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AWOLOWO

The Legend

ANALYTICAL X-RAY OF ISSUES



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BABS.HUSSAIN

CORRIGENDUM

Inescapable	vii	It	31
Spade	vii	Nonsense	77
Virulent	x i	Noise	81
Nigerian	x ii	Counter-parts	98
Contained	9	'Front' replaces "from"	99
"From" delet it in the quotation	22	Concillation	102
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APOLOGY

The above typographic corrections are in errors in the book. They were neither mistakes of the head nor of the mind, but of the hands. We are not exonerating ourselves from any blame, however, we do apologise to each reader. Instead of being daunted, the first trial and its errors will dare us to a greater and better performance.

In view of this, please substitute the above corrected words on the indicated pages and of other amends

Publishers.

AWOLOWO
THE
LEGEND



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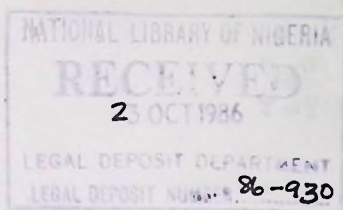
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APPENDIX

The following table provides a summary of the data collected during the study. It includes information on the number of participants, the duration of the study, and the results of the various tests and measurements. The data is presented in a clear and concise manner, allowing for easy comparison and analysis. The table is organized into columns, with each column representing a different variable or measurement. The rows represent individual participants or groups of participants. The data is presented in a way that is easy to read and understand, and it is organized in a way that allows for easy comparison and analysis.

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AWOLOWO THE LEGEND

by

BABS HUSAIN



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To

Buky, Keji, Tola, Wale, Lanre

My Children and their generation.

BABS HUSSAIN — 1986
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AUTHOR'S NOTE

When I decided to put together these scripts to form this book, I harboured no illusion of what it would entail. I expect different reactions.

What I have to explain here, is the different point in time under which each theme was written. It is this each theme which now constitutes a chapter. But, the remarkable aspect of the subject matter of all the chapters is the dramatis personae who centralised the essential levers across the whole scripts.

In the course of writing this book I learnt that extreme care can sometimes lead to unavoidable pitfalls. With every effort, some risks are inexcusable. In pursuance of my determination to come out with this book, I never allow both the unavoidable pitfall and the inexcusable risk to weigh down my enthusiasm or disuade me from my commitment. So, I leave the taste of this book to its reader to detect whatever "pitfall" or "risk" I can run.

The character of this book is unorthodox academically; It is not a text book. I tried much as possible to avoid what I considered the most dangerous academic bent for principle of relativity in social sciences which in most cases is common with inconclusiveness. For me, I prefer calling a space by its naked description. I do enjoy myself less in romance of language which always confuses readers at the end. The relevant purpose is to CONVEY a message to the societal class which MEN of Awolowo's like or calling struggled for. I shall enjoy satisfaction of mind, (if and when others condemn me) by the time I reach the heart of this class. This is the mission of this book.

I do not delude myself conveying a message to the capitalist butchers of Nigerian wealth. I am addressing a class who has been a victim of Nigeria's societal disparity. This, I plead should be the yardstick to measure success or otherwise of this book.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This note will not be complete without mentioning a friend who actually set me rolling. We have been friendly in spirit for a long time on the pages of newspapers. We came together in person at the last annual conference of Unity Party of Nigeria at Abeokuta in December 1983. Simple and gentle, unassuming but extremely witty. At that conference, we sat by each other without knowing. Suddenly I started a discussion and in its course I introduced myself as Hussa. My friend introduced himself as Kuroloja. We embraced each other at that moment like childhood friends who had lost many years of separation. Till the end of the Conference our friendship developed a deep sense of comradeship. It is a pleasure and a rare asset having Mr. Banji Kuroloja the Editor of Nigerian Tribune to be a friend.

Initially, I was working on the HISTORY OF ACTION GROUP (1955 - 1965), which is however still in the pipeline. Outline of the work is so elaborate and its materials gathered were at an advanced stage. When Buhari/Idiagbon was losing steam towards the end of 1985, I was about starting to write the history, then another military coup took place in the country. That event had no direct effect on my subjective, besides the common "instability" with civilian and became seriously endemic with military regime, hence there is no ground to attribute "stability" to military in this country. We have had military changes with military factionalisation more than in civilian partisan politics. However, I considered it prudent to tarry a little in order to observe the trend until Buhari was replaced with President Major General Babangida. As a result of this consideration, my attention was diverted to other issues of immediate importance.

While watching the political direction of events in the early months of President Babangida's assumption of office, I wrote some topical post-scripts on the administration. Exactly, it was in the month of January 1986 I fell back on "The History of Action Group" and in the process the legendary of Chief Obafemi Awolowo was yoked. Since I meant it for a book, I never gave it a thought for a newspaper article. Until middle of February 1986 and Awolowo-

77th Birthday Anniversary was fast approaching, before it occurred to me of what to write. The time limit, before 6 March, did not offer sufficient opportunity to start a new write-up. I only squeezed out what appeared in the Nigerian Tribune of 6 March, 1986 for Mr. Banji Kuroloja, to use. I could not believe myself when I saw the publication. He (Banji) must have done an extra-ordinary work on the script. When we met after the publication, in the course of our discussion I conceived an independent line for AWOLOWO, THE LEGEND"

For this book, I owe much to a Comrade, Mr. Banji Kuroloja. However, I have to say, that much as I owe him extreme gratitude, he bears no fault which this book may contain.

I have to acknowledge the promptness with which Nigerian Tribune Editorial Sections at Ibadan and Lagos always treat my request. The cover-page picture of Chief Obafemi Awolowo is from Tribune, on request through the Editor --- Mr. Banji Kuroloja.

When I called on the Press Secretary at the Cabinet Office, I was directed to the Photographic Department of the Federal Ministry of Information Federal Military Government, Old Secretariat Building, Joseph Street, Marina, Lagos for the official photograph of President Ibrahim Babangida. The Head of the Section, Alhaji Shettima promptly offered me every assistance I needed. I am grateful to him.

Other photographs in the book are from my library's album collection. Chief Enahoro's photograph is more or less a common feature in my personal album.

Apart from literary materials; books and some newspapers, the fountain of other material sources is mainly from personal knowledge and gains from discussions with various people, ranging from a long period of time.

It is extremely tasking to write the prose of a book, but I found that it is more painful and cumbersome to tackle those technicalities involved. I did both and I realised what it took of me; Doing the hand and typewrittens, correcting oneself, editing the script, paging the whole scripts. It offered me inestimable experience, which I cannot gain within a limited time in any institutional establishment. I wish readers to appreciate this fact in their consideration of the quality of this book.

However I was extremely lucky having around me Mr. Jalingo Larry Agba who painfully, at every necessary time rose to my need on the technical request. I am sincerely grateful to him.

To end this note, I should pay honour to my wife, Eniola who creditably made my children not to feel my absence as they should during my devotion to the work of this book. Apart from those in the boarding schools, the remaining two at day schools lost my coaching attention in their swimming lesson on every Saturday. This is due to the urgency and volume of work.

I am grateful to all.

BABS. HUSSAIN

Eko-Lagos.

I* May, 1986.

INTRODUCTION

Initially, I found it uncomfortable to write the introduction of this book. On second thought the nature of the book made it unavoidable for me to undertake the exercise. I also appreciate the effect of the theme which may affect in one way or the other, those I had in mind to write it. To excuse them the burden, they will certainly, be more useful and helpful at every other time, instead of exposing them to tirades this book may likely generate.

The nature of analytical x-rays carried out in this book is such that will attract commendations from victims of societal parallax and verulent comments from whoever who felt offended. I offer no apology for that. The main idea behind the book is to draw attention to tractable causes of Nigeian problems when there is galaxy of men and people who can cure our problems, if at all, they are natural.

The genesis of Nigeria's problematic deluge is colonial armstrung which held Nigeria's polity in destructive tangle both at pre and post independent era. Chapter One is devoted to Chief Obafemi Awolowo and issues which made him a legend in his life time. Awolowo came into national limelight in early 50s. This was after his participation and observation of past political events in the 40s. Ideas, issues and time really made him a legend to mankind.

Themes in Chapter two, three and four focus those problems which have been throbbing the pulse of this country. Since Independence, it has been the same nightmare around the circle. Our anxiety today is whether the vicious circle will be terminated or not? Indeed when? Does Nigeria lack men to terminate it?

What I x-rayed in the discussion of Leadership Folio in chapter four is the cause of the vicious circle. In the wide range, I focus my study on the existing schools of thoughts on both sides of the case. I did not argue merits and demerits of each side for argument sake without an inclination. I was patently inclined to a side which compelled me to conclude on the abysmal naked failure of capitalist institution and not of individual leadership.

It is abundantly clear that whatever position an individual maintains, his position can only be a microstamp on the macro institution of idea. There is no point therefore shedding tears over individual failures. Rather, it is capitalist class leadership which failed woefully in Nigeria. At the same time, this failure is the justification of institution of socialist leadership's stand against capitalist system for Nigeria.

