

**THE
LEADERSHIP**

WE

WANT

BY

RT. HON. DR. PRINCE A. A. NWAFOR ORIZU

THE LEADERSHIP

WE WANT

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Dedicated to
the late Chief Justice
Justice Ojukwu

Chapter 1 - The Leadership We Want

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WE WANT

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The Rt. Hon. Dr. Prince Akwaeke Abyssinia Nwafor Orizu was a President of the Nigerian Senate during the First Republic and later the Acting President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who handed over power to the first military government in Nigeria after the January 15, 1966 coup d'etat. He was a Chancellor of the University of Jos, Nigeria. He is a Columbia University Scholar and Global Patron of the famous International House, New York, USA.

Author of:
Horizontal Education (1943)
Without Bitterness (1944)
Give Me A Black Man (1981)
Education & Moral Excellence (1983)
Insight Into Nigeria (1983)
Man's Unconquerable Mind (1986)
Africa Speaks (1990)

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Among these are those who consciously and unconsciously discouraged everything anti Nigerianity and in some cases helped to discourage the tendency of disintegration. They made fun of arch regionalists and contributed immensely and consistently to the promotion of brotherhood, peaceful co-existence which all Nigerians enjoy today and for which this book is written. Some of them are those whom my contact with then and now encouraged me in believing that Nigerian leadership must be such persons that believe in everything I said in my speech at Emy Cinema Hall in 1959.

CHAPTER ONE

MY PROPHECY — THE FULFILMENT

The central purpose of this book is to introduce with vivid clarity my prophecy of 1959 and its unparalleled fulfilment in Nigerian political history. With all humility, I must confess that this prophecy and its fulfilment do not seem to be universally understood or even acknowledged either by Nigerian leadership or by its followership. Perhaps quite unconsciously, its place in Nigerian history has not been properly promulgated through the media, earlier or at this time of trenchant, fearless, highly intellectualized and patriotic journalism in this forward-looking nation blessed with God-given leadership in Africa. I must state most seriously that unless the lessons of this prophecy and its fulfilment are known and acknowledged nationwide today and tomorrow, the future of Nigeria and its leadership is in great danger because history may repeat itself.

On February 22, 1959, I delivered a speech before a large audience at Emy Cinema Hall, Aba, therein, I prophesied about Nigeria's future by saying: **"With Independence may come a fundamental threat to the authority of the new Governments of the centre and of the regions. Some die hards may attempt a coup d'état and others may try to invoke a civil war."** I did not stop. I further said, that at that critical moment, "there must be a George Washington to symbolize Federalism in Nigeria, and if disunity continues, an Abraham Lincoln must be born to remove for ever the threat of secession in the nation. That is the leadership we want."

My countrymen, is it not true that these things occurred — Coup d'état, secession and civil war? They took place exactly 6 years after I warned this country to expect them. It is most ironical indeed that the coup d'état took place when I, myself, who predicted the events, was at the head of the nation. Now let us recount. I said that there was going to be a George Washington. There was a Washington with his colleagues, who, "presided over the liquidation of the British Empire" in Nigeria on October 1, 1960. As the nation was about to settle down to enjoy the fruits of freedom from colonial power, the trumpet of disaster sounded in the early morning of January 15, 1966. With this came secession, followed by civil war. Is it not true? Then Abraham Lincoln and his team who symbolized federalism, annulled coup d'état, contained civil war, crushed and banished secession.

The absent mindedness of the leadership and the media in Nigeria in acknowledging the historic and symbolic connection between this prophecy of 1959 and its exact fulfilment between 1960 and 1970, has been regretted by informed minds who hitherto have addressed me accordingly. One of them

Brigadier Mobalaji Johnson (Rtd)¹ the first Military Governor of Lagos State, in his letter dated 13th May, 1971, wrote: **"I have read over your speech 'The Leadership We Want' twice at various times and each time I read it, each time I felt more convinced that we all along had some prophets in the leadership of our nation but unfortunately, very few were prepared to take any cognisance of their prophecies."**

The basis of my speech at Aba was informed by my knowledge in 1957 – 1959 that the nation was no more heading to one nation indivisible. There was a heated battle for regional independence, each region fighting assiduously to break away from mother Nigeria. The interest in national unity appeared to be petering away from the minds of political philosophers. I immediately saw a country heading towards independence under disunited groups. And as I wrote in my book "Insight Into Nigeria," "as from October 1, 1960, Nigeria travelled the road of National Sovereignty, without national control, without national unity, without central leadership, without collective resolution and without clear-cut majority rule." It was the possibility of this development that I clearly saw in 1959 which made me to conclude that the only house of refuge for Nigerian sovereignty was emergence of leadership with God-given integrity to mobilize and canalize the rivers of Nigerian nationhood to flow into a collective channel to make us one nation indivisible.

