draft copy of which I sent to Alhaji Shagari as it went to the printers and publishers).

As you will see from the book I have here sent you, the creation of a Ministry of National Guidance was entirely my idea, and my new book made even more sweeping and thorough-going analysis of the issues and methods of prosecuting the revolution, which perhaps they honestly have no intention to follow. It is no wonder they did not want me too near so they can make ethical revolution mere propaganda to deceive the public. I leave to

Almighty God to judge and resolve all the tribulations I have suffered, even though I gave them all the credit and undeserved praise for ideas that are basically mine alone, just to induce them to do something specific in the matter.

I am satisfied, from the tone of your speech, that you intervened to save this rich but grossly abused nation of ours. I commend you to the hand of Almighty God for that task and in this belief that you are acting in the national interest. God will bless your efforts. However, I humbly warn in all truthfulness that you should pursue sincerely all the programmes you announced yesterday to this nation in good faith most particularly the programme to fight corruption in all its forms and to bring to book all those who bled this nation nearly to death to enrich themselves. If you do so sincerely and courageously, you have my 100% support and prayers.

Once again, please accept my warmest congratulations for yourself and your courageous comrades in this noble task and national venture to rescue the rest of us from the wild grips of an arrogant, corrupt and incompetent cabal of advisers which held Alhaji Shagari prisoner in his unfortunate administration.

Yours in the name of God

Elder A. Kanu Oji

## Appendix C53

CONFIDENTIAL

9th January, 1984

Major-General Muhammadu Buhari,  
Head of the Federal Military Government  
and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,  
Dodan Barrackes,  
IKOYI, Lagos.

Dear Sir,

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution

I was hoping that the Nigerian Ethical Revolution would be launched formally in February, 1984 when my new book, *ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY IN THE NIGERIAN ETHICAL REVOLUTION*, would be out. I was hoping against hope, apparently, having regard to the resistance and other forms of obstruction and arms length treatment which I received since the report of the National Ethical Reorientation Committee was submitted to the Ex-President on 14th July, 1983 - a report in which fellow members will admit I made a major contribution, besides that the whole idea was my brainchild. My plight was made worse when I completed on 30th August, 1983 my new book mentioned above, in which I made a thorough going analysis of the issues and their implications on methodology, for prosecuting the ethical revolution to cover all sections of society. As the year 1983 ran to its end I seriously pined away in agony that my pet programme was being mutilated and turned into a sing-song propaganda gimmick when ethical reorientation was lumped with information, sports and culture. What a joke! I thought in mental agony.

Little did I know that the Almighty God had His own programme and time table which would come sooner than my February 1984 fixture. The events of the first week of your new administration, beginning 1st January, 1984, have proved that the Nigerian Ethical Revolution has in actual fact been launched by the Nigerian Armed Forces on 1st January, 1984. It is most refreshing to read the full texts of all your broadcasts since the change over; your pronouncements during swearing in ceremonies of public officers appointed by you; the charge to the Military Governors before they left for their states; and last Thursday's address to the world press conference. Take also one simple issue, that of withdrawal of the innumerable CVU cars (my little daughter calls them Crazy Vehicles Unlimited;) and FGN cars from strictly non-official use. If you take steps in your own way to check the public satisfaction and the object lesson in prudent management which the nation has been taught thereby during this inaugural week of the revolution, you will see what I mean. The Nigerian Ethical Revolution is now effectively on since 1st January, 1984.

By starting from the top, in attacking the discredited dealers, whom we called leaders in ignorance, you have already produced a sobering effect on the rest of society in readiness for the next stage in the ethical revolution drive. True ethical revolution must start where you started it, that is from the top; but it must spread to other ranks and sectors of society in order to attack the cankerworm in totality and be an organised continuing national programme. This is the genesis of the reasoning in my new book now in printing.

Another aspect is the installation of the institutional machinery for the dissemination of carefully collated and digested ideas and practices for mass education, monitoring and adjustment of implementation tools for a lasting result and total effectiveness. I regard myself as the happiest Nigerian today because my new year resolution on 1st January, 1981 to pursue the programme of an ethical revolution for Nigeria has finally received practical (not the previous political propaganda) endorsement by your administration, and I am very grateful to Almighty God for His mercies to our suffering people. My happiness will be short lived, though, if the prosecution of the

programme is haphazard, off-handish and based on the impulse or intuition of each military governor or other such individual functionary of yours. You need a carefully coordinated programme of action, just as you need for determining your education policy, public health policy, agricultural policy, etc., for the nation. Ethical confusion such as we have in this nation today is not just as nagging a problem as any of these; but what is much more dangerous is that if not checked it could stop all your efforts short of the targets in all these other programmes. One may reasonably urge the use of the slogan: "Stem the tide of ethical drift and all the floods of under-development will disappear".

Your ministerial rearrangement was beautiful and I expect that you will already be receiving the applause of this nation in the congratulatory messages you get in that respect for cutting ministries down to eighteen only. I have only one suggestion to make for your consideration. National Planning must be combined with National Guidance and the new combine brought under the supervision of the Head of State in circumstances where the Secretariat of the National Council of State is coordinated by this new combine. This, besides providing a visible machinery for ethical revolution, will make for effective harmonization of policies nationwide in both ethical and material sectors of social and economic development. As I argued in my new book, we should move away from the past myopic approach to national planning and embrace a new planning approach that is total, directional and functional in building a long-term strategic master-plan, while using short-term (4 to 6 years as in the past) plans for succeeding administrations and regimes to implement their programmes. These latter plans are given long-term functional guidance by the master-plan.

One of the advantages of this approach is the ability to prevent the fraudulent substitution of personal goals for national goals in our plan implementation process through the manipulation of development parameters by clever functionaries and greedy politicians. Furthermore, succeeding administrations and states are prevented from flying off the handle on a frolic of their own in contraposition to the national master-plan objectives.

A Ministry of National Guidance and Planning, which coordinates the ethical and planning aspects of the Secretariat of the National Council of State, and which has the duty to develop inputs for nationwide dissemination through other appropriate organs, state and Federal, for the ethical reorientation of the nation, under the close eye of the Head of State, will provide a permanent institutional machinery for the promotion of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution. Thus administrations may change but ethical revolution must remain, because its purposes range beyond the life span of any regime or administration. The provisions of Chapter Two of the 1979 Constitution relating to the directive principles of State policy will seem to imply the need for the establishment of such a permanent institutional arrangement for their prosecution. Citizens at large will in time see the need to make it so much their movement, the people's ethical revolution, that no incoming administration hereafter, attracted by the juicy spoils of office noted in previous corrupt regimes, will dare to jettison the programme in the future.

Once again, I want to congratulate you on a flying start and wish you a steady and orderly consolidation in the divinely inspired effort to drag our beloved nation back to safety from the brink of an abyss of ruin and chaos. You can count on my support and collaboration in any way necessary to promote the ethical revolution aspects of your programme for the nation, for to me ethical revolution for this nation is like religion.

Yours in the national cause,

Elder Mazi Kanu Oji

# Appendix C54



SECRETARY TO THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT  
AND ~~XXX~~ Head of the Civil Service of the Federation

New Secretariat,  
Lagos, Nigeria.

Tel. Office: ~~XXXXXX~~ 633128

Ref. No. SFMG.7/111/529

Date: 16th January, 1984

A. Kanu Oji Esq.,  
6, Anifowose Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Sir,

## The Nigerian Ethical Revolution

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 9th January, 1984 addressed to the Head of Federal Military Government on the issue of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution.

Yours faithfully,

(G. A. E. Longe, CFR)

Secretary to the Federal Military  
Government.

# Appendix C55

1st March, 1984

Major-General Muhammadu Buhari,  
Head of the Federal Military Government,  
Supreme Headquarters,  
Dodan Barracks,  
Ikoyi, Lagos.

Through: The S. F. M. G.,  
Tafawa Balewa Square,  
Lagos.

Dear Sir,

Re: The Nigerian Ethical Revolution

I present my patriotic greetings and support for the S. M. C. and the entire administration.

It is now two full months since you accepted the mantle of power to rescue the nation from decay and drift. The corrective measures so far announced have continued to indicate very careful thinking and grim determination to effect a total overhaul of ethical order in the nation. While I cannot counsel lethargic reaction to these serious issues, I certainly encourage a continuance of your measured steps approach to action, after careful reflection and co-ordination of measures nationwide. You must refuse to be stampeded into impulsive action by anybody or organisation. A mistake once made is not easily un-made totally afterwards.

Whether this Administration chooses or not to call its present clean-up drive by any name tag, history and careful socio-political analysts will brand it the Nigerian Ethical Revolution, if it continues consistently and as pervasively as it has already started since 1st January, 1984.

It was not the inventors and pioneer industrialists who introduced and successfully used machines, etc, to revolutionise production in the 18th and 19th century Western Europe that branded the development as the Industrial Revolution. Rather it was seasoned analysts and historians that did so. As far as I can see for now, the Nigerian Ethical Revolution which I have dreamt of for this nation over the last few years has now been set in motion with the entry of this administration. I only pray it continues dead on target, consistently and uninterrupted by the exhaustion of ready ideas. Some name tag could make the drive more enduring, though.

In the early stages, especially with respect to the trials of political leaders who abused their office and committed financial improprieties, special ad-hoc tribunals will be used. Ultimately, however, standing tribunals will have to be established to take care of future cases as a matter of course. Right now also a list of known political actors has been used by the Police and NSO to invite people for questioning to identify those who ought to be detained for trial. In future, there will not always be such a ready made list; and there has to be installed a mechanism for identifying such culprits in the ordinary course of public services and private activities in society.

As at now, the whole of the SMC or a sizeable committee of it may be charged with reviewing the findings from interrogations, etc., to elicit grounds for detention or trial. In due course there ought to be a carefully instituted machinery for the routine processing of information on public functionaries by which their misdeeds can emerge in the analysis of such information before involving the SMC. A similar arrangement is needed also for the rest of society.

Further down the line, measures will have to be taken, by rigorous propagation, to veer the entire population towards ethical rectitude and meaningful national integration. There have to be developed the mechanism and institutional arrangements to achieve this objective over the long time span of effort needed to produce tangible results in this regard, including a forum for review, research and update of policy, to cover both public and private sectors of society.

The genesis of my thesis in recommending a formal ethical revolution programme is that such a formal programme of action will eliminate haphazard approaches to the drive, give it the character of

identity and permanence and permit a structure for policy implementation to be developed over time to dissuade any future greedy leaders from moving us back. That is why I advocated in my first book for "an ethical revolution that is well planned and backed by a deliberate, national consensus that unleashes an irreversible movement; a movement which will transcend parties and administrations and be a truly worthy legacy to be left by the present generation..." (Quoted at the back cover of the book).

Look at it carefully and see that the present corrective drive of this Administration is a form of education - re-education of the Nigerian Society. Formal education that is carefully planned and structured is faster and much more effective than if each individual were left on his own to educate himself as he deemed fit without a formal school system, etc., to guide him; or, where there is a school system, if instructors are not co-ordinated, guided, and controlled by a policy machinery to ensure standards and purposeful inputs. That is what I have been preaching since 1974.

I wish someone can give me a hearing soon and if need be use my personal services as the state deems desirable to help implement my ideas, which were expressed abundantly both in my two books on the subject and in the National Ethical Re-orientation Committee, which was my brain child and much of whose report I compiled. That report should be reviewed as soon as the most pressing issues of the day have been put away in the next month or two, e.g., budget revision and political trials. There may be some useful information which can be derived from it to support your practical effort at sanitising the society.

Please accept my patriotic compliments and expressions of solid support for your good self, the SMC and the entire administration in this corrective drive.

Yours Very Sincerely,

A. Kanu Oji

ako/cra

## Appendix C56

Telephone: 833637

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S  
6, Anifowoshe Close  
Surulere, Lagos.

18th June, 1984

Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon,  
Chief of Staff,  
Supreme Headquarters,  
Dodan Barracks,  
Lagos.

Dear Sir,

re: The Ethical Philosophy of WAI

Every great movement must have an enduring, underlying philosophy to prop it. Such is the National consciousness and mobilisation campaign of this administration, which you launched on 20th March, 1984, christened War Against Indiscipline - WAI. Believe it or not, WAI is the greatest socio-political movement which this or any regime has launched in this nation.

Whether it proves to be so depends upon how the movement is defined and the underlying ethical philosophical base that props it. Narrowly conceived as the art of queueing at public places for daily needs that ought to be there in abundance in normal circumstances, then WAI is bound to fizzle away into ignominy in less than twelve months, like an impractical fad. If broadly conceived and imaginatively deployed as a powerful tool of socio-economic growth, redress and restitution it will galvanise society into constructive discipline and self-reliance.

It is in the hope of promoting the latter result that I humbly suggest this brief conceptual analysis of what ought to be the supporting parametric tripod of WAI while the movement is young enough to make needed underlying philosophical adjustments unobtrusively.

Firstly, WAI has to pursue a corrective programme of punishment and prevention by bringing to book corrupt, undisciplined leaders and other citizens whose acts of impropriety have cost this nation dearly in resources, lost opportunities and negative demonstration effect on society. This parametric leg in the tripod is very actively being pursued now, with respect to national leadership in the last administration; but it ought to go further than that to embrace the whole society to achieve total fairness for all.

Secondly, WAI has got to pursue the pedagogical route to transform the entire society, through upbringing of the younger generation as well as the re-orientation of the adult population, to accept discipline and ethical rectitude as a way of life and attribute of character, rather than merely for the fear of punishment. Suitable educational programmes for this leg of the tripod can easily be worked out and applied to complement the corrective and preventive drive now going on. One can see the effort now being made to develop this second leg of the tripod.

Thirdly, WAI must pursue a policy of constructive restitution and promotion in order to build and retain a reservoir of honest, disciplined and patriotic citizens as a core of pioneers for ethical rectitude, upon whose example and dedication the regime can base the foundation for building the new nation of disciplined and ethically correct citizenry.

Since the first two legs of the tripod are receiving serious attention already, I shall make a little more detailed comment only on this third leg of the tripod, because, like any typical tripod, WAI cannot stand unless all three legs are there and in firm condition. Operation of this third leg is like building up the armed forces in a major emergency. You first begin by fishing out ready, willing and able volunteers and enlisting them before you resort to conscription as

a last step. Perhaps it is your experience that those volunteers with natural aptitude for defence services frequently turn out, on the average, to be more reliable and committed soldiers than the unwilling conscripts, whose morale the former group's commitment could hopefully enhance in the service ultimately.

It is equally mandatory therefore that known citizens whose commitment to ethical rectitude is exemplary should be sought out and encouraged to grow in economic strength since under the ethical decay of the recent times it is the corrupt citizens who rob, smuggle and cheat that achieve material success fast, to the painful elimination of the honest ones. Those of such honest citizens who have suffered recognizable victimisation for speaking out against ethical confusion should specifically be entitled to prompt and adequate restitution so that it can easily be seen by all that honesty can truly still be the best policy. The demonstration effect of letting good people lose out and suffer in misery, while crooks are seen to succeed and revel in affluence can be as devastating to the success of WAI as it has been extremely promotional to ethical decay in Nigeria.

Thus the peasant farmers who were driven away from their farms by poor prices for their produce should be sent back there by a good government farm policy. The farm labourers who fled to the cities, because it became more lucrative to sell contrabands on bridges and highway junctions, should now be attracted back to the farms. The honest business men who could not obtain import licences to continue their long established import business, or who could not obtain government contracts all because they would not collude with corrupt functionaries for kick-backs, should now be fished out for patronage. Those who have shown discipline by sticking to one profession should be encouraged to stay honestly in it, because one of the attributes of the current ethical confusion in the nation is that few Nigerians are still disciplined so to do in recent times; most others rather preferring to combine three or more professions and trades and often doing so in open violation of established ethical professional norms.

The last paragraph lists just a few typical examples of this third leg of the WAI tripod. With little additional reflection, it is easy to develop it in greater depth and detail. What is more important is that such additional reflection will demonstrate that unless this leg of the tripod is fished out and strengthened now, the result of the WAI effort will be like a tank into which WAI is pouring drinking water through a pipe but from which such water is allowed to leak away by wide holes on the sides of the tank. If honest citizens and business men are seen to lose out when crooks succeed in making it, there will tend to continue the trend of ethically upright people with weak disposition to drift into unethical life because of the pressure of life, family and business problems. As we say in the theory of money under Gresham's Law, bad money drives out good, but good money cannot drive out bad, if both are allowed to circulate. The solution is usually to put in more of good money and to withdraw the bad money from circulation.

In conclusion, I strongly urge that while we intensify the frequency of launchings for WAI with mass media support of queueing, etc; and while we design new curricular inputs into our educational system to inculcate good ethics, morals and patriotism into the citizenry, we must as well mount a strong programme to rescue those who suffer because they have been ethically correct all these many years. It is not enough to punish the culprits; the good ones must be rewarded and revived - Now! Queueing is only respected if those on the queue get service rather than the indisciplined queue-jumpers. I am sure you agree.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your fellow compatriot,

Elder Mazi Kanu Oji

Ako/cra...

# Appendix C57



Reference : SHQ/COS/FM/019

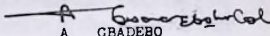
Elder A Kanu Oji LLB., MBA., FCIS  
6 Anifowoshe Close  
Surulere  
LAGOS.

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS,  
STATE HOUSE,  
DODAN BARRACKS,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA

27 June, 1984.

## THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF WAI

1. This is to acknowledge with thanks, the receipt of your submission on the ethical philosophy of WAI designed to prop up and sustain the Socio Political movement called WAI for the evolution of an ethically balanced citizenry.
2. Your emphasis on the identification of those Nigerians who have always lived above board and who should be encouraged to remain honest and disciplined is very well taken. The need to ensure that adequate reward is given to steadfastness in and commitment to ethical rectitude in both the public and private sectors of the economy has been well articulated in your discourse which we are now studying for implementation.
3. Once more, thanks for a most appreciated effort.

  
A GBADEBO  
Lieutenant Colonel  
for Chief of Staff  
Supreme Headquarters.

# Appendix C58

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT  
YOUTH, SPORTS AND CULTURE

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER  
15 AWOLowo ROAD, IKOVI, LAGOS

P.M.B. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Telegrams \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone 680358



Ref. No. FD1/05/24 \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ 23rd July, 1964

Elder Mazi Kanu Oji,  
6, Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere,  
Lagos.

Dear Elder Mazi Oji,

## THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF WAI

Thank you for the copy of your submission to the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, on the "Ethical Philosophy of WAI", which has received our careful consideration.

2. As you would have observed, the Federal Military Government is already laying emphasis on the recognition of good deeds as in the case of Mrs. Lawal, an Ibadan based business woman. In effect, reward of good deeds is already incorporated in the WAI campaign programme and, to that extent, it is a national policy.
3. On farm Policy, the Government is also already encouraging many Nigerians to go back to the land to help in the cultivation of more land in order to avert outright starvation in the country.
4. However, on the issue of a political ideology for the country, the present administration is of the view that an ideology is not the immediate solution to the country's problems, although properly harnessed, the WAI philosophy could give birth to a national ideology.
5. I thank you once more, for your transparent interest in the War Against Indiscipline.

Yours faithfully,

(GROUP CAPTAIN S. E. OHERUAH)

Minister of Information, Social Development,  
Youth, Sports and Culture.

## *Appendix C59*

Telephone: 833637

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S.  
6, Anifowoshe Close  
Surulere, Lagos.

9th October, 1984

Group Captain Samson Emeka Omeruah,  
Hon. Minister of Information, Social development,  
Youth, Sports and Culture,  
15 Awolowo Road,  
Ikoyi,  
Lagos.

Dear Hon. Minister,

re: Phase Four of WAI: Corruption and Economic Sabotage

I write to confirm my recommendation that the launching of Phase Four of WAI should have a slight departure from the previous three by assuming the format of a serious call to reason with the populace.

I do not know how much feed-back you are getting regarding the trend of public opinion on the performance of the administration. Part of that feed-back, from what I have heard from mouths in many walks of life, includes a strong feeling that the WAI crusade seems seriously negated by the escalating level of social misery resulting from retrenchments, persistent higher prices of basic needs of life, harrassment from environmental crusade of state governments, and the not so easy entry into agriculture in practical terms as against the propaganda announcements.

Some of these reactions are not completely justified, obviously; for one thing, this regime has seen only one farming season, and for another, it is easier to destroy than to rebuild. Yet, no government that seeks to last can ignore spreading murmurs of mass frustration even if unjustified. One of the modes of defence in such cases is to launch a reasoned attack on the causes of the social misery being complained against; and the current WAI crusade is a suitable ammunition for such an attack.

Hence I recommend a call-to-reason format, in which the Minister for WAI in an opening address summons the nation to a rational analysis of causes and effects in a sober review of facts of life today in relation to the impact of Corruption and Economic Sabotage on the economy and society. In this tripartite presentation, two other ministers directly concerned with the battle to contain the malaise join in turn to consider specific aspects and facts (both statistical and pictorial) and their implications. You can then sum up with what you envisage when this malaise is reasonably contained, perhaps pointing out that no new wealth is created when we steal from one another through corruption, and we in fact destroy wealth when we commit economic sabotage.

Excerpts from the speeches and pictures as appropriate can be used for the radio/television jingles, which have been effective in the previous three launchings.

All the best and good luck from,

Yours very sincerely

Mazi Kanu Oji

# Appendix C60



## WAI SECRETARIAT

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT  
YOUTH, SPORTS AND CULTURE  
15, AWOLowo ROAD, IKOYI, LAGOS

P.M.B. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Telegram: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_



Ref. No. FMOI/202/MIH/27

Date: December 20, 1984

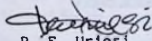
Mazi A. K. Oji,  
6 Anifowoshe Close,  
Surulere, Lagos.

### LAUNCHING OF THE FOURTH PHASE OF WAI

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 9, 1984, in which you made some timely suggestions on launching of the next phase of WAI titled Corruption and Economic Sabotage and to inform you that the ideas will be given due attention in our planning of the launching which is already well in hand.

Thank you for your contribution.

Yours faithfully,

  
P. E. Uriesi,

for: Federal Director of Information.

## *Appendix C 61*

Notes for the Speech on 5th Phase of WAI  
by Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters.

Psychologists tell us that the two principal determinants of group behaviour or societal attributes of man are heredity and environment. Whereas heredity determines the characteristics that man derives through the genes from his ancestry, environment is usually able to modify man's behaviour to reflect the sort of environmental control of the society in which he develops. The impact of environmental control in modifying even some aspects of genetic heredity illustrates the cogency of man's educability, which places him well above all other creatures.

While ordinarily we think of environment as the physical surrounding which we inherit from nature with all its attributes of ecological balance that derives naturally from its pristine state, today we also include within that terminology the modifications which man makes of it to reflect his aesthetic and other needs. Within our concept of the WAI revolution in this country, we are even going a bit further to include a functional correlation between enforcement of environmental discipline calculated to sustain such ecological balance and up-grade the quality of the environment on the one hand, and the environmental control of society as a tool of the WAI revolution designed to influence the behaviour patterns of citizens on the other hand. In the WAI philosophy we are thinking of total environmental planning and ordering, not only to preserve what nature has given us and make the best of it for ours and future generations, but also to employ environmental control techniques as a WAI instrument to enrich human attributes and enhance societal discipline and self-reliance instincts.

The first step is, of course, to check environmental indiscipline, such as careless dumping of refuse and industrial waste, insanitary personal discharge in public, careless destruction of the environment

as in bush burning, excessive street noise such that could produce mass deafness or at least irritable work environment under our hot tropical sun, etc. Along with it will go the positive constructive effort to improve upon the environment through general upkeep and maintenance; beautification with flowers, shrubs and trees, among others; and enforcement of habits which ensure a top quality appearance of the environment for our future generations to grow up in. Children who grow up in slums under squalid over-crowded conditions will tend to find it more difficult to imbibe clean healthy habits later in life than others who grow up in sanitary and well kept surroundings. A violent environment tends to breed future men of violence and crime.

We also expect ultimately to cultivate and use the habit of beautifying our environment as a national attribute to create in this nation a higher order of man whose drive for excellent environment yields for the nation a new higher degree of self-reliance and strife for excellence. At the beginning our effort will be most manifest in such spectacles as enthusiastic citizens streaming out in every community to clean up their surroundings; to plant flowers, grass, shrubs and trees; to implement anti-erosion measures; to plant trees to check desert encroachment; or in the government itself implementing extensive environmental preservation and protection measures. Our ultimate aim within the philosophy of WAL, however, is to induce other creative segments of society, besides the masses, to harness the physical and natural characteristics of our environment to improve the quality of life of Nigerians; and to modify the natural state of the environment suitably, within a carefully considered orbit of ecological balance, to promote greater welfare of our people.

Just as, for instance, the Dutch by sheer drive of an unusual spirit of self-reliance were able to reclaim about one-third of the entire land area of Holland from the sea, including its leading airport - Schiphol of Amsterdam which is today over one kilometer below sea level - and is able by a meticulous system of locks to control its low lying coastal environment into a rich farmland to become a foremost dairy producing nation, we expect our own engineers and

scientists of the WAI vintage to be able in future to conquer similar environmental obstacles here in Nigeria and convert them into instruments of socio-economic development and transformation. For example, our hot tropical sun; our over-abundant seasonal rainfall in the southern states; the varying soil conditions and differences in vegetation across the land; the effect of careless discharge of industrial waste; and even our rapid population explosion in relation to our fixed land space and agricultural potential, to name a few, are some features of our present natural environment which are pregnant with challenges to the creative minds of the new generation of scientists and engineers of the era of WAI that we will like to see blossom from this drive.

In short, we want to preserve, protect, influence and improve our environment so that we can derive the greatest benefit from it; but we also want to order the appearance and controlling practices and features of our environment in a manner designed to help mould and turn out a new generation of Nigerians of the highest level of discipline, patriotism and self-reliance as we can possibly accomplish. It is a case of total environmental management and planning. This is the ultimate challenge of the day as we launch this 5th Phase of WAI today.

A. Kanu Oji  
22/7/85

## *Appendix C62*

Telephone: 833637

A. Kanu Oji LL.B., M.B.A., F.C.I.S,  
6, Anifowoshe Close  
Surulere, Lagos.

2nd October, 1985

Major-General Ibrahim Babangida,  
President and Commander-in-Chief  
of the Armed Forces of Nigeria,  
Thro' the Chief of General Staff,  
Dodan Barracks,  
Lagos.

Dear Mr. President,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your National Day broadcast, with particular reference to the plan to sell off government investments in purely commercial, non-strategic parastatals, in partial reversal of the psychological impact on foreign investments of the ill-conceived aspects of the indigenisation policy, which initiated the continuing ruinous blood letting flight of capital from the Nigerian economy.

The proceeds of the sale could go to substantially liquidate our huge foreign and domestic debt and set the stage for meaningful economic reconstruction. Government could thus concentrate on governing and in directing and regulating the economy for healthy growth and development, rather than in routine participation in enterprises. If we could, along with this, pursue an honest policy of ethical revolution as you propose, with imaginative institutional

organs and practices, to reduce waste and the drag that are due to corruption and operative indiscipline, this nation will be set on the march to assume its rightful leadership place in the comity of nations by the commencement of the third millenium in 2000 AD, as I long prophesied.

I am satisfied by the few steps taken so far by your administration, that the nation finally has found the right leadership mix for this period of economic straits and transition to enduring stability.

With assurances of my loyalty, I salute Mr. President, the Chief of General Staff and the Armed Forces Ruling Council on this one outstandingly sound step (among others so far) in our march back to economic sanity and real progress. You have my support one hundred per cent.

Your loyal compatriot

Elder Mazi Kanu Oji

# PART FOUR

## METHODOLOGY

### CHAPTER EIGHT Tools and Approaches

### CHAPTER NINE Nationalist Approach Analysed

### CHAPTER TEN People's Ethical Revolution

# Chapter Eight

## TOOLS AND APPROACHES

### Applicable Tools

### Implementation Approach

### Marxist Approach

### Noah's Ark Approach

### Evolution Approach

### Doomsayer Approach

### Nationalist Approach

## *Tools and Approaches*

### *Applicable Tools*

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution, as conceived and defined in Part One, signals the emergence of a new force of nationalism to be transmitted and congealed into the thought process of our citizens; which will imbue them with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for one nation under God, as enjoined in the preamble of our Constitution. This new force is designed to trigger a movement, which will transcend all sectional or group interests and achieve the character of permanence by yielding for this nation, as its guiding light, a powerful distinguishing national ethical culture, which will exemplify the impact of our strong religious background and make for a harmonious society, peace and progress.

With this objective in view, the choice of tools, in order to produce the right result, is therefore crucial. In making a selection of tools, the various issues which were encompassed in the discussion of our affairs, as contained in the preceding three parts of the book, must as well be taken into account. Those issues identify our basic hopes and aspirations as one nation, as well as pin-point many factors which have stood in our way to the attainment of these hopes and aspirations.

Such tools as we select must, therefore, match the nature of the problems to be solved and be capable of producing the results of the type calculated to meet such hopes and aspirations of our people as are encompassed in our national objectives. They must as well have the basic feature of continuity, that is to say, the tools employed must form a continuing process in order to yield and maintain the results which we seek for all future generations, to prevent a possible slump back into ethical drift, as happened to Nigeria in the past two decades and a half.

Tools should be reviewed and evaluated continuously and if need be replaced or added to in order to ensure that what is in use is clearly seen to be making a perceptible impact upon the problem in hand. This is important, because it is such visible sign of progress that will rouse and sustain the interest of the people and elicit their full cooperation. Everyone in Nigeria today has bitter memories of the impact of ethical confusion in our society. Once efficacious tools are in use, producing for aggrieved Nigerians discernible progress on the present state of affairs, their thirst for more improvement will galvanise the sinews of our ethical revolution.

Nigerian ethical revolution is meant to serve the interest of living Nigerians, including future generations of them. It is not an end in itself, but a means to an end for the benefit of living Nigerians of all generations. Preservation of the life, freedom and happiness of all Nigerians of loyal citizenship is, therefore, the sine qua non for any ethical revolution in this country. Any tools for the prosecution of the programme must consequently be such as would have minimum social cost in terms of human life and misery among the population.

We are endeavouring to build a civilized nation that is governed by law, in which human liberties and individual freedom are equal, respected and protected in our Constitution, which established ours as one nation under God. Any tools to be employed in the prosecution of the ethical revolution programme must, therefore, have their basis in legality, derive inspiration from the fear of God and be employed within the confines of our Constitution; which constitution allows for no extra-legal revolutions in this country.\*1

There is no doubt that the active agents of ethical decay in this nation are watching the effort with eagle eyes, searching for loopholes and other avenues to circumvent the effort to halt their nefarious activities. Tools and machinery for their use must include

\*1 Chapter 1, Part 1, Section 1 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979.

the plan to protect them from sabotage by those who benefit from the existing ethical confusion.

### *Implementation Approach*

Methodology as used in this book connotes the use of applicable tools, such as have been described above, in a certain way considered practicable for the efficient and effective achievement of the purposes in view, within the framework of the applicability assumptions analysed in connection with the choice of tools. Implementation approach connotes an assembly of efficacious and applicable tools put into use in a certain manner or way considered practicable and feasible in the ethical revolution programme for lasting result.

Many advocates of change in our ethical environment usually conclude with their preferences of approach to the problem. Which approach any concerned patriot considers applicable depends on a number of factors which may have affected his position and thinking. Educational background, career position in society, personal ethic and character, general outlook and personality traits of such a person are relevant factors in this respect. Another factor, which really ought to be the overriding one, is his perception and analysis of the Nigerian situation and the national goals which this nation ought properly to be pursuing for its legitimate self-fulfilment and longterm stability for the progress and welfare of all its citizens. It is in the light of this concept of methodology that the following broad approaches, into which citizens' predilections in that regard can be grouped, are considered here.

### *Marxist Approach*

Nigerians who advocate a Marxist approach to the solution of our ethical problems base their argument on the main thesis of the philosophic essays of the well known German social scientist and revolutionary, Karl Heinrich Marx, written over his adult lifetime period, beginning about the time of the French revolution, whose

impact and aftermath spilled over into Austria, Germany and Italy, in the second half of the 19th century. The most well known of these documents were the first two. The first was the Manifesto of the Communist Party, a booklet which he compiled in association with another contemporary social scientist and revolutionary, Friedrich Engels, who in fact wrote the first draft, which set out a logically structured and systematic statement of revolutionary communism, based on their philosophy of history and politics, which is commonly known as historical materialism or dialectical materialism.\*2 The other was his major work, *Das Kapital*, which he took many years to complete.

The communist Manifesto was a forceful rendering of Karl Marx's philosophy of history, in which he tried to interpret all political and social conflicts in history as a series of battles in a continuous class warfare between the ruling middle class and the subjugated working class. He postulated an overthrow of the ruling class by the working class in order to usher in a new classless society in which all the means of production, distribution and exchange would be owned publicly by the state to the total exclusion of private entrepreneurs, personal or organisational. *Das Kapital*, on the other hand, dwelt more on the study and analysis of capitalism, pinpointing its inherent defects, which, according to Marx, would inevitably lead to its demise by the overthrow of the propertied class by the working class. All these theories, which were first set out concisely in the Communist Manifesto, are collectively referred to in political thought as the philosophy of marxism.

A ruthless Russian revolutionary and dictator, Vladimir Ilych Ilyanov, popularly and more generally known by an adopted name he assumed in 1901 to disguise his identity, V.I. Lenin, practicalised the Marxist philosophy when he led the Russian communists to

\*2 see Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op. Cit.* pp. 91-92, where the writer suggested another nomenclature, *Secular Humanism* or *secular Materialism*, because of the corollary of anti-God and anti-religion stance of this theory, with over-emphasis on matter and total denial of soul.

overthrow the Government of Czar Nicholas II in the great October Revolution of 1917 and set up a permanent dictatorship of the proletariat in which other political parties, anti-communist publications and free expression of differing political views were proscribed. Lenin even postulated confidently a situation in which revolutionaries in all other countries of the free enterprise economy would overthrow their rulers in similar violent revolutions, and demonstrated that violence and terror were essential tools in both the initiatory communist revolution and in the attainment of its goal in retaining power. He also postulated that communist states could never exist peacefully with capitalist states but in perpetual conflict until one group destroyed the other. It was later leaders of the post-Second World War era who, forced perhaps by the matching equal determination of the Western democracies, led by the United States, to stop such export of violent revolutions to other nations, modified this postulate of Lenin by advocating the current Soviet doctrine of peaceful Co-existence. The combination of Lenin's implementation and the principles of the Marxist philosophy is what is known in political thought as Marxism-Leninism.

Nigerian advocates of the Marxist-Leninist approach to our ethical revolution are usually theoretical academicians and student activists who have had cursory, often superficial understanding of Marxism-Leninism, but who have not really studied its workings in the communist countries, in the light of valued social privileges of civil liberties and individual freedom to which we have become used in Nigeria. They struggle with tedious abstraction to transmute, so to speak, the Nigerian society, its history, tradition and current setting into the totally strange and unrelated nineteenth century Russian society of lack-lustre Czar Alexander III, during whose reign of hunger and misery Lenin's brother was hanged for treason. They also talk of the existence in this our country of what they call 'one great ever deepening struggle' between the privileged few or the conservatives seeking to protect and sustain the existing order and the progressives who are fighting to replace a system of oppression and exploitation with a new social order; a society that guarantees a freer, fuller life.