Though, we reject act of criticism strictly in combat against capitalist bourgeoisies and its political hegemony. This conclusion is born out of experience which past events taught us.

If we do not believe in the effectiveness of criticism generally, that does not ascribe to us the inviolable right to sit in judgement of those who believe in the principle. Nor our view-point can be the only fountain of solution. We are in the world of competition where ideas must flow in and out from all directions. What we know for certain is that criticism is the instrument of pacifist and passive resistance which has never yielded a success out of any struggle. The greatest thing criticism has done, which we must accept is the occasional spark of chains of actions and reactions from a centre-point in the stroke of events. But, its possibility to over-turn a determined decadent institution is far remote. Nigerians should start thinking of better approach to problems than criticism.

In Chapter Five, the question was posed; Whither Nigeria? It is my contention that Nigerians are still under a colonial cramp of one sort which may not necessarily be Western European Imperialism. Nigeria's nationals have different concept of Nigeria and what makes each of them to stay may be different. For example, the thrust in search of sea outlet is consonant with geo-politics of Landlock nationals. Riverine nationals may despise feudalism, autocracy and embrace liberal democracy. Both may not be adequate to the general aspiration of Nigerian masses whose basic desire is people's democracy. This flux is the engine of Whither Nigeria!

I believe this book will go a long way in our search for solution to Nigeria's tractable problems.

CONSECRATION OF A LEGEND

ESSENTIALS
OF LEGENDARY

CHAPTER ONE

CONSECRATION OF A LEGEND



ESSENTIALS OF LEGENDARY

Once, one decides to write about Chief Obafemi Awolowo, definitely it is not possible to escape writing on political history of Nigeria. It will therefore take volumes to compound the place and the role of Chief Awolowo in the historical chequer of Nigeria.

March 6, 1986 Chief Obafemi Awolowo turns 77 and whatever amount of writing that will eulogise his name, it cannot be more than the aspect one would like to focus. At 77 and with the long established tradition of annual birthday celebration, Nigerians will witness March 6 as another milestone. The juice of Awolowo's birthday celebration in so far it is possible to figure out, is going to be a stock of eventful happenings which the celebrant together with others who shared the same ideal had shaped for Nigeria in order to uplift the cause of a nation.

In that case, it is not difficult to condemn or shower encomium on Awolowo so long one is free from morbidity, paranoid Awophobia, and reluctant acceptance of simple clinical reasoning. There-after, the apparent ease will rest on puristic honest approach to the legendary institution which Awolowo has come to

constitute in the existence of the statehood of Nigeria. It is in belief, this stock-taking can be done with necessary cogent brevity without resorting to otioseness.

It is very rare for a historian to be around when legendary is consecrated. It is being my privilege. Through research on Awolowo I came across evidences which were tested and authenticated. Since these evidences passed the test of veracity, they became facts of history. Such is the case with Awo's phenomenon. Much have been written about Awo which I considered not enough about his youthful days, his ups and downs to get himself educated, his labouring days as a trade unionist, his toiling days as a typist clerk and Awolowo as a dedicated follower in the Nigerian Youth Movement. More can be said and written about him because there are so many intrinsic lessons to learn from all that. But I have to scrape over them due to lack of space and time to present the necessary independence of the phenomenon. I shall only make occasional reference to those moments when the need arises.

The turn of events I am going to discuss here concerning Chie Awolowo are those from my personal knowledge and how my understanding can grasp their meanings. In what ways these events are related to Nigeria's state are the following essentials:-

- a. *Awolowo as the pathfinder of REASONED political purpose in the struggle for Nigeria's Independence.*
- b. *The man who FIRST excreted various past political wastes from the REAL nationalist DEMAND in the struggle for national independence.*
- c. *The architect of Federalism in Nigeria and a pace-setter of administrative ability in governance.*

- d. *An uncompromising protagonist of Democracy.*
- e. *Avant-guard of emancipated educational and social need and right for all citizens.*
- f. *A titanic advocate of economic emancipation of Nigerian masses*

All these Awolowo's sayings, writings and deeds in government are indelibly shining like the constant star. No doubt, these essentials will outlive this time and many centuries to come. Invariably, they are the resilient basic factors that yoked the living legendary we are discussing in this book at this occasion.

Needless therefore to deep hands into the national coffer in order to show appreciation to Awolowo's place in Nigerian History. Let the hearts and souls of those he struggled for and the nation he lives to uplift remember him eternally for generations yet unborn. We can do our little best just by putting historical records in its NORMAL stance for posterity. I intend doing no more than this in the course of this narration.

EUROPEAN SCENE

With Dam Margrey Perham

Starting with the appearance of "PATH TO NIGERIAN FREEDOM" in the 40's, forwarded by Margery Perham in December 1946, the script which was prepared by (Mr.) Awolowo in 1944, Nigeria's political practice and development ceased to be the same "WASTES" of human energy and intelligence, verbosity and static misdirection characteristics of the period. Before the advent of Awolowo's book, nationalist's scene was full, of multiple loose demands. With the Path To Nigerian Freedom, nationalist demand and practice entered the realm of REASON and PURPOSE.

Best grasp of the period is well visualised in Enahoro's description p. 97 in his FUGITIVE OFFENDER. This was after the Zikist Movement's controversial lecture, "A Call For A Revolution."

Against the aftermath of the lecture, Dr. Azikiwe made a public pronouncement about "youthful impetuosity" thus, "If they had thought that they could force the hands of the NCNC leaders or that the NCNC would follow up their lead, here was their answer." The pathetic side of the story is where, "one of them (Zikis members) wept copiously and unshamedly". Now, what about Enahoro who himself chaired the lecture? Here is his own feeling.

"For myself, act of denunciation and disavowal resolved negatively the doubts which had begun to assail me since my last TOUR of the country. Where would I go from here? It seemed to me that the time for personal acts of protest might be past. They have served their purpose. I had played some parts in arousing popular feeling through the country both as a newspaper editor and in the two country-wide TOURS in public lectures and speeches. But the country, though aroused, was at the cross-roads and NOBODY seemed sure which way she would go. I was satisfied that a national liberation movement in the classic sense was out of the question and I felt disillusioned that one opportunity after another had been neglected" p.97

I draw the attention of readers to POLITICAL characters and the parties existing at the period Enahoro is referring to and also all those high sounded party slogans of "SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW! Chief Enahoro was in Prison when he thought of establishing a distinctive ideological newspaper to contribute meaningful to public affairs which had been bastardised. At least, some people did it !

There-after this period Mr. Enahoro met Mr. Awolowo and they became members of the same party (A.G.) and served in the same government of glorious Western Region.

In page 10 of *Path To Nigerian Freedom*, the Nuffield College Scholar of Oxford-Margery Perham asked in the foreward thus: "What is it they (Nationalist Movements) are asking? That shows how confused both sides of the coin were. But after going through Awolowo's "*Path To Nigerian Freedom*" Perham and other colonial masters perceived the future political direction between the British Colonial "masters" and the "colonial" people, hence according to Perham "one of the great MERITS of (the) this book that its author (AWO) is precise and offers detailed and reasoned amendments to the constitutional proposals put forward by the British Government

When British imperial power separately colonised various territorial parts which were amalgamated in 1914, British justified their actions on the grounds of "civilising" the "uncivilised" and underplayed economic exploitations of the colonial territories. Against this, Awolowo masterfully argued and spiritedly advanced reasons to justify why Africans should be set free. Even, British authority which all along had been refusing to see "the passive acceptance of colonial status, during which the British Government had to supply all the purposes and the initiatives and decide the form of government" had passed. Margery Perham recorded this in the foreward of the book and she continued thus,

"We must, then welcome any constructive contribution that comes from them. We should not be unduly distressed if it is coloured by resentment or even enlivened with abuse. There will be British readers who will be shocked and surprised by some of the remarks in this book; others who have knowledge of Nigeria and especially of the local press during the last year or two will realise that the author (Awo) when compared with

some OTHERS in the territory, is a relatively moderate and certainly a RATIONAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICS OF British rule. His arguments, therefore deserve serious attention."

It was at this time in point, Margery Perham a powerful voice in the colonial office (though not working there) urged British colonial authority characteristically in British diplomacy;

"We can no longer sit back in the comfortable assurance that because our intentions (British) are beneficent and our agents (officials) irreproachable, the well-being of Nigeria will be automatically secured and that we need not be unduly disturbed if the young nationals are according to their habit, somewhat noisy and tiresome, as they march along their road to self-government. That attitude will not do. The Nigeian situation makes a call upon our (British) intelligence rather than upon our (British's) indulgence and it demands what we can find it so hard to give our continuous attention."

I decided to quote this lengthy passage in order to bring home how Awolowo charged British imperialism out of its slumber to the reality of nationalist demand for independence. How he set the obnoxious British domination on an uneasy course. Furthermore how the book and the thoughtful reason therein turned British indulgence into intelligence through the force of reason. These are positive rare virtues that make a genius. For a white colonial

builder of imperialism and colonial empire of Margery Perham's standing to accept in a postscript written form a 'blackman's quality' to match reason with reason in order to cage the British colonial pride of place, is no mean feat. An enviable human endowment most towering above, any value, if there is in lethal weapons. When foreign elements could identify this endowed towering height, here in Nigeria, Awolowo's political opponents could only exhibit envy, hatred and jealousy in various ways. It could have been better if they were able to restrain their paranoid of Awo's person. Furthermore, the better if they contained their envy of excellence and not to allow it to over-shadow the good in themselves.