At that time, every region was in the mood of disaffiliation. It was then that some members of a region seriously preparing for regional independence proposed that each region should be granted power to establish separate police and army units, free from central control. Another tried to organize secretly a group of scientists who would establish a camouflaged fertilizer plant while bombs would be manufactured there with which to fight for regional independence. These developments came to my notice and indeed I played a part in diffusing these two proposals in order that the name of great Nigeria shall not perish in history. I was also aware of appointments already made in-camera of the leader who will be the head of that regional police and army. These plans were being made between 1952 and 1960. I am only saying this in passing to let my countrymen know that planners to disorganize Nigeria had already started their perilous conspiracy against Nigeria's nationhood before the bullets of Nzeogwu left their harzadous guns. These plans had been nurtured over a decade ever before our first Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie Eboh, Premier of the North, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Premier of Western Region, Chief S. L. Akintola

1. Governor Johnson was one of the very few governors who was not found guilty of any wrong doing throughout his tenure.

were silenced. Then followed the Aguiyi Ironsi/Fajui tragedy. Ironsi used his position to courageously contain that first attempt on coup d'état in Nigeria. I am not quite sure that Nzeogwu knew that he was opening a gateway for conspirators with a different political agenda to revive their many years of dream by plunging the whole country into irretrievable catastrophe. But according to my prophecy, the George Washington and the Lincolns appeared and after 30 tragic months, gave Nigeria back to the world as a Federal Republic.

On January 12, 1970, our Garibaldi, headed by the Lincoln, General Yakubu Gowon, had fought against disunity and won. Then as the Nigerian Lincoln, he proclaimed "NO VICTOR NO VANQUISHED" which is equivalent to "with malice toward none . . ." of Abraham Lincoln. Gowon made me the proudest man on earth on the day of this declaration. I had said that there was going to come a Garibaldi and a Lincoln. Gowon who will remain one of the greatest of all leaders in African history, answered this call. This first Lincoln broke the three regions into twelve states. There, true federalism took its first real root in Nigeria. The second Lincoln, General Murtala Mohamed increased twelve states to nineteen states. Thence the root of Federalism penetrated deeper. He paid the price of all the greats in the hands of Dimka, just as Lincoln did in the hands of Booth. The third Lincoln, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida increased nineteen states to twenty-one and federalism continued to loom large – deeper in the ground and higher in the air. The same third Lincoln later increased twenty-one states to thirty states and a Federal Capital Territory. With this, federalism has become Nigeria. The power of the central government has grown in appropriate magnitude which has rendered any regional god impotent in any attempt to challenge the federal authority of one nation indivisible. That was my own feelings which I stated when I was handing over power to the military in 1966. There and then, I insisted on the inclusion of the breaking of regions and creation of states as one of the major things the military will do after they have taken over.

I am happy that once again a united Nigeria is playing its preordained role among the nations of Africa and the entire black race. She has helped to bring peace here and there on the African Continent: giving a helping hand to freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa; leading the army of internal peace in Congo, Liberia and Sudan and defending African interests in the United Nations; co-operating with neighbouring countries in regional and continental economic programmes; giving every possible co-operation and encouragement to promote the tenets of the Organization of African Unity.

It is the text of that speech in 1959, that I am bringing forth at this juncture of our entering into the Third Republic — for the benefit of all

aspiring leaders who should read the speech carefully and find out whether or not they have the qualifications of leadership as therein described. Their consciences ought to tell them whether or not they are qualified spiritually and emotionally, psychologically and intellectually to rule a nation which carries the lamp of destiny for a Continent. To Nigerians, the book will constitute a reference note from which to judge the qualities of aspiring leaders. I have not re-edited the text at all; rather I am publishing it in its original form.

There is a note of warning, however. If the future leaders of the third and subsequent republics do not marry Nigeria with love and service, with loyalty and devotion, with vision and altruism, with circumspection and critical assessment of values and persons, the calamity of 1966 which I prophesied will rain on the leaders and the led with greater magnitude of catastrophe which will shake the African Continent. This is my new prophecy.

Chapter three of this book has carefully selected some more critical and poignant issues which any aspiring leader in Nigeria must take one by one and tell the nation with open frankness, free from euphemism and ambiguity, his candid position and a concrete programme with which to attain that position.

CHAPTER TWO

NIGERIANITY

"THE LEADERSHIP WE WANT"

Speech made by Dr A. A. Nwafor Orizu,

At Emy Cinema Hall, Aba,

On February 22, 1959.

My Countrymen:

It has always been a matter for argument, whether man makes history or history makes man. That argument needs not take our time here. But we may note the obvious verdict, that strong personalities make a different acquaintance with the social order of their own time.

Social order itself could be a determinant in the formation of character and the stuff of which a leader is made. But it is undeniable that the emergence of certain persons at certain times do make a difference in the history of man on earth. Think of Charles Darwin and the effect of his thinking in human history. Think of Julius Caesar and the Roman Empire. Imagine what the world of India would have been without a Gandhi. Consider the great volcanic upheavals that have attended the world since the writings of Karl Marx. Go back to the Hellenic World and tell me what would have been the barbaric state of man in his thought-process were there no Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. Imagine how decisive in history was the life of Christ – a young martyr who turned a B.C. into an A.D. Churchill made England a different country from what Chamberlain would have made it. Sun Yat Sen met China a monarchy and left it a republic before another personality turned it into a communist state. The catalogue is endless. My submission is that essentially, man makes history, but if history ever makes man, then it is the history that man has made makes man. History, uninitiated by man, can never make itself. The made cannot make the maker.

Our discussion this afternoon is based on the belief that like in other countries of the world, like among the other races of mankind, the Nigerian society is being molded by leaders; its future is to be measured by the character and calibre of its leaders. This idea accepted, we then have a job – a necessary job – to find out the qualities we in Nigeria expect to find in our leaders.

Leadership is a universal phenomenon. The qualities which go to make

a good leader are essentially the same everywhere with inevitable variations based on cultural and traditional differences. What we shall seek in the Nigerian leadership are universal qualities recognized and accepted everywhere, particularly in democratic societies. In doing so we shall bear in mind the peculiarities of the Nigerian Society.