This group of Nigerian intellectuals put up the simplistic argument that once socialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is installed here as a form of government, all ethical aberrations from the new socialist utopia would be automatically absent and even unthinkable. One such learned contributor to the argument for a Nigerian Ethical Revolution had the following to say in a paper he presented on the subject: '.....I have said enough to suggest that morality is, in practice, subordinate to class interest; that people's moral conduct is dictated primarily by their class position rather than by religious and moral teachings and principles; and that the only sincere way to bring about a moral regeneration in Nigeria is first to bring about a social, specifically socialist, revolution.'<sup>3</sup> The actual position in communist countries does not support this simplistic contention today.<sup>\*4</sup>

Furthermore, this approach seems to run counter, from the outset, to the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, which established the Second Republic, because by definition a socialist revolution of the Marxist-Leninist type advocated by this school of thought is an extra-legal revolution and so treasonable, according to our analysis of the applicability test considered at the beginning of this chapter. Also, as was pointed out in chapter one under definitions, each of the first two socialist revolutions in history - the Russian and the Chinese - cost over a million lives of loyal citizens of the country concerned as the communist revolutionaries forced their will upon the society to enthrone the new ruling clique of dictators, in place of the previous imperial rule, upon their people. Such wanton destruction of lives

<sup>\*3</sup> Mahmud M. Tukur, *Preliminary Notes on the Class Nature of Morality*, April, 1983, being a paper presented to a National Seminar on Indiscipline and Corruption, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, sponsored by the National Ethical Reorientation Committee.

<sup>\*4</sup> See also Mazi Kanu Oji, *Op, Cit*, pp. 150-156

of citizens is patently unacceptable here as a necessary precondition for the Nigerian Ethical Revolution, as the piece quoted above has sought to prescribe.

### *Noah's Ark Approach*

There are some other Nigerians, especially those who have struggled to resist the temptation to join the bandwagon of ethical profligacy of contemporary times, who are motivated more by a sense of revenge and punishment for the active agents of ethical decay than by a genuine compassionate desire to uplift the quality of ethical life for all living Nigerians. There is apparently no underlying ideological basis for the recommendations of this school of thought. They point to all the ethical infractions which have been going on in the country, especially in the past one and a half decades, and consider it unfair that those suspected to be identifiable culprits should be allowed to go unpunished in any programme of ethical reorientation. To this class of Nigerians ethical revolution has to wear a punitive garb principally, in the way political revolutions in Western Europe of the mid-nineteenth century sought to bring down and eliminate oppressive kings and replace them with republics of elected presidents.

An approach of this type to ethical revolution overlooks other very important considerations than the purely punitive. There are for example, the corrective, the preventive, and the cultivating aspects of ethical reorientation. It is possible that some citizens who, out of moral weakness, pressure of family responsibility, or peer group influence, have succumbed to ethical transgression may be induced by imaginative corrective reorientation measures to change and take a new leaf. Stringent measures may also be applied as a deterrent to persuade potential ethical transgressors to retract and return to ethically correct habits. Finally, a carefully formulated pedagogical programme in the ethical reorientation package will, over a period of time, cultivate in the citizenry at large solid morals of the order strong enough to make most Nigerians resist the temptation to be corrupt, as an attribute of character rather than merely for fear of punishment.

Advocates of the Noah's Ark approach to ethical revolution, ignoring the issues discussed in the last paragraph, and making the vindictive aspects of the programme the main thrust of the drive, insist that only completely upright citizens should be spared; the rest should be liquidated and all the wealth in their possession, which may have been tainted or contaminated by ill-gotten components, confiscated. Unfortunately, as many in this school of thought are ready to admit, a sizeable percentage of the citizenry will be affected and thus become decimated in this sort of operation; since only the perfectly pure, like Noah, will be preserved!

The fact is that our world of the almost ending twentieth century A. D. had long passed the point of accepting this sort of total destruction, as a remedy for mortal transgression, when the Gospel has offered us an avenue for redemption through repentance and genuine penitence. God Almighty and most merciful, who gave Noah the order to build the Ark, has since shown mankind a new permanent road to salvation; any programme of ethical revolution must operate along the new route. Furthermore, such potential heavy tally of the lives of citizens, to be taken as a necessary precondition for ethical revolution, is not only in conflict with our applicability test already discussed, but is as well no guarantee in itself that those who are spared will forever remain ethically upright without some other programme of action to keep it so.

### *Evolution Approach*

To many Nigerians, we are being rather impatient and too jumpy for comfort in the affairs of this young nation. Nigeria is a very, very young nation, only about twenty-three years old. How any serious minded observer of our affairs can take kindly to the barrage of caustic criticisms which supposedly patriotic Nigerians direct mercilessly at this young up-coming country - the largest and most populous in the whole of Africa - beats the imagination of all seasoned students of history!

The inefficiency and ethical chaos that one observes in Nigeria nowadays are but symptoms of the growing pains of a new nation. All the countries of the world have had, each and everyone of them

without exception, worse early history ethically than Nigeria has yet had.

Take Great Britain, which is supposed to be our colonial mother country. It was first colonised by Rome; later invaded by the Angles and Saxons; and by the beginning of the eleventh century feudal Normans from northern France led by William the Conqueror took it over as real estate in 1066, and the new ruthless monarch took an audit account of it in 1085, sharing his booty among his generals and cronies as tenants-in-chief called Dukes, Counts and Lords.

We here have had only one civil war - the War of National Unity; the British have had countless number of wars. They had a hundred years War; a thirty years War; a War of the Roses; a Jenkin's Ear War; a War of Austrian Succession; Napoleonic Wars; American War of Independence; First and Second World Wars; and even the Falklands War; just to name some of the major wars. People talk of corruption, immorality and smuggling in Nigeria, as if they cannot remember many instances of corruption and immorality in British history, not to talk of the Elizabethan Sea Dogs and the Buccaneers, who were some of the world's most notorious smugglers and sea pirates and were knighted by the Queen.

In short, this school of thought believes quite honestly that we are simply just beginning, and for our only twenty-three years of independent existence we should be proud of the performances of establishments like NEPA and Nigeria Airways and accept all the other unethical practices in this country as mere evidences of the pains of growth. By the time we reach, say two hundred years, like the United States which has a similar constitution as ours, we can begin to expect improvement like the advanced countries we so much talk about when we criticise ourselves unnecessarily.

On the strength of this pattern of reasoning it is really a blatant waste of time to try to do anything specific to stem the tide of ethical drift in Nigeria. By calling for a Nigerian Ethical Revolution and spending so much effort to alert the nation and prepare plans for it, one is being merely impatient like the typical Nigerian. Evolutionary development will take care of these matters as it has done in other advanced, older countries. There is no need to do anything specific,

or even to think of it as a problem, because the symptoms we see and feel will disappear in the fullness of time on their own.

The only comment worth making with respect to this evolution approach is that, from my sampling observation in the collection of materials for this book, I have reasons to believe that most of those who hold this view are by and large present or past active agents of our ethical decay. I am not at all surprised at the approach they recommend and the way they want to pull the wool over the eyes of patriots who seek peaceful change for the better in Nigeria during our life time.

### *Doomsayer Approach*

Akin to the evolution approach just discussed is yet another one advocated by those who have lost confidence in themselves, in terms of their will power as reasoning humans with the natural faculty to shape the pattern and order of their affairs in civilization. They seem as well to have fallen prey to the racist thesis that the blackman is incapable of running his affairs in freedom without outside coercion or patronising supervision.

Among those who belong to this school of thought are doomsters and doomsayers, who believe that the prevalent conditions of ethical confusion are the natural result we should have foreseen when we asked the British to leave. A whole state governor of this country, for example, once exclaimed in utter despair that the British must return to rule us for a further period of fifty or more years as the only way to redress our rapid slide into decadence and inefficiency.

To advocates of the doomsayer approach, there is really no answer to our problems of ethical decay, because we are incapable of rising above the present level. Furthermore, the world is going to blazes, any way, and it is all a sign of the coming of the proverbial doomsday, when God will visit His wrath on this wicked world and end it all. It is therefore an exercise in futility trying to launch a Nigerian Ethical Revolution, because nothing can come out of the effort.

## *Nationalist Approach*

A cardinal feature of this line of approach is the fundamental acceptance that ethical decay constitutes a national problem and that it is a solvable problem. In view of its nebulous yet pervasive nature, the basic steps in this approach seek to define the problem with clarity; to identify its nature, scope and ramifications; to ascertain its probable causes; to find out what constitute the most efficacious, practicable remedies for tackling it in the short-term and in the long-term; and to apply such remedies as a continuous activity similar to the effort put up to eradicate a pest or crop infestation or deadly disease.

Protagonists of the Nationalist approach accept all the tests of applicability of tools reviewed at the beginning of this chapter as integral in implementing any programme of ethical reorientation, but insist that total involvement of the whole nation is of the essence. The movement for change in this connection is conceived to be revolutionary for two reasons. Firstly, the impact of the movement is designed to achieve a fundamental adjustment of remarkable proportions in the ethical order of this nation; and secondly, the movement is programmed to have a total national mobilisation in support and a vigorous prosecution of the remedial action, in view of the pervasive nature of the malady.

Of all the approaches considered for the prosecution of the Nigerian ethical revolution, the Nationalist approach is easily the most attractive, most realistic and least expensive, with the definitive potential for success, given the patience and perseverance to apply the remedies decisively and painstakingly long enough to produce the desired results. This approach will be considered in detail in the next chapter as the approach recommended by the writer on the strength of the analysis already made in this regard.

# Chapter Nine

## NATIONALIST APPROACH ANALYSED

Cardinal Postulates

Necessary Steps

Main Action Centres

Social Engineering Parameters

Legal Framework for Action

# *Nationalist Approach Analysed*

## *Cardinal Postulates*

There are five cardinal postulates of this approach to the Nigerian ethical problem. Firstly, advocates of this approach consider ethical decay as a serious national problem and would like it to be so recognised by government and the public. It is not enough for people to merely complain and rave each time they feel the pinch from a specific ethical lapse or infraction, only to relax and ignore the cankerworm's existence when not directly so afflicted. Our past history, as briefly surveyed in earlier chapters, contains ample number of ethical issues, which ought to emphasise to any truly patriotic political leaders of this country the need to heed the public outcry of our citizens who daily groan under the weight of our present level of ethical confusion. Since neither the public nor the government acting alone can provide an answer to it, the first line of action is official recognition of ethical decay as a national problem, just as the needs for public health services, for diplomatic relations with other nations, or for effective transportation network have been acknowledged and taken up by means of policy programmes.

Secondly, it must be accepted as a social malady that is quite capable of solution like any other. Ethical decay shares common features or characteristics, at least in its social impact, with many other problems, which have ever afflicted human societies, including Nigeria, in recent history. The problems of illiteracy; of deadly diseases like leprosy, yellow fever, malaria, small-pox and cholera, to name a few; of insect or disease infestation on our major cash crops, like black pod disease of cocoa; of rinderpest, tse-tse fly and foot-and-mouth disease attacking cattle, sheep and goats; of desert encroachment; and of receding coastline, to name but a few familiar

ones, offer enough object lessons to our leaders and citizens at large that where there is a will, there is a way to the solution of most human problems.

Take the specific worldwide and age-long problem of world food supply in relation to population growth. Many scholars have written volumes, scientists have worked feverishly, and diplomats have debated extensively and continuously the issues which arise from this problem. The well known English early time economist, T. R. Malthus, argued very forcefully that population expansion was bound to outstrip food supply, unless steps were taken to check the former. People tend to consider his theory today as doomsaying, in that the situation he forecast has not yet emerged; but the problem he stressed still remains, and has been contained only because the world recognised the existence and potential dangers inherent in the problem and devised programmes of action to contain it.

We noted in the chapter on definitions the first Green Revolution, which established the use of that terminology, in southeast Asia in connection with the successful effort to develop a multiple annual yielding variety of rice. Similar break-throughs in other areas of food production have enabled food supply to keep pace with population growth so far. Here in Nigeria, the case is very familiar, as noted in the issues reviewed in earlier parts of the book. We recently drifted into the dangerous position of a net importer of food. The present administration promptly accorded a strong recognition to the seriousness of the problem and in consequence launched a programme of action, known as the Green Revolution, to try to make Nigeria self-sufficient in food production by 1988 and a net exporter of food and agro-allied products thereafter.

Ethical decay is just as menacing a problem in its observed current effects and potential future impact on our society and the economy. Advocates of this approach consider that it is imperative for this nation - its leadership and citizens at large - to accord a similar strong recognition to its existence and solvability, like what has been sketched above.

Thirdly, the existence and rapid pervasive spread of ethical decadence in recent times have been extremely dysfunctional to other aspects of life of this nation. The analysis contained in part Two

of the Issues made this postulate incontrovertible - a contention which is universally accepted by all, inside and outside Nigeria. There is no single aspect of our development need that is not aggravated by the cankerworm of ethical confusion and indiscipline now rampant in the society; yet most people prefer to throw up their hands in the sky in despair, swearing that absolutely nothing can be done about the problem. These weaklings of despair and the active agents of ethical depravity forget that no human problem has ever defied the will and determination for change. Lepers were, throughout history until very recent times, presumed to be as good as dead; but today not only is leprosy curable when it occurs, but its incidence on humans has even become a thing of the past, through sustained effort of man to attack it as a major health problem that must be solved.

Many patriots believe that ethical decay is virtually stopping us, because nothing works in the country for reasons that frequently are ethical. It is indeed one which finds all the six political parties unanimous in their assessment of its evil effects and the problems it poses to the nation, even though their approaches to its solution may differ, understandably. In fact the newest of the lot, which became registered as a political party only after the 1979 elections, made it virtually its main issue in the 1983 electioneering campaigns.

Fourthly, if ethical decadence is that huge a national problem as everyone says it is, then the time to begin to tackle it as such is NOW and no further buck-passing can be tolerated in the interest of social stability, national integration, rapid material development, peace and progress of Nigeria in our life time. This is one cardinal postulate of the Nationalist approach to the problem that is not negotiable; the nation must now move ahead and take its place in the comity of nations.

Finally, a revolution cannot be a one man affair. The Nigerian Ethical Revolution is acceptable as a revolutionary movement partly because its impact on the problem in hand is designed to effect a far-reaching, fundamental change in the affairs of this nation for the betterment of all its citizens. It is revolutionary also because the Nationalist approach, which is being hereby recommended, imports total national mobilisation of all and sundry in a concerted national

effort to stop a malady that is doing so much to stop us as a civilised, decent, productive, honest, mutually tolerant and respectable people, who are lucky to be born in a land of milk and honey that is Nigeria. All we need is to produce that milk and the honey by breeding the cow and raising the honeycomb, for which nature has already provided abundant natural resources and habitat for a successful effort. The need to promote our own welfare compels us to cast away the obstruction of ethical turpitude to inherit in full our natural good fortune and earn our place of leadership among nations.

### *Necessary Steps*

This approach is meticulously scientific in handling ethical decay. The approach is therefore rested upon a certain minimum number of steps in the process of evolving an ethical revolution programme to assure proper coverage and efficiency of effort for long-term effectiveness and fruitful results.

The first step is to identify and define the problem clearly to be sure of what is talked about and get all concerned to know it so to be for the task ahead. Next comes the effort to ascertain its nature; its effects on society and the economy to justify its classification as a national malady; its probable causes or breeding environment; and the probable remedies which are applicable in the short-term and the long-term. These are the research and study steps, which are necessary, not only to ascertain the full complement and magnitude of the national problem to which official public effort and functionaries are about to be applied, but also because these steps afford the whole nation the opportunity of direct involvement in the revolutionary movement for change in this respect right from the onset of the national attack on the problem.

A third necessary step is that of actual application of the remedies suggested from the research and study steps noted above. It is a very important step if the nation is to graduate from frequent high-falutin glib talks and patronising sermons into a new era of effective action to solve the problem. Application of remedies needs the single-minded dedication and patent honesty both of the leaders

of the movement and of the followers, who are the entire nation of potentially decent, God-fearing and law-abiding citizens, trapped in the ethical quagmire of recent times. The effort must be propped and sustained by a matching revolutionary fervour and pressure, strong and determined enough to convince skeptics and active agents of ethical depravity that truly the unethical game is up, and that an ethical, clean Nigerian giant is about to emerge from a thorough, cleansing bath, to put such unpatriotic Nigerians to shame and raise our ethical flag of honour high and firm for the wide world to see and our posterity to cherish.

Finally, a process for continuous monitoring of the effort must be developed and installed. This last step is designed to watch the effectiveness of the tools in use and the programmes that have been put into effect to implement remedies, with a view to comparing actual results achieved with planned results intended. Along with it goes periodical adjustment of tools and strategy as the case may be. This must be done on a continuing basis and should be built into the overall machinery of implementation in the Nigerian ethical revolution drive.

### *Main Action Centres*

The approach which is recommended in this publication is categorically legal and, like all legal revolutions in history, fairly prolonged and long-term in concept. To match and blend with the nature of the approach and dovetail with the attack plan on key strands of the problem in hand, certain key action centres have to be used as major launching pads for the tools management task in the process of implementation of remedial measures.

The first such centre is the leadership spot, from which the guiding light of leadership by personal example will show the way for the people to follow. The era of 'do as I say but not as I do' is over. This concept of leadership by example, however, must be understood to apply to all who occupy positions of leadership in government, in commerce and industry, and in ordinary social life of the people.

Leadership is not limited to the Head of State or a State

Governor, but extends to all who have a right and a duty of authority over other people, over public affairs and things, over processes and the daily needs of the society. All such people must teach others what to do and how to do it by their own action, for the overall progress of the nation, dedicated in their effort to impart that lesson as if their own lives depend on it.

As the experienced administrator and respected patriot, Chief Adebo, pointed out in 1981 in the story told earlier in this analysis,\*1 it is not enough that top leadership alone should play the lone ranger role of trying to lead by personal example. Experience shows that he may tend to be ignored by determined others in the lower ranks who perhaps may prefer a continuance of the status quo ante; and the object lesson put up by such a leader may very well be a wasted effort and be lost to the people at large. It is therefore important to have, as a reflective mirror of public enlightenment and routine prosecution of remedial action, adequate specific institutional support of the reorientation programme right from the outset.

It is equally important to forge some specific chain of collaboration between government functionaries responsible for ethical reorientation and private organisations whose operations affect the lives of citizens in material terms. In this way, ethical revolution will be the joint effort of all in public and private life to mould our society along an ethical path which will be satisfying to all. This is one programme which is designed to lead the way in showing that true development emerges only when the government and the governed work cooperatively for progress; with the former offering leadership inspiration, as in this case, and the people ordering their own affairs in response by dedicated collaborative effort.

A programme to effect an ethical revolution in the lives of citizens, and in the economic, political and social activities of the nation, is a great movement, designed to be so fundamental in its ultimate impact, that the inner self of the citizen has to be the most strategic target of planned corrective action. The main thrust of such a movement must, therefore, necessarily have a heavily pedagogical

\*1 *Please see chapter six, paragraph on 'top leadership'.*

propulsion. Not only will the principle of 'catch them young' be applied abundantly through the designing of suitable curricular inputs in the public educational programmes for the youths, but also a programme of general enlightenment and retraining of the adult population will have to be emphasised rather heavily as a main centre of action in the movement.

Another important action centre will be that which seeks to cover the preventive, punitive and corrective aspects of ethical reorientation. A system of practical and enforceable measures must be devised to deter those who will want to continue to engage in unethical practices. It is not so much the severity of the deterrent that matters in this respect; rather it is actual enforcement, seen by all to be fast, fair, firm and uniform for all who commit identical ethical infraction, that justifies the operations of this action centre.

The punitive and corrective aspects of action go hand in hand with the preventive, although it is more preferable to prevent citizens from getting mixed up in unethical escapades in the first place than to try to reform them through punishment and other forms of corrective action. The role of watching for and detecting unethical conduct has to be pursued from this action spot as well. Suitable organisational and institutional arrangements and interrelationships will also be based in this action centre.

### *Social Engineering Parameters*

The most important parameter in the social engineering equation for building the new Nigerian nation that we seek is Functional Planning for economic and social development. Planning in this country has hitherto been given a narrow and restricted connotation - that of putting together ill-digested cost estimates of economic projects programmed for execution during a stated period of time. In this connection, the period has usually been four to six years during our past history as a nation. That is, however, not exactly what is meant by the term, functional planning, as used here. What we refer to here is more total and directional than that.

Functional planning is total in a number of respects. Firstly, it is all-embracing in the sense of encompassing areas that do not

generally get adequate attention at the standard development planning sessions that we are used to here. Secondly, the dovetailing and harmonising of interrelationships of plan objectives for the timing of their execution is strictly mandatory. For instance, utility undertakings, like NEPA and Department of Post and Telecommunications, have to harmonise their programmes of installation between them as well as with others like that of the Ministry of Works road and drainage works in major cities of the nation; and, subject to this, each establishment strives to inch ahead its own development programme in accordance with an overall, long-term master-plan of national development, which is continually up-dated to keep it reasonably on course to the long-term target. Twenty-five to fifty years will be considered as reasonably long-term enough for target master planning. The instance of a public utility company completing its installations and waiting for years to commission the service, merely because another public utility company does not have the required enabling service ready for the purpose, is clear evidence of unco-ordinated and dysfunctional planning.

Planning is also functional in the sense of framing the basic skeleton of the national master-plan around indigenous inputs. A plan which is so based, that is to say, upon the natural resources of the nation, human and physical, will be more likely to remain stable for implementation than one which is based on foreign inputs, whose availability environment may change with changing global circumstances. Component projects in such a plan, where they are based on indigenous factor endowments, are also more able to promote and sustain economic and social stability than projects based on imported foreign inputs.

Functionality of the new plan approach is most noticeable, however, in the way indigenous agents and factors of development are groomed and promoted in a rational relationship with their respective position on the endowments scale in the light of sectorial needs of the economy and society. Human resources, for instance, will be developed in accordance with the sectorial needs in the economy for the various human skills to be developed by key target plan periods. This approach will help to eliminate such structural

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unemployment, dysfunctional allocation of human and material resources and fraudulent substitution of personal for national goals that are quite rampant in the present haphazard plan approach hitherto in use. Emphasis on the production of physical natural resources will be placed upon the ease, or least cost assessment, of production effort, modified by the relative internal utility and export potentialities of such resources. Thus in every case, functional application of resources to the needs of sectorial economic and social activities is a major consideration in framing long-term plan objectives.

The total and directional approach to planning effort also makes it possible, and in fact mandatory, for plan inputs to be developed from the grassroots level to fit into a broad national framework of long-term strategic target inputs of the masterplan at the centre. Short-term plans of economic and social development, undertaken periodically as at present, will continue for the activities of succeeding administrations; but they will be guided and given long-term functional direction by the strategic target masterplan. There will thus be little room for a succeeding federal administration or state establishment to want to fly off the handle on a frolic of its own in contraposition to the overall masterplan that is aimed at effective national integration, harmonious functional economic development and operational effectiveness of the economy and society. Functional planning will be a key social engineering parameter for the Nigerian ethical revolution of the Nationalist approach.

Inter-related with total functional planning is the other parameter of *Factor Indigentsation* of our industries to give them a truly Nigerian character and afford this nation economic independence. There will be mass participation both in the functional planning inputs, as already analysed above, and in the resuscitation of private enterprise initiatives by providing opportunities and assistance to our farmers and business people to grow and expand their operations. Too much involvement of government in non-strategic industries and commercial ventures will consequently be de-emphasised; as such over-commitment of government has tended in the past to drown out private initiatives, while breeding unwieldy

and corrupt bureaucracies in economic organisations that are inefficient, devoid of faithful accountability, and ready avenues of fraud and waste.

Import substitution industrialisation will be jettisoned as a development policy and replaced by a new one based on factor endowment. Therefore the practice of setting up plants here to produce manufactured goods whose basic raw materials will have to be imported from abroad will not be encouraged. Efforts will rather be diverted to the production of such goods for which we have or can develop easily abundant local raw materials. Since the end of the War of National Unity, government had pursued a policy of indigenisation of enterprises; but this policy has in effect been one of equity indigenisation only, whereby a stated percentage of equity ownership in the industrial and commercial enterprises covered is vested in indigenous Nigerians. This policy will be given a new toga of functionality, that of Factor Indigenisation. A definite drive will be promoted to get existing industries to develop local factor inputs or shift production to related fields in which such factors are either available already or can be developed readily. Just as a target date has been set when the nation can become self-sufficient in food production under the Green Revolution, so can target dates be set under the Factor Indigenisation programme when stated sectors of the economy must achieve inputs factor independence of a stated degree considered safe vis a vis our projected long-term foreign exchange earning curve.

The third and perhaps the most pervasive parameter in the social engineering equation of the Nationalist approach to the Nigerian ethical revolution is Education. It is considered so important in the overall discussion of ethical revolution that it has been given a whole chapter in the analysis of issues in Part Two of the book. This piece from the 1979 inauguration day address referred to earlier seems to dovetail this approach:

'... This government accepts the responsibility for free education at all levels as has been provided for in the constitution. The main problem however is how to make education accessible to all, given the current financial constraints and inadequacy of teachers and educational facilities. We need more schools, teachers, more

laboratories, more books, more desks, more playing fields, and numerous other supplies and equipment all of which are involved with the increase in enrolment. These cannot be found overnight. My administration is irrevocably committed to making education a priority. We shall immediately expand the educational infrastructure in order to cope with demand at all levels of our educational system. We also plan to make education more qualitative and functional with a sound moral content.... education which will equip all recipients with the necessary attitudes, knowledge and skill to contribute to national development.\*2

This quotation, even in the election period in 1983 when this text is in preparation, remains the most realistic basis for what members of this school of thought consider to be a pragmatic and stable policy in the emergent era of ethical revolution. It provides the functional trade-off between the ideal of free education at all levels and the indispensable attributes of quality which differentiate education from mere literacy. The last sentence in the piece quoted gives the most salient objectives of this approach in terms of the nature and content of education desired and it is not intended to belabour the subject any further. What now remains to complete this approach as an integral whole is the extension of functional planning to education, so that the student body is split into disciplines and institutions programmed correspondingly to dovetail plan targets of sectorial manpower requirements in the economy. Here again, the long-term functional masterplan is the guide.

### *Legal Framework for Action*

What now remains to complete the survey of the social engineering parameters of this approach to ethical revolution is the conducive legal framework for action. Constitutional and legal issues which will materially enhance the implementation of this

\*2 *Shehu Shagari, My Vision of Nigeria, Edited by Aminu Tijjani and David Williams, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, 1981 pp. 8-9.*

approach should be identified and tackled very quickly. They include an early settlement of the states creation issue to afford emotional stability to the component units of the Republic; assignment of duties to citizens to balance the impressive array of rights in the constitution; enactment of the long delayed Code of Conduct Procedure Bill, and a similar measure for the private sector; and possible rearrangement of cabinet ministries to permit National Planning and National Guidance to be integrated, and operation of the combine given to a highly motivated loyalist of the administration to handle as a ministry within the Presidency. All these and few other matters if settled promptly, ethical revolution can take off decisively and attract mass support.

# Chapter Ten

## PEOPLE'S ETHICAL REVOLUTION

### People's Ethical Revolution

#### Appendix D

## *Peoples's Ethical Revolution*

Everyone has heard the often repeated political saying, that a nation gets the government it deserves. This implies that a corrupt government can only be elected by a corrupt electorate; and an upright, God-fearing one is elected to reflect the wishes of the silent honest majority. So the type of government that is elected in a free election is either a reflection of the character of the electorate it self or an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the people who constitute the electorate.

When we discuss the issues of lack of probity in government; of fraud, embezzlement, bribery, corruption, high-handedness, and lack of dedication of public functionaries; and of the electoral malpractices of those who try to obtain political power by rigging the election, there are many analysts who point to the fact that it takes at least two to have a quarrel or to commit the crime of conspiracy. They argue that the electorate has grown into a body of corrupt citizens, who expect and often urge their representatives in government to do whatever it takes, ethical or unethical, to bring home a fair share of the national cake. In the first instance, they expect to be persuaded to vote, not by oral explanation of what candidates for public office will do for their constituencies when elected, but often by means of material inducements handed out before the election. In this way, the argument continues, it is really the people at the grassroots level of society who force public functionaries into unethical conduct, because some of them in their zeal to succeed at all costs get into debt to meet the expectation of the people. When in office they naturally gravitate to unethical deals to recoup the expense.

The same argument goes for sons of the soil, who are expected to make it quickly to affluence by hook or by crook, so far as they can return home with part of the loot to offer largesse to the home kinsmen, frequently welcomed with the award of invented chieftaincy titles. People no longer ask, as was the practice in the past, how these 'successful' sons abroad made the wealth; what they now really care about is how to get a piece of it, tainted or clean. Indirectly, those who have such unethical expectations of and make

the urgings to their kinsmen and political leaders as have been described, are in effect the real active authors of ethical decay, of which the corrupt public functionaries and private operators like smugglers are merely the marketing agents.

In a debate that sounds like, 'which comes first, the egg or the chicken?', others with the opposing view, while acknowledging the truth in the above analysis, say that the infection has passed in the opposite direction in the first place. Inordinate ambition for power and extreme rampant materialism which have gripped many people in today's society, as it drifts away from God and conscientious religious practice into secular materialism and the worship of power and wealth, has driven such people to seek material success at all costs. All costs have included the offer of substantial material inducements to hungry or greedy or simply unwary innocent people to get what they want. In time, the practice has gradually trained the average person to expect such offers, until the oil boom and its concomitant national cake sharing scramble actually turned what might have been at first an unethical offer reluctantly accepted by few into what is now considered a rightful demand for a deserved piece of the national cake.

Whichever way we decide to tilt the scale of guilt in this analysis, the fact remains that the people, all the people, are involved in absorbing the impact of ethical decadence in this country. It is the people at large who lose most when there is confusion. Just as a riot takes the toll mostly of innocent by-standers and the lowly mob on the scene; or as the author of a book makes much less on his book than his publishers and sales agents, so the people at large lose most to the carrier agents of ethical decadence; whether or not it is these agents who took the first step in the hell-bound journey to the ethical quagmire. The people get only the crumbs of the loot from the agents.

Another serious consideration for the people at large to ponder in their own interest is that quite often they may be forced to take what they neither deserve nor desire. A group that is determined and ruthless enough can sometimes impose itself upon a people, and not necessarily because they deserve or want it. History in this century has demonstrated that, when that happens,

the freedom to choose what the people deserve and prefer may disappear permanently. That is perhaps why people tend to remember the popular political saying, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; which is no less applicable in the ethical revolution drive.

Thus, an ambitious conqueror or coloniser; a military junta; a fascist clique; or violent revolutionaries under bitter leadership (like Lenin, whose brother was hanged for attempting to murder the Czar, and he consequently swore mortal revenge on the incompetent ruler and his oppressive regime) could impose a ruthless dictatorship on a people against their will by the force of arms. It would be hard to say if the people deserve such imposition by allowing the emergence of the social upheaval or chaos that usually triggers such a development. Any way you look at it, the people at large usually suffer the heaviest pressure of misrule; for even in societies branded classless, which some consider a synthetic political gimmick, there is always a ruling class, who rule the rest of the people. Ability to freely choose such rulers, by voting one in and another out in a multiple choice free and fair election, held periodically in a more than one party democracy, is still the best guarantee of civil liberties and individual freedom for human societies throughout history.

In our survey of the various approaches to this movement, we were able to raise many issues which impinge fundamentally upon the basis of our kind of democracy for a republic that is founded as one nation under God. The end alone does not necessarily justify the means, because the means may involve too much of an expense in human life and social misery of the people. Political power is rested in the people; but it springs from divine power of God to whom all the rulers must subject themselves in their actions.

Also it is the divine duty of the governed to guard that power jealously and use it honestly for their happiness and self-protection. This duty enjoins upon them certain roles that they must feel compelled to carry out diligently. The people have a duty, not just a right, to cast their votes to exercise the duty of choice freely and fairly in a genuine bid to choose only just rulers who are God-fearing and who respect the dignity of the human person. They have a compelling duty to detest and stand up unequivocally against evil.

They owe the nation a duty of loyalty, patriotism and support for its effectiveness, stability, honour and glory, as contained in our national pledge. All the people must always act as security officers perpetually on duty to support the development and maintenance of the nation as a civilised society that is governed only by law; where everyone is his brother's keeper and a guardsman watching out for invaders and internal criminals.

Administrations may change, but ethical revolution must remain, for its purposes range beyond the two terms of office of any one administration. It must remain as the solid assurance that the people at large are not cheated or oppressed. The People must therefore make it so much their movement, the people's ethical revolution, that no incoming administration, attracted by the juicy spoils of office noted in previous corrupt regimes, will dare to jettison the programme in the future.

The Nigerian ethical revolution, by the above analysis, really benefits the masses more than the elites who may be more able to fend for themselves even in ethical confusion. The people at large suffer more the impact of inefficiency, faulty development, waste and misuse of national resources; while all cases of civil commotion usually take a bigger toll of them. It is in their own best interest that the masses of Nigerian citizens do indeed make this God-sent programme of our age a truly people's ethical revolution.

In this regard, I recall the reason why I was keen to print my first book on this subject in Holland, a small West European nation with an impressive history of adventure, efficiency, industry and stupendous effort of self-reliance. As you land at Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam and emerge to enter The Netherlands, you are greeted by a bill board which informs you: 'God made the World: The Dutch Made Holland'. Of course, Holland is part of the World and the Dutch as very good christians accept the Almightyness of God as Creator and Giver of all of man's blessings. What this patriotic announcement is saying imports no denial of God's part in the making of Holland; it merely emphasises a point of fact which all who respect genuine nation building should know about Holland - her extremely impressive record of self help to improve her environment and survive in a competitive world. Perhaps one example is Schiphol

Airport itself, which is built on reclaimed land and is still more than a kilometer below sea level! Over one third of all land territory of Holland is reclaimed from the sea. Her efficiency and perseverance can be observed in some of the huge multi-national corporations, like Shell and Phillips, which she owns, and in the fact that she is the only small country which has remained successfully in the expensive air-craft building business.

God has made Nigeria part of the world; and a very fortunate part indeed, having regard to the abundant natural resources with which we are richly endowed. To make Nigeria great for Nigerians is really a task that only Nigerians can take up; and the whole concept of the Nigerian ethical revolution is earnestly and tenderly aimed at getting Nigerians to do just that for the progress of Nigerians and to the glory of God.

#### APPENDIX D

Memorandum submitted to the  
National Ethical  
Re-orientation Committee  
by Akom Ukpabi

With reference to your advertisement in the Nigerian daily newspapers calling for memoranda from the Nigerian public, I humbly contribute below my views in answer to the three leading questions, which your advertisement posed in apparent effort to simplify the task for the responding members of the public. I shall, therefore, follow the sequence you stipulated, and I hope that your esteemed Committee finds my views relevant and practicable for fighting this notorious national disease highlighted in your terms of reference.

Question (i) What are the societal values which, if followed will lead to the stability and the improvement of our nation in the economic, political, social, moral and other spheres?

Answer. There is almost a limitless number of good social values which will make our nation great, depending on who is enumerating them; but the following will number among the most

urgently required in our present circumstances.

1. Acceptance of the Almightyness of God and total submission of our citizenry and the nation to God in personal and national consideration.
2. Civilized respect for the human person and the placement of high value on human life.
3. Mutual respect for one another's rights as fellow citizens.
4. Patriotism as citizens of one nation under God.
5. Devotion to the upliftment of the nation.
6. Dedication to honesty and truth.
7. Conscious dedication to duty.
8. Punctuality and Sense of value of time (abolition of the African Time' nuisance).
9. Respect for law and constituted authority.
10. Family stability and intra-family devotion.
11. Respect for parents and elders.
12. Adulation for citizens who make significant contribution to the welfare and progress of the nation and of fellow citizens (not just money donations).
13. Burning spirit for selfless service to fellow citizens and the nation.
14. Uncompromising readiness of citizens to expose evil doers and law breakers, even if related.
15. Solid strength of personal character and integrity of the Nigerian citizen.
16. Ability and readiness to consider when and where to place a civilized limitation to personal ambitions.
17. Ability to choose and stick to one profession, occupation or trade.
18. Ability to see and pursue diligently citizen's duties to the nation while claiming the corresponding rights.
19. Readiness to face the challenge of self-reliance in personal pursuits and national causes and objectives.
20. Enthronement of the dignity of labour as a national attribute.
21. Just reward for honest endeavour and diligent creative hardwork.

22. Love of things Nigerian.
23. Mature political awareness of the true purposes of political participation.
24. Healthy distinction between government and enterprise and their clear demarcation for speedy economic growth.