In the same 'Foreward' Margery Perham found that Chief Awolowo had placed British authority in an "unfortunate condition" in a debate of this kind. It is for us to ask, which kind of debate? It is the same Perham who will answer and, she said "Readers will observe that Mr. Awolowo, by spirited offensive tactics, tries to knock out of British hand at the very start, the two main arguments in defence of their present position; the backwardness of the Africans they annexed and the general beneficence of their rule". Here, the relevant points are "annexed" and 'general beneficence' which meant British annexation and "civilisation of the uncivilised". Categorically and emphatically, Perham concluded that "We (British Colonial Power) cannot submit to these tactics" - spirited offensive tactics; This was the beginning of anti-Awolowo from Western power and which was transplanted into political firmament of Nigeria. It was later inherited by Nigerian Awophobists in their political gauntlets against Awolowo in all ramifications. Since then however, Awolowo rendered British colonial claims soured. British was unhappy and her Nigerian collaborators could not do otherwise than bitter. What remained after Colonial Power had identified Awolowo as its irrevocable obstacle was to lay a long time plan which will deny him every opportunity and chance either to "rule" or "govern" Nigeria at central or federal level.

AFRICAN SCENE

NKRUMAN'S ENCOUNTER

Another source which I knew valuable aspects of Chief Awolowo was through the Late Kwame Nkrumah (1958-1965/66). Late Dr. Nkrumah was fond of saying in his usual way of calling me "my son", "You see, Awolowo is one man who is capable of bringing Africa to the modern economic limelight." He would continue saying Awolowo had back for this, that and our discussion would continue as long as he had time for it. Few months after the First All African People Conference and towards the preparation of *Positive Action Conference in Accra, Kwame came up again with his Awolowo's interest. I could not resist to react to his high esteem he talked of Awolowo. So, I said to him, would it not be better for you to establish a conveyor belt with him-Awo. He inhaled a deep breath and smile away. My impression was that for Nkrumah's intense interest in a person meant a great deal. The real fact he saw in Awolowo must be the noted gem Awolowo himself is made of. What Awolowo saw and noted in Nkrumah; after-all affection begets affection.

Since I was not privileged to be at close quarter to know Awolowo's thinking of Nkrumah as I could perceive other issues, then the only avenue to get to Awolowo's mind is "THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA" a University of Cape Coast, Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Lectures first series in 1976 by Chief Awolowo and published by Macmillan Education Limited, London 1977. The Lecture was in four parts. Part one deals with Pre-Colonial Period, part two deals with The Period of Independence and the Need For Reappraisal and the fourth part deals with Ideological Reappraisal. Totality of this serial lecture bloomed Awolowo's ideological content and crystalised a blossom clot. It was in the first lecture, Chief

Awolowo showed the peculiarities of social and economic classes existing in African political society. Briefly, he said:—

"Under the new dispensation, man became conscious of the need to accumulate goods, to eat better food to own land for permanent cultivation, to get the better of the other fellow in the exchange of goods, to have leisure and, if possible, to exploit and enslave his fellow men in order to ensure greater accumulation of wealth and longer period of leisure" p.11

This passage was explicated in the immediate analysis which followed thus:

"In the pursuit of these ends, he (man) became greedy that is, insatiable in his longing for wealth-and was absolutely ruthless in the elimination of any obstacle including his fellow-men, that stood between him and the realisation of his objectives"

Whenever I read the entire series, among things that usually occurred to me is, whether some of Awo devotees were in concept with the political import of the old man. Otherwise, in what vein, do they understand this core of Awolowo's view:

"In the midst of these counter-vailing and counter-acting objectives on the part of the dominant and suppressed groups, the seeds of class struggle and class hatred were sown" p.12



President Kwame Nkrumah in Addis Ababa in May 1963 when the Organisation of African Unity was founded. He is urging the member states to form an All-African Union Government

Two years after the lecture, when in 1978 occasion arose to initiate a political "party" on the above line, expectation abound, but, it remained indiscernible till today, how some "powerful" immediate lieutenants of right-wing persuasion channelised the political drive. On the other hand, Awolowo's opponents, outside his political fringe clearly understood what was going on around him. Cleverly, a faith accomplice emerged subtly and formidably against Awolowo. The gravity of this subtle inter-section in 1979 was a child play compared with the 1983 network. All said and done, NPN did not by itself possessed the qualm to "rig" the elections without the complacency of the right-wing elements around Awolowo.

Another inexplicable astonishment were the sojourns of some notable "Nigerian socialist marxists" into Alice wonderland. Chewing the cord of ideological phrases had never helped a class struggle than the confusion, dissipation of energy and infantility it always afflict on the concerted effort. Awolowo's uncanny and adroit pursue of class struggle is clear from this point of view:

"It has been said that for Africa socialism is a foreign ideology and that, therefore, Africa should evolve its own ideology. As far as I can judge, there is nothing foreign in the socialist concepts already considered. Besides, after reading all the books, articles and speeches on this issue that have come my way, I have formed the opinion that those who advocate rejection of socialism as a foreign ideology have need to give deeper study and thought to the principles and concepts underlying the system" p. 73

My conclusion is that, if chance had permitted, there was nothing topping Nigeria becoming a socialist state under Awolowo. It will

be too naive on the part of any one, that this fundamental aspect of in Chief Awolowo did not play determinant factors against him in the minds of his political opponents and some members of his own political organisations.

This sort of socialist allegiance is only a dutiful socialist who could dutifully appreciate a compeer. Demonstratively, Awolowo never concealed his affection for Nkrumah. Here comes the relevance of Awo and Nkrumah's inter-political factors on African Scene which Chief Awolowo cemented in the content of the first lecture, thus:

"Among All African nationalists-dead or alive Kwame Nkrumah laboured more consistently and more tirelessly than others for the liberation of Africans from colonial bondage and for the enhancement of the dignity of the Black men in Africa and elsewhere in the world. In particular he strove relentlessly and staked everything, including his personal freedom for ultimate independence of Ghana in 1957, thus earning for himself the unsurpassed glory of leading the first Black African country after Liberia completely out of direct foreign rule and domination Furthermore, he more than anyone else masterminded the birth and the initial dynamics of the Organisation of African Unity"

By all standard, Awolowo is known for weighing his words before making a pronouncement. Certainly, the above passage encompassed all what Late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah lived for. Since his death, no-one has ever/never in one paragraph eulogised the

memory of Nkrumah in the way Chief Awolowo brilliantly did in his lecture. It is just a befitting tribute which he (Awo) concluded as follow:

"To be associated with his name, therefore even in a casual way, cannot but be regarded as an event of gratifying significance. But to be associated with his name in this historic manner is something to be cherished with immeasurable pleasure and gratitude". p.1

While other people recognised the gem of Awolowo, in African's sphere Nigerian masses also do recognise the value too and they know what they are losing through the reactionary barrier erected between them and Awo.

when they parted ways. There was never a time Enahoro made an uncomplimentary remark about Awolowo throughout the period we were together. Hitherto, we still are, Our occasional discussions on Nigerian politics and whenever Chief Awolowo's name came up I was able to know through Chief Enahoro some salient factors of Awolowo's quality.

When Chiefs Awolowo and Enahoro were not co-ordinating as people expected them to do, news started flying about. The distance between the twosome became wider. Under this worried situation, I was forced to tease Chief Enahoro about the LEADER. This is how we were addressing Awolowo then. Contrary to my expectation, I was baffled at the glowing tribute and revered manner Chief Enahoro held the leader and the polished language which he took to explain the "rumour" to me. On another occasion when we were discussing Awolowo, Late Justice Kessington Momoh (then private legal practitioner) was in attendance. The relaxed atmosphere under the shaded tree at Chief Enahoro's Kingsway Road, Ikoyi residence was pervaded with the usual respect whenever we discussed politics and of course Awolowo. What could have been the reason for this, if not the greatness Awolowo possesses in himself which was found in his star and age.

When Chief Awolowo left Gowon's cabinet in 1971, I purposely asked Chief Enahoro about his continuation or resignation. I remembered that day that he was about going to play the game he loves so much-golf. He clearly heard me, as usual he hates being disturbed at such point. So, he was quick to tell me to wait till after the game, so we could talk over it. In between the time, I had the matter discussed with Late Alhaji K. Momoh. Both of us wanted Enahoro to follow Awolowo's step. We satisfied ourselves according to how we perceived the issue. Eventually, when the matter was discussed with Enahoro, we were told a bitter lesson of politics. Enahoro recounted how Awolowo is dear to him politically and humanly. But the past mistake, how both of them left Western Region at the same time provided the chance for the havoc which attended the region. That mistake should not be repeated again. On account of this, he would not resign. This much we agreed with him. It was at this point I started to discounting all those wild dama

ging rumours planted between these two good people.