Whenever we talk of leadership let us not think that we are referring to political leadership exclusively. Political Leadership is only one aspect of leadership. There may be religious leadership, labour union leadership, economic leadership, educational leadership, leadership in scientific research, in Engineering adventures, in literary realm, or in any exploratory field. All told, these various types of leaders have in one way or another, a common background in their general activities. The sum total of national leadership is therefore a combination of all.

The leadership of a free and independent Nigeria must address itself to specific essentials. Some old tactics must be revised. New approaches must be discovered to meet the demands of a new, turbulent and romantic nation. We now have a need for different political phrases and ideological convictions to match the urgencies and drift of our contemporary society. The nation has changed. The change is final. Both the leadership and the followership in it will either change or perish. Some decades ago, Nigeria was in need of prophets of exile, today we need prophets of unity whose sole function is "Unification of Nigeria." With a Mazzini theorizing on Nigerian redemption, there must come a Garibaldi to personify unity. With Patrick Henry demanding the forceful exit of imperialism while clinging to regionalism, there must be a George Washington to symbolize federalism in Nigeria, and if disunity continues, an Abraham Lincoln must be born to remove for ever the threat of secession in the nation. That is the leadership we want.

Nigeria has overgrown that stage when we were content with the words of mouth alone. We now expect a new trend of practical politics to be displayed by creative leadership with unshakable determination to command unity. Not all types of leadership have pre-requisite endurance for the job. Only leadership with pioneer tradition can face and proclaim the unpalatable truth. The truth is that the days of principalities and provincialisms are gone. To continue to play on the fears of tribes and families and hamlets is to ignore immense expanse of Nigeria's destiny in the scheme of the world. It is a sham heroism to cling to the dead languages of our forefathers whose obvious mistakes have taken tolls of our lives and deprived us of honour among the families of nations.

The new leadership must be independent. They must be men born genuine. Genuineness implies absolute independence which does not bow to artificial conventions of society. They must be down-to-earth pioneers with

prophetic insight whose gaze is above petty things and momentary ovations. The long-term destiny of Nigeria will conquer in them any desire to consider personal sacrifices involved in the fight for unity. They must be capable, if necessary, to incur the hatred of their own tribes or regions in order to uphold the principle of the "Unification of Nigeria." Their only reward is the knowledge that they are fighting for a great cause in the manner which the by-gone pioneers of national unity had fought. They are assured that any postponement of immediate personal rewards shall be recompensated by the eternal existence of one nation they are out to create.

Such leaders must have known about the unification of Germany, the unification of Italy, the unification of France, and even of Great Britain. They must have known the struggle between the federalists and regionalists of America. They must have known why Godse, a Hindu, shot Gandhi to death in 1948. They must have known why Booth assassinated Lincoln in the theatre. Struggle between the idea of seperatism and the ideal of unity is age-long and fundamental with nations. Those who stand for unity had had to surmount difficulties not easily told. But their efforts are always crowned with success, and their memories have been of eternal duration.

The vision of "the Unification of Nigeria" is a great item in world history. I say so because a United Nigeria is bound to tell a different story in African history. A disunited Nigeria has no story to tell safe the worship of petty gods and goddesses in the arid desert of inadequacy and insufficiency. The leadership which recognize this opportunity and throw away all the garbs of local dieties and raise their mental ken to see the wide expanse of illimitable opportunities in the field of the combat, are bound to register their names in the memory of the world.

The white race has produced, we must admit, eminent thinkers and honest minds who themselves have insisted that all races are created equal; that Africans are as good as Europeans or Americans or Asiatics. The European nations and particularly the British and the Americans have endeavoured to put that concept into practice, hence the steady advance of Negro freedom through the verdicts of U.S. Supreme Court; hence the progressive measures whereby the British Government has attended the universal independence of Ghana, Nigeria, and West Indian Islands. Russia is also on the march.

The world has recognized our existence. They now look forward to seeing Nigerian leadership vindicate itself. It is entirely the responsibility of the Nigerians to prove that in the midst of the clouds, there is light. We must demonstrate that our obtaining independence is not a mere noise of a group of rabbles who, among them there are not special personalities who can make history for Nigeria by turning the stumbling blocks of tribalism and religious

fanaticism into a stepping stone of unity, solidarity and stability.

Where there is no vision, the people perish. The issue of the "Unification of Nigeria" requires vision. Not vision blurred by pride. Not vision marred by egotism. Not vision entombed by party politics. Not vision drowned by the sea of local culture. Not vision made impotent by the injection of hate and prejudice combined. The leadership must have a clear vision illumined by principle, sincerity, realism and love. We are drifting toward danger with the coming of independence. Nothing can spare the workers and peasants of Nigeria from that disaster, unless those whom we have elected to direct our political affairs restrain the animal in them and revive the noblest emotion in their nature in order to elevate themselves above interests and regions. We are drifting toward danger if the leaders do not make haste and align themselves with the interests of the working man in Nigeria.

The working class must be elevated in order to allow the citizens of Nigeria to serve their country without distinction. To undermine the workers is to imprison the strength to declare the cannons of freedom. It must remain impregnable and for ever vigilant in upholding its declarations. Faith without work is dead. As experts in life, the leadership must demonstrate the rare ability to combine the pull of reaction with the push of modernism; to conserve while eliminating, and to uphold the whole while securing the parts.