Question (ii) Probable causes of the apparent break-down of these values as now evident include:

1. Misconception of the notion of 'Secular State', which ordinarily means 'a state not having an established religion: like Israel which is a Jewish State; or Iran, which is an Islamic State'. Thus Secular State tends to be interpreted as anti-religion or even anti-God!
2. Running down religious education and observance, unfortunately, as ostensible sign of advancing sophistication in science and progress.
3. Moral weakness of the leading citizens in succumbing to practices ostensibly forbidden by religious and moral norms.
4. Moral laxity of the rest of society in conniving at such weakness noted above, leading to pervasive spread of the decline in uprightness.
5. Government take-over of schools from religious educational missions.
6. Discontinuance or watering down of the teaching of religion and moral instruction in schools.
7. Population explosion, which tends to reduce the value placed on any one individual in our nation of teeming millions.
8. Dehumanizing materialism with its over-emphasis on the acquisition of material possessions and the power and influence that go with such possession, as compared with man's helplessness under conditions of poverty and ignorance.
9. Increasing ascendancy of the evolution theory as against that of Divine Creation in scientific thought, which tends to erode citizens' credence to religious beliefs about the human soul, life after death, etc.
10. Commercialisation of religion with corresponding multiplicity of religious sects, which tends to confuse and weaken the faith of

the average follower in religious teachings.

11. Complicated legal and judicial system and procedure, which permit justice to be flagrantly defeated on mere technicalities and delays.
12. Dying conscience of the public, who have seen so much 'abomination of desolation standing where it ought not' that the people can no longer rise resolutely against injustice and evil perpetrators in high places.
13. The availability of the Nigerian's conscience for sale at a price, no matter the cause, in this age.
14. Ready acceptance of the new rich in society without the traditional quest for how the wealth was made as essential prerequisite for such acceptance.
15. Foreign influence on family relations, on morality and on established norms of social interdependency.
16. Indulgence in alcohol, drugs and related stimulants and depressants.
17. Belief in the upper echelon of the citizenry that evidence of a big man of influence is his ability to have the law changed for him personally when others are ordinarily expected to obey the laws.
18. Excessive greed, leading to bribery, corruption, smuggling and abuse of office.
19. Peer group pressure to be like the rest or be despised.
20. Group co-operation in crime, whereby members of a family or club or private society defend their erring member and cover up his guilt in defeat of justice.
21. Sickening readiness by most people to share in the spoils of crime to abet the criminal.
22. A notorious feeling by most people that what a servant does to his department of government or company, criminal or fraudulent, is 'his business'.
23. Lack of imaginative government programmes of social action to mould people's attitudes and actions along a specific route to planned objective goals of the nation.
24. Myopic thinking and planning in personal habits and government programmes. This nation has had no strategic long range programmes in anything.

25. National cake sharing syndrome which makes people look upon government property and assets as booty for grabs.
26. Too much involvement of government effort in business with correspondingly too little effective governing and efficient regulation of such business for social protection in terms of efficiency of operation and security of assets.
27. Effects of the civil war which upset established relationships, practices and social norms.
28. Effects of military rule at a time of sudden national wealth from oil, upsetting traditional patterns of economic endeavour, ruining the rural agricultural sector and starting the massive rural/urban migration that is part of today's social misery.
29. Too much readiness to employ ethnic sentiments to gain advantage in everything.
30. Mass ignorance, insufficient induction orientation of newly appointed public functionaries, and absence of positive propaganda content to accompany all government programmes to inform, explain and motivate the masses to see the purposes and rationale for citizens' required interaction thereto.

Question (iii) With respect to possible remedies, I would suggest the following:

1. Establishment of a National Institute of Ethnic, with a renowned patriot of great integrity as Chairman, to develop and prosecute programmes for the propagation of good ethical inputs into economic, cultural and social activities of the nation, staffed with qualified experts in various fields of discipline.
2. Establishment of a Federal Ministry of National Guidance headed by a Minister or Presidential Assistant within the Presidency and under Mr. President's special supervision to formulate policy and co-ordinate the activities of the Institute as well as of other bodies, like the Code of Conduct Bureau, and to relate to other ministries which have pivotal roles, like Education, in the ethical re-orientation programme.
3. Similar to the Code of Conduct Bureau and Code of Conduct Tribunal set up to supervise ethical conduct of public officers, there

should be created a Corrupt Practices investigation Bureau and Corrupt Practices Tribunal to supervise ethical conduct for the rest of society. Applicants must declare assets before taking a new position and each time they change jobs.

4. Both Tribunals should be vested with powers to try cases referred thereto involving ethical misconduct, like corruption, smuggling and currency offences, with obligation to complete every case within sixty (60) days and with appeal only to the Supreme Court which must dispose of the appeal within thirty (30) days. They will each be part of the Federal Judicial System.

5. There shall be instituted a modest Federal Income Tax for all Nigerian citizens and residents in addition to State income tax. It should be an economic crime to evade Federal Income Tax and not to complete in full detail Federal Income Tax return in any year whether or not any tax is ultimately payable, because such a tax obligation will help to emphasise the citizen's allegiance to the nation before allegiance to his state and ethnic group. Such Federal Income Tax returns could be subject, whenever necessary, to investigation by officers of the Federal Inland Revenue and Corrupt Practices Investigations Bureau officers on reasonable suspicion of false declaration of assets and income on the returns so filed. The Federal Government may devote such new tax revenue to upgrading the quality of primary education nationwide to aid local government councils which now cannot pay teachers.

6. The system of National Identity Cards proposed by the government should be expedited. The number and other necessary particulars of the National Identity Card must be recorded whenever the holder makes a major purchase of an expensive asset, registers ownership of landed property, files a building plan for approval, registers a new motor vehicle, opens a bank account, et cetera. The practice of buying expensive assets like hifi in the street without proper identification of source aids theft and smuggling.

7. All strategic public records such as for national ID Cards, income declarations of public and other officers, income tax returns, vehicle and land registration, etc, should be put on microfilm in triplicate sets with a set stored in underground fireproof bunkers.

8. Computerisation of public and business records should be

promoted as a national policy.

9. Federal Government should step in to guarantee some uniformity and the quality of primary school education, which is the foundation for all education in the country. The Ministry of National Guidance should liaise with the curriculum development unit of the Federal Ministry of Education to devise compulsory suitable courses which will be taught in all Nigerian schools to mould the mind of young children from the outset towards good morals: love of Nigeria; respect for elders, the law and constituted authority; as well as the dignity of labour, especially with respect to work in school farms which every elementary school must have in the nation. Such courses should include moral instruction, Nigeria's brave men of history, simple civics, simplified summary of the highlights of our Constitution, our Federal structure, story of the flag, the Anthem and the Pledge. The Federal Income Tax suggested above could be devoted to acquisition of teaching aids illustrating these items in every classroom in the nation's elementary schools so the little kids may visualise them for easy and lasting impression on their minds.

10. Schools taken over from religious missions should be returned to them for efficient management and for meaningful religious and moral education with freedom to take on new ones as may be convenient

11. Ministries of Education, State and Federal, shall have a carefully co-ordinated plan of schools inspection for the quality of instruction as well as environmental quality and discipline.

12. (a) In primary schools must be taught moral instruction; lives of great men of service to the nation; simplified civics; simplified government outline under the Second Republic Constitution; States Structure (19 or 48!) religion; the Anthem, Pledge and story of the Flag.

(b) In Secondary school: Moral instruction, Civics, Nigerian Constitution (present), Christian religion, Muslim religion, Comparative religion, one Nigerian language (other than that of the Student) of the three main languages.

(c) Higher College and University: Nigerian Constitution (advanced); Nigerian Constitutional history; Nigerian social history; Business and professional Ethics; Comparative Religion.

13. The institution of boarding schools must be restored.
14. Some reform of the judicial system will seem necessary to stop dilatory adjournment of cases to the defeat of justice especially in cases of theft and fraud. Cases involving bribery, corruption, etc, which come to the ordinary courts, as against the two special tribunals, will either have to be transferred thereto or be made to meet the same requirement of disposal within sixty (60) days. If constitutional amendment or special Act of the National Assembly is called for to make it possible, then that must be done, because such delayed and often defeated justice is a major element fostering ethical decay of this nation.
15. People whose assets are proved to be corruptly acquired will have such assets forfeited to the state in addition to other punishment due.
16. Government involvement in commercial and industrial enterprises breeds corruption, because staffing tends to be through political influence and federal character. Such posts therefore are devoid of any dedicated service, efficiency and desire for profitable operation. Since the holders of the posts are not easily dismissable for inefficiency and mismanagement, continual subventions and subsidies from public funds keep the enterprises going in the face of open corruption and fraud of ten associated with their operations. Government should take bold steps to withdraw from such operations and permit private enterprise to take over.
17. Where parastatals are retained in government ownership, civil servants should cease to be board members and their operations should be completely insulated from the influence of Permanent Secretaries. That some people are employed as Permanent Secretaries, does not make them more loyal or more patriotic than other Nigerians who are appointed to run parastatals, so far as the latter are subjected to the same measure of ethical accountability like declaring assets as the civil servants.
18. Serious effort to stop smuggling must be made, including seizing contraband goods wherever found and forcing those in possession to reveal the source on pain of going to prison plus confiscation of the goods and fines equivalent to a multiple of the duty on the product plus the economic costs to society (in

unemployment in our factories, etc) of smuggling the product into the country.

19. Regulatory officers should be subject to special programme of declaration of assets every two years with the public encouraged to inform the Corrupt Practices Investigations Bureau of any hidden assets of such personnel.

20. Special orientation course for customs, immigration, vehicle inspection, quality control officers and others engaged in public regulatory services, to be organised by ASCON (Administrative Staff College of Nigeria) should be set up for the re-training of all such officers, in which case studies of the evils of corrupt performance in such positions are highlighted and analysed. All new entrants must take such a course as the final stage before assignment and be made to swear in appropriate form (Bible, Koran, etc) to abhor such corrupt practices as discussed in the course.

21. There must be definitive assignment of responsibility for every post, and any lapse in the role assigned to a particular post must be traced to the party responsible who should be punished for such lapse. Every lapse must be punished and exemplary performance rewarded promptly by praise or in tangible terms as the case may be.

22. There must be an imaginative Federal Government sponsored programme to move people back to the rural areas e.g. by equipping say 500 farms of 20 to 50 hectares each per state and giving them free of charge to graduate farmers who can run them successfully and employ a minimum number of farm workers repatriated from the cities to the farms. The hope of owning such farms absolutely will be an inducement to the young farmers to run them efficiently for profit. With these 9,500 additional small farmers effectively installed all around this nation, supported with the agro-allied industrial programme of the River Basins, our agriculture will have been restored.

23. Street trading must be permanently stopped, because most of the wares are usually stolen or smuggled, besides the traffic hazard and inconvenience associated with it.

24. The appearance of our environment can influence our behaviour and outlook towards national assets and social

- infrastructure. Sanitary inspectors should be restored and Public Assets Inspectors appointed to enforce clean habits in every locality and inspect public structures, facilities and roads for maintenance.
25. Damage to public assets as reported by Public Assets Inspectors of the Ministry of Works should be promptly repaired. Where the cause of damage is ascertained and the culprits known, such culprits should be brought to book and made to pay for the repair or replacement (Mr. Audu Ogbeh, Minister of Communications, has been doing something similar with telephone cables cut by careless contractors who dig and destroy such cables).
26. Self-reliance instinct demands that the idea of demanding everything to be free tends to destroy the initiative of citizens, who then only think of Government as a kind of Father Xmas. For instance, there could be tolls on all new major interstate highways and bridges to collect funds for their upkeep and expansion.
27. When finally Mr. President decides to inaugurate the first set of measures to launch the Ethical Revolution, he should do so in a dramatic manner. The whole nation must be blanketed with massive information about what is planned, so that the dramatic formal launching will serve as a landmark to set the nation on its new course to ethical rectitude. This aspect is most important to create the revolutionary awareness of the commencement of a drastic new change in the life pattern of the nation.
28. Citizens should be ready to serve further, say in writing workshops, for example, to produce the textbooks which will be used to orient the population in the new direction during the next two decades through the turn of the century. Some amendments to existing texts may even be necessary; and here I expect the Institute of Ethic and the Ministry of Education to liaise to harness the nation's brains for the materials required.
29. The system of awarding national honours should be drastically reviewed to reduce the number of awards per year; to redefine and upgrade the qualification for award; and to include a programme to publicise the few who receive the award and the full details of the considerations which justify the award. This award must not be made to anyone mainly on grounds of monetary success and exploits.

30. The national merit award should continue and should be made one of the tools with which to encourage the massive new upsurge in literary development needed to produce the mass of texts and other works for the nation's glorious revolution in ethics. The conditions for award should be reviewed critically to upgrade the quality of contribution of the recipient to qualify.

31. Leadership by personal example is to be publicly acclaimed as the main theme of the Nigerian Ethical Revolution. It must be scrupulously adhered to by all who occupy positions of leadership in public life, private enterprise and in social circles, while deviations must not be tolerated to compromise the revolution.

AKOM UKPABI\*

3 February, 1983

*This is an acronym used by the writer to hedge against the brick-bats which started to fly at the first full plenary of the committee, said to be financed by some political parties which were bent upon frustrating the conduct of its affairs, when the committee was influenced to burry to the press a negative statement about the author's first book, free copies of which had been given to all committee members preparatory to its official launching. Fearing that his views and contributions might not be well received in open committee work, he sent in this memorandum in discharge of his duty as a dedicated citizen and in exercise of his right as a member of the public. He consequently minimised his oral contributions during open sessions, but came back strongly at the report writing stage. The strategy proved to be wise and worked satisfactorily.*

# PART FIVE

## THE ACTION PHASE

### CHAPTER ELEVEN

#### The Pangs Of Verdict '83

### CHAPTER TWELVE

#### Armed Forces To The Rescue

### CHAPTER THIRTEEN

#### The Revolution In Action

### CHAPTER FOURTEEN

#### Revolutionary Prognosis For WAI

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# Chapter Eleven

## THE PANGS OF VERDICT '83

How Political Parties Prepared

How The Parties Campaigned

How The Elections Were Held

International Reverberations

# PART FIVE

## THE ACTION PHASE

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# Chapter Eleven

## THE PANGS OF VERDICT '83

How Political Parties Prepared

How The Parties Campaigned

How The Elections Were Held

International Reverberations

## *The Pangs Of Verdict '83*

The 1983 General Elections in Nigeria were covered by an elaborate television network programme, styled VERDICT 83. This term later became synonymous with the elections themselves and all that they encompassed in the continuing evolution of Nigerian political and social history. Since the elections, held during the months of July to September, 1983, had the campaign therefor launched as early as January, 1983 by all the political parties, and also occupied the rest of the year in post-election petitions, court cases and acrimonious discussions on them, one can conveniently designate the fateful year, 1983, as the year of Verdict 83. Frankly speaking, besides those elections, nothing else happened that deserved to happen in the interest of Nigeria, except the year-end putsch of 31 December, 1983 that closed that sad chapter in our nation's history.

### *How Political Parties Prepared*

The five registered political parties, which were in the 1979 general elections, namely, GNPP, NPN, NPP, PRP and UPN,\*1 had managed to win governorships in some states, State Assembly memberships, and National Assembly memberships in the Senate and the House of Representatives. The NPN in addition won the presidency and control of the federal government, albeit a tenuous control without a majority in the National Assembly.

Hardly had a full year elapsed in the tenor of that first term of the Second Republic, when all the parties started their preparations for the 1983 elections. No political party wanted to wait and lose the grounds won in 1979; but each of them most certainly aimed at gaining new grounds come 1983. Public opinion was ostensibly

\*1 *Great Nigeria People's Party, National Party of Nigeria, Nigerian People's Party, People's Redemption Party, and Unity Party of Nigeria. The sixth was Nigeria Advance Party, registered after the 1979 elections*

against the existence of so many parties, and seasoned analysts wished we had only two national political parties that cut across regional and ethnic blocs and were forged into viable political organs by means of ideology and programmes. The threat of relegation, therefore, was real and faced all the parties; and the instinct of survival propelled them all to start as early as they did to plan in readiness for 1983.

By the time the first term had reached the half way mark in 1981, serious manoeuvres by all the parties to break old alliances and forge new ones had taken almost ferocious posture, with allegations filling the air of heavy bribes to party stalwarts by competing rich parties shopping for allies within the opponents' camps in order to procure the desired results. About this time, the matter of too many parties had become further complicated by the addition of an ambitious new party, NAP, which promised and threatened revolution from the word go. Also at this point, many patriotic and seasoned analysts and lovers of representative democracy already had a twitch of frustrating sensation run down their spine as they watched the parties devote more time to scheming for re-election in 1983 than in trying to run the nation with its rapidly declining economy. It was truly frustrating to those under the economic pressure of the recession.

Some specific examples of time consuming programmes that ought not to have occupied a first term civilian government, after almost a decade and half military interregnum, will bring this account closer to the source of this frustration. States creation, for instance, not because new states are really indispensable in our federal structure, but as a means to enhance the sponsoring parties' re-election prospects, suddenly became the most pressing national objective. So much time, effort and valuable resources were lavished upon this new political pastime, that sober analysts, who were cool to the idea, were made to look like strange, political imbeciles in a society of vibrant states agitators, as the whole nation soon went agog with new states demands. Delegations from all corners of Nigeria to deliver states creation requests to the National Assembly became a daily affair; while the National Assembly - men and other

federal functionaries shuffled weekly to the country-side to galvanise support for the states that had got to be created in order to save the nation from disunity and uneven development.

Well meaning statesmen and patriots who decried this new craze were simply ignored. Notable among these were the labour unions and some intellectuals, who pointed to the potentially crippling cost of running a large number of states in the face of worsening economic conditions in the country. The writer, in his booklet, *To Give Everybody a Chance* (Vide page 61 of the author's first book on this subject), addressed in June 1981 to the leadership of the ruling party at the federal level, had commented, quite unobtrusively, against this new craze; but he was frequently told off by protesting party stalwarts, who felt that those comments were against party policy.

By the time, however, the Senate itself voted for the creation of 48 new states, it gradually became clearer to those who still had full control of their reasoning, that it was the rabid party political leaders who were about to run amuck, and not the labour leaders and intellectuals that criticised the idea of massive states creation now. Nevertheless the movement gathered strength and the poor masses of rural dwellers had no real choice except to believe the party leaders who promised them new states and resultant massive development that would flow nearer their communities under the proposed new order.

Another example was the issue of voting machines, which FEDECO was considering for use in the 1983 elections to forestall any rigging. This matter produced very noisy, acrimonious debate. The political parties very quickly stepped in with noisy mutual abuse, to accuse one another of having perfected plans for massive election rigging. The battle to defeat the voting machines proposal or to get it approved not only monopolised attention in the National Assembly for awhile but produced such acrimonious debate and reverberations across the land that virtually drowned out serious national issues at a time that 1983 elections were still some two years in the future.

Meanwhile, the parties were sorting themselves into progressives and conservatives. The governors of the states which

were controlled by the 'progressive' parties soon started a monthly get together, popularly called, 'meeting of progressive governors'. Beginning with seven governors, the self-styled camp of progressives later grew to nine. The governors of these states met as guests of one of their number in turn every month; attending members usually going with large entourage of state functionaries, while the host governor naturally spent very lavishly to accommodate and entertain his guest colleagues. If serious state affairs were discussed and nagging inter-state problems of development and welfare of their citizens were ironed out at the meetings, nobody would quarrel seriously about this expensive jamboree undertaken so frequently at public expense. It gradually became clear to all the observing public that most of the business done at this usually highly publicised meetings was related to forging alliances and perfecting strategies for the 1983 elections.

Half way through the term of that civilian administration, new alliances began to crystallise, when also the NPN/NPP alliance entered into soon after the 1979 elections was broken. The camp of the progressives quickly shot up from nine to twelve governors. The monthly governors' jamboree became more colourful. A political tug of war soon developed between the enlarged camp of the progressives, which now had put the party in power at the centre on the defensive psychologically, and the rest outside it. The desperation into which this turn in the political party realignment plunged the parties in their zeal to plan for victory at all costs come 1983 is perhaps borne out by the sort of secret documents of election strategy, which they were later discovered to have prepared, as were published by the New Nigerian newspaper during the early months of the military take-over. It is no wonder also that party stalwarts in positions of responsibility were driven to abuse their office by the pressure to find the money with which their party could finance such elaborate strategies for 1983.

### *How The Parties Campaigned*

Campaigns for the 1983 general elections started unofficially during 1982. All the parties, however, launched their campaigns officially as early as January, 1983, going full blast for six months to

the eve of the first poll, the presidential election, on 6 July, 1983. It was one of the longest periods of electioneering campaigns known anywhere in the world. The political parties, having spent virtually the whole of the preceding three years in preparing and mapping out strategies for the elections, spent the first half of 1983 to fight the elections in what looked like a truly do-or-die battle for ascendancy or survival. Old tactics from the First Republic campaign experience were dusted, refurbished and put into use; while new ones were tried out. That many of these tactics and strategies bordered on the unethical or were outright in breach of electoral regulations and even of the constitution showed clearly that most politicians had learnt nothing from the events that led to the War of National Unity.

The long and elaborate preparations of the political parties were clearly reflected in the equipment and man power put into electioneering campaign use by all the parties. Fleets of cars, motor cycles, bicycles, motor boats and even private jets used in the campaigns were ample proof of this assertion. Television commercials, similar to what may be seen during American presidential election campaigns, were heavily employed to supplement radio, newspaper, bill-boards and poster advertisements both to cover and to bolster up campaign rallies.

Party vanguards, fronts and youth wings drew handsomely from the floating bands of drug addicts, motor park touts and armed robbers to swell their ranks, as they were used increasingly as body guards at campaign rallies as well as to disrupt opponents' campaigns. Bedecked in party uniforms, most of them received para-military training and were supplied lethal weapons. It is no wonder that the smuggling of arms and ammunition in containers and across the borders reached alarming proportions during the electioneering campaign period. Some parties were strongly rumoured to have developed para-military training camps to train party thugs for the elections. The secret documents published by *The New Nigerian* have tended to substantiate these rumours as true.

With all the major political parties owning what amounted to private armies, political campaigns showed frequent violent eruptions, resulting in deaths, destruction of properties and the burning of houses and vehicles. Religious leaders not only prayed regularly for

Nigeria and preached peace in the sermons, but also met frequently in groups to send appeals and delegations to political leaders to urge for peaceful campaigns and elections. Prominent natural rulers also made their own contribution to help calm down the escalating spate of violent electioneering as the elections drew nearer. Well known Nigerian parapsychologists, some of whom professed ability to find the names of potential winners in the Bible, did not help matters as they issued repeated predictions of violent elections in several states across the land, further raising public apprehension.

The parties also engaged in mutual decamping deals with ambitious break-away malcontents in one another's fold. The 1979 constitution had tried to prohibit decamping and carpet crossing, which was first invented on the floor of the Western Nigeria House of Assembly in 1952, when some twenty elected members of the NCNC crossed carpet to the AG and enabled the latter to form the government. That disgraceful practice was later copied in other parts of the country during the First Republic.

What the parties did this time around was to procure decamping during the campaigns, since post-election carpet-crossing of the 1952 vintage was now not possible under the 1979 constitution. Consequently, political parties went 'supermarket shopping', as the practice became known in political campaign reporting during verdict 83, to procure the decamping of opponents' candidates who were believed to be particularly popular with the electorate. In this sordid business fantastic fortunes exchanged hands to seal the deals for major decampings. To borrow the spirit of a recent newspaper cartoon, a really big decamping deal might need something like the proceeds of an IMF loan to consummate it.

There was the case, for instance, of a state, where one party was seeking the decamping of some fifty-four state assembly members of the ruling rival political party and allegedly agreed to give each decamping member N75,000 cash plus a 504 saloon car. The decamping members also went to the national leaders of their own party demanding the same offers in order to refrain from consummating the decamping agreement. The ruling party rejected the outrageous overtures; and the decamping deal was consummated with the 'shopping' opposing party. The ruling party then redoubled

its own 'campaign' machinery and resources by which it was later swept back to power with new candidates in a stunning landslide!

In this regard, one can safely say that the political party leaders in the Second Republic certainly engaged in more unethical political escapades than they contrived in the First Republic, rather than learnt from the sad events of the first military interregnum in order to do it better. And what is more, the campaigns this time around were so long and totally absorbing, that while they lasted nothing, literally nothing else, happened in terms of running the affairs of state. It was truly disheartening to well wishers of Nigeria and lovers of representative democracy both within and outside the country, that the leaders blew this second chance at civilian self-government and self-regulation in Nigeria.

### *How The Elections Were Held*

The elections started on 6 July, 1983 with the presidential poll followed by the four others for state Governors, Senators, Federal Representatives and State Assembly men. These five polls, together with allowances made for run-off elections and possible repeats of stalemated or postponed ones were scheduled to last through middle September, 1983. They really did; because there were ample instances of wholesale postponements of elections in some states, owing to violent eruptions, and of cancellation of some polls, which were marred by wide-spread irregularities.

Compilation of the voters' register had been less than satisfactory, to begin with. Voters' lists in most areas of the country reflected such glaring errors as omission of names; inclusion of wrong or fictitious names or those of deceased persons; and the enumeration of thousands of names against the addresses of churches, mosques and empty lots. In some parts, it was virtual nightmare for the electoral officials to match polling booths with actual numbers of eligible voters who would indeed come forward to vote at the elections.

The allocation, supply and delivery of materials to polling stations also became complicated by these inaccuracies, as very often areas of scanty voters had more ballot papers than areas where

more registered voters were actually forthcoming. Many eligible voters could not find their names at the polling booths to which they were assigned; while many others soon discovered that they failed to finally get on the register altogether. In an effort to prevent forgery of the ballot papers by political parties, FEDECO usually made last minute deliveries of voting materials to polling centres. The frequent result was delayed arrival of such materials at many polling stations, adding to the frustration of voters and the vilification of FEDECO by all the parties.

Polling was reasonably orderly during the presidential poll, despite the confusion which reigned with respect to voters' search for the correct centres, the supply of materials and assignment of electoral officials for that first election in the series. At subsequent polling, the reports of widespread irregularities increased. There were many arrests and disturbances in several states. Such reports and incidents became more rampant after the announcement of the result of the first poll. Parties which had suffered surprising defeat by that result surreptitiously prepared for and promoted 'spontaneous' uprisings to coincide with the announcement of future key results. This was particularly so in the gubernatorial elections in Oyo and Ondo states, where the resultant loss of lives numbered in the thousands, in addition to massive loss of property to arsonists and party thugs.

The NPN that won the presidential poll attributed their lengthening string of startling victories in opponents' strongholds to the myth of the bandwagon effect of the foregoing presidential poll. The opposing parties that lost attributed such losses to 'massive rigging' by the winners. Most of the parties which lost any seats anywhere soon resorted to blaming the loss on rigging, while the most impressive beneficiary of the swing in electoral victories attributed it all to the bandwagon effect. All the other parties regarded election rigging as synonymous with this bandwagon effect theory, an election myth which was borrowed from the United States presidential elections but which in our case became either a ploy for rigging subsequent polls in the elections or a bogey that scared the marginal parties into self-effacing losses at the subsequent polls.

The elections were a logical showdown between the progressives and the conservatives. The progressive camp, towards the commencement of the elections, had shown the observing public that it was not a compatible alliance of parties joined by any ideology or mutually acceptable national programmes. Each leader of the cooperating major parties merely wanted to ride the back of the others to victory on 6 July; and it is possible that many voters who might have supported that camp either refrained from voting at all or voted for the alternative camp that seemed better organized and with a more predictable policy.

Yet one cannot discount the stories of rigging as totally false. There were evidences from the court cases that followed, which proved instances of where the Returning Officers 'returned' the defeated candidates as having been elected, in flagrant falsification of the results sent to them by the Polling Officers. This is the same old trick of the First Republic brought back in 1983 to demonstrate that the political party leaders learnt absolutely no lessons from the events that set this nation apart in a ruinous war and drove our armed forces into the continuing saga of interventionist politics.

There were petitions, protests and court suits galore all over the place. Many gubernatorial seats changed occupants repeatedly, from the verdict of the Returning Officer to those of the State High Court, Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court. Faces and committee memberships in the Senate, House of Representatives and most State Assemblies continued to change with the announcements of new court decisions right up to the time the armed forces stepped in to stop that confusion and national disgrace.

There were literally thousands of cases due to come up, some of them trumped up and specially designed to reverse the electorally decided compositions of state assemblies once the State Chief Executives became finally confirmed, pointing to very serious attempt at politicisation of the judiciary into a party tool to reverse the verdict of the electorate as indicated by the declared results of the polls.

Many of the cases, but for the 31 December coup d'Etat, would have dragged on well beyond the whole of 1984, consuming valuable time that needed to be devoted to battle with our daunting

economic problems, mounting public indebtedness and vanishing supplies of food and basic necessities of life.

For this analysis, Verdict 83 can be interpreted to include important political appointments that were made as a result of the 1983 polls. Those appointments were so unimaginative and non-responsive to genuine advice and constructive criticisms made to the Ex-President about his outgoing previous administration, that everybody, including his best friends in the armed forces, simply concluded that he was not really a free agent of himself to run the country as leader. He obviously had not made the choices alone as he promised the nation. What the sad elections left in tact in our debased polity was knocked off by those appointments of the unwieldy band of old reliables, be they ministers for or ministers of, which amazed the nation and sparked off caustic criticisms of them.

Also, those appointments and other developments after the elections dashed any lingering hopes of a serious prosecution of the National Ethical Reorientation programme. For instance, the white paper on the report of the National Ethical Reorientation Committee, which was promised as swiftly forthcoming by the ex-President on 14 July, 1983, when the report was handed in to him, was still being written when the military took over six months later on 31 December 1983. Those members of the Ethical Committee who were the real brains behind the whole ethical revolution drive, were from the submission of that report meticulously side-tracked in the implementation processes, portraying the lack of sincere commitment of the party hierarchy to fight ethical decay and indiscipline in the country. To them it had served its purpose as an election campaign gimmick.

The recommendation made at the end of chapter nine of this book (and communicated to the ex-President very early in September, 1983, along with a copy of the first draft manuscript of this book) to the effect that the motive force of National Guidance be domiciled in the presidency, to give it a stamp of over-riding authority and strategic importance, was carefully avoided. Instead, National Guidance, when it started focussed principally on the propaganda content of the programme to the detriment of the grim realities of our time and pressing need to correct swiftly the crippling social ills of this age in the nation.

## *International Reverberations*

Two friendly democracies, with which Nigeria has long established links historically, are the United Kingdom and the United States. These two countries are also our leading, closest trading partners. Politically, we have borrowed their patterns of government in turn - the parliamentary system from the one during the First Republic and the presidential system from the other during the Second Republic.

We may be on opposite sides with both of them in key burning issues of interest to us as leaders on this continent, such as Apartheid and racism; but these two countries for their own enlightened self-interest will like us to survive in freedom, with a continuing viable economy and preferably, if possible, as a democracy. It is conceivable that they would rather see a sober military leadership take over for awhile to ensure a survival of these features than permit us to continue the rapid descent down to the abyss of ruin and misery where these features might well be jettisoned in the utter desperation of the miserable future survivors, who then may be ready to follow any ruthless despot that offered any hopes of return to some kind of order, regimented or not.

It is no wonder then that when the world mass media descended on Nigeria with unfavourable accounts of Verdict 83 and the aftermath, the mass media in these two friendly countries were in the forefront of those who played a significant part to shoot us down in the way we conducted our affairs both in Verdict 83 and in other respects. Of course, the governments of these countries maintained impeccable diplomatic relationships with the newly elected government here, each perhaps remembering the state visits during the first term in office of the re-elected leader. They naturally could not interfere in our domestic affairs by telling us off straight in the face on a government to government level nor sponsor any clandestine operations to upset the fledgling administration in the absence of any ideological reverses, attendant or imminent. Media organisations are, of course, free to do their thing without let or hindrance in the spirit of press freedom, which is well entrenched in these two countries.

During Verdict 83, leading world media organisations sent representatives to Nigeria to cover the elections. While such representatives were here, they probably dug more deeply into other aspects of life in the country, besides just covering the elections. Hence by the end of October, 1983 the leading American television network organisation, the Columbia Broadcasting System, CBS, came out with a penetrating report on Nigeria, in its weekly programme, *Sixty Minutes*, portraying the escalating spate of corruption and indiscipline as a serious national cankerworm that seemed bent on stopping the nation by eating up its marrow for all practical purposes. As was probably expected, this report drew angry reactions from Nigerians resident in North America as well as those at home who learnt about it. Some Nigerian newspapers carried reported reactions of patriots and readers as well as featured own articles on the CBS programme. In fact, this went on for several weeks.

Interestingly enough, about that same time and unknown to most Nigerians, barring those who were close to Miss Onyeka Onwenu and some NTA correspondents included in the exercise, a British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, team was down in Nigeria to shoot a film titled, 'Nigeria: A Squandering of Riches', which was aired in London very early in February 1984. This film, with all the doctoring it received in the hands of local authorities when it was brought back to Nigeria later on, could not have been surpassed by the CBS report in laying bare to the world how corruption in high places, arson, embezzlement, smuggling, currency trafficking, kickback contract pricing and other forms of gross leadership indiscipline and recklessness were wreaking havoc on the Nigerian economy and society. Nor did this film spare the pangs of Verdict 83 in listing the seemingly unending groans of the brutalised citizens of this nation during the short-lived Second Republic.

# *Chapter Twelve*

## ARMED FORCES TO THE RESCUE

### The Year End Putsch

#### 1984: New Year Of Hope

#### Appendix E

#### Appendix F

# *Armed Forces To The Rescue*

## *The Year End Putsch*

Less than thirty-six hours after the enactment of the last act of the ill-fated Second National Assembly of the defunct Second Republic, the presentation of the proposed national budget for 1984 on 29 December, 1983, the Nigerian Armed Forces stepped forward in the wee hours of Saturday morning, 31 December, 1983 to put a stop to the nauseating circus acts of the politicians in the face of rapidly escalating economic and social disaster in our fatherland.

A friend of mine from the New York Consulate-General, who arrived on Friday morning, 30 December, 1983 for urgent consultations concerning Nigerian students' crisis in the U.S.A., was staying as my guest. Having driven straight from the airport to the office in Lagos, anxious to begin his meetings immediately but finding nobody in for his mission, he decided to travel to his village early on Saturday morning to see his daughter in school there. So we stayed up late on that Friday night in order to telephone his wife in New York at (1.30 a.m. on 31 December) 7.30 p.m. New York time on 30 December, when she expected the call. We dialed the call in turn repeatedly, but failed to get through. We also tried going through the NET operator, but could not get through to NET either. Sleepy and tired, we went to bed at 2.30 a.m., blaming our failure on the usual P & T incompetence, hoping to try again before leaving for the station at 6.00 a.m. in the morning. We did, briefly; but failed again.

I then drove my friend to the luxury bus station on Ikorodu Road, getting there about 7.00 a.m., when he promptly boarded his bus; neither we nor those others at the bus station knowing what was happening in the country. Meanwhile his bus drove off and I drove back to Surulere. On getting home, I put on the radio. Since I had missed the 7 O'clock news, I turned to the FRCN 2 for the news beat on the half hour. It was all music as usual, but serious classical music

until the whole riddle was finally solved at 7.30 a.m. by the broadcast of Brigadier Sanni Abacha of the Nigerian Army.\*1

My friend later discovered what happened from some one's radio in the bus, which carried the same broadcast that I had heard at home. By his account, when he returned from the village, there was nothing, all the way there, to indicate what was happening for most of his outward journey. Our experiences which were similar to reports from most parts of the country, confirmed that the putsch was completely a surprise operation; unlike the 1975 one, which many people discussed freely just before it happened. On my friend's return journey, however, he said it was all jubilation, as people openly danced for joy at the change of government that was announced.