There are some people who prefer, if Awolowo permits them to lay around him and keep vigil day and night in his house. Though nothing is wrong with such interest, but, it is possible to know Awolowo much better than those "ins", if one cares to know. My observation of Awolowo at close quarter and at a distance proved the man a simple person. It is therefore proper to conclude this Awolowo/Enahoro episode with an incident which both of them may or may not remember again. The point here is specifically about Chief Awolowo. From Enahoro's camp which I belonged, we had our approach (without Enahoro's knowledge) to bridge the 'gap', but Chief Awolowo beat us to it. How that happened I could not tell nor Enahoro who I knew was cut unexpectedly.

Straight from the court, after the day session one afternoon, Chief Awolowo in company of one of his junior colleagues called on Chief Enahoro at the Federal Ministry of Information, Independent Building, I was at the reception hall that afternoon waiting for Chief Enahoro to close for the day. When Chief Awolowo emerged, the whole visitors in the hall respectfully stood up. Awolowo responded the greetings and turned to fill the visitors slip. The lady receptionist entreated him to go in, yet Awolowo insisted on the normal procedure. The whole lot of us was just flabbergasted. This is a lesson, a very simple one this phenomenon is teaching us. The grandeur around Awolowo glowed over any inhibition anyone of us might have had in our respective erroneous view about the man.

Another lesson of life. When, the receptionist eventually took the slip in, in a flash Chief Enahoro was out to usher his visitor in, with respectful greetings, audible enough to the hearing of us all in the hall. Less than an hour, the twosome emerged from the Commissioner's Chambers. Vividly, my mind tossed back to that good old days of 1953 when both men walked out of the Parliament Chambers over the dilatory motion of Northern People Congress on the motion for Nigerian Independence moved and seconded by Chiefs Enahoro and Awolowo respectively.

Late in the day, Chief Enahoro briefed me and said he would be visiting Awolowo in his house few days time. The visit was duly made on one Friday evening and I was also briefed. So you

causing untold misery on Nigerian masses, hence the root of today's predicament of Nigeria's state.

What Awolowo had said and done about education, health, unemployment offered sufficient solutions. On economy, agriculture, and industrial development, monetary and foreign economic relations, areas of diversification of Nigeria's economy and judicious management of scarce financial resources, Awolowo had laid down the fundamental solutions and the operative principle. Between 1981 and 1983, in the heat of politicking, Awolowo never lost bearing to advise the power to be. Example of advisory politics typified in "SHAGARI vs. AWO" with introduction by Chief M.C.K. Ajuluchukwu.* Chief Awolowo is not noted for trivial personal recriminations. His entire sayings and writings testified this fact. He is liked or hated for an issue. Issues concerning the being of Nigeria and the entire inhabitants were the bone of contention between him and Shagari's administration within the state above period. On Friday, July 1981, in a letter of advice to President Shagari, he (Awo) wrote in part as follows:

"As someone who together with other Nigerian Patriots and nationalists, has spent more than 40 years in labouring for the unity of Nigeria and the posterity and happiness of its entire people, I cannot afford to see the country suffer disintegration and its good people avoidable anguish. It is for this and other reasons that I feel myself, under a duty to proffer some pieces of advice which, if accepted will for a surety, avoid the fast approaching from national catastrophe and endear you to the hearts of your fellow countrymen and women" p.2

When President Shagari was replying, rather to engage Awolowo on the economic issues raised in the letter, the tone of his (Shagari) letter was a patent derision of Awo.

During Awolowo's premiership of Western Region, the cardinal forces of development and progress were human factors. For example the appointment of an unrepented communist ideologue, Late J. B. Omotosho to Western Nigeria Development Corporation and that of a booming and bouncing energetic business magnate, Chief Alfred Rewane to Western Nigeria Marketing Board typified a fruitful combinations which placed Western Region second to none in the over-all developmental areas of Nigeria. The story was no different with the civil servants. Appointment and utility of the rightful human caliber to the appropriate offices is a rare quality which is not common in some people in leadership position. Western Region was fortunate to have a resourceful leader in person of Awolowo who possess that rare leadership quality to make him see the intrinsic attribute in other human beings. Only those who know value can appreciate value. Against the monstrous criticism of official administration of the then Western Region, there was never a time he (Awo) or his officials and political appointees resorted to derision of person. Success of the then Western Region which every body is singing its enviable position to the high heaven was the result of the sublime quality of Awolowo who led the government. Opinion floated about that there is wider gap between Awolowo and this time-period of Nigeria. If one is not trying to be fatalistic, the futuristic icon which such mood is destined to set, will dim the light on the morning glow. Awolowo is deeply related to the present and acted according to the prevailing circumstance. Awolowo's chance getting to office at the Federal level is not to surrender to astral conjecture of fate of time lapse between the present and the future. The incontestable fact of his chance would have weakened the economic grip of reactionary forces on the masses and also spelt their political doom. What the present demands of him and got from him is his mission to lay down imperishable "GUIDE TO ACTION" for the next phase of the "counter-vailing and counter-acting" of the exploitative and the exploited classes.

Men like Jose Martin in Cuba, Chernychevski in Russia, Ya-sun-tseng in China laid down Guide to Action for the subsequent socialist revolutions which took place in their respective countries, without beating the drum of socialism. Karl Marx laid

down Guide to socialist revolution without any specific national view. All these men of significant world history never governed a nation in their life time, yet their visions and thoughts are reigning in many countries of the world. Fidel Castro in Cuba, Mao-tse-tu and Chuo-en-lai in China (both late) and Lenin (also late) in USSR. Today, these nations and many others are reverring their visions and thoughts and revelling in the concrete fruition of those visions. So Awolowo can only live in his own time and which he lives creditably.

In this way Awolowo does not need to instruct anyone to carry ARMS before Nigerians are compulsorily driven to unavoidable arms insurrection.. The place of Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the political history of Nigeria is encased in the Guide To Action which is typical of all great men in history. It is left to the exploited masses to sum-up courage and see through in Awolowo's Guide To Action for their own liberation. What will be party-politics, indeed the polity of Nigeria without Awolowo? It is too early to say, but signs have started showing some muddles; power of reason is gradually giving way to sophistry, circumventive political route is overshadowing the orthodox overt practice, government financial resources are shrinking under the glamorous launching of inextinguishable private donations, absurdity of material wealth is glorified above the pride of labour and despair is setting in the place of hope and finally allegiance to the fatherland is being thrown over-board through religious bigotry. This is not the Nigeria of Chief Obafemi Awolowo's vision and of all other conscientious patriots.

CHAPTER ONE

REFERENCE AND ADDITIONAL READING

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3. *My Life With Kwame Nkrumah* — 1972 (Unpublished)
 - (i) *The Dual Mandate In British Tropical Africa*
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 - (ii) *On The Spot* — by Sir David Hunt
An Ambassador Remembers - Peter Davies, Lond. 1965
 - (iii) *Selected Philosophical Essays* - N.G. Chernyshersky
Russian Edition. Institute of Philosophy of the USSR's
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 - (iv) *History of Western Philosophy* by Bertrand Russel
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 - (v) *Larousse World Mythology* — Paul Hamlyn, 1965 - Lond.
 - (vi) *Prehistoric Man* — Paul Hamlyn 1960 Printed in
Czechoslovakia

Awo is back
—News



Don't run my boy, the arrow and the hammer are for those sucking us dry.

Culled from Nigerian Tribune

CHAPTER TWO

THE WAY IT HAS BE

THE THRUST/PUSH

When reason can no longer hold in the face of impunitive act, all other exercises of human actions will become nightmare. In Nigeria it is a matter of argument and not of reason to think of what man can do and what he cannot, of what can happen and what not. Nigeria's "secret" affiliation to Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) is a point in view. The affiliation is not strange because there has never be a time when religion is not a political weapon of the Hausa/Fulani oligarchy in its approach to Nigeria's existence. This oligarchy had been the sustaining bastion of other retrogressive forces in the country. For example, the decisive forces of peasant/farmers and progressive elements in Yorubaland are hindered by the supportive linkage existing between Hausa/Fulani oligarchy and those most depraved Yoruba reactionaries. Similar oligarchic linkage with those who prided themselves 'traditional allies' of Hausa/Fulani Islamic Caliphate also blurred the future of the country.

Those who had been ignoring this fact cannot by now turn round to lament and regret the predicament of Nigeria's OIC membership. Because, the chip is down and it is now left for the blind

PRAYER FOR UNITY

AFTER reading Yemi Ogunbiyi's conversation with his uncle Page 7, Guardian, July 4, 1985) I felt sad for his country.

I felt sad for Yemi. I felt sad for his uncle whose age Yemi put at 80 and who in my opinion should be resting somewhere in peace.

In this year of the Lord, 1985, a man of Yemi's level of literacy (I doubt very much if he is educated) still finds it convenient to write that Northerners (Gambari and Co?) can only score as high as one per cent in examinations in which their Southerner counterparts score 85 per cent.