Nigeria cannot be governed by a dictator for long. That is certain. Nigeria cannot be pocketed by an undecentralized government. That we know. Nigeria can be Nigeria only if its parts sanction the sanctity of its whole in a voluntary union. And our concern here is to discover what type of leadership can give birth to this union.

History is full of illustrations. We are lucky to have before us, the examples of other nations which are federal in character. The most impressive federal government in the world is probably the United States of America. We also have other examples in Canada, Switzerland, Australia and even the U.S.S.R. in some respects. I am not discussing federal government here, but we shall do ourselves a good turn to read the history of those other countries in order to appreciate the role of leadership in upholding of a federal government of our own country.

Without leadership, those other nations would have foundered. When divisionists lifted their banner of disintegration in America, they were drowned by the Federalists in the sea of common sense and enlightenment. Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison - those were the champions of the unification of American States under a supreme national government, instead of a loose, strong and almost care-free states ever ready to bolt away from the centre. The same role was played in Germany by Otto Von Bismark, in

Canada by Alexander Galt and John A. Macdonald.

Those men subordinated the importance of winning election to a principle. They did not temporise with inertia. They undertook the unification of their respective countries as a moral obligation. They knew that without darkness no light. It takes the night – a really dark night – to reveal the brightness of the star. Strong characters are not revealed in a fair weather, or during the Palm Sundays when people shout “Hallelujah.” It is under stormy weather, or in a Gathsamane, when people cry “Crucify him” that the stuff of leadership is tested.

Our leaders must not ossify. They need not be scruple mongers. The time is here – right now – for their mighty souls to rebel against agrarian individualism. If industrialism will ever survive; their souls must rebel against the “Spoil System” already in vogue in philosophy of regionalism; if a nation is ever to be built, their souls, must rebel against petty jingoism in order that the universal personality of our mother Nigeria shall emerge. God never spoke except through man. Man’s peculiar mind with body is equipped with abstract and mechanical apparatus to change the processes of his social order. A man dies. That is true. But he is nevertheless endowed with the possibilities of erecting certain edifices which can outlast his given span of life. He can erect institution that can last many thousands of years after he is dead. He is helpless, no doubt, but he has been able, since the emergence of homo sapiens, to give definition and direction to his animal heritage; hence he has been able to elevate his moral and ethical life beyond that of roaring beasts in the jungle. The noblest specimen among men in all ages have sought the means to bring men together. To unite others for good is the noblest virtue of man. We are now asking or demanding, if need be, from the best that Nigeria breeds, to wake up from their stupor and give us unity. The continent of Africa has shown the greatest reluctance in this art of man’s endeavour to merge into large wholes. Are we the members of that homo sapiens?

There are nearly 200 million human beings who aggregated in North America and called themselves the U.S.A.¹ There are over 400 million of them in India.² There are over 450 million moving together in China.³ Russia has 250 million.⁴ Nigeria has about 45 million people.⁵ But no other area in Africa has up to fifty million human beings who have agreed to live

1.	Present population of	U.S.A.	—	226,545,805
2.	“	“	“	India — 797,000,000
3.	“	“	“	China — 1,160,000,000
4.	“	“	“	Russia — 63,070,000
5.	“	“	“	Nigeria — 105,472,000

Latest census results Whitaker’s Almanack 1991 123rd ed.

together as brothers! W H Y ? Even Nigeria which is the only country coming near that figure – how far are we aware that we must cling only to such leadership which tends to make us one?

The seriousness and urgency of this matter cannot be over emphasized. All we need to do is to look around the globe and see where we stand, and ask ourselves why we are what we are and why others are what they are. Now, it is the function of leadership to focus the attention of the masses to these appalling conditions and convince even the cynic to join the holy crusade of “the Unification of Nigeria.”

“The Unification” is a song which should be in the tongue of every citizen. Poets should dance their lines on it. Essayists should give vent to their creative genius in plotting their paragraphs on it. Authors should find endless items of patriotic titles for contemporary books. Preachers shall act Ezekiels and Jeremiahs to unify the children of God in Nigeria. Everybody must join in order to make the load lighter for our political leaders.

So long as different areas in Nigeria have different languages and cultures, so long will all these be preserved and dully respected; but they must not be magnified in such a way that a part should be stronger than the required whole. It must be the other way round. The sum total of the whole must be greater in all material respects than any given part.

Leadership shall see to it that this equilibrium is maintained. All doubts must be eliminated. Courage with profound convictions in the rightness of our unity is indispensable. Slaves of their own conventions must be released through a persistent plea of the leaders. Fanatics who are blinded and buried in their narrow doctrines must be given a new lease on life by pointing to them the bursting flower of a new Nigeria in her glory and aplomb. They must be shown that leaders are not self-seekers. The working class and their appendages, the ebullient youths, the chiefs and elders stand ready for the new battle for freedom. This is not freedom from the foreign powers, but from the internal tentacles of ambition and sordid parties and interests created by ourselves. We now want freedom from the tyranny of our own ignorance; freedom from the murderers of intellect, from narrow-mindedness, degrading stubbornness and selfishness. We want freedom from the principles of decay by which some of us misplace time and place in a Nigeria which is already on a new plane of time and a new level of space.