That weekend became for most people one of anxious vigil, as all were glued to their radios, which continued that terse broadcast of the Nigerian Armed Forces all day long, awaiting the announcement of who was to be the new head of the Federal Military Government. This information, which was to both confirm the success of the putsch and indicate the ideological base and likely thrust of the new government, did not get to most people until the early hours of Sunday morning, 1 January, 1984. And when it came, it combined with the earlier explanation of Brigadier Abacha, that the change of government had been 'a bloodless and painstaking operation', to further gladden the hearts of all peace loving patriots. It was sure indication that there was unanimity in the Armed Forces, both about the change and about the leadership of the new team, leaving no room for a costly power struggle in their fold that could spill over into civilian commotion and strife to add to people's woes of the times.

\*1 See Appendix B at the end of this chapter

## *1984: New Year Of Hope*

The radio broadcast of Brigadier Sanni Abacha was rather complemented by the first broadcast of the new military Head of State, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari.\*2 The two together formed a complete package in the sense that one closed an old year and sad chapter, while the other opened the new year of hope. Brigadier Abacha made a concise rehearsal of our economic and social woes which led the Nigerian armed forces to decide to effect a change in the national leadership of the country. It then handed out instruction to all, which spelt the termination of the old order as we awaited the new dawn of a better political leadership. It was repeated every half hour to the nation all through that last day of the year of verdict 83. People really had no means to know whether it was another futile Dimka-like revolt or a successful putsch that was backed by a concensus of all ranks of the entire armed forces, until the head of the new government was named and he presented himself to the nation as having accepted the role. So the anguish of insecurity, which had haunted citizens most of that fateful year, was heightened some-what by the long delay in making the identity of the new head of state known to the nation. Thus 31 December, 1983 was, both historically and psychologically, truly the last day of the year of Verdict 83.

New Year's Day, 1984 was a Sunday. Before worshippers went to the churches, the new military Head of State's first broadcast was certainly heard by most people at 7 a.m. on radio and television. It was repeated on radio all through the day, enabling people to be reassured and to ascertain the direction into which the nation would be headed under the new dispensation. A new order had been installed on that new year's day of hope. General Buhari gave the rationale for the change in a more elaborate summary: serious economic predicament and crisis of confidence; politicians'

\*2 See Appendix F at the end of this chapter

circumvention of the code of conduct provisions of the 1979 constitution and their inordinate ambition for political power during verdict 83; the insensitivity of the political leadership to citizens' deplorable plight and genuine advice; the brazenfaced irresponsibility of self-seeking National Assemblers; and general ethical depravity spear-headed by outrageous corruption and indiscipline in the highest places of our leadership in public life.

Declaring it was the moment of truth, he intimated the nature of the reconstruction task which was painfully and inescapably ahead for our national survival. It was significant that the change had to come: to stop the downward slide into total national bankruptcy and social chaos; and to start the change of direction with a commensurate sense of direction for the economy; corrupt officials and their agents to be brought to book; supplementary food imports to counter effects of drought; dynamic and realistic foreign policy; boost of morale and combat readiness for the armed forces; undisturbed operation of the judiciary; and secure tenure for all dedicated public servants.

He then made a concluding assertion, which has since become a daily quotable piece for all newspapers and many speakers on our public affairs in recent times, to the effect that 'this generation of Nigerians, and indeed future generations, have no other country than Nigeria. We shall remain here and salvage it together'. It was clearly a message of challenge, but also a message of hope. It is a challenge to our nationalism, patriotism, self-reliance and hard-work; but it is also a promise of a rich harvest - the inheritance of the benefits of citizenship of this great, rich nation, which needs only honest management of its affairs for that great wealth and honour to accrue to its citizens.

In many churches that Sunday, preachers touched upon the change of government in the light of the crushing austerity measures in the face of irresponsible behaviour of politicians who were insensitive to people's suffering;. 'Power belongs to God', one preacher reminded worshippers, 'and those who exercise it in the affairs of men, must do so in the name and fear of God for service to their fellow men', he charged, to which the congregation replied in unison with a solemn nod and suppressed Amen. Those churches

which did not preach about the change of government on New Year's day certainly did so in the next two Sundays.

By far the most memorable sermon was that of the Reverend Dr. I. O. A. Ude of the Lagos Presbyterian Church, preached at the 1984 Armed Forces and Remembrance Day Interdenominational Service, held at the Patriarchal Methodist Church, Tinubu, Lagos on Sunday, 15 January, 1984 at 8.00 a.m., under the aegis of the Christian Association of Nigeria. With the theme: 'Lest We Forget', this scholarly sermon was memorable for the candid challenge which it threw to the Nigerian Armed Forces as well as for the hope it held out for the nation under God's saving grace, as the following two excerpts will portray.

With respect to the onerous task before the armed forces of Nigeria, Rev. Dr. Ude charged: 'The current military regime cannot afford to let this nation down. And we know that we have people in the army who can prove their salt. We have witnessed some confusion in the army before, when some began to understand serving in the army as an opportunity to obtain more than one's share of the national cake. This confusion reigned until Murtala Muhammed stuck his neck out to remind his colleagues that the blood of the young officers who came to put a stop to the malee of the First Republic was crying out from the ground for vindication of the cause for which they died. But Nigerians had penetrated so deep into corruption that they did not know how to repent again. They could not understand the language Murtala Muhammed was using and so they quickly removed him off the stage as one would a lunatic.

And now Muhammadu Buhari has stuck his neck out speaking the same language as Murtala Muhammed - SERVICE, ACCOUNTABILITY and PROBITY. Knowing Nigerians as we all do, I personally do not envy him. He should have known that these audacious words have been sponged from the thinking of most Nigerians, especially those in the higher echelon of the financial ladder. These words were the meat and drink of the Murtala Muhammed whose shoes Buhari wears. Following his assassination, CAUTION became the order of the day. The one fortune was that the inertia generated in Muhammed's administration was sufficient to carry the then military regime to meet the target and the deadline.

Obasanjo had no choice because surrounding him were ravening wolves, hawks, vampires, all closing in on him ready to tear him to pieces if he held on to the lid of the Nigerian coffer a second longer than Murtala promised. But caution is not the answer to such threats. First it is to be aware that the threats are there and real; and then to elicit the support of the people. The people, of-course, may not be able to defend you in case the vampires lure you into their snare. But the ancient adage still holds true today, that "A good name is to be chosen rather than great riches" (Proverbs 22:1). This does not mean that any military officer who seizes governmental power is preparing his own gallows. But to carry the people with you is to be on the side of God. For our God who SEES the affliction of the people and HEARS their cry because of their task masters: knows their sufferings and comes down to deliver them out of the hands of the oppressors. The army, therefore, cannot assume it is in power because of its own might or wisdom. It can only be by Divine appointment'.

And with respect to the special import for Nigeria which the prophetic year, 1984, signified and obligates the new Buhari administration to make come alive, Rev. Dr. Ude had this to say in the sermon: This is the moment of glory for you, General Buhari. This is the moment for action, Brigadier Abacha. This is the moment to prove your salt, Brigadier Idiagbon and the other lads of the Supreme Military Council. You cannot afford to fail. You dare not and you must not fail. If I had my way I would have said: do not allow any civilian adviser or any of those careerists who have started lobbying and offering services to come near you. I am convinced we have in the army enough officers learned enough and concerned enough to reclothe this nation in her rightful mind as a nation with an assigned purpose under God. For what have you been doing in your officers' mess through these silent years? Has it been all talk of wine, women and song? Have you never spent time, indeed most of your time, deliberating objectively and subjectively on the fate of this nation, your own nation?

"1984 has been premonished as an eventful year for the entire world by one Orwell in his book entitled 1984 and written in 1948. There is evidence that much of what he said has been coming to pass

one by one. For Nigeria, 1984 can be a moment for glory or a moment for total disintegration. The rudder is in your hand, Buhari, to steer the national boat to glory. We offer no alternative. We will loathe you and blot your name from history if you turn the boat in any other direction. What is more, power is available from Him who has assigned Nigeria a role in Africa and hence in the world at large.

'It is certain no one wants the army to stay in power till kingdom come. The military must get its goal clearly demarcated and in military fashion set about accomplishing it one by one. By your own admission you have already obtained the psychological accreditation of the people. You must justify the confidence reposed on you.

'At this Remembrance day Service you are here and now receiving the spiritual accreditation of the Church, and for this you are answerable to God'.

'It is God who has called you to this task. It is the way it pleases God to respond to the cries of the oppressed and the down trodden. The ball is now in your court. Play the game well and our prayers are with you. Beware of the pride that goes before a fall; for there are many Nigerians that are waiting like a roaring lion to devour you, whom resist. You cannot minimise the power of Naira and Kobo. If you need help, that help is near at hand. The Galilean goes on ahead of you, demonstrating much more in action than in words what he taught His followers: "Greater love has no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends". We are here to honour those who have done just that for us and to be thankful to God for the same. As we go out in dazzling military colours to lay our wreaths in silent tribute to these men "who nobly fought of old". Let us not forget, let us not forget. Let us use the occasion as a time of reappraisal in which the opportunity is given to us to discover again those spiritual values that are to be prized above all earthly possessions.

'Lord, may we treasure FAITH, HOPE and LOVE above all other things in these days of change.'

## *Appendix E*

Special Broadcast by Brigadier Sanni Abacha on Saturday,  
31 December, 1983 on behalf of the Armed Forces of Nigeria

Fellow countrymen and women:

I, Brigadier Sanni Abacha of the Nigerian Army, address you this morning on behalf of the Nigerian armed forces. You are all living witnesses to the grave economic predicament and uncertainty which an inept and corrupt leadership has imposed on our beloved nation for the past four years. I am referring to the harsh, intolerable conditions under which we are now living. Our economy has been hopelessly mismanaged. We have become a debtor and begger nation. There is inadequacy of food at reasonable prices for our people, who are now fed up with endless announcement of importation of foodstuffs. Health services are in shambles as our hospitals are reduced to mere consulting clinics, without drugs, water and equipment. Our educational system is deteriorating at alarming rate. Unemployment figures, including the graduates, have reached embarrassing and unacceptable proportions. In some states workers are being owed salary arrears of 8 to 12 months and in others there are threats of salary cuts. Yet our leaders revel in squandermania, corruption and indiscipline, continue to proliferate public appointments in complete disregard of our stark economic realities.

After due consultation over these deplorable conditions, I and my colleagues in the armed forces have, in the discharge of our national role as the promoters and protectors of our national interest, decided to effect a change in the leadership of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and to form a Federal Military Government. This task has just been completed. The Federal Military Government hereby decrees the suspension of the provision of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 relating to all elective and appointive offices and representative institutions, including the office of the President, State Governors, Federal and State Executive Councils, Special Advisers, Special Assistants, the establishment of the National Assembly and the House of Assembly.

including the formation of political parties.

Accordingly, Alhaji Shehu Usman Shagari ceases forthwith to be the President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. All the incumbents of the abovenamed offices shall, if they have not already done so, vacate their formal official residences, surrender all government property in their possession and report to the nearest police station in their constituencies within 7 days. The Clerk of the National Assembly, the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives shall within 2 weeks render account of all property of the National Assembly. All political parties are banned. The bank accounts of FEDECO and all the political parties are frozen with immediate effect.

All foreigners living in any part of the country are assured of their safety and will be adequately protected. Henceforth, workers not on essential duties are advised to keep off the streets. All categories of workers on essential duties will however report to their places of work immediately.

With effect from today a dusk to dawn curfew will be imposed between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. each day until further notice. All airways flights have been suspended forthwith and all airports, seaports and border posts closed. External communications have been cut. The Custom and Excise, Immigration and Police will maintain vigilance and assure water-tight security at the borders, as their area administrators or Commanders will have themselves to blame if any of the wanted people escape.

Fellow countrymen and women: the change in government has been a bloodless and painstaking operation, and we do not want anyone to lose his or her life. People are warned in their own interest to be law abiding and to give the Federal Military Government maximum cooperation. Anyone caught in disturbing public order will be summarily dealt with. For avoidance of doubt, you are forewarned that we shall not hesitate to declare marshal law in any area or state of the Federation in which disturbances occur.

Fellow countrymen, women and comrades at arms: I will like to assure you that the armed forces of Nigeria is ready to lay its life for our dear nation, but not for the present irresponsible leadership of the past civilian administration. You are to await further announcements. Good-morning.

## *Appendix F*

MAIDEN BROADCAST OF MAJOR-GENERAL MUHAMMADU BUHARI AS HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF NIGERIA AT 1 a.m. ON 1 JANUARY, 1984

Fellow Nigerians, you are aware of the change in the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which was announced early this morning. In pursuance of the primary objective of saving our great nation from total collapse, I Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, of the Nigerian Army, have after due consultation amongst the services of the Armed Forces, been formally invested with the authority of the Head of the Federal Military Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

It is with humility and a deep sense of responsibility that I accept this challenge and call to national duty.

As you must have heard in that announcement, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979) has been suspended, except those sections of it which are exempted in the Constitution (Suspension and Modification) Decree to be issued in due course.

The change became necessary in order to put an end to the serious economic predicament and the crisis of confidence now afflicting our nation. Consequently, the Nigerian Armed Forces have constituted themselves into a Federal Military Government comprising of a Supreme Military Council, a National Council of State, a Federal Executive Council at the centre and State Executive Councils to be presided over by military governors in each of the states of the Federation. Members of these councils will be announced soon.

.....The Nature of Politics Since 1979.....

The last Federal Military Government drew up a programme with the aim of handing over political power to the civilians in 1979. This programme, as you all know, was implemented to the letter.

The 1979 constitution was promulgated. However, little did the Military realise that the political leadership of the Second Republic would circumvent most of the checks and balances in the Constitution and bring us to the present stage of general insecurity.

The premium of political power became so exceedingly high that political contestants regarded victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle and were determined to capture or retain power by all means.

.....Mismanagement of the Economy.....

It is true that there is a world-wide economic recession. However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was aggravated by mismanagement. We believe that appropriate government agencies gave good advice but their advice was disregarded by the leadership. The situation could have been saved if the legislators were alive to their constitutional responsibilities.

Instead, the legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefits and unnecessary foreign travels, et cetera, which took no account of the state of the economy and the welfare of the people they represented.

As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we have come to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute government projects with attendant domestic pressures and soaring external debts, thus aggravating the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to mismanage our financial resources.

Nigeria was already condemned to live perpetually with the twin problems of heavy budget deficits and weak balance of payments position, with the prospect of building a virile and viable economy.

....The 1983 Elections....

The last general elections were anything but free and fair. The only political parties that could complain of election rigging are those parties that lacked the resources to rig. There is ample evidence that rigging and thuggery were relative to the resources available to the parties.

This conclusively proved to us that the parties have not developed

confidence in the presidential system of government, on which the nation invested so much material resources.

.....Corruption and Indiscipline.....

While corruption and indiscipline have been associated with our state of underdevelopment, these two evils in our body politic have attained unprecedented height in the past four years.

The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years has been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. Since what happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society, we deplore corruption in all its facets. This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports, et cetera. Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling.

Arson has been used to cover up fraudulent acts in public institutions. I am referring to the fire incidents that gutted the P and T Building in Lagos, the Anambra State Broadcasting Corporation, the Republic Building at Marina, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Federal Capital Development Authority's accounts office at Abuja and the NET Building. Most of these fire incidents occurred at a time when Nigerians were being apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals and the government's apparent incapacity to deal with them.

Corruption has become so pervasive and intractable that a whole ministry has been created to stem it.

.....Moment of Truth.....

Fellow Nigerians, this indeed is the moment of truth. My colleagues and I in the Supreme Military Council must be frank enough to acknowledge the fact that at the moment, an accurate picture of the financial position is yet to be determined. We have no doubt that the situation is bad enough. In spite of this, every effort will be made to ensure that the difficult and degrading conditions under which we are living are ameliorated.

Let no one, however, be deceived that workers who have not received their salaries in the past eight or so months will receive such salaries between today and tomorrow, or that hospitals which have been without drugs for months will be provided with enough drugs immediately.

We are determined that with the help of God, we shall do our best to settle genuine payments to which government is committed, including the backlog of workers salaries, after proper scrutiny.

We are confident and we assure you that even in the face of the global recession and the seemingly gloomy financial future, given prudent management of Nigeria's existing financial resources and our determination to substantially reduce waste, it will be possible to clear the accumulated domestic payment arrears, to reduce and eventually narrow down the rising budgetary deficits and weak balance of payments position.

....Priority Programmes.....

The Federal Military Government will reappraise policies with a view to paying greater attention to the following areas:

The economy will be given a new impetus and better sense of direction;

Corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book;

In view of the drought that affected most parts of the country, the Federal Military Government will, with the available resources, import food stuffs to supplement the shortfalls suffered in the last harvest;

Our foreign policy will both be dynamic and realistic: Africa will of course continue to be the centre piece of our foreign policy;

The morale and combat readiness of the Armed Forces will be given high priority;

Officers and men with high personal and professional integrity have nothing to fear.

The Judiciary

.....The Civil Service and the Police.....

The Chief Justice of Nigeria and all other holders of judicial appointments within the Federation can continue in their appointments and the judiciary shall continue to function under existing laws subject to such exceptions as may be decreed from time-to-time by the Federal Military Government.

All holders of appointments in the Federal Civil Service, the Police and National Security Organisation shall continue to exercise their functions in the normal way subject to changes that may be introduced by the Federal Military Government.

All Board Chairmen and members of statutory corporations, parastatals and other executive departments are hereby relieved of their appointments with immediate effect.

.....External Relations.....

The Federal Military Government will maintain and strengthen existing diplomatic relations with other states and with international organisations and institutions such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations and its organs, Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Commonwealth of Nations, et cetera.

The Federal Military Government will honour and respect all treaties and obligations entered into by the previous government and we hope that such nations and bodies will reciprocate this gesture by respecting our country's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

.....Solemn Appeal

Fellow Nigerians, finally, we have dutifully intervened to save this nation from imminent collapse. We therefore, expect all Nigerians, including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicament, to cooperate with us.

This generation of Nigerians and indeed future generations have no other country than Nigeria.

We shall remain here and salvage it together.

May God Bless us all. Good morning!

# Chapter Thirteen

## THE REVOLUTION IN ACTION

The Chilling Revelations

Recovery Of Public Assets

Trials For Economic Crimes

Pruning The Public Services

Economic Readjustments

War Against Indiscipline

Appendix G

# *The Revolution in Action*

## *The Chilling Revelations*

As security officers and the armed forces swooped on the ousted politicians, soon after the 31 December 1983 putsch, startling revelations of gross financial improprieties by some of them were unearthed. The full details of all the finds are yet to be made public, because many of the ex-office holders have been under arrest while investigations of their escapades continue. There was the case of one ex-state governor, who was in office for only three months, in whose house was found in raw cash the sum of N3.4 million. Another ex-state governor had over N1.0 million in his house, while two of his former aides, including a female, had each a similar amount. There was also documentary evidence of ex-state governors who made special kick-back deals to funnel public funds into political party coffers. The amounts in this respect were various, from a N2.8 million contract kick-back in one state to several others, each in excess of N1.0 million. Kick-backs into personal pockets also were galore nation-wide. Ex-state governors who did not misappropriate their security votes would be hard to find.

The pandora's box of big time robbery and piracy at the ocean oil terminals was soon opened by the Minister of Energy and Petroleum. Numerous bunkering companies, who purchased their bunkering agency licences over the heads of all others during the civilian administration, were alleged to be using bunkering as a guise to sell off precious refined petroleum products at give-away, subsidised prices to numerous international confederates, causing scarcities here at home. Others simply procured oil pirates to dock in at the oil terminals to lift thousands of tonnes of the liquid gold, receiving the proceeds of the loot overseas in foreign currency. The scale of this massive plunder had reached alarming proportions when the Federal Military Government closed in on the affluent high society perpetrators.

And there are several other minor but strikingly audacious modes of oil theft also discovered. They include the case of those who follow the bush path in the route of oil pipelines, drill holes on the pipelines and tap the oil from them into drums. Make-shift dumps of such oil drums were discovered in several places. Similar operations by villagers in the riverine areas were reported also, where they go in boats to tap oil from holes they drill on the exposed portions of the pipelines and cover the holes with wooden stoppers. Still others are involved in collusion with tanker drivers, who make illegal deliveries in forest dumps manned by their confederates. Oil theft has really taken many forms and must have been on for a very long time. Even many oil tankers which come in legally to lift oil are now suspected to include some which, in collusion with unpatriotic NNPC officials and the oil companies' staff, lift oil far in excess of the officially certified quantities so contracted. Loose control of the metering operation is partly responsible for this drain of the nation's vital wealth.

Perhaps the most alarming indeed was the revelation made by the Federal Minister of Finance of the staggering level of national indebtedness, both locally and to foreign creditors. The state government simply went freely overseas to borrow hundreds of millions of naira in foreign currency, virtually without let or hindrance by the federal government, in addition to piling up local currency debts with Nigerian banks. Yet most of these states were owing staff salaries for eight months or more. It is sad to remember that it was only in 1976 that the writer, in his memorandum to a member of the then Supreme Military Council, had decried the continuing policy of the previous decade of not attempting enough to implement 'some industry/business type capital projects through borrowing rather than by direct appropriations and outright grants'.<sup>\*1</sup> At that time, the debt service ratio of Nigeria, at below 5.0%, was one of the lowest in the world.

<sup>\*1</sup> See *Mazi Kanu Oji, op. Cit, p. 37*. See also tables of total Nigerian indebtedness as at 31 March 1984 included at the end of this chapter as appendix G, obtained from the Central Bank of Nigeria.

For Nigeria, therefore, in the face of a wide resources base which it had up to the late 1960's, including agricultural products, forest products and non-petroleum minerals, continued restrictive financial management practices such as the writer decried then, would have been an anti-growth and anti-development economic policy. By 1979, however, when the makings of an oil glut crisis were already apparent, not only was judicious selection of industry type borrowing called for, but general profligate borrowing for general purposes, such as to establish state television stations and state universities, was simply a case of arrant irresponsibility in public finance. The dismal effect has been the escalation of Nigeria's debt service ratio to the present crippling level well in excess of 40%.

In addition, many big names in politics have been alleged to have in secret foreign bank accounts vast fortunes of ill-gotten wealth, which could amount in total to few thousands of millions of naira, illegally transferred there in circumstances which the present corrective regime is still trying to discover, as well as how to retrieve the loot to help ease the nation's resultant, crushing financial straits. Not in the wildest fears of the writer, when in the mid-1970's he first started the campaign for the institution of a formal government programme of action to fight ethical decay, did he ever imagine that the problem would by now attain such level of recklessness. All these revelations, taken together with the frequent incidents of arson involving strategic public buildings in which frauds and embezzlements were feared committed by the employees of the occupying organisations, and the rampant reign of terror from armed robbers, by day and by night, must have reinforced the belief of the Buhari regime that nothing short of a total revolution could make a dent on this problem of pervasive ethical decay in Nigeria.

### *Recovery of Public Assets*

With such startling revelations of massive plunder of the nation's resources by some public officers and their collaborators and agents, the Federal Military Government moved swiftly to enact the necessary legislation which would empower it to recover all such properties where they could be traced.

The Federal Military Government consequently came out with Decree No. 3, Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunals) Decree 1984. Part I of the decree deals with the constitution of Assets Investigation Panels, making provision for the investigation of assets of public officers; powers of the panels; verification and ascertainment of assets, etc; and for supplementary matters connected therewith. Part II deals with the constitution and powers of tribunals, providing for establishment of special tribunals, jurisdiction and powers of tribunals, etc; rules of procedure and institution of proceedings; power to issue search warrants; power to control property under investigation; and power to avoid artificial and other transactions.

In Part III are detailed the penalties and their confirmation, that is, specifying penalties which a tribunal may impose; and the confirmation of penalties of tribunals, etc., by the confirming authority, which in respect of the Decree is the Supreme Military Council. Part IV deals with supplementary provisions related to the exclusion of proceedings, interpretation, citation and commencement of the Decree stated to be 31 December, 1983.

There have been two amendments to the decree. The first one is contained in Decree No. 8, with the same commencement date of 31 December, 1983 as the Decree No. 3 itself, and provides for a new sub-section, 1A (a) and (b), immediately following sub-section 1 (a) and (b). Whereas sub-section 1 (a) and (b) provides for the purpose of ascertaining whether any public officer has engaged in corrupt practices or has corruptly enriched himself or any other person or has by virtue of abuse of his office contributed to the economic adversity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria or has in any other way been in breach of the code of conduct, when the Head of the Federal Military Government may constitute a panel to conduct an investigation in connection therewith; the new subsection 1A (a) and (b) on the other hand provides that any public officer, who has done such things as are listed in (a) and (b) of the sub-section shall be guilty of an offence under the Decree and upon conviction shall, apart from any other penalty prescribed by or pursuant to any other provision of the Decree, forfeit the assets connected with the commission of the offence to the Federal Military Government. This amendment

may be cited as the Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunals) (Amendment) Decree 1984.

The second amendment is contained in Decree No. 14, that is, Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunals) (Amendment) (No. 2) Decree 1984, also deemed to come into effect on 31 December 1983. The effects of this amendment include a rearrangement of sub-section 1A into three sub-paragraphs with the addition of a fourth sub-paragraph (d) to state that any public officer who 'has attempted, aided, counselled, procured or conspired with any person to commit any of the offences set out in this section, at any time after 30 September, 1979, shall be guilty of an offence...'

The rest of the amendment has the purpose of demolishing some of the technicalities of the existing rules of evidence, which could defeat justice and set an accused person free, because of minor errors on the part of the prosecution. For instance, no witness shall, in any trial or enquiry under this Decree, be presumed to be unworthy of credit by reason only that he took part in the commission of the offence; an accused charged with the commission of an offence but in the evidence is proved rather to have made only an attempt at committing such offence may be convicted of the attempt, the fact that he was not so separately charged notwithstanding; and an accused charged with an offence under the Decree but on the evidence is proved to have committed another offence shall not be entitled to acquittal but may be convicted for the offence he indeed committed, notwithstanding that he has not specifically been so charged previously.

To facilitate the investigation of corrupt enrichment through bribery, corruption, extortion or abuse of office, the Federal Military Government promulgated Decree No. 6, which may be cited as the Banking (Freezing of Accounts) Decree 1984 deemed to have come into force on 31 December, 1983. Where the Head of the Federal Military Government has reasonable cause to suspect that transactions with any bank are such as may involve offences leading to corrupt enrichment of any persons, he may direct the manager of the bank, where the accounts are or are believed to be or its head office, to freeze forthwith all transactions in the accounts concerned for such period of time as he may deem necessary for such account to be

verified for the investigation. Other parts of the Decree are procedural, relating to the process of verification of accounts; transitional matters; indemnity for compliance; exclusion of remedies under chapter IV of the constitution; and offences against the Decree on the part of a bank or manager who refuses to comply with the direction of the Head of the Federal Military Government in this regard.

In a sweeping attempt to track down all those, who, beginning from the inception of the last civilian administration, have made illegal massive currency transfers overseas or otherwise effected foreign exchange transactions outside the prescribed ambit of the appropriate authority, the Federal Military Government promulgated Decree No. 7, the Exchange Control (Anti-Sabotage) Decree 1984. This Decree makes it an offence to engage (or to have engaged at any time since 1 October, 1979) in monetary transactions involving foreign countries or foreign currencies not routed strictly through the Central Bank of Nigeria and its approved dealers in foreign exchange.

Political parties, the way they were run with lavish commitment of vast financial and other material resources during the last civilian administration, were most probably considered to be powerful catalyst to further ethical decay in our body politic. So also were their newly found campaign surrogates - the states creation movements, together with which the parties galvanized the electorate into centrifugal frenzy and ethnic bitterness. Most of the funds with which these parties were operated might have come from public contract kick-backs and illegal commissions now considered to be criminal conversion of public funds. Consequently, the Federal Military Government also promulgated Decree No. 9, the political parties (Dissolution) Decree 1984. This Decree, which is deemed to have come into force on 31 December, 1983, provides for the dissolution of the six registered political parties, namely, the GNPP, NAP, NPN, NPP, PRP and UPN, as well as the various states creation associations formed during the civilian administration. It also provides for the forfeiture to the Federal Military Government, disposal and discharge of all the assets and liabilities of the dissolved political parties and associations, and also for the establishment of

tribunals to try offences under the Decree.

The thorny phase in the effort to recover public assets looted by unpatriotic Nigerians and their collaborators is that which concerns the assets placed abroad in foreign bank accounts or invested in landed property and other immovable or movable property, investments and chattels. Where such properties are traced and the owners are in Nigeria and can be apprehended, there may be hopes of recovery of such properties. It is believed that some of those who are in military detention now may be involved in such overseas property holdings and it is expected that effort will be made to retrieve such property in due course.

In many other cases, however, the holders of title to such property may not be Nigerians or resident in Nigeria and, seeing the great ethical revolution raging across the land today, will not want to come to Nigeria any more. Unless a convincing judicial proof of what specific crimes such people committed in connection with the acquisition of the property in question, extradition of the culprits may be dicey; and that is where Nigeria has the covering treaty with the country of domicile of the culprits and the property concerned. Even from citizens and others who are resident in Nigeria today but who have secret bank accounts in countries that are allowed to operate as havens for the proceeds of crooked deals world-wide, the Federal Military Government may have great difficulty in showing any tangible results, despite its laudable determination to retrieve property looted from this nation.

The very attempt now being made to effect recovery, where it is possible, will nevertheless assist the government to acquire more pertinent experience for plugging loopholes from which such rampant looting was perpetrated in the past and at least stop further drain in the future.

### *Trials For Economic Crimes*

One of the greatest breeding agents of ethical decay in Nigeria has been the non-enforcement of sanctions promptly and uniformly against all who commit ethical infractions. As a matter of fact, prominent citizens of means hitherto have lived virtually like

outlaws, in that they have either usually been able to have the law changed or modified on their behalf or been treated like sacred cows when they are caught red-handed in the act and never prosecuted. With such judicial indiscipline and the unethical demonstration effect on the rest of society of such irresponsible, non-exemplary behaviour of the prominent citizens, ethical decay has been rapid and pervasive in recent years. It is therefore the greatest show of courage and vision in prosecuting the ethical revolution, which it set unequivocally in motion on 1 January 1984, when the Federal Military Government took practical steps to try and convict those who have committed heinous crimes against the economy and society, however highly placed, during the defunct civilian administration.

Since the existing judicial system and court procedure have been acknowledged by all to be somewhat obstructive to the timely attainment of true social justice, either through dilatory procedure or by means of legal technicalities by which known culprits could escape justice to the dismay of non-lawyers in society, the Federal Military Government rightly felt entitled to set up special military tribunals with commensurate rules of evidence and procedure that could put a stop to the judicial tom-foolery of the past, for which every other class of citizens has criticised our lawyers and the judicial system endlessly. The writer, who himself has some legal training, considered this problem so important that, in his book which first offered 'suggested steps for action' in igniting a formal ethical revolution for Nigeria, put it forward among the 'areas of public policy likely to be seriously concerned' with the ethical revolution. \*2 Quick and effective sanction for crimes and anti-social acts is the soul of any successful administration of justice as well as the most practical deterrent to ethical indiscipline.

Similarly, the Federal Military Government issued another statutory instrument, the Instrument Constituting Tribunals for the trial of Offences under the Exchange Control (Anti-Sabotage) Decree 1984, under which the Head of the Federal Military Government and

\*2 *Mazi Kanu Ofi, Op. Cit. pp 67-71.*

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces constituted and appointed two zonal, three member tribunals. They are the Lagos Tribunals and the Port Harcourt Tribunal, each of which is headed by a Justice of the High Court as chairman.

All those tribunals have been very busy trying suspected offenders and have already made several convictions of highly placed politicians and other citizens who are now serving long terms of imprisonment of five to twenty-two calendar years. Some of them are ex-state governors, ex-cabinet members and permanent secretaries and business people. There have been smaller people as well, like the returning stranded pilgrims, who were smuggling home large quantities of currency. For once the law is seen to take its toll on the rich and the poor without discrimination on grounds of influence and naira power, as was often the case in the recent past. The Nigerian ethical revolution is truly in operation in a practical sense. What is needed is consistent pursuit of the present policy without any adulterating compromises to accommodate some extra-mundane big-shot some day to upset the trend.

### *Pruning The Public Services*

Since the massive ethical shake-up of the public service in the early Muhammed/Obasanjo administration, which was discussed in chapter three, there has been hitherto no other general review of staff strength and optimal deployment levels in the public services of Nigeria. We recall that the purge at that time was soon rested for the rest of that regime till the civilians took over in 1979.

Meanwhile, the coming of a civilian administration, with five political parties, each running some governments and controlling the house of assembly in each of several states of the country, sort of reversed the policy of keeping down numbers to optimal levels, as politicians created positions to accommodate party supporters as well as to reflect federal character in the services. The increase in numbers, including teachers for numerous new schools created during this four year period, is considered quite sizeable. Taken together with the global economic recession, the glut in the world

oil market and the rampant looting of public resources as recently came to light, it is no wonder therefore that most states owed teachers and civil servants their salaries for periods of six to twelve months by 1983.

The Federal Military Government, including the states, has initiated a continuous programme of review of all staff members in the civil service, government parastatals and other institutions to achieve a pruning rationalisation of staff strength to optimal levels compatible with efficiency and increased productivity in the services. Headed by Mr. Gray A. E. Longe, a seasoned veteran of the Muhammed/Obasanjo administration with consequent benefit of hindsight to guide the current exercise, the Federal Civil Service has led the way by setting out from the out-set clearly defined parameters for the pruning operation.

Firstly, corrupt, undisciplined officers or those with accumulation of bad reports and previous queries, warnings and disciplinary actions in their records of service are promptly relieved of their service as they merit under the rules for retirement, dismissal or termination of appointment. It simply means that such officers are already a problem lot by virtue of their record of past performance; and in circumstances of over-staffing, it is prudent to let go such officers to give room to others who have shown better operative discipline to settle down to optimal productivity. It is by no means a fool proof parameter, but it is ostensibly fairer than most others in the circumstances.

Secondly, old and sickly officers who have put in a service in excess of thirty-five years are made to retire in order to give chance to younger and healthier others to redouble efforts to face economic and social reconstruction of the nation, which the corrective Buhari administration has enjoined upon all in the public services. I do hope, however, that older officers who gave long meritorious service to this nation are given well worded letters of congratulation, which such retiring officers can show their children with pride and rest in the satisfaction that they played well their part to serve a grateful nation that appreciates their services.

Thirdly, there are trends, from thorough review of personal confidential reports and other records on many officers which

indicate declining productivity, either because such officers have peaked off in their operative efficiency or from other causes, such as unsettled family or personal problems. Several others were hired for services that are no longer required for the foreseeable future; and not possessing any specialised skills which can be transferred to other departments, are in effect now redundant. Many in the latter category are new recruits whose appointments were largely made on political grounds. With party politics at present in the cooler, such officers are let off to seek permanent career elsewhere. Effectiveness of the public services is the over-riding consideration in these retirements and pruning down of the general staff strength.

Along with this pruning down exercise ought to go a carefully formulated programme of refresher courses and in-service training to inculcate new functional expertise and ethical orientation which will prepare those left behind for the task of building the new nation. It is hoped that this will occur to the policy makers.

Another very constructive aspect of the pruning down exercise is just being conceived for actual implementation. Policy pronouncements in recent times give positive indication that it is the direction to which the Federal Military Government will like to turn its attention. It is the one of gradual withdrawal from strictly industrial and commercial ventures which private enterprise can conveniently undertake in the economy. With large scale looting of the resources in government parastatals as recorded in the last civilian administration, as well as the gross inefficiency and indiscipline which characterise their operation, this policy is headed in the right direction. All government parastatals are now being classified into economic or commercial and social services parastatals, with a view to the former, in fields that are not considered to be strategic, being phased out as government ventures. This development will enable the government to concentrate on what it is designed for, that is, governing and supervisory control to protect the national interest.

The on-going dialogue with religious missionary organisations, with a view to restoring these organisations to a management role in the running of schools as well as participation in policy making for educational development generally, points to another healthy aspect of this pruning down policy of the Federal Military Government.

With such role for religious missions in relief of total government commitment to the routine of running all schools, the government can concentrate on enrolment policies, financial support for staff and quality infrastructure, equipment and materials and particularly on schools inspection to enforce high quality standards of discipline, instruction and general environment.