I can now see why throughout Yemi's con-

versation with his uncle, only Tai Solarin's detention without trial was specifically and totally condemned. It is, in the view of those with limited vision, the only calamity that has befallen this country.

I can now see that in Tai Solarin, Yemi and his uncle have got a comrade whose prejudices and contempt for northerners is total and complete.

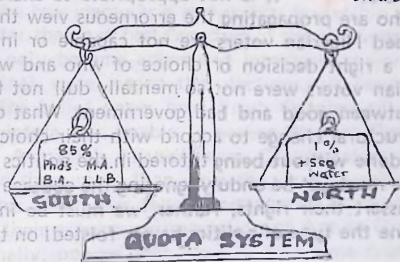
Their reasons for this hatred is that northerners who score one per cent in their examination gain admission into federal government colleges while southerners who score 85 per cent are denied admission. The noto-

rious federal character and immortal quota system are at work again!

But before I bore you with much talk I am compelled to pray for Yemi, his uncle and his other comrades. I pray that they see the light so that when next they come into this world, they would be born northerners.

Then they wouldn't have to break their necks working so hard (I almost said scaling examination papers and organising certificate rackets), or be born geniuses before they finally arrive.

Quota system will give them all the coveted posts, all the Ph.Ds of this world in addition to all the land in Maroko on a platter of gold.



HANTSIS

and people like Professor Chinua Achebe to see sophistry of the "The Trouble With Nigeria" is just a bundle of exotic fantasies. The real contagious "trouble" is now at the door-step. Gradually, from 1954 - 59, when the thrust to the Atlantic was re-awakened protagonists of unitary system, in their characteristic incoherent and systematic denunciation of Federalism were cameleönically part and parcel of the forces which destroyed the true canon of Federal system. In addition, there were rampant deliberate quiescence and naked swapping of electorate's verdicts designed to satisfy a pre-determined end. The passage of this fraudulent swapping was not without a voice of objection. Whenever objection was raised, it was always felt on the bounteous feast of unreason. So, why electorate's verdicts were swapped, who cares to reason? Come to think of 1964/66, 1979 and the 1983 elections. They were all troubled with deliberate pre-determined results (popularly known and called "rigging")

Many elections have been contested in this country and the pre-concern of the status quo was to make/cause Chief Obafemi Awolowo lost/lose each election he (Awolowo) contested. Can Protagonists of the status quo honestly say today that Alhaji Shehu Shagari won the 1979 and 1983 elections with all his apparent and utter failures? Everybody, including beneficiaries of Shagari's administration are now deriding the regime no less than the castigation of Armed Forces of civilian epoch which was the ramifications of NPN—Shagari era. It is not appropriate to share in the sense of those who are propagating the erroneous view that Nigerian masses, indeed Nigerian voters are not capable or intelligent enough to make a right decision or choice of who and who is to rule them. Nigerian voters were not so mentally dull not to know the difference between good and bad government. What can they do to effect a structural change to accord with their choice? What could they have done without being tutored in the politics of forceful resistance? We must not be unduly ignoring the courage of Nigerian masses to assert their rights, Rather, we must be intelligent enough to examine the type of politics being foisted on the silent majority.

It takes a lot of party (political) work to reject a "failure" and to follow-up the rejection beyond voters ballot paper boxes. The mounting impression about the doubtful silent majority, which is seen by some people as sign of 'ignorance' was the product of the passive and pacifist doctrine which characterised the birth of some political parties in the second republic. It is uncharitable to pass the buck. The fault could not have being that of the silent majority so long this majority had faith and hope in party system. They could not act beyond the tune and tone set out for them.

For example, in 1965 general elections in Western Region, the crisis infested position of Action Group (A.G.) Party encouraged all its political opponents and friends alike to plan rigging. They thought it was going to be easy affairs to assail the verdict of the people with Awolowo's indisposition. Some right-wing leaders of Action Group itself were not sure of their party's capability to resist if the elections were rigged. However, election came and it was blantly rigged by the power that was.

Unexpected curfew was imposed on Western Region barely few minutes to the beginning of counting of votes throughout the length and breath of the Region. NCNC was in its usual confused-self, one leg with the NPC and the other leg either with AG or with itself. At that point in time the game was up to the silent majority. However, when the silent majority saw the forcefulness of the few ideological and radical leadership wing of the party (AG), after the next first two days of the elections, the silent majority not only became active but intelligent majority. Much as the powers that were rigged the elections, its results were rejected beyond the ballot paper box. From October till December 1965, Chief Akintola was unable to govern Western Region. Apart from puzzling Akintola's Hausa/Fulani Collaborators from the north, it worried them more than what they had bargained for initially. I was at this point, our fellow countrymen across the east of Niger dropped their erroneus impression of Action Group party machi-nery. Finally, powers that were at that time crumbled. What was the ingredient of all this?

The ingredient was not far-fetched from the contrived politics which left the silent majority with the chance to make a choice between two versions of election results. Voters were never aware of what they knew who they voted for. So, it was for the party to brace the silent majority with seemingly authentic election results before a state of combat is possible between reactionary force and exploited masses. In the case of Western Region in 1965, it was the authentic election results masses were defending against the rigged results. How it was defended that must go to the credit of many unassuming political genius among those ideological and radical leaders at that time. So, that type of politics was highly above what anyone may consider primitive today. Failure to adopt similar strategy, particularly in 1983 elections was not due to effect of "ignorance of the silent majority. Masses do not just rise for the sake of a revolution. There must be a bait to contest for. This bait was all the politicians were lacking in 1983 elections.

Nigerian masses are not frightened by the "mightily paraded almighty federal might". It was brutally paraded, and unleashed against masses of Western Region before. NPN federal government repeated it against the people of Oyo State and gradually the people were finding answers to it. Given time, one side would have consumed the other. That was the natural law of conflict. So, the frightening factor in the past politics was the passive and pacifist doctrinal tendency which marked the tune and tone of party pronouncement. The least divergence from the doctrine in 1983 paid some dividend. At least, Ondo people brushed aside the doctrine and never allowed electoral cheats to pass unchallenged. Similarly in Niger, Plateau and Oyo. In Sokoto, of all places, traitor rejection was gathering momentum. If all these protests against electoral frauds were not sustained to the last, at least they had some impacts which will guide against future occurrence.

Myopic political pundits had condemned the courageous Ondo people for asserting their rights. Amusingly, those who are denouncing the 1983 electoral frauds in the most unthinkable manner have indicted the whole masses of Western Region before. When Jim

Nwobodo was incapacitated by the thrusting hegemony for its vassal in Anambra, the bully characters under the sun of Africa meekly quench like ice water. All along therefore, it has been injustice against Nigerian masses which was presumed to be against or to undo Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Few had rejoiced in their inner chambers in the past that Awolowo "lost" elections. What about the present when they have to shed ignoble tears to lament the same deliberate political swapping (rigging) of section 10 (ten) of the 1979 Federal Constitution of Nigeria to favour an Islamic Empire in 1986. Hopefully, this will not be considered against Awolowo this time, but against the entire people of Nigeria. If not for posterity, it is better to have the taste of bitter experience of history. A taste of it by all and sundry will now sharpen and focus Nigerian political senses on the real (not fantasy) problematic disease which oligarchy of Sokoto Caliphate had been constituting against Nigeria's peace and unity. Behold therefore, fellow countrymen, that has been the way since.

Those deceptive so-called neutrals in politics contributed immensely to all these deliberate actions. On this account one is tempted to ask, WHO IS NOT A POLITICIAN? With the glee some people scorn political tag shows clearly their deep and subtle involvements. They are the one controlling greater percentage of political game. Because of their ignoble role behind the scene, they cannot come openly to have a say in the affiliation of Nigerian government to Organisation of Islamic Republic which was metamorphosed into Conference.

In the first place, how did we become a member-state of OIC? Was it through the consensus of Nigeria masses or that of deliberate pre-determined decision of Cabal among the generality of muslims? Secrecy surrounding the affiliation explained it all. For now the secret is blown open and Nigerian Government (not a Nigerian religious organisation) is the 46th member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference. It may be profitable for those who are bankrolling Arab money to possess ocean cargo liners and becoming bank magnates. These supposed foreign banks might not be foreign until they are caught in the vicious circle of political tango. If OIC

remains to gain ground and be consolidated, Nigerian masses; they muslims or Christians will smell neither quoran nor bible any more, except wars and endless blood letting. One hopes, it will not be too late to comprehend the hiding meaning of OIC. Whatever attitude Nigerians have for the OIC membership for now, the posture of contempt here is the usual deliberate decision-making on the destiny of Nigeria. This has been vindicated by the present practice of POWER MANIPULATORS behind the scene in the political parlance of this country.