We need positive thinking in order to follow the right kind of leadership which we have laboured to describe in this theme. We must now assume our right to follow those leaders who are ready and capable of giving colour and fibre to the principles we espouse. We owe it to ourselves and to our children yet unborn, to support without fear or favour, only those leaders who are

willing to co-operate and compromise and work hard on the "Unification of Nigeria" and, not on the enthronement of their regions and persons and interests.

We shall now attempt to clarify what we mean in a more definite way. The leadership we want in Nigeria must at least have eleven qualities:

(I) **They must be men who can get the best out of the worst:** In our present day Nigeria, there are so many difficult problems which may seem impossible to any solution. The leadership we want must come from such individuals who have the ability to meet all emergencies without despair; persons whose intellect or emotion may not be swamped by discouragement and cynicism or by ingratitude or hate. They must be men and women who are spiritually shock-proof in order to be able to resist the whirl wind of international diplomacy in the midst of cross-currents of internal oppositions.

With independence may come a fundamental threat to the authority of the new governments of the centre and of the regions. Some die-hards may attempt coup d'état, and others may try to invoke a civil war. We want leadership that can anticipate and accept such tragic times as a sort of stimulating experience which could be overcome with vigilance and firmness but without bitterness.

(II) **They must be selfless:** Leadership to inspire confidence must not seek its own. In a new and hungry nation, destitute of education and economic security, the leadership must come from ranks of men and women who understand the needs of the people and identify themselves with those needs. There is no reason why a leader should be required to be propertyless; what I am saying is that leaders should be such persons as do not seek their own alone. They must be people who respect other peoples, and are sympathetic with the problems of others in a world where every person is sacred unto himself.

(III) **They must be pure in heart:** We cannot expect our leaders to be gods. Leaders make mistakes. They blunder. We shall be in error if we expect faultless leaders. No country had had faultless leaders. But leaders should be pure hearted. By that is meant that while they may make mistakes, their mistakes must not issue from bad motive or wicked designs. They should not connive over wrongs, nor think evil of those that disagree with them. When a leader is generally broadminded, then he is qualified to lead Nigeria.

(IV) **They must have a catalogue of achievements based on patriotic motivations and nationalistic designs:** Mushroom leadership will not do in the independent Nigeria. Men and women in whom Nigerians could trust must have grown from the roots of unshakable faith in Nigerian nationhood. That faith must

be supported by a long standing hard work, self-sacrifice, devotion to the principle of freedom, and loyalty to the things Nigerian. No leader is a leader who simply jumps into the arena at a time when the bread is done, but who abandoned the battle when the oven was hot.

(V) **They must represent the collective yearning of the entire nation:** The leadership we want must be an embodiment of the people's desires. They must represent all the grievances, suppressed ambitions, vague longings, unexpressed rights, imposed handicaps; they must symbolise the spirit of the age by identifying themselves with the joys and sorrows of every citizen when taken collectively. When they speak they do so as if they were the laborers, the clerks, the traders, the chiefs, the civil servants, the night soil men, the coal miners, the artisans, the priests, the ministers of the state, the engineers, the other professional men, the market women, the educators, the housewives, the house-servants, the canoe-pullers. Yes, "leadership" signifies the flame supplied by the collective heat of the people's feelings.

(VI) **They must be loyal men and women:** Whose first duty is to uphold Nigeria's interest at home and abroad; to be mastered by the wishes of Nigeria while yet enjoying the fruits of the new found liberty. The leadership must give the highest example of loyalty to Nigeria, in order to infuse the same spirit in others whom they lead. Liberty implies being free from something. Loyalty is to be mastered by something. In other words, "What belongs to us is matched with what we belong to." No nation can really exist until those who lead have grown so loyal as to forget themselves and forfeit a good deal of pseudo liberties in the service of their nation. Loyalty is the fundamental condition of freedom. The leadership we want in Nigeria must demonstrate the highest form of loyalty. They must suspend all other loyalties; throw away all other interests when they conflict with the nation's interest; suspend every discordant views which tend to disintegrate; absorb all the shocks of centripetal influences in our culture and tradition.

I say again that loyalty is the fundamental ornament with which freedom is made attractive. Without loyalty, a new nation can go to pieces during the initial stage of its assumption of power. Without loyalty the citizens of a new born nation cannot make personal sacrifices necessary to develop a modern country. There may be a need to go aborrowing, there may be a need to go a-hungry, occasions may arise to call forth our young men to fight for our continued freedom, a day may come when our women may be required to join in the battle of reformation and reconstruction. Taxes must be paid; as Churchill said when demanding loyalty. A loyal person must be loyal to his superiors in office - it does not matter in what office. He must be loyal to his party - it makes no difference what party. He must be loyal to his religion - no matter what religion. He must be loyal to his teachers - from his infant to the college. He must be loyal to his friends - both on Palm

Sundays and on Good Fridays of life. He must be loyal to the royal in him, and translate all these loyalties to the highest form of loyalty – loyalty to the nation and loyalty to God.

(VII) The leadership in an independent Nigeria must accept the law of political ecology: It must at once be understood without hesitation that peace, eternal peace, is not an easy thing to maintain in the world as we know it. This is neither negative nor pessimistic. It is positive thinking – if anything. We have seen that: “For every example of mutual help among the gregarious and social animals there are many examples of conflict.” As John Bradley Jr. wrote: “In most cases the members of the same specie fight, like men, more desperately with one another, than with creatures of different blood. Because they live in the same environment and require the same kind of food and protection, their greatest battles are among themselves.” The leadership in Nigeria must learn that Nigerians are members of the same specie in family of nations, and that they live in the same environment, and require the same kind of food and protection, hence, it appears that our greatest battles are among ourselves. If the leadership understand this as a natural sequence concluded from scientific observation in the field of biology, then we can view our internal battles with a more tolerant attitude, and then forge some natural weapons to fight that interminable warfare as we propel along the orbit of international diplomacy.