Thus, while most critics of the Buhari administration see the current pruning down policy merely as mass retrenchment of workers to save money, a more all-embracing analysis of the policy will point to a general judicious scaling down of government efforts to optimal levels and to traditional areas of government responsibility, in contradistinction from the policy of the previous military regime. If carried through as consistently as the writer perceives the current policy trend, Nigeria will end up better governed and our commerce, industries and essential services better managed and policed by disinterested government inspectorate services than has ever been the case since independence.

### *Economic Re-adjustments*

A major tidal wave in the current of the prevailing revolution that is raging through the affairs of Nigeria is the U-turn which the nation has now made in the direction of economic and monetary policy. This new policy has many elements to it, all of which point towards one general direction of increased responsible management and self-reliance.

It is part of this policy to service all existing international debts as promptly as agreed with the creditors, in order to recapture a credit-worthy image for Nigeria. The first indication of this policy was the prompt payment, in less than a week of coming to power of the regime in January 1984, of an instalment due and payable on a major foreign debt to western banks, which drew many favourable international press comments and reactions in world financial markets. Every other major financial objective of this nation had then been put in the cooler for a while to permit a review of the exact status of our finances; and less than firm a commitment to this new policy would have dictated a postponement of this instalment while such wholesale

review was in progress. Pursuant to this policy also, negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, IMF, for a loan to clear short-term trade credits, started by the ousted civilian administration, have been continued, despite obvious misgivings about some of the terms.

This policy also includes a near total barrier placed on the accumulation of fresh foreign indebtedness. The slogan is 'pay as you go' with respect to any new development ventures which involve foreign exchange costs. Even for existing ones, like the steel works that constitute a vital element in the nation's industrial policy, have been programmed to pay for their needs as they arise where foreign currency costs of vital inputs are involved. This particular aspect of the policy is not expected to be a permanent feature of operation for all time; but it seems necessary in order to see the nation out of the woods of prevailing circumstances.

Perhaps the most readily apparent government measure in this policy is that of total, coordinated husbanding of our foreign exchange earnings and resources. The national budget prepared earlier and announced on 29 December, 1983 was totally revised with startling new features. All imports are now subject to specific import licensing, which means that import licences will be issued only when there is covering foreign exchange to pay for the imports. Import goods items have been categorized into groups, like essential raw materials, essential health needs, et cetera. Foreign exchange and the relevant import licences are rationed to achieve an across the board accommodation of the nation's needs within the limits of available resources as judiciously as possible. Basic travel allowance for passengers going overseas has been reduced drastically to N100 per person per annum, while business travel allowance is altogether stopped. Travellers are allowed to take out only N20.00 in currency, to enable them pay their taxi fares from the airport to their homes on their return. Issuance of travellers's cheques has been transferred from the commercial banks to the Central Bank.

Other features of the budget reflect a strong move to keep down inflation, reduce government spending generally and move away from deficit budgeting by all governments in the Federation. To frustrate currency traffickers, who had a large float of currency

hoarded for illegal movements or obtained from dubious transactions, the government moved quickly in a surprise operation to change the colours of the Naira, using the opportunity to effect a slight downward adjustment of the currency in circulation and mopping up excessive liquidity in the system. The one hundred per cent baggage inspection for travellers, total border closure and the general stepping up of security alertness to stop all forms of smuggling, which accompanied the currency change and the new budget announcement, all point to the grim determination of this regime to pursue the economic aspects of the revolution with the same zeal as in the other aspects.

A new agricultural policy also has emerged, in which possibly foreigners may now own up to eighty percent equity in major agricultural ventures. In no other sector of the economy is so much attention being focused today as this one. The river basin authorities have been reorganised on state basis in order to be more positively geared to promote agricultural production in every state. Along with it is the other drive to identify local raw materials for our industries. The topic of raw materials development within the nation has attracted quite a compelling attention lately in seminars and policy statements of governments and industry organisations. The foreign exchange crunch which forced many Nigerian industries to grind to a halt is the catalyst for this healthy new awareness. If carefully coordinated and promoted aggressively, it would be the practical implementation of the Factor Indigenisation policy which was postulated in chapter nine.

Incentives now exist also to encourage industries which set up in rural areas and those which use larger percentages of local raw materials. A serious drive to mandate all government agencies to purchase only made in Nigeria goods in preference to imported equivalents is developing. Many industries, which narrowly escaped from the recent emasculating competition from smuggled equivalents to their products, have already started to take a breath of life once again with this new policy. If the national leadership can as well be seen to use mostly made in Nigeria cars, clothing and other manufactures, the rest of society will take the cue from them to boost this helpful policy. The revolution is surely gathering momentum in

the economic sphere to match the flurry of activities in the purely ethical sphere of Nigerian public life.

Suddenly the Nigerian Ethical Revolution has finally emerged, and with sensible economic, financial and industrial ramifications, as the number one idea and indispensable national programme whose time has come. Ironically it has taken a full decade of persistent advocacy for this to come about, bearing in mind that the author's rumblings for such a formal programme of action started in 1974 when he returned from the United States.

New ideas take time to mature into mass acceptance; and in Nigeria ten years seem to be the optimum maturity span. This calls to mind the setting up of a Nigerian Export Promotion Council in 1974 - exactly ten years from 1964 when the writer sent series of letters and memoranda to the Ministries of Economic Development, Commerce and Industries and the Economic Division of the Ministry of External Affairs from the New York Consulate-General, recommending the establishment of such a Council.

The campaign for a 'Nigerian Export Expansion Council'<sup>\*3</sup> spilled over into a practical programme of export promotion to the Americas of Nigerian printed fabrics by the Indian Head Mills Inc. The programme was gathering momentum, as a measure to make our manufacturing industries self-amortising in foreign exchange costs, when the civil commotion and the resultant War of National Unity aborted this pioneering effort of the gigantic and aggressively innovative Indian Head Mills in 'collaboration with the New York Consulate-General.

At that time, the Nigerian Permanent Representative to the United Nations wore a second hat in New York - that of Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs.<sup>\*4</sup> He readily lent the weight of his office, experience and dedication to support the effort of the Consulate-General, and Indian Head Mills Inc. was encouraged to

<sup>\*3</sup> This was the title which the writer suggested in his recommendations in 1964. The government finally established the 'Nigerian Export Promotion Council' in 1974.

<sup>\*4</sup> He was Chief S. O. Adibo, the one Nigerian Ambassador who enjoyed the routine of such a drive, when others might have considered it *infra dignitatem*.

make the elaborate plans for the re-export of textile fabrics to the Americas from its affiliated Aba plant. That would have spurred the development of similar efforts by other investors if the effort had succeeded. Nigeria would have had a totally different story to tell today if such a trend had succeeded and become entrenched into our industrial development policy.

It was however, in 1974 that such a council was set up - ten years after it was first suggested. It seems to be taking yet another ten years thereafter for the proper diplomatic backing to be accorded to the idea, when early in February our young dynamic Minister of External Affairs stated the often ignored obvious, by decrying our insufficient diplomatic support for the promotion of economic objectives. This pronouncement was given the ultimate boost as a major pillar of Nigeria's new diplomatic policy initiative, when later in the year the Head of State himself charged a group of ambassadors about to be posted out: 'to articulate ways and means of bringing about the speedy economic recovery in this country in your contacts with your host countries. While the Federal Military Government will want to know about political development in your host countries, you are required to place high premium on the forging of positive economic relations between Nigeria and the country of your accreditation. Success in this direction is vital to our country's economic recovery, which is the priority of this administration'.<sup>\*5</sup>

Our diplomats will need re-orientation to this grim appreciation of the nation's vital interest; because, in the middle 1960's in New York, our diplomats who served in the political committees of the U.N.O. considered their roles more important than those of others who did economic and commercial work.<sup>\*6</sup> Super powers like the

<sup>\*5</sup> Major-General Mubammadu Bubari, Head of State and Commander-in Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, being excerpts from his address to newly appointed ambassadors at their swearing-in ceremony on Thursday, 5 July, 1984.

<sup>\*6</sup> The writer suggested the putting up of a Nigeria House in New York in 1965 to house the Permanent Mission to the U.N., the Consulate-General and the Nigeria Airways to save huge annual rents that included heavy New York property taxes. He found a plot on Second Avenue overlooking the U.N., got the renowned Architect, Jefferey Ellis Aronin of Woodmere, New York to design a 12 storey sketch, and a New Jersey construction firm, Koren Diresti, to promote a financed construction of it. The idea was turned down because he was a commercial rather than a political officer! Some 15 years later, the site was acquired; and perhaps in another 15 years a Nigeria House can tower opposite the U.N. in New York city, as he dreamt in 1965.

U.S.A. and USSR may indulge in ideological frontier expansionist crusades to the neglect of domestic social justice and individual freedom of their own citizens; but most other nations of the civilized world focus their foreign policy objectives upon the advancement of their domestic economies.

The factor indigenisation programme postulated in chapter nine is already under way, in the light of the on-going vigorous campaign to get manufacturers to research for and identify local raw materials for their production. The government is also bracing to step up its support for research and development through increased budget and new programmes to spur private sector initiative and efforts. An indispensable corollary of this policy is that of massive patronage of locally produced goods and services in preference to imported equivalents. Here the government must lead the way. All government purchases must be of locally made varieties, even when imported equivalents are available in the market. A stable market will act as a spur to the local manufacturer to expand production, improve upon his products and afford a larger vote for research and development.

In certain respects, like automobile assembly, where we cannot now get into the crippling, expensive phase of making our own moulds and dies to design our own vehicles, such a stable market, which is not often upset by the kind of sporadic import licensing policy changes as happened in the last civilian regime, will be a guarantee of operational security for investors who may want to manufacture automobile parts locally. All other cars not assembled in Nigeria can in fact be banned totally, so that everyone drives in any of the three cars assembled in Nigeria, namely, the volkswagen assembled in Lagos; the peugeot assembled in Kaduna and the mercedes assembled in Enugu. Together they offer enough variety to the size of our economy for the foreseeable future.

One dying industry which started on the strength of abundant local raw material is that of textiles manufacture. Not only must we increase the local production of cotton, including the introduction of better yielding varieties, but the same kind of massive patronage as suggested for locally assembled cars must be promoted for the nation's textiles industry. Uniforms for all government organisations

must be made of locally manufactured fabrics. Leaders in government, business and social circles have a great role to play here in helping to popularise locally made fabrics for use in personal clothing and furnishings. One still finds a lot of clothings, upholstery, drapery and curtain materials which have apparently been smuggled into the country being purchased by such leaders simply because they are said to be of better quality. There is no reason why locally made fast colour batik or even tie-and-dye cloth cannot be substituted for the expensive imports that we still find selling fast at outrageous prices in smugglers' hide-out markets.

### War Against Indiscipline (WAI)

The Nigerian ethical revolution took a formal kick-off on 20 March, 1984, when the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon, launched the National Consciousness and Mobilisation Crusade, christened War Against Indiscipline (WAI), at the National Theatre in Lagos. All the state military governors followed suit in their respective states with similar launchings. Further launchings have continued ever since down to the local government areas, individual organisations, government departments, parastatals, private companies and other social organisations across the land. The continued launchings\*7 down to every grass root level of society are absolutely necessary to wake up and chase all Nigerians away from the chaotic quagmire of indiscipline so they can embrace the new leadership and join the ethical revolution that is now raging through all aspects of the nation's life.

A ready take-off point in the WAI campaign is the general disorderliness and lack of mutual respect among Nigerians, which largely accounts for jumping queues and scrambling for attention by people at most public places. The radio and television stations dish out, all day long, jingles, slogans, discussion programmes, drama sketches and news reports which attack undisciplined behaviour

\*7 See Chapter ten, appendix D (iii) 27.

and show the way to better life and society through discipline.' The newspapers have frequent feature articles, reports and slogans, which have the same aim in view. Posters, hand-bills, leaflets and bill boards have also been employed along with personal contact in what amounts to a total immersion effort to instal order and personal discipline as a first step in the crusade to change the social ethics of Nigerians for the better.

In turn the WAI programme is moving logically from one topic to another. From queueing it has moved to productive work ethic, stressing the dignity of labour and the inevitability of self-reliance through hardwork in the building of the new nation of our dreams. This gradual shifting of campaign emphasis from one topic to another is a major feature of the mechanics of the WAI crusade, designed to permit the impact of the programme to have lasting effect on society as well as afford the crusade itself functional sequence and opportunity for feed-back assessment.

The crusade is already having its effect all over the nation as a queueing culture is now taking root everywhere after only a few months of the launching of WAI. It is hoped that all the other topics of the WAI will show the same rate of response to campaign therapy as the crusade continues as a going programme. Nigerians, as I have always postulated, are quite educable and are capable of imbibing any new knowledge consistently imparted as the WAI is doing for now. Like all students with high intelligence quotient, however, Nigerians tend to be bored by unimaginative routine and to be undeterred by rules that amount to mere obstructive barrier to their progress and happiness. Hence they are noted for the ingenuity, albeit a destructive one you may say, to circumvent any law or regulation to ensure the boredom of blind obstruction to their progress and happiness is removed or avoided. This leads us to consider what is the proper philosophical base which can prop up the WAI to make its effect lasting and lessons permanently acceptable. The next chapter deals with that exercise.

# Appendix G

(A) STATE GOVERNMENTS' DEBTS  
(N<sup>1</sup> million)

State	Internal <sup>1</sup>	External	Total
Anambra	270.76	136.35	410.11
Bauchi	216.23	101.33	317.56
Bendel	317.23	66.93	384.16
Benue	256.06	142.82	398.88
Borno	227.73	47.40	275.13
Cross River	295.72	42.45	338.17
Gongola	218.73	58.31	277.04
Imo	302.09	231.95	534.04
Kaduna	263.84	32.73	296.57
Kano	312.60	32.03	344.63
Kwara	195.31	47.08	242.39
Lagos	178.03	45.76	223.79
Niger	181.31	116.25	297.56
Ogun	206.44	43.75	250.19
Ondo	247.41	141.45	388.86
Oyo	312.48	80.66	393.14
Plateau	215.23	295.13	510.36
Rivers	223.62	139.04	362.66
Sokoto	286.55	165.42	451.97
TOTAL	4,727.37	1,969.84	6,697.21

\*1 Does not include loans raised privately with Commercial Banks for parastatals or Debts to Contractors.

(B) CURRENT INDEBTEDNESS OF THE FEDERAL AND  
STATE GOVERNMENTS  
OF NIGERIA AS AT END OF MARCH, 1984

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEBTS  
(N' million)

(i) Internal	N
(1) Ways and Means Advances	542.00
(2) Treasury Bills	13,476.00
(3) Treasury Certificates	4,694.00
(4) Development Stocks	3,841.00
(5) Others	3.00
TOTAL	22,556.00
(ii) External	
(1) Internal Capital Market (medium term)	3,603.76
(2) World Bank (Long term)	295.05
(3) Bilateral Loans (medium/long term)	91.35
(4) Refinanced Letters of Credit	1,296.00
TOTAL	5,286.19
GROSS FEDERAL INDEBTEDNESS .....	27,846.19

(C) GROSS NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS  
(N' million)

	Internal	External	Total
Federal	22,556.00	5,286.19	27,842.19
States	4,727.37	1,969.84	6,697.21
Total	27,283.37	7,256.03	34,539.40

Nigeria's debt service ratios have gone up sharply on the basis of these figures: External debt service ratio as a percentage of exports is between 40% and 45%; while the total debt service ratio as a percentage of the G.N.P. is nearing 25%.

# Chapter Fourteen

## REVOLUTIONARY PROGNOSIS FOR WAI

### Philosophical Tripod

### Institutional Framework

# *Revolutionary Prognosis For WAI*

## *Philosophical Tripod*

Every great movement must have an enduring, underlying philosophy to prop it. Such is the National Consciousness and Mobilization Crusade, which was launched on 20 March, 1984, and christened War Against Indiscipline (WAI). This particular movement, launched as a total immersion crusade of the Federal Military Government, bids fare to produce the greatest socio-political revolution in the affairs of Nigeria which this or any other regime has ever launched since independence.

Whether it actually proves to be so depends upon how the movement is defined and the underlying ethical philosophy upon which it is rested. Narrowly conceived as the art of queuing at public places for daily needs that ought to be there in abundance in normal circumstances, then WAI is bound to fizzle away into ignominy in less than twelve months, like an impractical fad. If broadly conceived and imaginatively deployed as a powerful tool of socio-economic growth, redress and restitution, then it will surely galvanise the Nigerian society in an unstoppable ethical revolution, driving towards constructive discipline, patriotism and self-reliance. It is in the hope of fostering the latter development that this brief conceptual analysis of what ought to be the supporting parametric tripod for WAI is proffered, while the crusade is young enough to make underlying philosophical adjustments unobtrusively.

Firstly, WAI has to pursue a corrective programme to punish those who commit ethical infractions and to deter others from similar acts. Discipline implies the existence of well tested rules of conduct that all must obey. Departure from such strict observance for the ease of living, or out of sheer greed or irresponsibility, or for

other selfish reasons constitutes indiscipline. Invariably such acts of indiscipline are bound to impinge upon the rights or convenience of others in society as well as dent the overall image of orderliness and civilisation of such a society. Hence sanctions are usually fashioned out to attend any infractions of such rules of conduct to enable the rest of society to sort of get even with the erring members.

Sanctions have a meaning only really when they are enforced; just as rules have a meaning only really when they are backed by enforceable sanctions. When strictly enforced, sanctions serve to effect suitable adjustments in the balance of social justice between the erring members and the rest of society. In addition, they also have a demonstration effect of deterring others from following the path of indiscipline, since such others may not want to face the slap of sanctions which may befall them. Universal and equal application of sanction is of the essence in this regard. If some people are treated like sacred cows and because of their high social class or material wealth are over-looked, excused or for whatever other reasons passed over in the application of sanctions for identical ethical infractions, for which others have been or will ordinarily be punished, then greater indiscipline will surely result from many others who resent the injustice of such partial application of sanctions.

In this respect, as in any other, leadership by example is of the essence. Readiness to abide by the rules and norms imposed by civilization and the culture of each society by all segments of its citizenry is a barometer by which the level of social discipline is measured in such a society. All men are created equal and are equal before God. True civilisation and cultural sophistication demand that fellow citizens of any civilised country have equal, mutual respect for one another. It is when we rate ourselves higher than others that we think of jumping queues (just as we may sometimes willingly yield our legitimate places on the queue to our parents, simply because we tend to rate them higher than we are out of sheer filial respect). Jumping queues therefore not only signifies a thievish greed to rob others of their places on the queue, but also is a mark of indiscipline, in that such queue jumpers are moving intentionally out of the ethical and cultural bounds within which all men have

equal mutual regard for one another and which bestow a right of first service to those who arrive first. When, therefore, leaders rate themselves above the law and their fellow citizens, whom they are supposed to minister unto and not lord it over, such indiscipline on their part has a greater multiplier effect in misleading all other ranks in society to follow suit in the chaotic scramble. That is why good leaders are usually the most meticulous in first obeying all rules of conduct set by the dictates of the laws, ethics and cultural norms of the kindred and society in order to galvanise the rest to achieve order and ethical harmony.

We can safely say that this is the first leg in the parametric tripod of the philosophy of WAI. That is to say, WAI has to have a corrective programme of action, by which ethical rules of conduct are matched by enforceable sanctions to correct and punish those who breach such rules of conduct fast, fairly and equally without discrimination; and also to deter others who may dare to attempt any ethical infractions.

Secondly, WAI has got to pursue also a pedagogical route to transform the entire society, through the up-bringing of the younger generation, as well as the re-orientation of the adult population, to accept discipline and ethical rectitude as a way of life and attribute of character, rather than merely for the fear of punishment. Suitable educational programmes for this leg of the tripod can be put together to complement the corrective and preventive drive in the WAI Crusade.

There are many reasons why this leg of the tripod is equally important, like the first one. For one, it makes for total awareness for all in society of the cultural norms and ethical limits of civilised behaviour. When this awareness is developed early in the lives of citizens, it is frequently carried along all through life as a character trait which enjoins disciplined behaviour and obedience to ethical rules as a matter of routine. In this way it is possible, given a sound educational system, to inculcate permanently ethics and morals to most of the citizens, with only a handful of citizens numbering as deviants. A second compelling reason for the use of this leg of the tripod is that it tends to reduce the work load for the first leg, in that only a few citizens exhibit deviant social behaviour and indiscipline.

The effort and machinery for the punishment of offenders and the prevention of acts of indiscipline will tend to be reduced in any society which has responded fully to the impact of the operation of this leg of the WAI tripod.

This leg of our tripod calls for total functional planning, not only to decide what type of subjects, courses and practices to include in the curricula of all educational institutions, but also to devise re-orientation programmes for adult members who have passed the age of formal education. The aims and hopes of a people must be amply reflected in the curricula of their educational institutions. Education can no longer in this era of WAI be regarded merely as an exercise to bestow literacy, except for those illiterates who are already too old to go to school; or to provide certificates for securing jobs. General discipline, patriotism and self-reliance, as well as high proficiency in technology and productivity for material progress, can better be achieved if the practical concepts for achieving them are built into the educational system of a country. They cannot come about by our simply wishing them, or by the mere lapse of time. We have to work at them through persistent inculcation that must go on all through life.

Here again the role of leadership cannot be over-emphasised. Leadership by example can serve as a mode of practical instruction to the rest of society. Leaders in government have a duty to lead the way in total functional planning to dovetail the nation's resources to national needs for wants satisfaction. Their own show of probity, responsibility and prudence in resources control and management, as well as vision in looking ahead for the general up-liftment of society in terms of carefully set national objectives that are not too frequently changed frivolously, serve as object lessons and reference points for citizens in the private sector, not only in guiding them to follow suit in their own affairs, but also in helping them to move away from the hasty thinking and impatience that lead many into get-rich-quick ventures and unethical escapades. Thus WAI is no respecter of persons. It rages across the board, shaking up high and low in society to the discipline of dedication to excellence in all we do and to the zeal to impart that lesson to generations without end.

Finally, the third leg in our parametric tripod is indeed the most challenging of all. It is both corrective in a sense and positively

promotional in its impact. It is that leg of the WAI tripod that pursues a policy of constructive restitution to the victims of acts of indiscipline. This example of two, true life stories of events in the last civilian administration will illustrate the type of activities which have to be encompassed in the restitutive aspect of the WAI crusade. Company X, whose directors are well known for their outspoken disdain for kick-back deals, quoted for a job for a government parastatal along with few other companies as competitors. Company Z, which had a preferred position with those who would award the contract for the job, quoted N5 million naira as against N1 million quoted by Company X, which was the lowest bidder on the occasion. When X discovered that Z, the highest bidder which was not even a match in experience, expertise and competence for the job in question as X, was being groomed to receive the award, X blew the whistle on them all by reporting to higher authorities, on account of which the parastatal suspended or cancelled the job altogether, making sure that X was not invited to tender for any new jobs. This position continued till the inception of the WAI Crusade.

The second example is about another company, A, set up as a long standing firm of merchants and importers. A had developed major lines of imports over the years and built up a large clientele for them nation-wide. With the entry of the civilian administration in 1979, one of these lines of imports went on specific import licence, while the rest followed soon afterwards during the fateful four year period of the civilian regime. Import licensing became a tool for money making for both the incumbent minister and his political party. Company A, whose proprietors were not active party juggernauts and in any case were known to be opposed to all forms of corruption, failed year after year to obtain the issue of any import licence. As A was threatened by imminent bankruptcy, friends of the directors came to A with smart looking plans to smuggle in A's lines of imports, blended with other lucrative contrabands which they recommended, promising to participate in the venture. Company A turned down all these offers of relief, not only because it was risky to try them, but also because it was ethically wrong to get involved in such ventures anyway. This situation continued till the surprise putsch of 31 December, 1983 and the WAI crusade which it ushered

in from 20 March, 1984.

From these two accounts, it looks as if the directors of companies A and X would readily qualify for WAI badges from the Hon. Minister responsible for the WAI crusade, if those events narrated above happened today; and this probably would be done in the full glare of television cameras for nationwide telecast in the network news bulletin. That these events happened in the defunct civilian regime does not, nevertheless, make them time-barred for restitution. Governors who stole from the security votes of their states or collected illegal kick-backs from government contracts in that same regime have been thrown into gaol for long terms of imprisonment in the corrective spirit of punishment and deterrence of WAI. In like manner the two aggrieved companies, which that same regime rendered bankrupt, should now be revived and put back into active business under the policy of constructive restitution. This is necessary not only because such restitution will amount to restoration of equal justice, which is the foundation rock of all social discipline, but also because these two companies have achieved what only few Nigerian companies would be disposed to attempt in the same circumstances, by refusing to join in the unethical escapades and indiscipline of resorting to smuggling or offering kick-backs through inflation of contract prices. This restitution would do more to encourage their owners as well as numerous others who know them and their four year long ordeal than any WAI badge donning arcolade ceremony for television network broadcast. These people would happily become fully annointed disciples of the WAI crusade, reassuring other citizens in the belief that honesty is still the best policy.

A good deal of the restitutive sanctions of WAI was in evidence in the public services soon after the 31 December putsch, when many public appointees, earlier up-graded or by-passed on party political grounds in the civilian regime, were promptly reverted to what ought to have been the natural run of such appointments had there been no supervening political reasons to tilt them to the contrary. The principle must now be carried through to other types of events in society and the economy, because the WAI crusade, both as conceived at its launching and as understood by all and

sundry ever since, knows no bounds or barriers or segments in society. Universal equal justice for all is the ultimate objective of WAI.

The promotional aspects of this restorative or restitutive leg of the WAI tripod focus also on all other victims of the blanket effect of general planlessness and of irresponsible and insensitive governance to which this nation has for long been subjected. The current national consciousness and mobilisation crusade has finally awakened the Nigerian people to the enormity of the problems created by this aspect of the nation's history. In a 1976 paper on this subject matter the writer observed: 'It is true that Nigerians of the present generation can claim to stand between the over-deprived generations of the past, when inadequate development and insufficient resources combined with colonial exploitation and ignorance to pin our people to submarginal existence, and those of the future, who hope to have virtually everything available to the citizens of a rich modern state. The impatience of the over-deprived Nigerian people to escape the continuing impact and afflictions of the previous era in order to move on to the dream future of abundance and developed environment can be noticed in many behaviour patterns of Nigerians.

'Many of such behaviour patterns tend to be grouped under the ready and convenient chastising terms of indiscipline and greed. Admittedly, many Nigerians, in a situation of chaos, tend to be indisciplined and greedy: hence distributors hoard commodities to extort higher prices; drivers in a traffic jam ride on the sidewalks, gardens or roadside lawn; public officials abuse their position to make money fast to escape poverty for all time; et cetera.

'Yet a more accommodating psychological analysis of the Nigerian citizen may reveal another vital angle to his impatience - a somewhat over-reaction to excessive deprivation. For example a taxi driver whose livelihood depends on carrying passengers on a minimum number of runs a day would feel his very existence threatened if he frequently had to sit three hours in one spot, as often happens on Lagos roads. Whatever his degree of disciplined citizenship, he might sooner or later consider a trip through the sidewalk as an allowable emergency survival route similar to using

a fire exit out of a burning building.\*1

Many citizens are today faced by the sort of predicament described above, which faced the Lagos taxi driver of 1976 before the completion of the Eko Bridge extension and interrelated ring roads and the institution of the even and odd numbered vehicular traffic eased his burden. The cumulative effect of planlessness, divisiveness or partisanship and mismanagement in our public affairs over the years has added to the impact of colonial exploitation to inflict more provocative problems upon the average citizen, compelling him often to adopt the palliative remedy of indiscipline and unethical self-help. Already, this WAI inspired regime is doing a few things to effect redress, perhaps without clearly attributing them to the inspiration of WAI as such. It is legitimate to point out how and why that attribution ought to be made, in order to place the ambit of this expanding revolution in its correct perspective.

To illustrate this point, it is pertinent to recall that the foundation for the current food scarcities and the rural urban migration, which everyone decries today, was laid early in the First Republic. We recall in chapter three how the three ethnic bloc Regions, during the internal self-government period, saw to the break-up of the commodity marketing boards and set up in their place each a Regional marketing board that was under the control of each Regional Government. This enabled each Regional Government to fix cash crop producer prices for payment to the farmers in the Region and to receive the proceeds of the sales overseas of the produce exported. Instead of the net proceeds going in full to the farmers in the villages as before, the marketing boards kept back a good part of such proceeds, supposedly to be used as a hedge against fluctuations in the world market prices of the produce and to spray the respective tree crops against insect and dis

\*1 *Mazi Kanu Oji, Op. cit, pp 35-6*

ease infestation. Actually much of such funds, as did not go into financing the ruling party's campaigns and carpet crossing escapades, went to finance property developments and industrial ventures in the big cities, to the neglect of the rural areas. As the farmer received less and less an economic price for his crops, which in the past provided him with the cash to run his affairs and maintain his household intact there in the village, his interest in this business gradually waned; while his children, perceiving the bleak prospects of daddy's business, naturally left for the big cities in search of better prospects. The commotion and strife which accompanied the War of National Unity ruined whatever was left of the nation's agriculture and increased the tempo of rural urban migration.

The present feverish drive to resuscitate the nation's agriculture, in response to the Head of State's call to Nigerians to return to the land, falls in step with the restorative and promotional leg of the WAI tripod. All the incentives now being laid before prospective returnees to the farms may be viewed as instruments not only of promotion but of restitution to the nation's farming population for the wanton and blind acts of discouragement and dispersal inflicted upon them by past administrations, when their counterparts in Europe and particularly North America were regularly subsidised by the government to remain gainfully in production. By resettling our farmers in large numbers back in the rural areas, as now appears to engage priority attention, we shall simultaneously reduce the ranks of touts, smugglers, armed robbers and other criminals, who may find legitimate gainful employment in agriculture and related agro-allied activities away from the big cities of crime and indiscipline.

It is easier to imbibe discipline and ethical dedication when one has an alternative lawful way to resolve the pressures of life, family responsibility and business problems. It is only when such lawful alternative appears absolutely unavailable that most people are driven to unethical escapades and undisciplined behaviour, such as we saw in the example of the Lagos taxi driver of the 1976 vintage. The promotional and restitutive leg of the WAI tripod is, therefore, as indispensable as any of the other two. Like any other tripod, the WAI tripod cannot stand, unless all three legs are there and functioning to complement one another in this historic crusade.

Just as the second leg of the WAI tripod has the tendency to reduce the work load attendant upon the operation of the first leg of the WAI tripod, as earlier analysed, this third leg has the same effect, by removing from the band of deviants those others who are forced into acts of indiscipline by the pressures of life, family responsibility and business problems, through the soothing benefits of constructive restitution. The WAI crusade could make the greatest hit, through this leg of the WAI tripod, in the effort to revamp the economy.

### *Institutional Framework*

With the tri-partite philosophical base for WAI outlined and analysed, it is now necessary to sketch the matching institutional framework for the operation of the crusade, in order to match theory with action. Institutional framework comprises both operational practices and organisational structure through which such practices are put into effect in the course of the revolution. The practices and organs, which will be discussed here, are not necessarily exhaustive of all the possibilities that exist in this regard. They however serve as a useful guide for the nation to fashion for itself suitable tools and practices that will transform the crusade from a badge donning ceremonial to a pervasive revolution, which will transform Nigeria from chronic under-development and international disdain for her citizens to a first rate nation that will be able to occupy a leadership role in the comity of nations by the turn of the next century; so that the beginning of the third millenium may be a new dawn for the black African personality.

Like the WAI programme itself, it is best to begin this discussion with the simplest feature of the movement, that is, basic orderliness and productive work ethic, symbolised by the queueing jingles and drama sketches on work ethics. The queueing culture is already catching up rapidly with the Nigerian populace. Emphasis must lie with those who serve the public in offices, shops and other public places to enforce orderliness, by insisting on serving only

those who are properly on the queue. The queue jumper will discover it is an exercise in futility if after jumping to the front he is refused service before those he passed over. That is why if you jump the queue in England or the U.S.A., for example, the others on the queue rarely say anything to you, because they know that by the time you seek the attention of the officer for service you will be ignored or be politely told to join the queue. There are, therefore, no rowdy scenes about in those places, because the party serving is disciplined enough to have the matter in complete control.

In Nigeria, we are all familiar with the Nigeria Airways check-in counter clerks who sell boarding passes from N10 to N40 each, depending on the intensity of the rush to travel, especially during important holiday weekends and religious festivals. They deliberately create the commotion and chaos by purposely delaying the checking process until a mammoth crowd of travellers gathers up; by giving away many boarding passes through agent touts from behind the counter to stir the impatience of those on the queue; and also by selectively giving service to some queue jumpers. All this tends to move the crowd to disregard the queue in mob panic and then seek the aid of touts, which is 'good business' for such counter clerks and their back-room bosses who use the touts as fronts for the illegal sale of boarding passes.

All those who serve the public in large numbers must be made to understand that it is their duty to keep order and discipline when they serve; and that, in case of any ugly fracas on the queue traceable to their mis-handling of that responsibility, they will be charged along with those who actually cause a breach of the peace at the scene of service.

One feature of the working time arrangement in recent years, especially in the public sector, is the lack of a clear cut time of break for short rests or for refreshments. It gives room for loitering and lying to the boss by people who take all kinds of excuses to do one thing or another only to steal the public time to go on a frolic often for hours. Furthermore, to expect a human being to work non-stop from 7.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. daily without a formal break for some refreshments is most unrealistic; while the practice of eating at workers' desks is sloppy and undisciplined. Perhaps the chance to

rethink our working practices has come with the great prodding which WAI has imposed on the nation's workers, managers and planners alike.

Besides the obvious physical need of survival for man to work in order to sustain his subsistence, most religions, including Christianity and Islam, place great emphasis on work. So there is also a spiritual compulsion for hardwork as well as the physically apparent need for man to work for his own living. It is a fundamental article of faith in Christianity, for instance, that honest, productive hardwork is of the essence in human existence. The Bible tells us that God worked for six days and rested on the seventh day; while God decreed in the Ten Commandments to man: 'Six days you shall labour and do all your work' (Exodus 20:9). Not being a super-rich nation, it was perhaps imprudent for Nigeria to have moved to a five day work week from a six day work week during the brief deceptive oil boom, creating a misleading lust, among the nation's work force, for wanting to be like the 'joneses' of rich nations, who work only four to five days per week, and at the same time wanting to have everything free at all levels.

The starting time of 7.30 a.m. for the public sector of the economy is in many respects impractical in the light of the armed robbery menace and public transportation inadequacies in the big cities. In Lagos, for example, some workers leave home about 5 a.m. daily and arrive at their offices and work places still sleepy, without breakfast and exhausted, and so they necessarily spend the first few hours loitering around the canteens to wake up for serious work. Since there is no official canteen time, it is difficult to control the amount of time any individual worker spends there. By 3 p.m., most workers, who have not really had a properly structured meal all day, except the fast food items and snacks offered in the canteens, are already too exhausted for any useful productive work. Before the declaration of WAI, most public offices were usually empty by that time, Monday to Thursday, and soon after noon on Fridays. This is very unsatisfactory and incompatible with what ought to be the practice in a potentially great third world nation bracing to assert itself in discipline, patriotism and self-reliance.

There is also the question of serious discontinuous co-relation between the public and the private sectors of the economy for optimum productivity. Most businesses commence work between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m. and close between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m., with a full hour lunch break some time after 12 noon, Monday to Friday; while some of them still do a half day of four hours between the hours of 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. on Saturdays. There is here a clear disparity of about one hour in the morning, one hour at lunch time after mid-day, and another one to two hours in late afternoon, when both sectors cannot interact to further the needs of the nation's economy. In most other nations of the world, a reasonable correlation is forged to ensure maximum day long interaction between the public and private sectors of the economy, which redounds to the optimal productivity of the whole economy, more than is possible with any other timing relationship between the two sectors.