Willingly or not, Nigeria has become an Islamic Republic. Banji Kuroloja the astute Tribune's weekly POINT BLANK far said the truth which was unpleasant exposition to New Nigerian and the SUNDAY TRIUMPH. If these papers have their ways Mr. Kuroloja will not be far from crucifixion, judging from the fury emanating from them. Three years ago, it was a landslide by Verdict '86 and now it is an iconolatory ISLAMISATIONSLIDE through verdict '86. This is a verdict Nigerians should not delude themselves because Nigerians have got to the climax of "RIGGING PURPOSE

It is proper for the present to determine the future bearing. That is why, it should go down for posterity that it was the Moslem cabal of five people* who destroyed this country, which many people laboured to build. It has been a long journey with destruction of the Middle Belt areas and southern parts of the country. In its wake, from Sarduana of Sokoto through Balewa and Shagari to Buhari down the present line to the midst of OIC.

While holding this cabal responsible, we should digress a little to see what made it possible for them to achieve their goal of enslaving the rest of us to Arabian domination. Starting with the 1953 elections whose results instrumented the first collaborative government of NPC/NCNC, though Late Dr. Michael Okpara confessionally regretted the collaboration till he died. Nonetheless, Sarduana of Sokoto's geo-Atlantic politics found a reliable and formidable ally in Dr. Azikiwe to advance his vision of Atlantic seashore. It is difficult to blame Dr. Azikiwe who since 1949 had been sharpening

the interest of his Igbo people** in the context of Nigeria's land-lock politics. Hausa/Fulani and Igbo have been "traditional allies*** in the political spoilage of Nigeria.

In an encounter with the feature editor of Vanguard newspaper, ex-senator Chief Francis Arthur Nzeribe made it clear and plain that:

*"We have been left out of the scheme of things"****

It is interesting to know that there was a 'scheme of things' between these traditional allies which the ex-senator asserts forthrightly by saying:

*"We have been their traditional allies and gained nothing by it"****

By any material meaning of "WE" in both sentences, it only refers to no other people than the "IBOS" or IGBOS". So, being traditional allies in the scheme of things which did not work, is that not sufficient ground to disdain about, but merely to complain of? This is moreso when it is political scheming. With this attitude, it is a long way to go before Nigeria finds her bearing. So good that the lurking hands of obstruction would not stop showing by themselves in anticipation of designing another "Scheme of things".

*NEWSWATCH MAGAZINE: Feb. 24, 1986. Vol. 3 No. 8, p.13, Col. 3. Names of the prominent five people on the delegations are: ALHAJIS (1) R. Lukman, Abubakar Alhaji, (3) Abdulkadir Ahmed (4) Ibrahim and (5) Abubakar Mahamood Gumi.

**Dr. Azikiwe's Presidential Speech At Ibo State Union Convention in Aba, 1949.

***Encounter with an ex-Senator (2) WVANGUARD. Monday, March 3, 1986 p. 9 across centre-spread. The Ex-Senator is Chief F. A. Nzeribe

During the 1964/65 elections, NCNC wanted to make rectitude of the past glutton and went into half-hearted alliance with Action Group, UPGA, but like itself, it stumbled into/its political shell, deeply allied with its traditional principal NPC again, Hausa Fulani oligarchy of Sokoto Caliphate's géo-Atlantic political further gained ground. Thereby ascentuated its thrust with the infusion of energy by an undivided collaborative character of political leaders who were in the same frame of mind to share in the boot of conquest. However, this time, part of Yoruba political establishment under Late Chief S. L. Akintola and the living Chief R. A. Fani-Kayode and many leaders of the so-called minority areas were in the bandwagon aiding and abetting the quest for Atlantic conquest.

All of them had a common deal to the bargain. The deal was to see that Chief Awolowo and his associates were vilified and be destroyed in order to remove obstacles and threat they constituted. One would have thought that corporate interest of Nigeria would reigned above the person of Awolowo in their minds. Alas! there was nothing which economic and mental poverties could not breed. All the available instruments of propaganda at their disposal were put together and state instruments of coercion were set in motion to run down everybody and everything that stood on the way of the oligarchy. All these notwithstanding, political terrain of Western Region was still not accessible to them to penetrate.

Still unrelented in its consideration of an accessible way-out, Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy together with its national and foreign collaborators had to incarcerate Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Anthony Enahoro, then Comrade S. G. Ikoku who later came from Ghana to taste his own in detention during Ironsi regime, now Alhaji L. K. Jakande who became Governor of Lagos State, J. S. Umoren from Cross River State and many others. It was alleged and so charged that they were attempting to overthrow Balewa regime. What a spurious neat excuse to advance in order to achieve an end? Though much was expected from the Grand Design, but it made the quest of the jihaddists more difficult.

Masses in Western Region of Nigeria put-up stiff resistance which was about to turn the whole area into a liberated zone of peasant/farmers and progressive side of Nigerian working-class within the context of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Continuous resistance of people in Western Region might be the stupor to the first military intervention into civil politics of Nigeria. The hiding fact of the resistance was the class character the struggle was assuming. If attempt was made from both sides to link the resisting forces of the Western Nigerian masses and the "revolutionary" wing of the January 15/16 Military uprising, the chance of the regular Nigeria Army under Major-General Ironsi to sustain those decadent civilian political leaders would have been too far remote. Well, treachery played its part within the military circle on one side and despair set in on the side of civilian masses.

Until Late Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu and his fellow majors (of Blessed memory) emerged on the scene, Western Nigeria was boiling and the masses were showing the ability to liberate themselves from the yoke of any type of imperialism, jihaddist, Arabian culturalisation and any other forms they might be. The whole episode of OIC is the continuation of the deadly disturbing crude Arabian culturalisation disease. It is not beyond the capability of masses in the same Western States (Yorubaland) where OIC issue is planned to be the battle cry, to liberate themselves in the same way and manner they did in the past if and when the need arises. *Yoruba Warfare in 19th century by Professors Ade Ajayi and Smith. One sincerely hope that issue of OIC membership which supposed not to have arising in the first place, should not provoke un-necessary political upheavals.

After thirteen years of military aberration, another elections were scheduled for 1979. It was the same old game of Zik-NPP collaborative practice and active participation of some christian political leaders of the so-called minority areas which invigorated the more determined geo-islamic jihaddists to pointify that everything had been conquered from the desert to the Atlantic. While still holding these muslim cabal responsible, it is pertinent

to ponder whether to exonerate or not some christian political leaders for the folly of their collaborative actions.? OIC membership is an issue which compelled one among the leading figures who fought for the freedom of this country, Chief H. O. Davies to remind the present generation of religious amity existing among Nigerians, long before the emergence of the present religious adventurists.

Chief Davies's courage and his timely reminder are indicative of Yoruba's approach to either religious sentiment or reality. Without meticulous circumspect, the possibility of a servant or an errand boy misleading a master or principal is unavoidable. Among those christian political leaders who remained quiescent, apart from those who ran away from the country, the rest had soiled their conscience beyond parity. They are only living in glory of shame. Reverend fathers and bishops who never contributed to the desiderata of political spoils are now left to bail out the nation from the invasion of Organisation of Islamic Conference—(Republics

On serious note, the fact is that, it was not the muslim imams, the alfas and the multiplicity young men and women muslim organisations which dragged Nigeria into OIC. They are just defensive cannonfodders whose fate is beyond their own control. The real brain behind the scene are the Hausa/Fulani oligarchy which is residual in Sokoto Caliphate politics, the bureaucrats and their military power brokers. For this reason, the action of this Muslim Cabal which trapped Nigeria into the closet of Arabian Empire is not so much a christian concern than the entire patriotic Nigerians. It touches the very foundation on which Nigeria is standing. In normal game of politics, numbers are the determinant factor, In Nigeria's context, numbers are not, where travestry has taken over and this is more reason why OIC was brought to play. What else remain in the arsenal of Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy and their faithful "allies" to shake the fate of Nigeria? Possibly, this might help to frighten the unity of the country so that they can retrieve their inevitable lost of power and position. Nigerians must demonstrate

thick nerves and make sure that Nigeria's sovereignty is not negotiable. It is not an alternative to any particular THEOCRATIC state. President Ibrahim Babangida's administration owes the nation this one vow. OIC membership is a darkest spot of subjugation to Arab religious manouvres which demands masses's understanding, clarity and intelligence, instead of indulgence.

If the despotic way of governance noted in Saudi Arabia, Iran Pakistan and those so-called Islamic Republics is anything to go-by Nigeria has nothing to emulate or to enjoy in the aroma of associating with Republics of Islamic Empire. Furthermore, careful examination of political and economic structures of the entire member states of Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) shows many characteristics common among them. These are brutalisation of opposition parties, despotic rules of Kings and Emperors, perpetually aberrated military regime and a submissive multitude resting their hopes on menacing bayonets. This is now being contemplated for Nigeria through the machinations of OIC. The game is up and the Oligarchists have only the OIC shot to fire in order to diffuse any political articulation of the masses in the country. Whether introduction of OIC was properly reasoned out time in its march will tell. That it was clamped on Nigeria without adequate regard to the differential and pluralistic political cultures of Nigerian society is the strongest stem against its admissibility. I cannot see how Yoruba muslims, christians and traditional religionists imbued in long democratisation of their society: political life and social obliques will succumb to curtailment of these cheques they have been enjoying.