The principle of political ecology will enable the Nigerian leadership to rest assured that although natural world is born in conflict, but it is more true that the animal uses the oxygen and starch produced in the body of the plant, whereas the plant uses the carbon dioxide and the nitrogenous waste produced in the body of the animal. In this way, we see that creatures with antagonistic feeding habits, who in-habit the same environment, become mutually beneficial. The strongest impulse in the living world is the urge to live an easy life. It has been discovered that partnership is only a convenience to that easy life. And man, being above other animals, have developed institutions and traditions which acknowledge the principles of ecology in political life. True leadership must adjust to multifarious political views and parties. With all sordid and antagonistic interests, with all cries of warfare and predatory intrigues, with all commotions and prodigalities arising from desperate seekers of easy life, with all different manners and different languages. We must accomodate our brothers who disagree with us and whose interests conflict with our own.

(VIII) Leadership in an independent Nigeria must be experts in life: We live in a jet age. Other nations have trained and equipped their scientists to prepare for the colonization of the moon and other stars. They are thinking in terms of the other worlds. The European civilization is now tired of this world. It wants to jump away from us in order to control the earth from far beyond.

But Nigeria, though becoming independent, is yet an agrarian society. We thrive more or less on agrarian economy. Eastern Nigeria still depends on palm produce, the West on cocoa, and the North on pea-nuts. Even the Cameroonians depend on banana! We are thriving on landed rather than business wealth. That is why the prevalence of conservatism, individualism, backwardness and provincialism.

Business wealth presupposes an upsurge of commercial and industrial communities, urbanization and global outlook. The leadership in an independent Nigeria must have some basic ideas of the multifarious uses into which our natural resources must be utilized for industrial purposes. The valuable woods in our forests are cut down for firewood or at best for sale as raw timber. The palm tree products are used for wine purposes. All surpluses are exported raw to other countries where they are manufactured into different products which we in turn buy exorbitantly. The same thing is true of cocoa and peanuts. Let us say nothing about our coal and its by-products. Let us not remember our inability to peep into our own soil in search of gold or oil. Let us forget that our waters are not harnessed nor our country electrified. Let us forget that we have no national food plan. No citizen at the moment has access to sufficient calories in his daily diet to upkeep a really healthy body and brain for energetic thinking and enduring work.

The leadership in an independent Nigeria need not be a team of scientists as such, but they need be men of commonsense and wisdom. They need to be humble in order to inherit the fruits of knowledge which would enable them to establish a self-sufficient nation, happy in peace and vigilant in war. We cannot win respect by being weak. Hungry people have no dignity. There is no integrity in a state of abject poverty. That is why our leaders must be such persons whose vision must be bold in social planning. And no bold social planning is possible where leaders are narrow and incompetent.

(IX) Leadership in our new Nigeria must be citizens of the world: The idea of interdependence in the world today has become axiomatic. We know now that no nation can simply become happy without co-operation with other nations. The United Nations is the latest attempt of man to globalize his government and galvanize his culture. The attempt is rewarded even in part. The leadership of Nigeria must be men who understand the story of many countries. They must not narrow their gaze at Nigeria. Their diplomacy must be such as to internationalize Nigeria while solidifying it; to remain the brothers of all nations with prejudice towards none; to isolate our new nation from aggressive entanglement, while clinging to friendly co-operation of those whose principles of life suit our national purposes.

(X) The leadership we want must show their faith in our youth: No nation can grow beyond its enlightened populace. The youth of Nigeria of today are inevitably bound to become the leaders of tomorrow. Therefore their right to exist, their right to proper education, their right to proper feeding, their right to proper clothing and their right to proper association must be jealously guarded.

The leadership of today must accept the responsibility of preparing the leadership of tomorrow whose training must match the kind of demand of the society of tomorrow. So far, our educational system is faulty for words when we peep into what other countries are doing. And we are not too impotent to make immediate amends. Our youngmen and women must be welcomed into our society with an open hand and a smiling face. They must be trained in order to produce, from among them, our future Einsteins, Faradays, Carvers, and Churchills. In Nigeria, we can yet produce many Tschaikowskys, Shakespeares, Luthers, Deweys, Pearl Bucks. There are many Fords, and Rockefellers behind the closed doors of ignorance. We lock up our possibilities if we do not open the gate of intellectualism to the youths of Nigeria.

(XI) The leadership we want must fear God: Far and beyond all these requirements is that the leadership in a free Nigeria must demonstrate their belief in God. It is that one God which is the God of Europe, the God of America, the God of Asia and the God of Africa – **One God**. The lives of those leaders must reflect their belief that good has ultimate triumph over evil, that good has superior appeal over evil; that "truth crushed to earth shall rise again"; that a nation without morals is bound to go to the way of Sodom and Gomorrah. That morally superior people have the chances of survival in spite of all the transient successes of wicked people. Leadership must behave in such a way as to show religious tolerance; and show the growing youth that it pays to be truthful, honest, industrious and faithful.