The need for such a harmonisation in the case of Nigeria is even more pronounced, especially in these days of grim austerity and numerous government regulations, including total specific import licensing. To keep the working hours of the two sectors in such a wide disparity of three to four hours overlap of each other, outside the zone of common work time for mutual interaction, is clearly dysfunctional at a time like this when the nation is under heavy pressure from the WAI crusade to step up national productivity to revamp the economy and build for lasting self-reliance and prosperity. The government must consider, in cooperative liaison with the trade unions, to restore a six day work week, or at least an 8.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. five day week, to dovetail with the working hours in the private sector. It will both enhance productivity generally and also promote the health, alertness and discipline of the average public worker. In a place like Lagos, he may now be able to have an inexpensive break-fast at home and be spared the daily fright of having to leave his home at ungodly hours every morning. Wherever he is, he will be saved the dietary confusion of eating lunch at about 4.30 p.m., which ruins his appetite for dinner and generally upsets his health from irregular eating habits. If one realises that top officers, like the Permanent Secretaries, rarely leave their offices before 5 p.m. every week day and still visit their offices most Saturday

mornings to catch up with urgent paper work, one cannot see the hardship of having the rest of the staff to follow suit for increased productivity in the service.

Nigeria has reached the age when it should have its own reasons for major national practices and refrain from blindly copying what obtains elsewhere. In this regard, it is pertinent to reconsider the basis for the choice of our Labour Day, itself a welcome practice to honour the nation's work force. Firstly it must be for the purpose of honouring all the work force of this country, be they factory or office workers, peasant workers or professional people, who labour diligently in the practice of their trades or professions. A day of tribute and rest is appropriate to honour them, and not just those who belong to registered trade unions. We need the hardwork of all in order to achieve the increased productivity which the WAI crusade is trying to promote, in addition to inspiring the development of good ethics in the nation.

Perhaps we should begin with a brief survey of what selected other major nations of the civilised world are doing in this regard to celebrate such a day. From the account available to us, the idea of having a day set aside to honour the working people started with the agitation for it in the U.S.A. in 1882. Some states later granted it and in 1896 the U.S. Congress passed an Act which made the first Monday in September the Labour Day. It marks the end of summer officially and seems to signal massive return back to work, since all schools, colleges, universities as well as companies on vacation usually reopen immediately after Labour Day. It is observed on the same day in Canada. In Australia it is called the Eight Hour Day, in commemoration of the shorter eight hour working day for which the workers fought very hard, and is the fourth Monday in October. In all these three countries the entire work force is involved in the Labour Day celebration, and not just the registered trade unions only.

In Europe, Labour Day is observed in the month of May generally, except in Italy where it was forbidden and substituted by the traditional date of the foundation of Rome. In the United Kingdom, it is celebrated usually on the first Monday after 1 May; and London Hyde Park is the traditional meeting place for the occasion,

a practice which started in 1892. In the East European countries, Labour Day is celebrated on 1 May, most probably taking the cue from the first Paris congress of the Second Socialist International celebration. In these places Labour Day is principally for the trade unions, who march, make speeches and look ahead to their hopes in the economy.

In Nigeria, the celebration of Labour day as a workers' holiday started during the last civilian administration, beginning in 1980 with a couple of state governments, whose ruling political parties pretended to be socialist or marxist oriented. In 1981, the Federal Government merely made the observance national, without attaching to it any specific event of significance to Nigeria, but quite possibly perhaps as a political trump card designed to favour the ruling party's 1983 electoral fortunes. While Nigeria does not have to follow capitalist North America by choosing first Monday in September, it does not have to follow the marxist Eastern Europe either by choosing 1 May as Labour Day. Neither date has any significance for Nigeria. Even Australia, United Kingdom and Italy, all within the capitalist block, have their own individual reasons of national significance to choose the dates that they have set for the observance of Labour Day, just as the communist block countries use 1 May for their ideological solidarity.

In conclusion, it is my humble opinion that Nigeria should, as soon as the modalities for effecting the change can be completed, move Labour Day to 20 March each year and rename it WAI DAY to be observed as a day of national tribute to the nation's entire work force, who in response to the summons of WAI are working to build the new nation of our dream. On that day, all who labour to build this nation, as operatives, factory workers, clerks, farm labourers and peasants, petty traders, mechanics, engineers, et cetera, are entitled to rest and celebrate. They could organise creative shows to depict the impact of their trades on the evolving Nigerian economy, as they gather in stadia in the Federal Capital, State capitals and local government headquarters to entertain themselves and the entire community. It will offer the Head of State annual opportunity to assess the progress of WAI and to re-charge the toiling citizens of Nigeria to continue to strive for the utmost in pursuit of excellence

and self-reliance, making WAI Day awards to citizens of sublime ethical distinction.

The date of 20 March fits better into our needs than 1 May. For one thing 20 March has a historic significance for Nigeria as the date on which the Government launched the historic WAI crusade. Secondly, it coincides roughly with the beginning of the farming season in the country and could serve to emphasise the importance of and our dependence on agriculture for our subsistence and supply of raw materials for industries. WAI Brigades in schools and other organisations could entertain with marching displays, while other members of the nation's work force give of their skill in creative displays as discussed earlier. This type of annual celebration will have more significance and relevance to our situation than a blind imitation of other countries' practices as another item of import. Let us have some home stuff for a change, even in a practice like this one. It could be a signal for peasants and farm labour to plunge into farms with pride each farming season.

There is even a precedent, which can guide us to make this change, set by the Federal Military Government in the first military interregnum with regard to the Remembrance Day celebrations held annually all over the world on 11 November each year. This worldwide observance was moved to 15 January each year in Nigeria in recognition of the greater significance of the latter date in the affairs of Nigeria to honour our fallen heroes, who died in the first military take-over on 15 January, 1966 and during the Nigerian War of National Unity which ended officially on 15 January, 1970. On that day all the war dead are honoured, including as well those who died during the two world wars and in the United Nations operations in the Congo and the middle East.

In the area of education lies a great deal of fertile ground for moulding the future generation of Nigerians along the desired path of ethical rectitude and discipline. Special curricular inputs which are relevant to this objective include religious and moral instruction; civics and ethics; social history of Nigeria; place of Nigeria in African civilisation; and family studies, especially in girls' schools to emphasise the ethical responsibility of motherhood for overall social stability. Those symbols which represent the nation, like the coat of Arms or

Armorial bearings, the National Flag, the National Anthem and National Pledge should be suitably analysed and taught in elementary schools with respect to their significance and purpose; while every assembly hall in every school in the nation must have the National Flag, if every class-room cannot afford it.

Related to the issues discussed in the last paragraph, concerning the building up of the citizens' patriotism and national consciousness, is the need for a quasi-military training for all secondary school leavers. In such a programme should be included citizenship and leadership activities and training as well as community services. A convenient arrangement might be to spread the programme over a period of three consecutive long vacations during the senior secondary, that is, July to September each year for a total of nine months. This programme, which should be administered by the armed forces, is intended to inculcate discipline, spirit of service to society, dignity of labour and patriotism. It would also serve to minimise disco frenzy among students during vacations.

For citizens already at work, including serving public officers, suitable refresher courses with emphasis on ethical content will be appropriate, in which case studies of the nation's ethical and socio-political problems can be reviewed as object lessons for the better management of our affairs. However busy or strategic any public officer may be, he should be spared for a two to six weeks refresher course every three years to catch up with latest developments in his field as well as imbibe further ethical orientation to consolidate his operative discipline on the job. No officer can ever be so important as to out-grow further training of this type in the public service.

To support the expected new practice of functional planning in education and the economy generally, effort should be made to emphasise skills acquired, rather than the certificates obtained. Job testing procedures need to be established in each trade and profession. Acceptance of a candidate for a job in a trade or profession should be predicated by satisfactory performance at a demonstration of skill test administered by the trade association or the professional association, supported by character testimonials from applicant's educational institution and last two employers. In this way, emphasis will be placed on what the candidate knows how

to do and his proficiency at it rather than on what diploma or certificate he carries about. The effect of insisting on character testimonials is to make the applicant conscious of the fact that his character and conduct are of the essence to ensure healthy collaboration with others in the employing organisation for its success and progress of Nigeria. By subjecting himself to pre-employment testing by and to membership of the respective trade or professional association, the candidate will be better disposed to observe ethical norms of such a trade or profession. The obligation to belong to the respective trade or professional association as a registered member should by appropriate law be made a condition for his employment.

Similarly, every trade or profession should be obligated by law to have an association, with which all practising members must register and belong to in the interest of operational competence, ethical practice and progress of the trade or profession and the nation. Each such association must be obliged by law also to draw up and register a code of ethics with an independent national body, the Nigerian Institute of Professional Ethics, NIPE, which it must support by means of annual sponsoring affiliation dues according to the membership strength of the association. The NIPE will have supervisory powers over affiliated associations for the enforcement of such codes of ethics; a studious research responsibility to refine and continually upgrade and update the codes in the interest of ethical operations; and the training function of putting together training workshops, book writing competition and in-service case studies for grooming managers in the field of ethics and operational morality, and for inclusion in the general educational literature of the nation.

The government can support this independent national body, the NIPE, by means of annual matching subventions of 50% of its total budget. In return government should appoint half of the members of the Board of Directors of NIPE as well as the Chairman and Director-General, to protect the national interest in the affairs of the body. The NIPE should draw the remaining half of its board members proportionately from the affiliated associations, while it should also have the power to recruit its own staff of experts and

supporting personnel, who will see to it that the affiliating associations regulate the operations of their members in the interest of their customers, dedication to excellence of their services, harmony among their members and protection of the national interest.

Other organs have got to be established or strengthened to tackle specific aspects of the WAI crusade. There is need still for a Code of Conduct Bureau, even though the National Assembly has been abolished for now. This body will have the responsibility of processing the various assets declaration forms completed by public officers. As of now, such forms are kept in the High Court or Supreme Court vaults like state secret documents. They should be carefully analysed and any inconsistencies or unethical inclusions or omissions discovered for the prosecution of the offenders through a Code of Conduct Tribunal specifically set up for that purpose.

To match the public service set-up in this regard, it is recommended that the Corrupt Practices Investigations Bureau be resuscitated in the private sector, backed by a Corrupt Practices Tribunal for the adjudication of ethical cases arising therefrom. The practice of having the name 'withheld for security reasons', when a social bigshot is caught in crime, should be stopped.

For those members of the public who have grievances against government departments or parastatals, companies and other private organisations, there ought to be an administrative-cum-quasi judicial mechanism for quick redress, outside going to court. On the government side, such complaints or grievances could be channelled through the Public Complaints Commission, which ought to be strengthened and its operations made more frequently public to elicit the people's patronage and support of its efforts. For the private sector, the use of Industrial Ombudsman appears to be a suitable answer, in cases where, for instance, consumers have complaints of defective workmanship on a product or deficient services of say a dry cleaner or similar services organisation. Today, such consumers have no redress, except the clumsy and expensive alternative of going to court, which is unproductive and time consuming.

In respect of environmental indiscipline, the nation must quickly restore the use of Sanitary Inspectors nationwide, whose operations in the past most people still recollect clearly. In addition, the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing must create public Assets

Inspectors, whose duty it will be to inspect all important government equipments and structures from time to time to detect urgent needs for maintenance, proper use and operation, and repairs. A lot of fortune is wasted annually by lack of routine timely maintenance and mishandling. The result is that the government is continually acquiring new equipments to replace abused ones or awarding new contracts to rebuild entire structures left to collapse completely for lack of timely repair and maintenance.

Related to the issue of the last paragraph is the one of identifying and rectifying the impact of past faulty planning and execution of public programmes. A standing committee of experts drawn from the W.A.I Ministry, N.I.P.E., the Ministry of National Planning, the Ministry of Education Science and Technology and others coopted from relevant functional ministries could undertake a continuing survey of adverse impact on the economy or society of the effect of past faulty planning and plan execution and recommend necessary remedial or restitutive measures to be taken to effect an adjustment. This procedure will also be a guide for future planning and execution processes to ensure that such errors of commission are not repeated.

It is really impossible to plan effectively without the essential data on which plans are based. One such essential input for effective planning is an accurate population census. In view of our present economic predicament which is absorbing a good deal of the effort of the Federal Government, it will be best to attempt only a half decade head count in 1987 and as a check on the national ID-Card programme. The mid-decade exercise will keep the FMG reasonably on target in its plans in readiness for a full decade census in 1992 along with other plans for handing power back to civilians. Any one who contemplates a return to civilian rule before at least the end of this decade will most probably be making a serious mistake. This is so because time is needed, not only to correct the immediate shambles of economic mismanagement and lay the foundation for a steady march of progress, but also to set up the necessary legal framework and the action centres; to define the social engineering parameters; and to set in motion the necessary educational arrangements to veer the up-coming new generation of citizens and

future civilian politicians along the path of serious national integration and ethical rectitude in public affairs. These objectives can more easily be accomplished under the favourable centripetal influences, which the unified command structure of the military tends to engender in the thinking of citizens generally.

Similar consideration ought to be given to the nature of constitution which will be appropriate for the Third Republic. If the recent call by the retired first indigenous Chief Justice of Nigeria, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, for a unitary judiciary is anything to go by in reflecting the thinking of true nation builders in this country, then the recommendation made in earlier chapters of this book regarding the inclusion of substantial unitary features in any new amendments of the 1979 constitution, should be taken quite seriously when the exercise for the Third Republic comes to be tackled. Also, to match the large array of rights and privileges of citizens enumerated in the 1979 constitution, there ought to be provided a schedule of duties of citizenship, including a federal income tax for all.

Perhaps the most important political adjustment needed for meaningful nation-building is the restoration of one Nigerian citizenship, the way the British colonial administration was moulding it prior to 1951, from the present one of federated ethnic citizenships. Today you cannot enter a high school, college or university; contest election; acquire landed property; obtain a civil service appointment; or generally exercise any other major right of citizenship without including on the application for it your state of origin. The state of origin is the one from which your ancestors ethnically were drawn, whether or not you were born or reside in some other state of Nigeria. This fact of your ancestral state of origin determines everything you get and suffer as a Nigerian, no matter your choice or the force of actual circumstances of your life.

Prior to the new dispensation that started in 1951, there were numerous examples of Nigerian citizens who performed citizenship duties and enjoyed rights in their places of current domicile all over the country without any ethnic disabilities standing in their way. There was the case of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who was elected by a predominantly Yoruba electorate as the second Lagos member of the Legislative Council from a Yaba constituency where he lived and

worked, even though he was born in Zungeru, Niger state and his correct state of ancestral ethnic origin is today's Anambra State. Late Mazi Mbonu Ojike later became Deputy Mayor of Lagos where he lived and worked, although his ancestral home was Arondizuogu, Imo State; Dr. Ajibade contested and won election from Port Harcourt where he lived and worked, and Mr. John Umolu won elections repeatedly into the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly and was Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, Dr. M. I. Okpara, even though the former was of Yoruba ethnic origin and the latter from the Benin-Delta area of western Nigeria. Alhaji Umaru Altine, a full-blooded Hausa resident of Enugu was repeatedly elected Mayor of Enugu over several powerful indigenes who contested against him in an Igbo city where the Hausa population was less than 0.05% of the total. Many Ohafia and Abiriba traders of Imo State origin resident at Calabar won elections into the Calabar city council and held such seats with due respect; while Professor Eyo Ita of the West African People's Institute, Calabar was unanimously elected the first Leader of Government of the Eastern Region, which had a preponderance of Igbos in the population and where the Professor's Efik tribe was a tiny minority well behind the Igbos, Ibibios, Ijaws of the Rivers areas and other ethnic groups of Ogoja Province.

Prominent businessmen, like the late Chief J. Green Mbadiwe, whose native state of origin was in the present Imo State, had a free hand to do his gold mining business in the Minna districts of Niger State. This revered old gentleman, a typical Aro entrepreneur, remained so proud of his Niger State connection till his death and so devoted to the respect and love he received from the Hausa, etc, indigenes, that when ex-President Shehu Shagari visited Arondizuogu in 1980, Chief Mbadiwe read his welcome address as he composed it in Hausa language. A Nigerian could be anything anywhere he chose to reside in and adopt as his legal domicile for the pursuit of his career or business, and he suffered no disabilities whatever, because the state of origin concept had not then been invented.

Today the story represents a real nightmare for many enterprising Nigerian citizens, who may want to copy in their own country what Americans do when they respond to advertisements which urge Americans to move to California where progress is fastest

and the climate mild; or the aged to come live in Florida where retirement benefits are highest and death taxes are lowest, in sub-tropical climate devoid of the snow-clearing winter hard life of north-eastern United States; or to come set up business in Texas where the oil economy assures all of an ever buoyant economy. Citizens criss-cross the U.S.A. every year in response to such opportunities, and once they settle in the new states, they enjoy every right of citizenship in such new states of the union to which they move. That is what made the evolution of one single American citizenship possible, even though, like Nigeria, U.S.A. is made up of many ethnic communities, drawn from all parts of Europe, Africa and Asia, as well as indigenes of America and the Pacific.

All that Late President Kennedy's ex-Attorney-General, Late Robert F. Kennedy, needed to do in order to qualify to contest election for the U. S. Senate as a citizen of New York State in 1964 was the moving of his official residence from the Kennedy family estate in Hyannisport, Massachusetts to a newly purchased luxury apartment at the United Nations Plaza in New York City, less than a year before the senatorial nominations. That promptly qualified him for the acquisition of a legal domicile as a resident of New York State, with all the benefits and duties appurtenant thereto as a New Yorker, including his election in 1964 as U.S. Senator from New York. It is a right that every American in every walk of life has in his respective peculiar circumstances, when he chooses to move his business or domestic residence from one part of the United States to another. Absolutely no disabilities exist to deter such free movement and fullest realisation of the individual's potential anywhere in the nation. Hence, the U.S.A. is truly one nation under God, as all Americans proudly like to say about their great country.

Compare this to what happened to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1952 in the Western Nigeria House of Assembly, as was noted earlier in Part Two of this book; together with the chain reaction consequently engendered of politically motivated disintegration along ethnic boundary lines across the land of the newly evolving common citizenship for Nigerians. It was christened tribalism then in political parlance. Today it is more commonly known by phrases like federal

character factor, catchment area factor, et cetera; but the effect is really the same, if not more deadly, unless it can be used as mere guide to ethnic and regional balancing in terms of top political positions only.

In Nigeria of today especially during the last civilian regime, when the ethnic analysis went down to the family units/kindred blocs at the local government area level, for a child who seeks admission into some Federal Government secondary school, for example, his chances of admission have got to be computed literally from what looks like a complicated computer model, nonlinear regression equation that places all due emphasis upon parameters like: the ratio of the population of his LGA in the nation; catchment area factor of the place where the school is located; federal character constant applicable to such an institution; the ethnic group of his LGA; and the position of the encompassing state on the curve of disadvantaged states; et cetera!

We can never, frankly speaking, build the Nigeria of our dreams if such absurdities continue, as happens in most aspects of citizenship rights and disabilities of today's average Nigerian. Nor can we ever achieve true excellence when the most respected leaders of a state would rather have a promising federal institution closed down than see it run under the headship of a Nigerian from another ethnic state of origin. The present style of Nigerian citizenship is dangerously dysfunctional to our nation-building dreams, no matter how many times a day we all recite the national anthem and the pledge, or salute the flag, with its replica placed on every table at home and desk in the office. I like to be remembered for this seemingly uncharitable prophecy, because I am as convinced in the probability of its coming true as I have been for a decade that only an ethical revolution with a total immersion approach comparable to that of the current WAI Crusade can stem the tide of ethical decay and indiscipline in Nigeria.

# Chapter Fifteen

## EPILOGUE

Civilian Self-Regulation: What Hopes?

Postscript

Appendix H

Appendix I

Appendix J

Acknowledgements

About the Author

# Epilogue

## *Civilian Self-Regulation: What hopes*

As was seen from the account in Part Two, Nigeria became one united nation state in 1914, after a little over a decade of British armed occupation following the expeditionary campaigns which swept over the land in the first couple of years of this century. That account analysed the mechanics of administration, including the use of Indirect Rule to control the native population. Broadly viewed, it was essentially a rule of conquering invaders over the subjugated people in the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria; a variant of military rule, you may want to say, where the military authority was that of the invading colonisers. The entire officer cadre in the armed forces and the constabulary consisted entirely of British nationals until well into the internal self-government era, when few Nigerian officers began to be groomed and injected into the lower ranks of the officer cadre of the services.

Those British officers, as well as their civil service colleagues and even trading company staff, lived like a typical army of occupation in separate barracks and adjoining separate residential areas secluded from the rest of society, serviced by separate facilities like European hospitals, European clubs, et cetera, in typical apartheid style. Thus, while the British controlled affairs of state in colonial Nigeria, it was easy to point to the rulers and the ruled in physically identifiable terms.

This phenomenon gradually affected the attitudes and modus operandi of Nigerian functionaries who worked with the British officers in the administration of the country. For example, the typical attitude of a Nigerian police officer, which has lingered on till today, was one of ordering the rest of the populace around in a peremptory voice and demeanour to enforce the will and purposes of the British master. Compare this with the demeanour of the British police in Great Britain, or the police in most parts of Europe and North

America, in dealing with their fellow white citizens, where the average police officer is a friend of the public for route and address directions and for advice and corrections on minor traffic rules, rather than someone who lies in hiding to entrap ignorant transgressors.

Nigerians themselves seem to have in consequence developed a colonial mentality of not exhibiting enough self-regulated discipline. They do not know when or where to stop or how to place a civilised limitation to the pursuit of any controversy or objective until some outside force descends on them to restore order and ethical sanity. This is indeed a very serious social problem, greater than is apparent from this simple analysis. The Nigerian people have not yet retrained themselves in national causes to return to what they knew earlier in their respective separate and smaller rural communities concerning self-government and self-regulation, especially in ethical matters and general social discipline.

The only instances, where the pristine ethical order and honest self-regulation come back true to life, are those in which ethnic communities run their affairs in ethnic unions and on similar non-national auspices. What they do in these latter cases is strictly in line with the tradition and culture of the kindred as handed down in each ethnic community from generation to generation. That is why perhaps a Nigerian cabinet Minister, who would take kickbacks on government contracts awarded by his ministry, would never dream of doing a similar thing as treasurer or president of his ethnic welfare union when awarding a contract to build a new community hall in his village. It would be an abomination to do so in the latter case; whereas doing so in national causes might even qualify in recent times as a legitimate slice of the national cake, for which, if he neglected to do so, he might well be despised as an incompetent fool. The code of ethics in the former case was received as part of the culture and tradition of the kindred and so is well known and rigidly respected. The one for the nation state was handed down by the colonisers and enforced by them when they were here in control.

A look again at what happened during the First Republic will readily confirm the apparent inability on the part of indigenous Nigerian political leaders to follow the rules of the game set down

in the Constitution and the operative conventions associated with successful parliamentary government. Things grew so chaotic that it needed another variant of military rule, this time run by the Nigerian armed forces, to restore discipline and preserve the integrity of the nation.

Take a look at selected key issues calling for intrinsic self-regulating discipline for their determination in the body politic during the First Republic. The first national census was that of 1952/53 which was undertaken by the British. It was a success and generally accepted inside and outside Nigeria. The first major general election before independence was held in 1959, also by the British. It was reasonably free and fair, give or take local incidents of rigging here and there as the three major regionalistic parties struggled hard to gain national ascendancy for independence the following year, 1960.

The next census was attempted in 1962; but the preliminary figure, rumoured to be less than 48 million, was rejected; and a foreign news correspondent who flashed the 'unapproved' figure was understood to have been sent out of the country for causing public embarrassment. The exercise was repeated in 1963, when the figure of 56.7 million was the result. It was disputed in sections of the country and generally regarded as rather high; but it was accepted. The following year, 1964, the first general election in independent Nigeria was held. It was a complete disaster from the many allegations of massive rigging leading to wide-spread boycott by some parties. Like the census of the previous year, the results were patched up and accepted as a compromise to keep the country one and going. The smouldering discontent which was ignited by the disputed 1962/63 census and the 1964 Federal elections became inflamed by subsequent regional elections in Western Nigeria in 1965, which sparked off wanton killings, arson and general thuggery in the country. The Nigerian armed forces were obliged to step in to stop the chaos in 1966.

Of course, the serious ethical issues of the First Republic were already discussed in Part Two. Suffice it to say here that the leaders of the time were incapable of sufficient ethical discipline to conduct elections, a national head count and the general affairs of state successfully as responsible leaders capable of honest self-regulation

under political independence. Even when the armed forces took over in 1966, a thirty month bloody civil war - the Nigerian War of National Unity - still had to be fought in order to save the country from total disintegration. And after all that, the nation still needed the exemplary statesmanship of General Murtala Muhammed in a severe ethical jolt of the national leadership and public services in order to collect its bearings for the next lap of orderly political progress leading to the Second Republic. It is pertinent to recall that a 1973 attempt to conduct a census produced the ridiculously inflated figure of over 79 million, when the exercise had to be cancelled and the effort abandoned.

History cannot but vindicate the writer for the timely warnings and advice made available to the new civilian leadership that seemed most likely to take over the reigns of power to usher in the Second Republic. The author's first book, which is but a collection of the documents he used to issue such warnings and tender advice on what had to be done to ensure successful civilian self-regulation and responsible independent government for Nigeria, is available for historians to devour to their appetite's delight or venom, as fair judgment dictates. Such advice, warnings and proddings went forth freely and unceasingly from the period of the 1979 electioneering campaigns to the day Fedeco announced the results of the Presidential poll on 16 August, 1979,\*1 and on, through the National Ethical Reorientation Committee to the inception of Verdict 83. Nor could he possibly be the only one who tendered such advice. Numerous patriots of this nation, whose pride as competent and honest black men and women, most probably gave similar advice, may be in less dramatic and tenacious a fashion as the author, at great personal costs to himself both in effort and material resources and in penalties of lost opportunities for progress; but many others certainly did join the great chorus that was sadly unheeded.

On this point too, The Very Rev. Dr. I. O. A. Ude, in his sermon at the 1984 Armed Forces and Remembrance Day Inter-denominational service on Sunday, 15 January, 1984, had the following to say: 'In many and varied ways God has shown His love for this nation not only by His gracious provision of mineral and agricultural resources, but also in every sphere of our national life,

\*1. *Maxi Kanu Oji, Op Cit, pp 29 et al.*

He has left the prophetic 7,000, "all the knees that have not bowed to Baal and every mouth that has not kissed him". Thus we have in the civil service and the private sector people who are diligent in service, accountable in the use of public funds and of proven probity. I call to mind people such as the Secretary\*2 of the Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria who on several occasions had to address the Shagari Administration, but whose advice seems to be brushed under the carpet. I have my admiration for the author of *The Nigerian Ethical Revolution*. His book takes cognizance of the fact that Nigeria is made up of human beings who cannot be changed overnight. And the three words of the present regime - Service, Accountability and Probity - find expression in this book and in his personal letters to the then President Shagari. In one such letter, he wrote to the President as early as December, 1982, on 'Restiveness in the Armed Forces', noted that this 'is becoming more audibly prominent lately'. His book and letters must have been relegated to the NPN archives, and he, a victim of those who are bent on proving to him that honesty is not the best policy'.\*3

Be that as it may, leaders of the Second Republic defied all sense of history and patriotic advice as they seemed bent upon proving that Nigerians are incapable of civilian self-regulation without foreign or local military dictatorship or patronising supervision. Nigeria cannot claim to have genuine responsible self-government and independence unless her citizens are able as civilians to run their national affairs competently and with adequate measure of accountability and probity in freedom and civilization. That was perhaps what the late Dr. Alvan Ikoku, of blessed memory, had seriously in contemplation, when he insisted, during the heat wave of nationalist agitation for Nigerian independence in the early 1950's, that a programme of adequate preparation of the citizenry was necessary before the nation could seriously contemplate accepting responsible self-government. The revered intellectual, now a

\*2 *Elder Dr. Uma O. Eleazu.*

\*3 *See Appendix C48 for the full text of the letter, at the end of chapter seven*

national hero, was vilified for that statement by the most vocal nationalist press at the time and was branded the 'apostle of gradualism' and a sell-out in the independence struggle. Actually, that suggestion is today vindicated by the twenty-four year history of Nigeria as an independent nation state.

In 1979, the Obasanjo military administration conducted a successful general election, which ushered in the Second Republic on 1 October, 1979. It fell within the term of office of that civilian administration to conduct the next decennial national census due in 1982-83. Tentative consideration was given to the matter in 1979, but the civilian administration did not have the moral courage, the ethical discipline or national cohesion and patriotic honesty to attempt a head count, which every conceivable expert, local or foreign, has repeatedly referred to as the indispensable parameter in the nation's development equation. And so a national census was passed over for the second decennium running. In effect, one can say that since the census conducted by the British in 1952-53, there has been no totally reliable census in Nigeria; granted that the 1963 one was accepted as a face saving compromise.

Another major political test of our civilian self-government was the 1983 general election, which as we saw in chapter eleven was a complete disaster, leading to yet another surrender of civilian self-government, won with high hopes and fan fare in 1960, to yet another military tutelage. The issues discussed in chapter thirteen make the tutelage the only real hope this nation has for recovery and future development. The question now is: what hopes do Nigerians have in the foresable future to run their affairs fairly, competently, and honestly as civilians without such patronising tutelage from the military?

This question reminds us of the pre-independence suggestion of late Dr. Ikoku, mentioned earlier. Like an old Arochukwu proverb, which says an elder's advice rejected at the beginning is bound to be heeded at the end, the need to prepare Nigerians properly and specifically for honest and competent civilian self-government has finally crystallised to the nation. The first group

to formally confront the present corrective regime with a well put together request to pursue such a step is the delegation of Catholic Bishops of Nigeria, which met the Head of the Federal Military Government recently with a memorandum said to have been drafted in March, 1984<sup>4</sup>. Specifically, the Bishops requested the Head of State to initiate a programme of action to prepare the nation for satisfactory return to civilian rule; implying that if civilian Nigerians are presumed to be for ever incapable of self-government, then one might as well ascribe the same disability to Nigerians who are in the armed forces.

Many citizens have also voiced similar opinions in newspapers and in radio and television discussions. As we discuss the issue of a special programme of action to prepare the nation's leaders and citizens at large for meaningfully stable role in civilian self-government and self-regulation, readers are reminded not to lose sight of the fact that this very issue is really the subject matter of this book and in fact of the concept of an ethical revolution for Nigeria, which the writer has preached and campaigned for all these many years. The text material will tend to justify this contention, it is hoped. The answer to the question in the above paragraph is that there are ample hopes for effective self-regulation in this country if, and only if, we take seriously the route of this ethical revolution, the march into which the WAI crusade has now started as the first phase. With this, I am confident that Nigeria will proudly enter the third millenium at the turn of the next century a transformed, cohesive nation, able to run its affairs honestly and assume its role of leadership on this continent and in the comity of nations.

This confident expectation, that this nation will survive in freedom and good ethical order, was given its strongest expression yet by the 'Resolutions of Support and Loyalty', which the Nineteenth Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria passed in July, 1984 and presented to the Head of the Federal Military Government. Those resolutions not only acknowledged the appropriateness and timeliness of the ethical clean-up exercise of the present regime, but also

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix H for a full text of the memorandum.

regarded same as representing God's answer to our prayers 'that God would take over control of the affairs of our great country Nigeria and give us leaders who would lead us in the path of righteousness, justice, truth and peace'. Consequently the Reverend Synod of the Presbyterian Church concluded by urging the Federal Military Government that they should not relinquish the reigns of power very quickly without first completing adequate preparation for the institutional machine and of those who can take over, in order to sustain the momentum of the new national ethical culture which is now being instilled in the citizenry<sup>\*5</sup>.

It will perhaps be out of step to conclude this book without any mention of the controversial Public Officers Protection Against False Accusation Decree Number 4 of 1984, which has so severely and continuously agitated the Nigerian mass media since its promulgation, but more alarmingly so since two members of the editorial staff of *The Guardian* were gaoled under its provisions. For one thing, this book is dedicated to the Nigerian mass media and has been designed to be so dedicated right from when the outline and theme of the book were conceived early in 1983; and for another, the final format and updating contents of the book have been completed after the coming into force of this decree.

There is no intention however to delve here into any legal controversy about the compatibility of Decree No 4 with Chapter Two of the 1979 Constitution, or about whether it contravenes the freedom of the press enshrined in the constitution. The pragmatic issues affecting the stability and progress of our dear fatherland have always been of over-riding interest to this writer; and it is strictly from that pragmatic view point that this last point of the main text of this book will be made in solemn tribute to the Nigerian mass media, for which the writer has the greatest of regards as well as prayers for true divine guidance of the practitioners.

\*5 See Appendix I for a full text of the Resolutions of Support and Loyalty.

There is really no way a successful crusade for ethical regeneration of this country can be prosecuted without the enthusiastic involvement of the mass media. Even in the writer's first book, *The Nigerian Ethical Revolution 1981-2000 AD*, this contention was amply emphasised. It is in fact in acknowledgement of how potentially invaluable the role of the mass media could be if properly played that the writer decided from the outset to dedicate this second book to the Nigerian mass media. Such implicit trust invariably commands an equally onerous burden of responsibility, self-control and operative discipline on the part of the mass media practitioners in return for the leadership role thrust thereby upon the members of the profession.

Most of the text of this book was written during 1983 and indicates unequivocally the writer's serious apprehensions about the level of responsibility exhibited by many members of the mass media during the civilian administrations of the first and second republics. Those of the second republic excelled themselves to a point of hysteria in jaundiced reporting and mutual recriminations, especially among opposing party organs. Something drastic just had to be done to restore a reasonable measure of sanity in a corrective regime like this one in order to make for a sober restart of the sacred role of the press in defence of freedom and civilisation preparatory to an eventual return to civilian rule in due course.

No brief can be held here for the military authorities; nor is the writer near enough to any of the regime's leading members to have any clue to the intentions of the present Federal Military Government. Sheer intuition, added to a close observation of the impact of Decree 4, since the imprisonment of Thompson and Irabor, on both the mass media and the military authorities will tend to indicate that the main thrust of its purpose had been accomplished. The purpose seems to me to be the need to emphasise the political will of the Federal Military Government to deal ruthlessly with anyone who deliberately distorts facts, speculates recklessly, or misrepresents another maliciously with the intention to embarrass, injure, incite, instigate or intimidate public functionaries to achieve political or other selfish ends, as frequently happened with impunity during the last civilian administration.

That political will having been so emphatically dramatised in The Guardian case noted above, it is the humble opinion of the writer that the Federal Military Government may now only want to use this severe whipping stick in very exceptional cases of patent editorial irresponsibility or offensively speculative reportage. This view of the matter can be confirmed by the statute books of many countries in the world which contain some draconian legislation enacted in response to very extreme emergencies that faced such nations. With the change in circumstances over time, such laws are in effect forgotten in the statute books, since rigid enforcement is no longer necessary by virtue of the disappearance of the emergency that originally gave rise to such legislation in the first place. Nevertheless, nobody has bothered usually to take the legislative steps to repeal the laws in question. Once awhile, if a similar emergency crops up in the future, governments have been known to enjoy the ready facility of the availability on the statute books of such severe laws to face those who may want to hold the nation to ransom.

One funny little example of a real life story will make this point clearer for our purpose here. During the middle 1960's of intense civil rights protests and labour unrest in New York, U.S.A. some powerful organisations which had some unresolved grievances got together to use the impending New York World's Fair as a tool for exacting concessions from the government of New York and so threatened to block all major highways to the launching site by means of thousands of automobiles that were to be made to run out of petrol in the traffic in all directions, to stop the official opening of the New York World's Fair due to open in the spring of 1964 to run for two summers. The fair was to be an unprecedented event on which hundreds of millions of dollars had been spent in preparation. New York State had great hopes for the inflow from all over the world of tourists, business and investments in consequence, including a total reclamation and permanent development of the marshy Flushing Meadow Park district of Jamaica, N. Y. where it was billed to hold.