Though few mavericks could call for one-party system, non-party system, rotational leadership, back-to-old age practice of our "father". The amusing thing in all these is that, these ideas belong to those who cannot convince themselves in order to convince the populace. That apart, the bankruptcy of these ideas have much to do with many sojourns these idealists had made through the political territory of this country without success. If a child at twenty-six

is still crawling instead of walking erect, definitely, something must be abnormal with the child. Nigeria is an abnormal child today, the cause which must be unequivocally stated. The unrelenting Islam drive and the political travesty of Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy are the twin causes of Nigeria's abnormality. Until a cure is found, Nigerians are wasting their precious time and chance getting anywhere in the coming twenty-first century.

Towards the attainment of Independence, it took British Authority good five years to prepare leadership of neo-colonialists. After they were groomed, a farce election was conducted in 1959. By it the gain of independent struggle slumped into the hands of these neo-colonialist agents. The introduction of Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) at this point in time demonstrates the replacement of one neo-colonialism with another equivalent in purpose to the last stage of imperialism. Nigeria will be troubled with this retrogressive neo-colonialist forces for some times to come. Only the total combinations of Chief Awolowo's GUIDE TO ACTION and Kwame Nkrumah's "Class Struggle In Africa" that will quicken and shorten the time limit of Arabian neo-colonialism. Once those inimical forces against the country are identified and determined, verbal criticism will be incompatible with the primary actions of reactionary's causation. This is a fact born out of experience. Criticising deliberate actions of swapping election results and committing a whole nation to international obligations without the slightest sense or sign of remorse cannot yield a better dividend. Change wrong to right. It is doubtful whether any correction can be made this time, particularly on issue concerning the OIC affiliation. In case of a change due to general stand of Nigerian that change may be cosmetic on the surface and it can be subtle ineffective underneath. This is not to doubt Babangida administration and the integrity of those in the saddle. Those who masterminded Nigeria's application knew before hand the consequences of their actions. They never hide the end-purpose of their scheme to the nation on the divisive course and better still to "rig" Nigeria of existence.

The pity of it is the schematic plot which trapped a popular regime like the President Bagangida's administration. It requires a lot of tact to extricate the administration from the forces dragging Nigeria along a blind alley. The greatest absurdity Nigeria will suffer is to allow those who contributed nothing whatsoever to the struggle of independence and do not possess the slightest conscience of independence to easily prey and gamble Nigeria to another domination. What a terrible and a horrible time in the life of our nation!

CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER THREE

COMBATS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY (CPE)



**“Good God! how I wish the Boom didn’t get
Doomed in my time.”**

Culled from Nigerian Tribune

THE CONTEST

Nigeria's economic contest-sweet or bitter, viable or bankrupt-basically is a rag-race between and among elements of the same social and economic class. The race by itself goes along equal number of political parties in existence. A deep study of economic fabric of this country; from its rural stage to its modern complexity proved that MAN is the motivating agent or amoeba of all other inanimate objects that enter the orbit of economic activities. So long man can interact with these objects, it is hard to divorce his action which is politics from economic breath. As such, the theme of this chapter is strictly political combat between socialism and capitalism. The strength of disparity between the two ideological camps in Nigeria arises from the status of slavery, Nigerian working class had been from colonial era. The advantageous or precisely the hegemonious position of suckers and butchers of Nigerian national wealth is also a coterminous institution with colonial heritage.

The political role of working class which was disrupted during Obasanjo/Yar' Adua regime took gale out of the current. Nigeria jumped many steps and attempted to rely on computer for many things of life; application of automation in industries, operating and developing scientific and technological know-how. To a large extent, political propaganda which helped to crush scientific and technological nationalism of Nigerians was phrased in purpose as "Transfer of Technology". It was during military regime of Obasanjo /Yar'Adua this phrase went wild in the country and the purpose was clear to all patriotic political-economists as a straight-jacket of neo-colonialist design to contain Nigerian ingenuity. Even, if technology and scientific feats of other land are "transferred", from where they were transferred, it remains still the proven creativity of labour which produced them.

Development and innovation had actually advanced the ~~st~~ of **technology** and scientific invention and marginally reduced amount of manual involvement in some heavy industrial activities. Nonetheless, the entire economic activities still depend on manual labour.

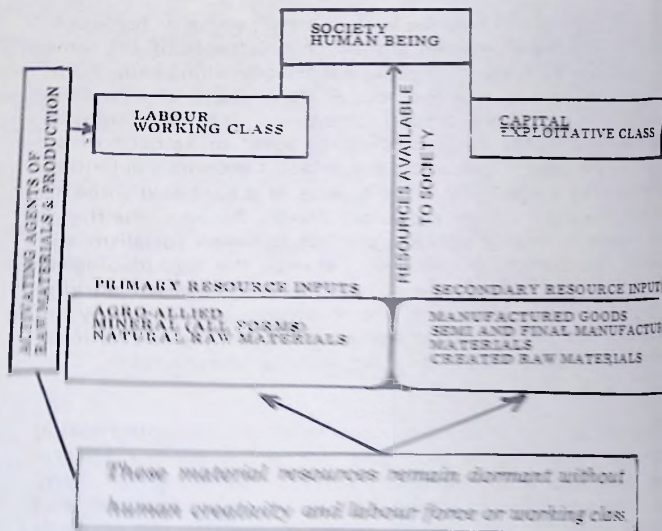


DIAGRAM I

Indication from the above diagram shows an incontrovertible evidence that labour, (that is working class) is the one carrying burden of providing national wealth to the nation more than other agents in the society. In terms of who owns what, Nigerian working class owns less than ten percent of National Gross or Wealth derived from production.

When Karl Marx wrote his KAPITAL and it appeared on bookstands in 1867 and Vladimir I. Lenin wrote "The Development of Capitalism In Russia" around 1905-1914, both men authenticated the vast national wealth, working class provided out of its labour to which one section of the society grabbed for its exclusive possession. Whereas, the kernel of Marx and Lenin argument was, whoever that produce wealth should be the owner of the wealth. This supposed to be a simple argument, but it was complicated by societal parasites.

The evolution of intercourse between primary inputs-natural raw materials and secondary inputs- semi manufactured goods and created materials - is the height of human ingenuity to facilitate the burden man is carrying in the growing economic complexity of our time. Painstakingly therefore, economic philosophers were able to dissect, SERVICE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES from the actual mainstream of economy. When the evolution of intercourse reached a complex frame of operation, among the dissected operational institutions are Financial, Insurance, Legal and other related institutions which are either auxillary or supportive to the mainstream of economy.

Unlike the european emergence of parasitic social and economic class, the Nigerian emergence was aided and abetted by colonial and international finance oligopoly. Prior to independence and thereafter, money capitalism without technological and industrial sinews were imposed on Nigeria. Since then, ideology of various governments that came into being had been in line with colonial economic pattern so imposed. The supposed nationalistic indigenisation exercise initiated during Gowon era only consolidated the transferable aspect of capitalism into the hands of the few created national capitalists. At that time, the deluding phraseological propaganda was so psychological in the minds of Nigerian masses which left them with no room to digest what was indigenised and how it was indigenised. The hysteria which accomplished the euphoria of indigenisation rendered any second thought on it very ineffective. In effect, the very colonial and neo-colonial capitalist economic system persisted on ideological basis and formed the bedrock

of various Governments of Nigeria. We can go further to note, that each economic system has its own ideological framework. As a matter of fact, the inevitable conclusion is that capitalist economic system is tractable exploitative in its entirety and necessarily, political and ideological framework must unavoidably be reactionary in all respect. There has never been a contrary perception nor controverted fact of this ideological stand-points of the Nigerian political and economical ruling class.

But, the strange thing, however is the way the so called learned activists, intellectuals and many "learned" illiterates are fond of calling on every government that be in this country to evolve an ideology for the nation as if there was none. After all, the British imperial power that colonised Nigeria is capitalist ideologically orientated; What it left behind is capitalism per se. Hausaland Fulani caliphate with its southern Nigerian subordinates who succeeded British rulers is by origin and culture a brutish capitalists discipline from its Arabian homeland. Certainly and inevitably, capitalism must underline the fountain of its political power. After all said and done, if not out of deceit, there is no other excuse to continue at the existence of political ideology of capitalism in this country.

Protagonists of capitalist system who know its mechanism and its perfection can rationalise its workability and the benefit Nigeria as a nation will derive from it. For the past twenty five years of independent existence of Nigeria, these protagonists had the opportunity to solve the perennial economic PROBLEMS of Nigeria. Their inability to solve it despite their vantage position and the controllable authority they have in government explained the crux of the matter beyond the semantic of WHAT is the problem and HOW to solve the problem. Unless we wish to continue deceiving ourselves capitalism is not the solution to this country's economic and political complexities. If Nigerian masses have not yet pick-up arms to release themselves from the claw of capitalist political robbery and economic exploitation, that does not mean, they have entered a bargain with the protagonists of the obnoxious system or accepted its doctrine.