To build a nation without God is like building a house on sand. To call upon God without personal restraint, love, and truth is to make mockery of the Creator. To join the band of patriots without moral principles is to enthrone barbarism. To accept a great responsibility of becoming a free nation without purity of heart is to invite anarchy. That is why we insist that the leadership of a free Nigeria must be men and women who fear God.

We have described some of the qualities of the leadership we want. We are not saying that we do not have in the country leaders who have already manifested some of these qualities. Since we are ripe for independence, then we need not deny the possibilities of the existence of a genuine leadership in Nigeria. Our function as a nation is to examine and select appropriate leadership. This is the duty of a free people. That duty must always be performed without fear or favour.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL AGENDA FOR NEW LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA

In all civilized democracies, particularly those with a Federal structure of government, where the responsibility of the Chief Executive is both personal and all-embracing, the president is answerable to all the administrative policies both at home and abroad. He is answerable to the people by himself. For these reasons, during the time of election, anybody who opts to ask for the people's votes for the Presidency must let the voters know ahead of time that he knows the problems of the country in all its details covering the interests of all peoples in all walks of life. These may include economic problems, education, health for all, agriculture in terms of feeding and generation of revenue, communication and transportation, housing, industrialization, electrification, water supply, exploitation and utilization of mineral resources and our water, labour and creation of employment avenues and fair wages for all. He must take a position concerning freedom of the press; on religion and permanent security of the citizens in any part of the nation, free from subtle discriminatory policies based on ethnic, religious or party affiliation. This includes right to ownership of property in any part of Nigeria. In foreign affairs, the country must know exactly what his foreign policy is in terms of alliances and economic interdependence. Programmes of National defence and the role of the nation on the theatre of the world body and the type of diplomatic ideology to enable the nation enjoy a flexible and friendly relation with the most powerful and strategic nations in the world for enduring economic stability and political confidence. Showing the knowledge of these things is one thing; stating unequivocally the solutions the leader intends to apply to each and every one of them is the more important thing.

Like an individual, every nation has its peculiar priorities among all the items mentioned above. As a developing nation, Nigerian problems are multifarious. But we shall attempt to mention some of the issues which every Nigerian voter is likely to be interested in knowing what answers a prospective leader has for them.

1. **Equitable Distribution of Amenities:** What has each area of the country got and what do they lack and how do we affect equitable distribution?
2. **Education:** What kind of education? How free is education? Who are

to be educated? How are educational methods and provisions distributed? What provisions are there for teachers? Must education remain Government owned? Or should private and government ownership be combined in order to get maximum academic freedom to produce unfettered minds and creative society as we have in really progressive countries of the world – scientifically, economically and intellectually? Or shall education remain a civil service oriented fossil of colonial vestiges? Who should determine the educational policies: the teachers or the government who employed them? Parents or students? Whose interest in education is primary: is it the students who are the beneficiaries, the parents who bear the brunt of expenses or the teachers who are employed to carry out the policies? The leader must know what all these questions imply and give appropriate answers. Academic freedom implies unfettered and diverse opinions with central national control without bureaucratic tyranny of the civil service.

Thinking minds in Nigeria must be given avenue to open the window of the minds of our new generation to implant the vision of progress through untrammelled intelligence. Government of this nation (both Federal and State) at this stage of our economic development and undetermined manpower development and productivity, cannot, I repeat cannot adequately fund our education without giving some measure of freedom to private entrepreneurs, communities, individuals, religious groups and dedicated organizations. No doubt, participation of these groups will contribute a measure of efficiency, expansion and funding to ease the burden of government whose major function will be giving central controlling policy on education with respect to interest of teachers and academic standardization. This does not imply that the government will abandon its grants-in-aid and establishment of model educational institutions in primary and secondary levels, quite apart from funding of established Universities. For education to be more and more desectionalized, inter-transfer of teachers of different ethnic groups must be compulsory in order to make sure that before any student finished his sixth year in secondary school and gets a job in a state, or federal institution or merchantile establishment, he must have had a working knowledge of at least three Nigerian languages including his own. The presidential aspirant will comment on all these because education is the most primary issue in nation building.

3. **Agriculture:** No nation is a nation which cannot feed itself by applying all known modern productive mechanisms in maximizing the agricultural productivity and production. Colleges of Agriculture are not enough nor is there a realistic agricultural assignment to areas of the nation according to relative fertility of the regions, with appropriate government grants and subsidies.

4. **Transportation:** Roads, bridges, riverine facilities, air space and railways must receive a general overall planning. They must be evenly distributed

without discrimination to stimulate trade, industries, and distribution of food, man-power, education, and general wealth to make the country breathe as a unit.

5. **Abandoned Property:** To banish all pent-up grievances among groups and communities, a prospective leader must state his opinion about and solution to the unfinished business of assumed abandoned property anywhere in Nigeria, for no question is ever settled until it is settled right, particularly within a nation where every citizen must be his brother's keeper.

6. **Foreign Debt, Currency Depreciation and Drug Trafficking:** The nation must know what the prospective leader has to say about foreign debt, currency depreciation and drug trafficking.

7. **Students' Behaviour** – one of the most important of all is the solution the new leader will have in order to banish the introduction of anarchism and demons into all colleges and universities. Most of the students we send to colleges and Universities with hope that they will lead the nation of tomorrow have gone astray. Through unbelievable secret occultism, the hush-hush story has it that they kill and maim, suck blood and break skulls of fellow students while the college and university authorities stand by helplessly and law enforcement agencies seem blind-folded to the unspeakable atrocities. This must be arrested by incoming leadership in Nigeria.