To allow the widely publicised formal opening to be disrupted by any group was viewed, in the current Nigerian parlance, as tantamount to economic sabotage of New York. In order to prevent

this sabotage, the government passed a legislation within hours to make it a criminal offence for anybody to own, operate, possess or in any way be connected with any motor vehicle which runs out of petrol in any highway in New York. To those who know that the use of motor vehicles is an indispensable complement of daily life of New Yorkers, so much so that driving is taught as a regular subject in New York high schools as a matter of course, this sort of legislation is bound to sound most unreasonable. With fuel problems occurring from time to time, especially since the birth of OPEC, there is no way some of the millions of vehicles that ply the numerous New York highways cannot run out of petrol occasionally. Yet this law has still not been repealed; but it has never really been enforced after the New York World's Fair closed in September, 1965. Perhaps it would be used some day to fight a threat similar to the one which produced it in 1964.

Those who may want to judge the readiness of the present regime to heed public opinion by pointing to whether or not it repeals the controversial Decree No 4, may as well learn a useful lesson from the above story about New York and from similar instances in other parts of the world. While the existence of this draconian decree may force all (mass media practitioners and non-media people as well) to be extremely circumspect about rushing to announce ill researched news or allegation, it does not necessarily preclude the exposure of actual cases of corruption or other forms of official indiscipline by those who have incontrovertible evidence to support their story. Nigerian mass media organisations should not feel intimidated into keeping mute, but should rather feel challenged to search for some good, precedent-setting instances to test the sincerity, justice and equity of the operation of that political will of the Federal Military Government supposedly demonstrated in the national interest in the Thompson/Irabor case. They would be doing a great duty of service to the integrity of this nation and to the freedom and liberty of its citizens in civilisation if they took up the challenge in that spirit. After all there have been numerous provocative cartoons, which daily say far more in effect than Thompson and Irabor did in general terms; yet the administration has not so far reacted thereto with let or hindrance.

It has been argued by some people that the decision in the Thompson/Irabor case and the leading arguments of counsel in the trial point to the possibility that the decree seeks to punish not only false stories but also true revelations or reports if such stories are considered prone to embarrass government functionaries. The writer has not read the full transcript of the case and so cannot debate the issue to a breaking point. However, The Guardian came out daily with what seemed by any standard to be comprehensive reports on the case. The impression that came out of it all, from the writer's understanding, was that the decree seeks to punish falsehood strictly in whatever degree it occurs in the offensive report, notwithstanding that the report (as in The Guardian case) is substantially true. It is even conceivable that where, in a matter of strategic security importance to the nation, mass media executives are taken into confidence by the administration with the warning that they cooperate in the national interest by keeping it out of publicity, any speculative leaks by the press in breach of faith to embarrass the administration may be punishable; because in such an event the government will in the national interest be entitled to deny the truth of the speculative report.

In contrast, a report that a particular military governor, Federal Minister, Permanent Secretary or a member of the Supreme Military Council has been caught red handed in some unethical escapade while in office will not qualify as a speculative leak of state security. The prompt replacement and dismissal of two military Governors during the year for reported official impropriety will tend to confirm the plausibility of the writer's contention in this regard. The distinction between the two cases is clear, hopefully.

One could conclude with mature intuition, therefore, that while its repeal would be the best for a free press, the purpose of that decree might well be more constructive than is apparent on the surface; which is, the provision of a severe deterrent to serve in grave need, but which is rested when circumstances return to normal. It is one way to look at it from the brighter side of things. Admittedly, there are other possibilities; and everyone is free to take one's pick in good faith, provided the stability and progress of Nigeria in freedom and civilisation is the over-riding motive for choice in this regard.

## POSTSCRIPT

This book, complete and ready in 1984, was sent to the printers in 1985 in readiness for printing and publication. The publication arrangements have taken rather long to be concluded, owing obviously to the difficult trading arrangements with Nigeria.

On 27 August, 1985 the Buhari/Idiagbon regime was overthrown in a coup d'Etat, which brought Major-General Ibrahim B. Babangida to power as Head of State with the title, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; and Navy Commodore Oko Ebitu Ukiwe as Chief of General Staff and second in command for strictly non-military, political functions, similar to those of a Prime Minister in some civilian Presidencies.

This arrangement is strikingly different from previous military regimes in this country, which were usually headed by a 'Head of the Federal Military Government'<sup>\*1</sup>, and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; with a 'Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters' as second in Command. The new regime also introduced other striking changes in policy, like abrogation of the notorious Decree No. 4; releasing detained politicians; appointing some respected experts as civilian ministers; and appointing judicial review panels to examine the released detainees and those convicted by the military tribunals, under its human rights doctrine. These changes of policy certainly brought in a breath of fresh air, when contrasted with the atmosphere in the dictatorial regime just ousted; while the practice of opening important national issues to public debate has increased its popularity.

However, some of the review panels rather began to stretch the human rights posture of the administration, and the impression seemed to gain ground rapidly that they were probably set up designedly to kill the WAI campaign and to declare innocent all detained politicians and convicts of the military tribunals. The Nigerian press was replete with editorials, cartoons and articles

<sup>\*1</sup> *Head of the National Military Government!*, for a few months in 1966, when Major-General J.T. Aguyi-Ironsi introduced his ill-fated unitary constitutional changes under decree No. 34 of 24 May, 1966.

calling some of the review panels 'kangaroo courts' in apparent disapproval of this development. Public opprobrium reached a very high point in January 1986, when the Federal Government, probably sensing the signals of a smouldering imminent mass rebellion by enraged citizens, came out with a candid statement to the effect that recommendations of judicial review panels were based on legal considerations only; and, since most of the cases being reviewed involved political and moral questions as well, the Armed Forces Ruling Council would have all the aspects in contemplation when considering the recommendations of the panels for final decision. That statement calmed down the boiling mood of the nation momentarily.

More interestingly, many of Nigeria's Men of Excellence, like Chief F.R.A. Williams, SAN, have continued to speak out courageously, urging for a resumption of the WAI campaign and a general change of direction, if the regime honestly intends to fight ethical decay in the nation and achieve any meaningful recovery in the economy, battered beyond recognition by the corruption and profligate looting of some leaders of previous regimes. A typical example is Professor Ben O. Nwabueze, who delivered a lengthy public lecture on 3 April, 1986 as Visiting Fellow of the University of Lagos Centre for Cultural Studies, titled: *Evolving a New Political Culture for Nigeria through an Ethnic of Disciplined and Principled Behaviour*, published here as Appendix J.

# Appendix H

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE HEAD OF THE  
FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND COMMANDER  
IN CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF NIGERIA,  
MAJOR-GENERAL MUHAMMADU BUHARI, BY THE  
CATHOLIC BISHOP CONFERENCE OF NIGERIA ON  
THE FIRST VISIT OF THE DELEGATION TO THE  
HEAD OF STATE, MARCH, 1984

1. *Introduction:* On behalf of the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria whom we represent here as a delegation, we thank you for giving us this opportunity of meeting you for the first time since you became Head of State of our nation. We take this opportunity to wish you God's guidance and assistance in the task of ruling our nation in this critical period.
2. *Frustrated Hopes:* The military coup which brought you and your colleagues in the armed forces back again to the helm of our national affairs was welcome by the vast generality of Nigerians. This was because there was a near unanimous conviction that the nation was heading towards a tragic ruin under the previous political leaders. Hopes were frustrated and there was a crying need for change for better leadership.
3. *Unheeded Warnings:* We recall that, with many other people of good will, the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria issued repeated warnings aimed at rescuing our nation from self-destruction. Those warnings were unfortunately not given enough practical heeding. We strongly urge you, and others now wielding authority with you in the present administration, to take a good look also at those statements which we issued in the recent past, for the good of our nation. We recommend especially our communique at the end of our last meeting in September, 1983. What was said there about the quality of good government is applicable to all members, whether civilian or military.

4. *Cleaning up Operation:* We support the declared good intentions of this administration to clean up the social, economic and moral mess in which the nation now finds itself. The previous political leaders have no doubt a great measure of responsibility for our present predicament, to the extent that they were entrusted with the destiny of the nation. They should therefore be made to account for their stewardship. Justice demands that those found guilty be punished and those who offered self-less and honest service to the nation be promptly cleared and commended.

In this cleaning up operation, it is necessary, both for the internal peace and stability of our country and for our reputation and national image in the outside world, that you keep certain important factors in mind:

a) Every effort should be made to be fair to all concerned. It is in the interest of this administration, and of the nation in general, that Justice be not only done, but clearly be seen to be done.

b) Detentions without trial of previous political office holders is an extreme measure which should be applied only with the greatest caution and for as short a duration as possible. Kindly ensure that such detainees, are accorded a reasonable measure of humane treatment.

c) In particular, they should be given reasonable access to the spiritual attention of their pastors and other genuine religious counsellors - just as they are allowed medical visits. Their spiritual well-being is at least as important at this moment as their physical health.

d) Even if some sections of the Nigerian masses, because of recent frustrations, would like to hear sweeping condemnation of all politicians and of politics in general, the military administration should resist the temptation to promote such negative sentiments. It would not be in the lasting interests of our nation to confirm the impression that we can never rule ourselves well through elected leaders. That many of our politicians betrayed the trust placed in them does not make politics any less a sacred duty of service to the people. The urgent task ahead is to prepare and identify a new breed of public-spirited and honest politicians to whom we shall eventually

entrust our nation - and to work towards a new set of rules for the noble game of national politics, such that will encourage service and discourage selfish opportunists. We believe that our country has many of such people; otherwise there would be no hope of good government even from a military regime.

5. *Economic Problems:* We are aware of the gigantic problems your administration has to face on the economic front, and commend you for the efforts you are making. We have to let you know, however, that in spite of all your efforts, life is still very hard for the common man. Please try and avoid any panic measures such as mass retrenchment of workers, which would only worsen the hardships of the people. If indeed we just have to borrow from overseas to tide us over our present difficulties, we must carefully consider the cost to the nation of all conditions attached to such loans; especially any non-economic conditions. Experience should teach us that no one will give us any money for nothing.

6. *Internal Security:* National security touches different levels. Apart from defence against external aggression and the consistency of the regime in power, there is also the personal security of individual citizens. We urge you to intensify your efforts in cleaning up and strengthening our security agencies, especially the police. In many places, people still live in constant fear of their lives and property.

7. *Religious pluralism and tolerance:* We are reassured by your reaffirmation in your message to our Conference of the official position of neutrality of government vis-a-vis the different religions professed by Nigerians. On our own part, we shall continue to promote, as we have always done, among those over whom we exercise religious leadership a spirit of positive collaboration and peaceful co-existence with all fellow Nigerians, and contribute towards the progress and stability of our nation. We count on government to safe-guard due freedom of opinion and expression for all genuine religious bodies. Government should also carefully

guard against any action likely to raise suspicions of discrimination against or partiality in favour of any religious body. This will go a long way to reducing incidents of violent religious fanaticism.

8. *The Church in Education:* It is now clear to all that our educational system in this country needs to be completely overhauled. We welcome your recent recommendations. We would like to stress the fact that the problems with our educational system are more than those of finance and management. There is a basic confusion as regards its content and purpose. Character formation is absolutely necessary if education, at any level, is to serve as an instrument of genuine nation-building. In our country, where most people belong to one religion or the other, such character formation is impossible outside the frame-work of religious traditions to which Nigerians belong. We call on you, therefore, to restore fully to the Churches and other competent religious bodies full scope and freedom to play their natural role of forming the character of the nation. This involves not only the right to own and run schools, but also to be meaningfully present in all institutions where each religious body has adherents; and be adequately represented in bodies that formulate, implement, or review our educational policies.

9. *Renewed dedication to Nation Building:* Finally, we renew our dedication to the common task of nation-building. We shall continue to support by our prayers and actions all government programmes meant for the good of the nation. We believe that in the fight against corruption, dishonesty, public and private immorality, we have an irreplaceable contribution to make. In the name of this nation, and for the sake of future generations, we request that you ensure that no unnecessary obstacles be put in our way in carrying out our role as a Christian Church.

10. *Prayers:* We pray for our nation and for you who are our leaders at this critical period. We wish you God's assistance and protection in your efforts to put our country back on the route to sound democratic rule, founded on justice, peace, stability and

## Appendix H

genuine progress, to build a prosperous nation, united under God.

+Dominic Cardinal Ekandem

Bishop of Ikot Ekpene

Superior of Abuja

+Archbishop F. A. Arinze

President

Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria

+Archbishop P. Y. Jatau

Archbishop of Kaduna

+Archbishop A. O. Okogie

Archbishop of Lagos.

## *Appendix I*

RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT AND LOYALTY OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA PASSED AT THE NINETEENTH SYNOD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NIGERIA, JULY 1984.

RESOLVED THAT ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE MEMBERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NIGERIA THE REVEREND SYNOD IN CONVOCATION ASSEMBLED JULY, 1984 EXPRESS WITH GRATITUDE THAT,

- WHEREAS FOR MANY YEARS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND OTHER RELIGIOUS BODIES HAVE PRAYED FERVENTLY THAT GOD WOULD TAKE OVER CONTROL OF THE AFFAIRS OF OUR GREAT COUNTRY NIGERIA AND GIVE US LEADERS WHO WILL LEAD US IN THE PATH OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, JUSTICE, TRUTH AND PEACE; AND

WHEREAS WE RECOGNISE IN THE PRESENT FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA GOD'S ANSWER TO OUR PRAYERS, WE HEREBY THANKFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE OUR GRATITUDE TO THE ALMIGHTY GOD AND SOLEMNLY PLEDGE OUR UNFLINCHING SUPPORT AND LOYALTY TO THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND HOPE THAT IT SHALL CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT ITS ARDUOUS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FEAR OF GOD AND WITHOUT SELFISH MOTIVES;

WE CALL UPON ALL CHRISTIANS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS BODIES AND INDEED EVERY NIGERIAN TO STAND SOLIDLY BEHIND THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION SO THAT, GOD HELPING US, WE MAY SALVAGE THIS GREAT NATION FROM THE CANKERWORM OF CORRUPTION AND ALL THE SOCIAL EVILS THAT HAVE PLAGUED THIS NATION AND PREVENTED IT FROM BEING THE GREAT NATION THAT GOD DESTINED IT TO BE;

WE CALL UPON THE ROBBERS, THE CURRENCY TRAFFICKERS, THE FRAUDULENT AND CORRUPT POLITICIANS AND CIVIL SERVANTS, AND ALL WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO THE POLLUTION IN OUR PUBLIC LIFE TO DESIST FROM THEIR EVIL AND CORRUPT PRACTICES AND GIVE THE GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO SALVAGE OUR NATION FROM ECONOMIC RUIN AND MORAL DECADENCE;

WE APPLAUD THE CAUTIOUS, LEGAL AND METHODICAL WAY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS PROCEEDING IN ROOTING OUT THE WRONGS PERPETRATED BY THE LAST CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT JUSTICE WILL BE DONE.

WE WOULD APPEAL, HOWEVER, THAT PRESENT POLITICAL DETAINEES BE ALLOWED VISITS FROM THEIR SPOUSES AND THEIR SPIRITUAL DIRECTORS OR CLERGYMEN. WE SHOULD APPRECIATE THIS SO THAT, IF INNOCENT, THESE PEOPLE WILL BE GIVEN HEART AND HOPE, AND IF GUILTY, WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS REMORSE AND SEEK SPIRITUAL FORGIVENESS.

WE WOULD ALSO URGE THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO REVIEW ITS PRESENT POLICY ON PUBLIC EXECUTIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THE PHILOSOPHY OF DETERRENCE BEHIND THIS POLICY BUT IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT VIOLENCE BEGETS VIOLENCE. THROUGH OUR STRUGGLE TO ROOT OUT FLAGRANT ABUSES OF ECONOMIC GAIN AND HEIGHTENED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A JUST SOCIETY, ALL OF THE CITIZENS OF NIGERIA WILL FALL UNDER THE YOKE OF DISCIPLINE AND THE NEED FOR SUCH DRACONIAN MEASURES AS EXECUTIONS WILL NOT BE NECESSARY.

WE PLEAD WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO STOP THE WAVE OF RETRENCHMENTS FROM OUR PUBLIC SERVICE AS IT IS CAUSING UNTOLD HARDSHIP TO MILLIONS OF NIGERIANS; RATHER WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL FIRMLY AND RUTHLESSLY WITH ALL CASES OF PROVEN MISCONDUCT AND CORRUPTION;

WE PLEAD WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO TAKE EARLY POSITIVE STEPS TO REVAMP THE ECONOMY: TO RESUSCITATE INDUSTRIES THAT HAVE CLOSED DOWN, TO RAISE ONLY SUCH FOREIGN LOANS AS WILL ENABLE THE NATION TO MAKE AN EARLY ECONOMIC RECOVERY, TO ENSURE PRUDENT ADMINISTRATION AND DISBURSEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL WEALTH AND TO ENDEAVOUR TO BUILD UP SUBSTANTIAL ANNUAL BUDGETORY SURPLUSES THAT CAN BE UTILISED IN FUTURE LEAN YEARS.

IN URGING THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ECONOMY, WE DO NOT DO SO WITH MERE WORDS.

WE HAVE OURSELVES EMBARKED ON A GIGANTIC PROJECT ON THE SITE OF THE FORMER ITU LEPER COLONY.

HERE WE WANT TO RESUSCITATE THE "CITY OF FAITH" INTO A MODERN LEARNING, TEACHING AND HEALING COMMUNITY

BASED ON LOVE, SERVICE AND THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR. THE ITU

PROJECT HAS THREE ASPECTS:- AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME, A MEDICAL PROGRAMME INCORPORATING THE MARY SLESSOR HOSPITAL, AND AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMME INCORPORATING THE PALM PLANTATION, A 400 ACRE RICE FARM AND A FISH POND. WE HASTEN TO ADD THAT SUCH A GIGANTIC PROJECT WILL NEED THE CLOSE CO-OPERATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PARASTATAL BODIES.

## Appendix H

ALREADY DISCUSSIONS HAVE STARTED WITH THE NIGERIA PALM PRODUCE BOARD AS WELL AS WITH THE STATE GOVERNMENTS. SOME FRIENDS OF THE CHURCH ABROAD HAVE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SPONSOR TECHNICAL EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS TO SERVE IN ONE CAPACITY OR OTHER IN THE PROJECT. WHEN THE TIME COMES WE HOPE WE WILL BE GIVEN THE NECESSARY ASSISTANCE TO RECEIVE SUCH FREE TECHNICAL AID.

WE APPRECIATE THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO CONSERVE OUR SCARCE FOREIGN EXCHANGE. WE CERTAINLY CAN NOT BE A COUNTRY BENT ON LUXURY. BUT FOR A PROJECT SUCH AS WE ARE EMBARKING UPON, IMPORT LICENCE WILL BE NECESSARY FOR DRUGS, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, BOOKS, MACHINERY AND OTHER INPUTS NECESSARY FOR ITS SUCCESS. WE HOPE WE WILL RECEIVE ASSISTANCE FROM THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES WHEN THE TIME COMES.

OUR OBJECTIVE AT THIS TIME IS NOT TO PRESENT THE ITU PROJECT. IN ORDER, HOWEVER, TO GIVE YOU A PREVIEW OF THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE PROJECT, WE WILL LEAVE WITH YOU THESE TWO PUBLICATIONS - "CAN GHOSTS ARISE?" WHICH TELLS THE STORY OF THE MIRACLES OF HEALING THAT TOOK PLACE IN ITU BETWEEN 1920 AND 1966 AND "CITY OF FAITH" WHICH IS OUR CONCEPTION OF THE PRESENT PROJECT. WHEN THE GROUNDWORK WILL HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, WE HOPE TO INVITE YOU TO SEE US AT WORK. WE DO HOPE TOO THAT YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO ACCEPT.

WE PLEAD WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE VEXED QUESTION OF HANDING OVER THE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCY AND MISSION SCHOOLS TO THEIR FORMER PROPRIETORS IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY ONCE MORE RETRIEVE THE FALLEN STANDARD OF MORALITY AND ETHICAL CONDUCT IN OUR CITIZENS:

WE APPEAL TO ALL RELIGIOUS BODIES TO COME TOGETHER AT THIS TIME TO HELP THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE MORAL DECAY AND FALLING ETHICAL STANDARDS IN OUR GREAT NATION. WE PRAISE THE LORD FOR THE HELP AND GUIDANCE THAT HE HAS GIVEN THE NATION AT THIS TIME. MAY GOD ALMIGHTY SIT AT THE HELM OF OUR NATION'S AFFAIRS.

AS NIGERIANS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS AND TONGUES COME TOGETHER TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY IN THE FORGING OF A NEW CONSCIOUSNESS OF PATRIOTISM, WE WOULD URGE THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO KEEP OPEN THE BORDERS OF OUR CITIZENS' MINDS, TO FOSTER A SENSE OF WORLD CITIZENSHIP AND TO STEER CLEAR OF A POLICY OF ISOLATIONISM AND XENOPHOBISM. WE CAN NOT FEAR THE OUTSIDE WORLD, JUST AS WE MUST AVOID WORSHIPPING IT. WHILE OUR SOCIETAL ILLS ARE ALMOST TENDING TO CONSUME US AT THE PRESENT TIME, WE SHOULD REALISE THAT IN THIS DAY AND AGE, AS NEVER BEFORE, ALL NATIONS ARE INTERLOCKED IN A WEB OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND MUTUAL SUPPORT. IN OUR CHURCHES WE HAVE LEARNED THAT OUR INTERCHURCH, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITHIN AFRICA AND BEYOND HAVE GIVEN OUR MEMBERS A GREATER AWARENESS, A GREATER TOLERANCE AND A GREATER APPRECIATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD AND THE COMPLEXITY OF THE HUMAN CONDITION.

ONE THING WHICH WE MOST ASSUREDLY DO NOT WANT TO URGE UPON THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS THAT THEY SHOULD RELINQUISH THE REINS OF POWER VERY QUICKLY WITHOUT FIRST

COMPLETING ADEQUATE PREPARATION FOR THE  
INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY AND OF THOSE WHO  
CAN TAKE OVER IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM  
OF THE NEW NATIONAL ETHICAL CULTURE WHICH IS  
NOW BEING INSTILLED IN THE CITIZENRY.

LONG LIVE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

LONG LIVE THE CHURCH.

+Rt. Rev. M. O. Ogarekpe  
Moderator of Synod

+Very Rev. Akanu O. Otu  
Clerk of Synod

+Ezeogo Elder Dr. Akanu Ibiam  
A Trustee of the Presbyterian Church

## Appendix J

### EVOLVING A NEW POLITICAL CULTURE FOR NIGERIA THROUGH AN ETHIC OF DISCIPLINED AND PRINCIPLEI BEHAVIOUR

by

Professor Ben O. Nwabueze

LL.M, LL.D (Lond), S.A.N., NNMA.

Public lecture delivered on April 3, 1986

as Visiting Fellow of the

University of Lagos Centre for Cultural Studies.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen. Let me first say how grateful I am to the University of Lagos Centre for Cultural Studies for inviting me as Visiting Fellow to deliver this Lecture. The Centre was kind enough to permit me the freedom to speak on any topical subject of my choice touching upon some aspect of Nigerian Culture defined, according to their letter to me, not in "the narrow, circumscribed sense of Dance and Art", but as embracing "the sum total of the life-style of a people", in other words the sum total of "the values, beliefs, attitude, images, behavioural norms and the expressive symbols of a people".<sup>1</sup> I share this broad view of culture.

In the context of such a broad view of culture, political culture, which is the subject of my Address to you this evening, refers simply to "those aspects of a culture which have an impact of some sort on political traditions, political behaviour, political institutions and their operations."<sup>2</sup> The role of political culture is to define, among other things, "the standards of conduct appropriate for public officers, the rights and responsibilities of citizens" and of political institutions.

I am not of course speaking to you on political culture in general, but on how a new political culture may be evolved for our country.

1. E.O.Awa, "Igbo Political Culture", Paper presented at the 1985 AHIAJOKU Colloquium held at Owerri in November 1985.

2. E.O. Awa, *op. cit.*

And I propose to focus on just one way in which this may be done, namely an ethic of disciplined and principled behaviour. I shall not therefore attempt to cover other approaches to the issue such as ideology or mechanisms to designed the curb bureaucratic arbitrariness, injustice and corruption or to contain incidence of military coups.

By an ethic of disciplined and principled behaviour I mean a habit or attitude of mind which will regard it as un-Nigerian to engage in anti-social, undisciplined, unprincipled or unpatriotic behaviour in government and politics and in all other aspects of social life. I think that such an ethic is an imperative necessity if a new political culture is ever to be evolved in Nigeria.

The big question is how such an ethic can be created and nurtured in a country deeply enmeshed in social indiscipline and in anti-social, unprincipled and unpatriotic behaviour. It is important to stress that habit or attitude is essentially a matter of the mind. As such it is not something that can be brought about by legal prescription alone. The solemn prescriptions of the 1979 Constitution proclaiming Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress as the national motto, Discipline, Self-Reliance and Patriotism as the national ethic, and Freedom, Equality, Justice, Participatory democracy and Social Justice as the ideals of the nation did not advance the matter much. Without an organised effort to identify and articulate the values and norms implied in them, to mobilise the nation towards their realisation by means of indoctrination through the use of symbols like the flag or emblem, slogans, propaganda campaigns, the constitutional prescriptions had remained but an abstract and pious declaration of hope, unknown to the vast majority of Nigerians whose conduct they are intended to shape.

Three practical ways for evolving such an ethic will be considered here—the War Against Indiscipline, punishment of corruption and abuse of office by political functionaries of government, and an ethical and social revolution.

### *War Against Indiscipline*

The Buhari military government deserves to be condemned for its tyranny and its insensitivity to public feeling. It had become

indeed a reign of terror. Yet its vigorous and purposeful crusade against corruption and social indiscipline is, with all its imperfections, the most significant achievement to date by any government in this country since independence. It was the first time that any government in Nigeria recognised that deeply embedded social indiscipline, such as existed in the country, needed to be attacked, not by rhetoric alone, but by an all-out war. Within three months of its coming to power, a national ethic campaign, otherwise called War against Indiscipline (WAI) was launched and carried with great fervour to the various agencies and institutions in the country, both public and private, with the television, radio, newspaper and other information media fully harnessed as instruments of mobilisation in aid of the campaign. Symbols, like the national flag, anthem, emblem, and pledge, slogans and other propaganda stunts were also harnessed into the campaign as instruments of indoctrination. National consciousness and mobilisation committees, publicity committees and WAI secretariats were established in the states to carry the crusade to the urban and rural grassroots. A WAI Brigade was planned as a way to indoctrinate the youth of the country with the ideals and values of WAI, and to organise them to serve as catalysts for the crusade.

The campaign had envisaged a more or less comprehensive national ethic with about forty carefully articulated values. By August 1985 when the regime was overthrown, five of these had been launched. The first focussed on orderliness in our social life; the second on work ethic, the need for punctuality, conscientiousness and politeness at work; the third on nationalism and patriotism, emphasising the symbolism of the flag, the national anthem and pledge by requiring all Nigerian citizens to fly the national flag on festive occasions (the flag must also be flown at all times on public and commercial houses) and to learn to sing the national anthem and to recite the pledge; the fourth on the eradication of corruption and economic sabotage as manifested in particular in the alarming incidence of currency trafficking, kick-backs, embezzlement of public funds, arson etc; and the fifth on environmental sanitation and cleanliness which featured the demolition of illegal structures, the stoppage of street-trading, the mobilisation of the residents of our

cities for the regular cleaning of their surroundings and the streets and gutters, with a cash gift of N1 million for the cleanest state capital, N500,000 for the cleanest city etc.

The campaign would certainly need to include an ethic of obedience to the Constitution and laws of the country which implies, among other things, a willingness on the part of the rulers to observe the limits upon governmental powers, and a statesmanlike acceptance that the integrity of the whole governmental framework and the regularity of its procedures should transcend personal aggrandisement; respect for the democratic process and for the right of the people to choose who should govern them; and a habit of public accountability.

Recognising the largely moral character of the concept of discipline, the campaign would need also to focus on those norms of behaviour sanctified in religion, morality and the law of nature, such as honesty, probity, justice and equity, selflessness, self-restraint, obedience etc. It has been truly said that "without God there will be...no religion; without religion there will be no morality....; without morality there will be no law; without law there will be no order, and without order there will be no discipline."<sup>1</sup> Such is the intimate linkage between discipline and religion morality. No society in which these religion-based norms are absent can ever be disciplined. It is their absence that largely accounts for the gross indiscipline pervading the Nigerian society.

It is not of course that these norms are alien to us. On the contrary, they had been present in no small measure in our primordial societies. Rooted as they were in religion and the law of nature, our primordial societies were permeated by a deep sense of morality, and a strong abhorrence of wrong-doing and of immoral or anti-social behaviour. Such behaviour was deprecated as an abomination. It was a society in which worth and honour counted more than wealth.

With the advent of colonialism, however, came a violent transformation in our value system. The old morality-dominated society was assailed and supplanted by a new society dominated by individualism and materialism, with the selfishness, egotism, greed, unbridled liberty or licence which they engender. These have inevitably pre-disposed the society to indiscipline, and indiscipline of the grossest order. "In the uncontrolled quest for money, many will

sacrifice everything - honour, probity, morality etc."1

The War against Indiscipline must therefore feature a vigorous campaign for the revival of religion and morality in the pure, pristine form they were practised in the past. It must seek to indoctrinate the society anew with a belief in God as one of the dominant forces to shape our national life; to inculcate the habit of restraint and moderation even when an action is within power, a habit of fair-play and of tolerance of other people's interests and opinions, and a habit of principled behaviour to counter the pervasive pull of tribalism, nepotism, partisanship and expediency. It must seek to change our attitude towards money by emphasising that individual peace of mind and happiness and social harmony come more from honour, an unimpeachable character and a clear conscience than from money. They are indeed things money cannot buy.2

There is no doubt that the WAI campaign was beginning to generate wide interest, and that its message was gradually percolating into the consciousness of our people. No doubt, there are great problems in the path of its success and effectiveness. There is in particular the problem of being able to maintain the momentum of each successive phase of the campaign in order to avoid relapses. As the campaign moves from one phase to another, there is the danger that, after the lapse of time while the campaign is pre-occupied with a new phase, people might forget the earlier ones and relapse into their old, undisciplined ways. The problem is thus how to maintain the momentum of each previous phase of the campaign while new ones are launched. It would take quite sometime, years perhaps, before any of these values could sink sufficiently into the consciousness of the people to become an established habit of social behaviour. It would be idle to expect this to happen in a matter of

1. C.A. Oputa. "In Search of a Disciplined Society through Law" - Paper delivered at the Centenary Celebrations of the Legal Profession in Nigeria, 16-22 Feb., 1986.

1. C.A. Oputa, *op. cit*

2. C.A. Oputa, *op. cit*

months. Regrettably, the momentum of the earlier phases of the campaign was not being sustained, and relapses were already noticeable. The large number of phases envisaged by the campaign plan underline the enormity of this problem. Unless a way is devised to maintain the momentum of the earlier phases, they would have been erased from people's minds by the time the fortieth and final phase is reached.

Nonetheless, the campaign is a worthy and laudable effort. It is sad that, with the overthrow of the regime that originated it, it has been allowed to fall into abeyance. Its chief priest and the brain behind it, Group Captain Emeka Omeruah, was re-assigned and sent to Anambra State as Military Governor, which is no doubt a deserved elevation for the man but a sad loss for the country. In the result, the initial momentum generated by the campaign has been lost. It is not surprising that, as a commentator in the National Concord of March 20, 1986 observed, "almost all the manifestations of indiscipline, which were on the retreat during the Idiagbon time, are now staging a come back, and are doing so with extraordinary verve." It is sad that the Nigerian press, which has displayed so much vigilance and militancy during the Buhari / Idiagbon regime, should have acquiesced in the suspension of the WAI, apparently charmed by the human rights stance of the present administration. Except for a belated editorial in the National Concord of 20 March, 1986, the suspension of the campaign has provoked no critical comments in the editorials of any of our national newspaper. The campaign should be revived, and be given pride of place in the programme for the return to civil rule in 1990.

## *Punishment of Corruption and Abuse of Office*

At the same time as the WAI campaign was going on, the Buhari military government has also launched a purposeful effort to punish the stinking corruption of the Second Republic. Until 1975 the punishment of corruption had never been a major concern of government in Nigeria except of course through the process of the ordinary courts under the Criminal Code, which only concerned small corruption by subordinate officials. From 1966 when it took over the government as a corrective regime, the military government's measures on corruption had consisted solely of declarations of assets, investigations and recovery of public property corruptly acquired. It was only in 1975 that the concern of military legislation on corruption was, by the Corrupt Practices Decree of that year, extended to punishment, but strangely enough the only corruption case tried under it before it was repealed in September 1979 was that involving some military police officers. The failure to control corruption effectively had thus rightly been attributed to the fact that corrupt political leaders were not being regularly prosecuted and punished. "There has not been one high public officer in the 23 years of our independence who has been made to face the music for official corruption."<sup>1</sup>

The enactment by the Buhari military government of stiff penal sanctions for corruption by public servants and their regular enforcement by special military tribunals must therefore be accounted a significant advance in the right direction. The governing Decree, the Recovery of public Property (Special Military Tribunals) Decree 1984, makes corruption, corrupt practices, other breaches of the Code of Conduct and the inflicting of economic adversity on the country by abuse of office criminal offences, punishable with imprisonment which may extend to a life term. By August 1985, 52 persons (14 former Governors, 2 former deputy Governors and 36 others) have been tried, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by the various special military tribunals under the Decree, and a total of N68.5 million and six landed properties have been ordered forfeited to the government following upon the

1. Chinnua Achebe, (*The Trouble with Nigeria*) 1983, p.42.

conviction. The hope was being slowly created that the trials and stiff punishments might, if continued for a sufficient length of time, establish an ethic of rectitude among our public servants.

That hope seems now dashed by the suspension of the trials since the overthrow of the Buhari regime and by the appointment of judicial panels to review the cases of those convicted by military tribunals or under investigation for corruption under the Decree. Both the suspension of the trials, and the judicial review of the convictions/sentences and of pending cases are a grave error. Again it is sad that our otherwise critical press have been silent on this, perhaps because they think the trials derogate from human rights.

Admittedly, the trial of criminal cases by a tribunal, is not a court strictly so-called, and worse still by a military tribunal, is bad and unjustified. Conviction of a person for a criminal offence carries a distinct "moral obliquity and social stigma." <sup>2</sup> It is an expression of society's disavowal of his conduct as a deliberate flouting of its values, a condemnation of him as unworthy of its membership. It brands him with an indelible stamp of someone unfit to be admitted into decent institutions or societies or to be trusted. And "to be branded an anti-social is half-way to being deemed an outlaw." <sup>1</sup> The imposition of punishment following upon a conviction carries the matter further, "by giving society's disesteem a tangible form in the way of some unwelcome incarceration, like imprisonment or death. It thus gives weight to society's verbal condemnation and disesteem of a person flouting its values.

To condemn and disgrace a person as a flouter of society's values and as one unworthy of its membership, and to punish him accordingly, imperatively requires that the process used must be such as guarantees the independence and impartiality of the tribunal and the other safeguards of a fair trial, such as the presumption of innocence, the requirement of proof beyond reasonable doubt, the rules of admissibility and inadmissibility of evidence, etc. This necessary to guard against as much as possible the possibility of an innocent person being convicted. The injustice of a false conviction and punishment is the worst injustice imaginable. Nothing outrages

1. J.R. Lucas, *on Justice* (1980), p. 138.

2. J.R. Lucas, *on Justice* (1980), p. 138

human feelings and depresses the spirit more than the false accusation of a criminal offence and the infliction of punishment on an innocent person for it.

Evidently, the kind of process best calculated to reduce to the barest minimum the chances of a false conviction and punishment is that in which the trial is conducted by independent, trained and experienced judges who are learned in the law and versed in the difficult art of sifting evidence and judging the demeanor of witnesses, and who have been reared in the tradition of civil liberty which insists, rightly, that it is better for nine guilty persons to go free than for one innocent man to be incarcerated. Clearly therefore conviction for a criminal offence and the infliction of punishment therefore, with their attendant moral obliquity, public disgrace, disabilities and unwelcome incarceration, does imperatively require the processes of the ordinary courts of law.

The proliferation by the Buhari regime of military tribunals and other special tribunals for the trial of all sorts of criminal cases is thus a grievous negation of justice and civil liberty, and deserves to be condemned. The appointment by the Babangida administration of judicial panels to review the decisions of these tribunals is in the best tradition of justice and civil liberty, and must be applauded.

Yet every rule must have an exception. The trial and punishment of corruption perpetrated by people entrusted with the administration of the government require to be judged by different considerations. The embezzlement of public money by rulers entrusted with its custody and management is an offence of a peculiarly political nature justifying trial by an extraordinary process.

I crave your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, to recall what I said on this issue in my Address at the Bar Association Annual Conference in 1984. I said: "Political corruption and abuse of power by government, with the economic adversity which they inflict on the country, are offences against the people directly, involving as they do a criminal betrayal of trust. They are not really offences against the state in its corporate capacity as government....They are treason, not against the state but against the people.

Every citizen, both old and young, is enlisted to feel personally cheated.....The trials must be seen therefore, not just as an ordinary trial, but as the trial of one government by another government for offences against the people. They must be seen as part of a revolutionary political process for the correction of the greatest social ill that afflicts our nation. The process must be in the control of the ruling government. They are a matter for the government to handle, using its own instrumentality which, in the case of a military government, should be a military tribunal."

"Nothing", I continued, "can be more political than the question whether the President of Nigeria, his Vice-President and ministers contributed, by abuse of office, to the economic adversity of the country. It raises precisely the same issue which both the Constitution Drafting committee (CDC) and the Constituent Assembly thought too political to be entrusted to the courts, namely whether the government has or has not fulfilled its duty under the Constitution to eradicate corruption and abuse of office [s.15(5)], and to secure public welfare by ensuring that the national economy is managed in a manner to secure 'the maximum welfare and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality'.....It is the very administration of government by the President, his Vice-President and ministers or by the state Governors, their Deputy Governors and commissioners that is implicated in the corruption and abuse of office of the type in question here. On trial before the military tribunals therefore is the Second Republic itself - its government and politics and its political leaders.

I cited in support of that position a case in which the court of Appeal of New York in 1983 held as political and not justiceable, a suit brought by the revolutionary regime in Iran., which overthrew the imperial government of the Shah in February 1979, to recover from him and his family vast amounts of assets alleged to have diverted from government funds or to have been acquired as bribes or other payments for the grant of government favours, contracts, licences, franchises, etc.<sup>1</sup> Declining jurisdiction to adjudicate, the Appeal Court observed that the suit was in reality one for "a review by the courts of this State of the exercise by the Shah of his powers

1. *Islamic republic of Iran V. Mobammed Pablavi & Anor*, 94 Appellate Div. Reports, 2nd series 374, June 30, 1983.

is absolute monarch of a great Nation over a period of a quarter of a century to determine whether and by how much the Shah and the Empress personally and improperly profited."2 This, said the Court, was a "political thicket", into which courts must not enter.3

I warned that judicial involvement in the trial of such cases is fraught with the risk of public opprobrium and disaffection in the event of the accused persons being acquitted, especially where the acquittal is on some procedural or other technical ground." The offences", I continued, "are too political and the risk of public opprobrium and disaffection too great for judges to be involved in their trial, whether as a court or as members of a special tribunal. They should be left completely out of it in the interest of the continued credibility of an institution that is indisputably regarded as indispensable for peace, order and the survival of the nation."

In the light of the foregoing, the error in the appointment of judicial panels to review the cases of those convicted of corruption by special military tribunals or under investigation can be appreciated. The error is fully attested by the public outcry and condemnation that followed the exoneration of former President Shehu Shagari and his Vice-President, Dr, Alex Ekwueme, by the Uwaifo review Panel on charges of corruption. Public indignation might have erupted into widespread rioting and other forms of social disturbances but for a timely statement by the government assuring the nation that the ruling was only a recommendation and that it dealt with the matter from a purely legal standpoint, leaving the Armed Forces Ruling council (AFRC) to take the final decision as a political matter. But if the final decision is to be a political one, why involve the judiciary at all? And why should government create such an explosive situation of social unrest for itself, with the risk of division among its members on whether or not to endorse the panel's ruling?

The point is not whether the decision of the review panel is right or wrong-it seems clearly right in the light of the narrow charges

2. *ibid* at p. 375

3. *ibid* at p. 376.

and the evidence before the panel -but rather whether the narrow legalism of the entire proceeding and the heavy legal logic of the judgement are compatible with the revolutionary purpose of punishing and eradicating political corruption - whether, apart from the political nature of corruption by government and its top functionaries and the danger of involving the judiciary in its trial, the process of the ordinary courts is really appropriate for the purpose. It is not a question merely of ensuring fair trial for the accused persons, which is not denied anyway, but whether the undoubted need for a fair trial demands in this kind of case the process of the ordinary courts, with its fondness for a narrow legalism, rigid formalism and technicalities.

The inappropriateness of the ordinary judicial process for this purpose is amply attested by the sort of arguments being urged by counsel upon the judicial review tribunals. Ingenious and persuasive as some of these arguments may be from the legal standpoint, the impression is now created in the public mind that the legal profession are helping to subvert the crusade against official corruption. Counsel no doubt has a duty to his client to marshal all possible arguments in his client's defence. Even so, it does not seem that the duty requires him to disregard the public interest in a matter as critical to the public as the buccaneering corruption committed by the governments of the Second Republic.

Kayode Soremekun's telling comments on the issue is typical of the many public reactions:-

"From the sophisticated submissions of our learned friends", he writes,

"it appears as if those who operated the levers of power between 1979 and 1983 were angels. Open any of our dailies, and what do you get? Invariably you will be regaled with stories of innocence on the part of our erstwhile political leaders (or dealers). And of course many of these have since come into their own again, and they are to be found pontificating on how the ship of state should be steered.

"In the process, the cynicism of the average citizen has undergone new dimensions. He now realises that a hiatus exists between crime and punishment as far as the political leadership is concerned. Indeed, as some would cheekily argue, no crime has been committed by anybody. And in this respect, the fugitives who fled the country must be regretting wherever they are now. Had they stayed, our smart friends would have since sprung them out of any post - 1983 incarceration.

"Evidently, it is a situation which engenders bitterness and apathy in the average citizen.....The dismal thing is that, if we walk towards 1990 and beyond with these pretensions of innocence, the contradictions will not be resolved along familiar lines. Afterall, as they usually say, when history repeats itself, the price is invariably pushed up. "1

I think that Soremekun's comment shows up the tragedy of the matter, and the legal profession cannot escape a measure of responsibility for it. For, the appointment of the judicial review panels reflect the demand of the Bar Association in 1984 that the tribunals for the punishment of political corruption should be chaired, not by military officers, but by judges, a demand which they backed up by boycotting the proceedings of the special military tribunals. The establishment of the panels might well therefore have been prompted by a desire on the part of the Babangida Administration to make good any short-comings in the proceedings or possible injustice resulting from the Bar Association's boycott, but, as I ventured to suggest in my 1984 Address referred to above, the boycott was altogether ill-advised and unnecessary.

Considering, therefore, the grave risk to the credibility of the judiciary and the entire legal profession, and the danger that the public might feel betrayed if the government should endorse the exoneration of the political functionaries by the judicial review panels, I think that, as regards corruption cases, the judicial review exercise should be abandoned forthwith, and the trials by the special military tribunals resumed.

The former President, his Vice-President and other detained political functionaries should not of course have been kept in

1. Kayode Soremekun, "1990 and the debris of 1983", *The Guardian*. Sunday March 30. 1986, p.9

detention without trial for so long. The unfairness of such detention is certainly not excused by the explanation that investigations have had to be this long protracted because of their complicated nature and their sheer volume; if investigations could not be completed after twenty months, the detainees should have been released on such conditions as will ensure that they will be available when required. Now that all the evidence of corruption which the government has against the former President and his Vice-President has been laid before a judicial panel and found not to establish a prima facie case sufficient to warrant putting them on trial for specific acts of corruption, their further detention has become all the more unjustified. They should be released.

Yet the exoneration of the former President for specific acts of corruption and his release from detention should not be the end of the matter. He should be tried before a special military tribunal for contributing to the economic adversity of the country through abuse of office which is a separate offence under the Decree. An abuse of power implies an act or omission which, though within power, is prompted by bad faith, fraud, corrupt or perverted motive, or by a purpose alien or irrelevant to that for which the power is given. It should also include "failure to act in the face of an affirmative duty to act", as where a President deliberately omits to take action to check mounting corruption within his administration. This definition immediately shows how wide is the scope of abuse of power in the sphere of government. For, since the purpose of government, as the Constitution solemnly proclaims, is the welfare of the people (s.14(2) (b)), any action of government which is inimical to the people's welfare, such as the oppression or victimisation of a section of the people, or which is based on corrupt or perverted motive, or is prompted by private or political rather than public purpose, may be said to be an abuse of power.

The trial of the former President on a charge of contributing to the economic adversity of the country through abuse of office will not be the ordinary trial of an individual for specific acts of corruption but rather the trial of a government for failing wilfully

Up to the duty imposed upon it by the Constitution to secure public welfare by ensuring that the national economy was managed in a manner to secure "the maximum welfare and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality". The former President was the embodiment of the government. Under the Constitution he was, to all intents and purposes, the executive government. Constitutionally he had, contrary to what the Uwaifo Review Panel said, the undivided and unshared responsibility for all executive actions of his administration. While he might assign functions to the Vice-President and ministers, the latter were, in the exercise of such functions, merely his delegates or assistants, and, as was said by the U. S. Supreme Court, "their official acts, promulgated in the regular course of business, are presumptively his acts".<sup>1</sup> What is said above about the former President should apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the state Governors.

The real trial under the Decree would not have commenced until such a charge is brought against the former President and state Governors. The entire administration of government by them is what the Decree requires should be impeached and tested before the special military tribunal. It is such a trial that the country is eagerly waiting for. It would be an epochal opportunity to show to the world and to document for our posterity how the 1979 Constitution was operated, or rather desecrated, by those entrusted with the governmental powers which it conferred. It would provide an abiding lesson for future leaders and for all of us.

No doubt the punishment of abuse of office as a criminal offence is something both novel and revolutionary in Nigeria even when it is restricted to one that contributed to the country's economic adversity. It is revolutionary because it involves punishing someone for an act or omission which, by definition, is not unlawful, not to say illegal. As earlier stated, an abuse of power implies an act or omission which is within power, not one that is outside or in excess of it. One cannot abuse a power one does not have. But an act done outside or in excess of power is illegal; it is an abuse of office (as distinct from power) only in a loose sense.

<sup>1</sup> *Runkle v. United States*, 122 U.S. 543, at p. 557 (1886), and the host of other cases there cited.

It follows therefore that the punishment of abuse of office is directed, not at the act or omission constituting it, but rather at the motive that prompted it. Herein lies the novelty and revolutionary character of the offence. For under our jurisprudence, motive by itself alone is not a sufficient ingredient for an offence if the act or omission done in pursuance of it is not unlawful or illegal.

However, when the military legislators, in their revolutionary wisdom, made it an offence to inflict economic adversity on the country through abuse of office, they must be taken to mean what they say. Nor is the punishment altogether unwarranted, given the context of the unprecedented corruption of the Second Republic and the havoc wrought on the country by means of it. It must be seen as a desperate remedy being applied to a desperate condition. It is a revolutionary treatment called forth by an extraordinary condition. The law must be respected and enforced while it remains on the statute book.

In reviving trials for corruption and abuse of office by special military tribunals, the governing Decree, the Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunals) Decree 1984, will of course need to be amended to remove its more objectionable features, such as the secrecy of the trials and the fact that a minimum imprisonment of 21 calendar years is prescribed for the tribunals.

But the jurisdiction of the special military tribunals should not continue to be restricted to corruption and abuse of office committed between October 1, 1979 and December 31, 1983. It should extend to corruption and abuse of office from the latter date right up to the time of the return to civil rule in 1990. Part of the reason for the ineffectiveness of the anti-corruption measures of the military government is the fact that they had concerned corruption committed by the members or during the time of the government displaced by it, but not corruption by its own members or during its own rule. The most classic illustration of this is provided by the nine-year administration of General Gowon from July 1966 to July 1975. As early as 1968 in his long rule, he enacted the basic legislation on the matter, the Investigation of Assets (Public Officers and Other Persons) Decree, which instituted a machinery for the declaration of assets, their investigation, and the forfeiture of those found, after investigation,

to have been corruptly acquired, but apart from investigations into and forfeiture of assets of some of the ousted civilian rulers of the First Republic, the machinery was not invoked against any member of his government or against any act of corruption committed during his rule. It was not of course that his rule was corruption free. On the contrary, it was riddled with it, as investigations after his overthrow confirmed.

Gowon was simply not willing to invoke the machinery of his own Decree against members of his administration. And when allegations of corruption were publicly made against some State Military Governors and federal ministers, he not only defended and absolved them, but also threatened to use the resources of the State to protect his officials from such accusations, which he in fact did by clamping the accusers into jail. It was not until after his overthrow in July 1975 that investigations were instituted into assets of some of the public functionaries of his administration. The Report of the Federal Assets Investigation Panel found all of Gowon's Military Governors except two to have been guilty of corruption. They were accordingly dismissed from the armed forces and the police with ignominy, and all their assets found to have been corruptly acquired were forfeited to the government. Thirteen other public functionaries were also found guilty, and had their assets similarly forfeited. Of the former Military Governor of Benue-Plateau State, Police Commissioner J. D. Gomalk, one of those publicly accused but exonerated by General Gowon, the Belgore Commission of Inquiry into Aspects of the Administration of the State (1975) had said that, in his unbridled corruption, he was just like "a common criminal with hardly anybody to challenge him".

Apart from invoking the 1968 Decree on members of Gowon's administration (state Military Governors and ministers), the public service was also in the same year (1975) purged of those of its members believed, often on mere unverified allegation and without an opportunity to be heard, to have been involved in corruption during the time of that administration. At the same time, stiffer legislation on corruption was enacted - the Corrupt Practices Decree 1975 and the Public Officers (Special Provisions) Decree 1976. However, no investigation was instituted into corruption

committed by any member of the Mohammed/Obasanjo administration or by anyone else during its 4<sup>1/2</sup> years' rule. While the administration dealt severely with corruption committed during the previous administration (other than corruption that might have been committed by its own members during that administration), corruption in the present was left undisturbed and so continued unabated, aided no doubt by the assassination in February 1976 of General Mohammed, the moving revolutionary spirit behind the clean-up operation. With his demise, his awe-inspiring anti-corruption measure, the Corrupt Practices Decree 1975, was allowed to fall into disuse from lack of enforcement, and remained so until it was formally repealed in 1979.

Since the Mohammed/Obasanjo administration and the public service under it were not probed by the succeeding civilian administration, the extent of corruption during its rule has not been publicly exposed, but its prevalence cannot and has never been doubted. And if corruption continued in the face of enforcement actions under the stiff corrective measures, it might have been expected to flourish, as it in fact did, when the corrective force was removed in October 1979 on the return to civilian rule.

The Buhari military government had again busted itself with the investigation and punishment of corruption committed under the ousted civilian government of the Second Republic and the recovery of assets corruptly acquired by the members and officials of that government. The investigations into past corruption and its punishment by long prison sentences as well as the recovery of assets so acquired may be expected to propel many public servants to the path of rectitude, yet its impact appears not to have been significant enough, as corruption was still very rampant indeed. In its pre-occupation with the past, the Administration did pretty little, if anything, to enforce its stiff, punitive anti-corruption legislation against current corrupt practices, which were thus again allowed to continue unpunished and unredressed, unless a succeeding government should in future decide to focus the searchlights on them. And so the rot continued, eating deeper and deeper as we gravitate from one bungling government to another.

So far an a tribal, selfless, honest and charismatic leadership has eluded this country. The politicians have proved themselves utterly incapable of it. For them the tribe was the base for political activity and tribal sentiment the focus of appeal, which inevitably disabled them from rising above tribal interests and pressures in the administration of government. The result was that the federal government came to be regarded as one huge cake, already baked, which it was the duty of a political leader to secure for his tribe as large a share as possible. Every question, whether it be the award of scholarships or contracts, appointments in the federal public service, economic development or the siting of industrial projects, was viewed from the standpoint of tribal advantage, and support or opposition to it depended upon whether or not it advanced the interest of one's tribe. Coupled with this was the materialistic approach to politics, the overriding desire to amass wealth from it by fair or foul means.

The overthrow of the politicians by the military, it was thought, would presage the overthrow of tribalism and corruption in the administration of government. Here is a group which does not owe to tribal support the state power invested in it, a group characterised by organisational cohesiveness, a marked corporate spirit, by a distinctly Nigerian outlook on the country's problems and whose high standard of discipline, infused in its members by their training, unified command system, secluded barracks life and their role as protectors of the nation's integrity, is supposed to immune them from tribal pressures and the somewhat base feeling of tribal interest.

Our hope that the military will overthrow tribalism and corruption in government has not materialised. It has proved indeed to be a misplaced expectation. Their intervention in the government and politics of the country, which has exposed them to the demands and pressures of ethnic interests, has shown them to be no more cohesive and no less tribalistic than other groups in the country when it comes to politics and the administration of the state. The initial intervention through the coup of January 1966, while nationalistic in conception, got distorted in execution by tribal considerations. Tribal considerations have also intruded into their actual performance

as a government. As Claude Ake observed, "just as soon as the military intervened in politics, politics intervened in the military and to all appearances, overwhelmed it. The upshot of all this is that the military has become saddled with the contradictions of Nigerian politics without changing it".<sup>1</sup>

The involvement of the military in government has certainly robbed them of any capacity which they might have had to serve as an integrative force in the society. Like the leaders of the nationalist governments before, military officers in government have become, wittingly or unwittingly, identified with the interests of their respective ethnic or religious groups, and have acted as champions of those interests. In the process, the national interests, its need for unity and stability, gets relegated. It is really something of an irony that the very military people that proscribed tribal associations for their role in sponsoring and promoting ethnic and religious interests and conflicts in the political days, should, without the prompting of the tribal associations, have fallen easy victims to the very same ethnic and religious interests.

The leader of a social revolution should, in the second place, be a kind of "philosopher-king", with a good understanding of human nature, a commitment to an ideology and an ability to infuse a similar commitment into the entire citizenry. "From the lowest members to the highest", Nkrumah once told his followers, "we must arm ourselves ideologically".<sup>2</sup> We have had in this country no philosopher-rulers like Nkwame Nkrumah of Ghana with his "Consciencism", Julius Nyerere of Tanzania with his "Ujamaism", Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia with his "Humanism" or Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya with his "African Socialism", not to talk of Lenin of Russia and Mao of China with their Communism. Some of our rulers have even disdained

1. C. Ake, *The Political Question*, *New Nigerian*, March 22, 1986, p. 7
2. *Evening News*, Accra, 14 June 1959, Address by Nkrumah.

ideology, forgetting that ideology is "a fundamental of politics", "a guiding, supporting and restraining factor in the political behaviour of individuals, groups and nations".<sup>3</sup> In this, they are like Kamuzu Banda of Malawi. "All these grey-haired professors or bald-headed professors at the University", he once exclaimed, "making all this mysterious lingo, Socrates, Demosthenes, Solon, Edmund Burke and Rousseau, and all that. Talk about democracy, socialism, African socialism. What is African socialism? It makes me sick".<sup>4</sup>

The lack of ideological commitment on the part of our rulers perhaps accounts for the failure by any government in the country to initiate and implement a thorough-going welfarist/egalitarian programme. In a society stratified by sharp disparities in wealth and living standards, an ethic of disciplined and principled behaviour can hardly be nurtured among the people without a national commitment to a welfarist/egalitarian ideology, which seeks to re-distribute the nation's wealth equitably among its citizens. Not much patriotism or nationalistic feeling can really be expected from a person who derives no benefits from government apart from law and order, neither water nor electricity nor housing nor even good road. He cannot reasonably be expected to identify with a government which he feels does not exist for his welfare. An unemployed or starving man naturally feels disillusioned and disaffected towards a society that appears not to care for him. Not much disciplined behaviour can be expected from him either.

A revolution in values in Nigeria requires, in the third place, a leadership with revolutionary ideas and a zest for action to implement them. Without a revolutionary conviction and zeal on the part of the leadership, an ethical and social revolution is impossible of attainment. Again both the civilian and military rulers have proved incapable of this kind of leadership.

3. *Christenson et al, Ideologies and Modern Politics, Thomas Nelson, London 1972, p. 3.*
4. *Parl Debate, April 1966, p. 563 (Malawi)*

A civilian ruler operating under a democratic Constitution has undoubtedly a restricted scope for revolutionary leadership because of the constitutional limitations and restraints on his freedom of action. The fact remains, however, that neither the Prime Minister of the First Republic, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, nor the President of the Second Republic, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, had the stomach for radical social change, both being of a distinctly conservative disposition, inclined towards the preservation of the *status quo*. Not even the injunction of the Constitution embodied in a Code of Conduct for public officers and the Directive Principles of State Policy would move the latter to revolutionary action. His feeble and belated call for an ethical revolution was not matched by action, which only betrayed his lack of conviction for such a revolution.

Much the same lack of radicalism has characterised the military government, with only one exception, none of the military rulers can be said to have been fired by a revolutionary ardour. Major Chukwuma Nzeogu, the leader of the first military coup in January 1966, seemed to have been a revolutionary, who was inspired by a vision of Nigeria as a country with a potential for greatness and prosperity, and by a revolutionary ideal that transcended tribal, religious and class barriers. But the government was handed over to a man who had no thought at all on the matter and, what is worse, was utterly incapable of revolutionary leadership, a soldier with limited formal education who had risen from the ranks to become the head of the country's armed forces, a naive, simple-minded but affable man whose perception of the infinite intricacy of the problems of governing the social conglomerate called Nigeria was very limited indeed.

The counter-coup of July 1966 which overthrew General Ironsi was not a revolutionary affair at all, but a purely tribal one. It was tribal not only in motivation and execution but also in the way the government established thereby was administered. Lt-Col. Gowon (as he then was), who emerged as the head of that government, was no revolutionary at all, but simply another simple-minded, affable man. Though not as limited in his vision as Ironsi was, his perception of government and how to manage affluence was nonetheless thoroughly inadequate. The unexpected and

unaccustomed affluence which came with the oil boom simply overwhelmed him, and induced in him a prodigality and irresponsibility in spending that negated all the caution and austere calculations which the government's professed revolutionary and corrective mission dictated.

Gowon's inadequacies and failures did, happily, provoke a genuine inclination and mood for revolutionary change which came in July 1975, led by a man appropriately inspired by a revolutionary fervour to clear the mess and to right things. Whatever he might have been, said or done before, Brigadier Murtala Mohammed (as he then was) was filled with a new revolutionary zeal, born out of the decadence, indiscipline, irresponsibility and lack of a sense of purpose and direction which nine years of rule by General Gowon had inflicted upon the country. "Matters", declared the Brigadier, on taking over control, "could not, and should not, be allowed to continue in this manner".<sup>1</sup> The "drift and chaos" had simply to be arrested and extirpated. And he set out to do just that, with a revolutionary fervour never before seen in this country.<sup>1</sup> And things were in fact beginning to change when suddenly he was cut down and silenced by the assassin's bullet. His success was due not only to his revolutionary fervour, but also to his flair for action, his "populist style of power without pomposity", his sincerity of purpose, his atribal stance, his mysticism and his charismatic personality - a rare combination of qualities that earned him widespread acceptance and followership throughout the country.

Without Mohammed's moving spirit, the new revolutionary fire flickered out. The changes in social attitudes and practices effected by him - the replacement of corrupt motive by objectivity in the award of contracts, reduction in the incidence of corruption generally, punctuality to the office, greater attention to work and less to private business, general improvement in the performance of

1. M. R. Mohammed, "Drift and Chaos Arrested", *First Broadcast to the Nation by Head of Fed. Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, (1975) p. 6.*

official duties, a greater sense of nationalism and patriotism, and a greater willingness to observe the laws of the state regulating various aspects of social life - did not last much beyond his exit. The drift and chaos of the Gowon era were not of course allowed to return. The government continued to show a sense of purpose and direction in its conduct of affairs, yet without the revolutionary ardour epitomised in the personality and leadership style of Murtala Mohammed, the hoped-for social transformation remained as remote and elusive as ever before.

General Olusegun Obasanjo, Mohammed's successor, is undoubtedly a brilliant man, with an incisive mind and a good perception of the country's problems and of world affairs, but he lacked his predecessor's revolutionary ardour, his mystique and charisma, his dominating and awe-inspiring personality, and above all, his ability to inspire others with his revolutionary zeal. He was also disadvantaged by reason of not being from a favoured group, which meant he had to move wearily and even timidly on many issues. It is really doubtful whether a Nigerian, however well-intentioned and however good his credentials, who is not from a favoured group, has a chance of leading this country into a social revolution. Every revolutionary step of his would be misunderstood, giving rise to accusations, insinuations and condemnations.

In the purge of the public service, the punishment of corruption and abuse of office and the War Against Indiscipline which they mounted, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime did evince an inclination for revolutionary action, much in the fashion of Murtala Mohammed, though without his revolutionary ardour. However, their record in this regard was somewhat tainted by a seeming lack of the courage of their conviction to enforce their anti-corruption and abuse of office measure against the former civilian President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, from whom they seized power on December 31, 1983. Moreover, the revolutionary achievement of the regime was

1. Cf Dent, *op. cit.*, who maintains that Mohammed's regime kept on the edge of the corrective and never quite went over into the revolutionary, but he was using revolutionary in the restricted sense of changes in the fabric or fundamentals of society.

all but marred by their autocratic and repressive style of rule, which thoroughly discredited it with the public.

As for the Babangida administration, its suspension of the War Against Indiscipline and the appointment of judicial panels to review the cases of those convicted or detained under the Recovery of Public Property Decree 1984 are hardly the act of a regime imbued with an inclination, not to say fervour, for an ethical and social revolution. And yet President Babangida faces a challenge in this matter, for we cannot afford not to start the revolution before the return to civil rule in 1990. He has therefore a historic duty to respond to the people's yearning for someone to lead them out of their present moral degeneracy.

Such has been the misfortune of this country in its rulers. We should pray God to give us an aribal, selfless, honest, incorruptible, charismatic, ideologically committed and revolutionary leader. For in him lies our salvation and hope of realising our desire to become a disciplined nation. He is the central pillar of the foundation for a viable political order.

Thank you, distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, for your attention.

# Acknowledgement

The writer's first book in the series was written in make-shift response to a compelling urge to accomplish a national duty in the face and in defiance of subtle, powerful obstruction, as the text has established in this second book. In that effort, not only did he receive profound inspiration and encouragement from devout religious people, but several distinguished patriots gave a helping hand, especially when they realised that as many as 10,000 hardcover copies went to the political leadership of the time for distribution to federal and state functionaries to prepare them for the proposed formal launching of an ethical reorientation programme.\*1

They included Ezeogo Elder (Dr.) Akanu Ibiyam, who as the chief launcher of the book on 29 November, 1982 donated N1,000 towards the cost of its production. Another was chief Michael Ibru, who had earlier received an autographed copy from the Ex-President. Upon learning later of such personal sacrifice of the writer, in addition to being the author of the ethical revolution idea, he donated N5,000 towards reducing the bank loan used to pay for the book. And the other, surprisingly, was Alhaji Abdu Abubakar, a man previously unknown to the writer, who, while visiting in the State House, learnt of the donation of the 10,000 copies at the writer's expense for distribution in this way, consequently volunteered to assist in financing its production and later gave a donation of N30,000 to reduce the bank loan.

\*1 *This 10,000 copies allocation was instead sold to the public secretly during 1983 at prices of N20 to N25 each by NPN secretariat personnel, rather than be distributed to National Assemblymen and Ministers, and their state counterparts, as was requested by the author at the time he gave out the books.*

Nor must one lose sight of the part played by the Union Bank of Nigeria Limited in agreeing to provide a supplementary loan to help finance the printing and importation of the book without insisting on a specific security but agreeing to recover the loan from the sale of the balance of the print, and keeping to that agreement in all good faith. That book was the rushed product of a desire for national service, which it has rendered ultimately.

This other book has been written with a religious charity in mind from the outset, to requite the great and divine inspiration that fueled the writer's energy to continue, despite many problems and set-backs in the effort. The net proceeds of the book will therefore go substantially to support charitable causes, which will be announced at the appropriate time in due course, when this book is published.

My special gratitude goes to the Very Reverend (Dr.) I. O. A. Ude, Moderator of the Lagos Presbyterian Church, who stood behind me spiritually all the way in this drive to influence our fatherland in the ethical direction. He always had a comforting and convincing Biblical explanation of God's purpose in every conceivable set-back that faced me in the effort. Also, my love and prayers go in appreciation to my eldest daughter, Soporuchi, who sacrificed her short vacation from England to read over the manuscript carefully, making very valuable suggestions and corrections to this book; and, in no less measure, to my teenage daughters, Udobaku and Chinyere, who spent part of their August, 1983 holidays to create a cartoon in support of the text in chapter 5 - Family In Nation Building.

Nor can I ever forget to extend my gratitude and prayers to my Secretary, Lawrence Chuks Nwaosuagwu, for his personal dedication, sacrifices and interest in the production of this book. His zeal to retype the whole manuscript a second time over, when the first draft he typed was lost on its journey between Holland and Nigeria, is matched only by the unseen force which moved my former Secretary, Benjamin Etakibuebu, to type the manuscript of the first book in record time in 1982. The faith of these two young christians in the rightness of the cause I have pursued in this regard and their dedication to assist my campaign to succeed for the sake of Nigeria are an indelible evidence of their nationalism and

patriotism - a glaring tribute to their honest resolve to obey Nigeria's call any day.

And last but by no means the least, my dear wife, Otonahu, shares equal credit with me for successfully completing this book. Her identical stance with me in ethical matters has been the most outstanding factor in her invaluable contributions - contributions which include severe personal sacrifices, loving care during my writing sessions and particularly her assistance to locate swiftly any misplaced notes and reference papers, which earned her the unsalaried job title of Documentary Officer. The peace and lavish care that accrue from having her around made writing a joyful task indeed. Is it any wonder that I am threatening to write more books in future? God bless her.

Mazi Kanu Oji.

## About The Author



MAZI KANU OJI, nick-named Aggrey in his early school days, was born at Arochuku, Abia State, where he received his elementary education before he went to Hope Waddell Training Institution, Calabar for secondary education. He studied law at the University of London and the English Council of Legal Education and holds the LLB degree of the University of London. He later studied at the New York University Graduate School of Business

Administration with Ford Foundation Fellowship for a master's degree programme. He obtained the MBA degree with concentration in Accounting, Finance and Operations Research.

His civil service experience began soon after a brief teaching career at the Lagos City College, when he joined the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1955. He later transferred to the Foreign Service in 1960, serving as Economic Officer in London, 1960-61, and as Commercial consul in New York, 1962-67. He left the public service in January 1968 in the USA and later took to banking in New York City with Bankers Trust Company, where before he resigned to return home he headed up the Africa sub-division of the International Banking Department.

He returned to Nigeria in 1974 and went into private business. He soon discovered that the pre-independence efficiency and honest dedication to duty he knew in the Civil Service and the economy at large had virtually vanished during his long sojourn overseas.

A martinet for general discipline, punctuality and moral rectitude, who was once sued in 1967 for refusing to implement and participate in a kick-back, he has remained extremely restive ever

since his return about the Nigerian ethical decay and cannot understand why he will not get instant service as a businessman from public functionaries without corrupt expectations of him by them, the way he gave such services when, for example, he was Import and Export Licensing Authority of the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry before joining the Foreign Service.

His campaign against ethical decay in the country began almost as soon as he settled down on return from the USA, as some of his writings will confirm.

Mazi Kanu Oji is a Ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria. He must have been influenced substantially by his strong religious back-ground as a third generation Presbyterian, quite apart from the credit he himself gave to his parents for their puritanic discipline by dedicating his first book to them in appreciation of their strong moral influence on him. And, ofcourse, no home bred of old can ever forget that nw' Aro icho, nkpola icho\*.

\* Aro man is one thing, money is quite another.

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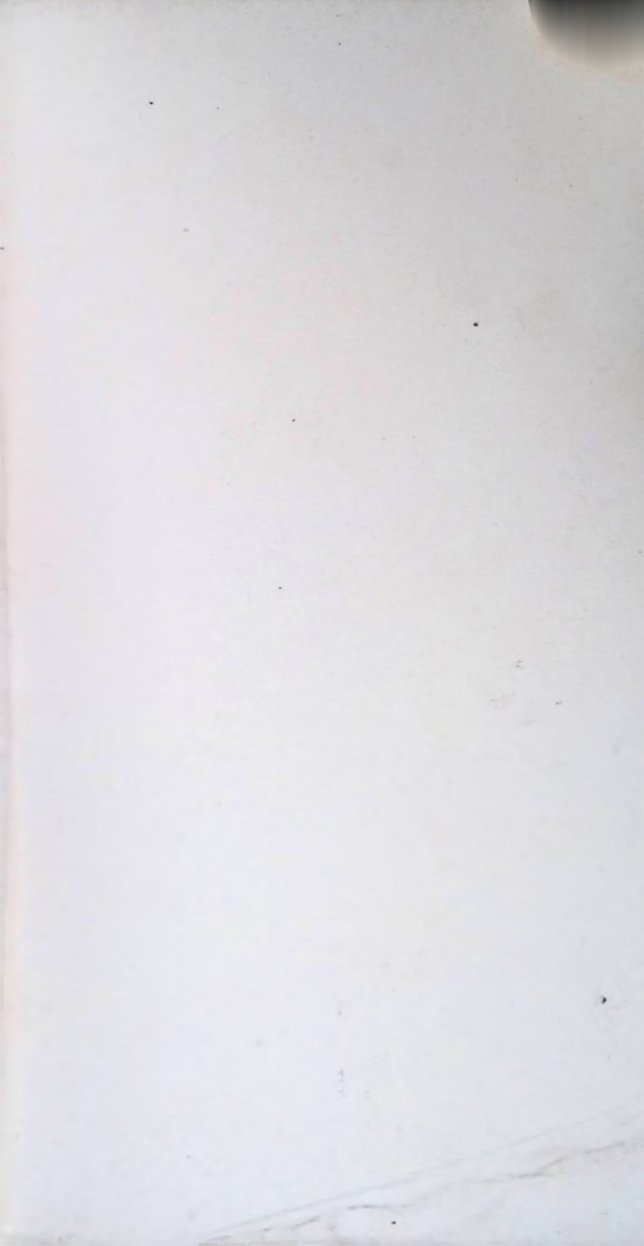
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Other works by the author in the Ethical Revolution series include

The Nigerian Ethical Revolution 1981-2000 AD: Selected Source Documents, published in November, 1982;

SAP And The Nigerian Ethical Drive, to follow very soon;

The Nigerian "Middleman", expected in the market in late 1994;

Nigeria's Men of Excellence, to be published in volumes, the first volume appearing in November, 1996.

Whereas the author's first book quoted above is largely a collection of source documents which he used to convince the powers that be to do something specific about ethical decay in Nigeria, this book is one comprehensive analysis of the issues encompassed in the Nigerian ethical revolution. It traces and analyses such issues dispassionately from the earliest days of the makings of Nigeria as a nation state; and analyses the nature of the problems engendered and the challenge which such problems pose to Nigerians of the present generation. To meet this challenge several implications on methodology are raised and tools to tackle the challenge are evaluated. At the end an acceptable approach is recommended. The Action Phase, which set in on new year's day 1984, is detailed and studied analytically, including a philosophical prognosis for the National Consciousness and Mobilisation crusade, christened War Against Indiscipline - WAI, which was launched on 20 March, 1984. Meanwhile, a SAP Phase supervened in August 1985 to start a total restructuring of the political, economic and social circumstances of Nigeria and in a way, put the Action Phase on hold, sort of, till perhaps the Third Republic picks it up in the restructured, enabling environment.



**Mazi Kanu Oji**