We do not believe that any prospective leader who has no knowledge of these problems nor courage of his own conviction to propose solutions to them and present it to the people for his own assessment, can give this nation effective leadership for peace and progress.

CHAPTER FOUR

WARNING OF 1993

Perhaps the reader may not fully perceive the seriousness and the actual reasons why I have to exhume what may be considered a past issue of the civil war. I can not ignore the meaning of the civil war to Nigeria nor can I allow others to ignore or forget it as a past issue no more no less. My reasons are obvious:

The civil war ended in 1970 but it is everything about the civil war that keeps Nigeria in shambles now, today. First, it engineered military rule in Nigeria, we have not recovered from it. Second, it destroyed the educational system in Nigeria, we have not recovered from it today. Thirdly, it established abandoned property philosophy and its vicious result is still seething in the minds of Nigerians today. Pent-up grievances are dangerous signals. Suppressed freedom is anti democracy. Fourthly, it established permanent banditory and armed robbery, murder and arson as a pattern of life which neither the army, the police, the church or our tradition can control. Fifth, students of colleges and universities have developed a "something-for-nothing" psychology, disloyalty to parents, harzaduous occultisms, whereby blood of youths is used for rituals and the universities' authorities are unable to quench it. All the above results of the civil war exist now with us and appear to continue unabated.

It will be an illusion to imagine that those regionalists and secessionists have surrendered altogether. Examples of effects of civil war in America between North and South, the recent resurrection of Hitlerism in Germany with New Nazi youths springing up, make it imperative for realistic Nigerians to be watchful, critically watchful, study and teach the histories of hazards of Nigerian civil war. We must allow history to give it ultimate definition and permanent condemnation. I did not put up this civil war prophecy of mine just to get a certificate of being a prophet, but to make sure that people study, believe and understand that the causes of the civil war in 1960s took their roots over a decade before 1966.

In the same manner, those who are planning disintegration of Nigeria tomorrow may have different political agenda from what we are looking for now. Only political ingenuity of the wise and the constant vigilance of the courageous can cut into pieces the stubborn tentacles of seperatists and disintegrationists, permanently. Forever. This is the inescapable responsibility of genuine leadership which we want in Nigeria.

Finally, twentieth century political experience appear to show that military coups are rampant mostly in countries with political immaturity. As countries grow older and more mature, and even more prosperous, the tendency is the absence of military coups. In more mature or may I say more civilized countries, a head of state, may be shot, a minister or a president may be impeached on the floor of a parliament but not coup to remove the whole government by a whole army with intention to take over that government. Corruption in high places occurred in Japan in recent years, the Prime Minister was forced to resign, there was no coup. President Kenedy was shot, President Richard Nixon was impeached, there was no military coup in the United States to remove the government of democratic or republican parties respectively. When Britain did not like Margaret Thatcher's policies, they voted her out. No military captain or major took over the government of Britain. They are mature and civilized countries. Earlier in this century when South American countries were becoming independent, coup d'etat was the order of the day. Military dictators were proudly advertised. Today, most of these countries may not be classified as old and mature democracies as America and England but military coup has siezed to be a fashionable political agenda there. Nigeria is duty bound to lead African countries away from militarism in order that freedom and democracy will generate permanent peace, stability and ever unfolding progress. Nigeria is now claiming to be the leading country in Africa. The natural assumption is that we are mature. We are civilized. Misdeeds by individuals who govern will continue to be in Nigeria as it is in these mature countries, we now have to address ourselves to civilized methods of removing corrupt leaders by treating matters of personal offence singularly instead of throwing existing government out with guns and officers meant to defend that very government and the people.

After all, we have had cases of corruption among top-ranking members of the army. Those officers were punished accordingly individually. There was no suggestion that the civilians staged a coup to overthrow the army and take over military administration from the army just because there is corruption among some officers in the army.

It is now being affirmed by both the army and civilians in the country who believe that Nigeria is civilized and mature that military coup must vanish from the minds of Nigerians. This present cry for democracy in the country is one of the monumental policies of President Babangida's administration for which he will long be remembered in Nigeria history. The country will also remember that ineluctable elite of a soldier, General Olusegun Obasanjo (Rtd) who has courageously advocated and acted back-to-democracy policy during and after his military administration in the country. The future

leadership in Nigeria must do everything in its power to encourage democracy in the entire African Continent.

To go further, Nigeria as a leading country in Africa should initiate a move for the United Nations to make a law to abolish military coup in all countries of the world. All countries under military rule now, should hurry up and adopt democracy. So that any nation that starts military coup thereafter should be denied membership of the United Nations as well as be compelled to come under sanctions. This initiative will be the greatest contribution which Nigeria through her contemporary leadership will make to the world. This is the leadership we want. This is the leadership all Africa wants. This is the leadership of the 21st century civilization. It will be the most fundamental contribution for peace and prosperity our nation will make to the world.



“The vision of ‘the Unification of Nigeria’ is a great item in the world history. I say so because a united Nigeria is bound to tell a different story in African history. A disunited Nigeria has no story to tell save the worship of petty gods and goddesses in the arid desert of inadequacy and insufficiency. The leadership which recognizes this opportunity and throw away all the garbs of local dieties and raise their mental ken to see the wide expanse of illimitable opportunities in the field of the combat, are bound to register their names in the memory of the world.”

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