In Nigeria, the dept of capitalist system is the rapacious "looting" of the country's treasury. Seen is believing, so goes a saying; Every single Nigerian capitalist millionaire is not without, connections, overtly or covertly with government project-contracts, influence and position. West European Capitalism had its origin from individual technological invention, family cottage or factory economy, and collective scientific research. In the course of its growth and development, the growing volume of work attracted additional labour hands from outside the individual or family range, but the embryonic invention remained the personal property of the individual person or family. It was from personal property to private property that the bone of political economy vest itself with the struggle between the labour-working class i.e. the motivating agents of creating and multiplying national wealth and the parasitic capitalist consumers of wealth, i.e. the exploitative class whose claim to wealth is by the coercive instrument of the state.

It is yet to be seen a single Nigerian capitalist who has created or invented a technological design or made scientific contribution of his own origin by which he could make money and multiply his wealth. When it comes to it, Nigerian technologists, engineers, scientists, inventors and the entire labour force are looked down upon by the butchers of Nigerian treasury, because professional labour hands have no "monetary means" to bloom their creative ingenuity. Further-more, law of the land made it and make it impossible for them to initiate a break-through in any endeavour. Nigerian herself is at the hapless mercy of these capitalist Draculas who are profiting from the strangulation of Nigeria's economy by their constant political jugulative policies. Assessed properly, black Africans under the crucible apartheid system in South Africa cannot be worse than Nigerian masses whose psyche had been murdered under the dehumanised capitalist system prevailing in Nigeria. The World at large should know that economic bankruptcy of Nigeria is in consonant with political class character of the ruling elements Simply put-phoney bogey.

In real perspective, effort of the ruling class is desperate work to misconstrue the growing CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC WEALTH of this country into few hands. Between 1960 and 1965/66, it was possible and easier to count the number of affluent rich (not millionaires) Nigerians without bothering to know the source of their richness. With the advent of military regimes, the dignity of labour lost its place and glory at the altar of "do-nothing" acquisition of wealth through contracts. Hopelessly, everybody lost the count of millionaires and their sources of wealth. Since then, some civilians, either of classmate connection or, in one way and the other connected with military personnel and other retired military men became the avantgaurds of moneyed-capitalism. There are many phoney newly established "FARMS" all over the country as a means to deprive community and other peasant farmers of their land. The Land Use Decree is a point in view. Between 1975 and up to date, the rate at which Merchants Banks were established must baffle ardent FISCALISTS in the art of governance. Apart from the restrictive design of ownership to few trusted agents, the role of these merchant banks is secreted in the volume of foreign exchange that could change hand through its operations. Commercial Banks of obscured and malefescient practice sprang up, and within one year or so, of their establishments they easily owned staggering property that can create rupture in the bowel of the nation. Ownerships also belong to trusted few Nigerians connected with international finance monopolists. All these wealth and ownership are also secreted and protected by "legitimate" law of the land.

Industries are said to be established to develop the country, but no sooner the building structure is up than the very industry becomes a curse on national economy. Added to this deception Nigeria's foreign reserves are depleted and squandered on politics of raw materials. Debts mounted after masculine financial strength, yet Nigerian bourgeois and capitalist oligarchy see nothing wrong with its concept and in its avowed economic system. A crippling nation's economy can still provide avenue for few elements

to acquire banks, ocean liners, aeroplanes, electronic industrial hardware all at Nigeria's foreign exchange paid. Nigeria's national treasury is down the drain and myopically, there is pretence everywhere as if no one knows where goes the money. So, the pattern of concentration of wealth in Nigeria vindicates or bears testimony to Marx and Vladimir Lenin's theories as universal law of working class's revolt against bourgeoisie and any other political power sustaining capitalism.

Old Zikist Mokwugo Okoye in his book "A LETTER TO NNAMDI AZIKIWE" recounted the horror early socialist revolutionaries suffered in the hand of British colonial power. Without bitterness, he said that nothing stop the British authority to feel free to repress Zikists when Dr. Azikiwe himself had offered a plank to that effect. Okoye stated in his book that:—

"Before the new programme could be unfolded, the movement was stabbed in the back by Dr. Azikiwe; writing in his column in the West African Pilot, he declared that Zikists were 'fissiparous lieutenants and canterkerous followers'"

p. 19

Okoye went further to say that this "stab" encouraged British colonial regime to unleash a policy of repression against many other ordinary people. Okoye was expelled from NCNC, but he remained undaunted in his commitment to socialist ideal to the end.

History taught us in Nigeria that the enthronement of capitalist political power is repleted with colonial manipulations, fraudulent electoral practice, governmental coercive policies and armed forces wielding violent instruments. Capitalism is prevailing but not on account of persuasion. It never gained consent or accepted on conviction. There can be no moral and legitimate justification

for its authority besides the raw deals of brute and violence, which sustained it all these years. By this ascertainment, what can be the legitimate anti-dote to discourage, to prevent and finally to eradicate such a system? Honest to ourselves, legitimate means through which to prevent and eradicate bourgeois political power is not by persuasion or platitudinal moralisation, but by standing up to its machinations in its own understandable terms. Otherwise, the cript of slavery will be fasten on the masses, more hastily now that the nation is drifting towards a destructive theocratic state.

After settling the terms of ascension to political power, socialist authority will serve immediate dual purpose concurrently and consecutively.

- (1) *It should embark on socialist construction of the economy and the society.*

and

- (2) *It should reconstruct the debris left behind by capitalism on socialist line.*

Before the dual purpose, there must be a socialist power. There can be no other way to it. But, Nigerian socialist revolutionaries are fond of engaging themselves in post revolutionary diatribes rather than in pre-era. So, the hindrance or inhibition against socialist revolution in Nigeria is the inherent belief among revolutionaries that like mana from heaven and out of capitalist mercy and understanding, socialism will emerge. What a dreadful platitude. If Russians, Chinese, Cubans and other socialist revolutionaries all over the world adopted the same theoretical escapism, the world economy would have been perpetually entrapped under the cript of capitalist bourgeois of the world. The constraint which is restraining capitalist butchers of the world is the omnipresence of socialist camp. There is no earthly reason why Nigerian capitalist butchers should not be restrained through active and ceaseless socialist constraints here in Nigeria.

The more intensified the concentration of wealth, the deeper the demarcation line is drawn between the conflicting classes. Where working class is rendered captive as the case is in Nigeria by non-productive agents of wealth, balance in economic structure will remain horrible. The regulatory measure - i.e., the law of the land - which sustained the imbalance can also accelerate its demise. This is a fact which must not be ignored. On the whole, what and how socialist state or government adjustment will be is not the theme of this chapter. From 1948 till date, there have been and still there are well and better educative materials on the subject. It will be extreme venality for anyone to claim ignorance of the existing ideology as capitalist system. At the same time though, on the other hand much depend on those who are committed to socialist ideology to live by the norms and practice of revolutionary struggle to achieve a socialist society.

CHAPTER THREE

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3. *Managing The Nigerian Worker - Edited by P. N. O. Ejiofor and V. A. Aniagoh*, Longman Nigeria Ltd and Printed by Intec. Printers Ltd Ibadan, 1984
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IN SEARCH OF
LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER FOUR

LEADERSHIP FOLIO

IN SEARCH OF LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER FOUR

Nigerians in search of political order have been laying emphasis on personal traits of leaders without cognisance of the chromosome ideas and issues entail in leadership. That being so, The random bedlam associated with this cry is without recognition of the mutable order of causation and effect. This is a dilemma and not a constraint in the making of Nigeria. In what context then, Nigerian sociologist, political scientists, knowledgeable 'journalists' of repute, concerned citizens of public affairs and even those/people in authority conceived and are discussing leadership ethos in the political configuration of Nigeria?

This question requires patience to carry out a comprehensive exploration of circumstances which bred the kind of cacophonous discussion and the spell of political leadership, Nigerians have been under for a quarter of a century. The way Nigerian "experts" have been explaining the concept of leaders and leadership leaves much absurdities on the precinct of knowledge than the enthusiastic endeavour for clarity. It is therefore pertinent to explore the range of these "experts" explanations and see the motivating conceptual purpose of their view-points. May be, at the end of the exercise some useful measures could be derived from their postulations.

Cartoon Punch



"The 'thankless' job everybody loves."

Culled from Punch

NATIVE POPULACE AND THEIR SENSE OF OBSERVATION AND JUDGEMENT

In my usual extroverting character, I enjoy mixing together with the wide range of our native populace in this country. One important aspect of life I found admirable in them is their rich untampered native sense of understanding Nigeria's national malaise. On one occasion of our normal evening gesture, in the midst of lively discussion, one of them, a roadside mechanic by vocation exclaimed that any good and meaningful thing on reaching Nigeria is sure coming for abuse, misuse and finally turns into trivial and meaningless. This fellow cited few examples to justify his sense of observation. Among few examples he cited were the deliberate 'official' dislocation of educational value and its institutions, how serious issues of government were treated with underserved levity, how legitimate government machineries became a grab to accomplish ignominious end. He was at pains to point out, how national ethics were prostituted in lieu of foreign religions. Finally, among the native populace, another one pointed out, how national issues of vital importance to the survival of Nigeria are discussed with confused end-results. To them, they believed that issues are supposed from confusion and disagreement to emit an agreeable luminous sense of guidance and direction.

Revived with this soothing sense, in the case of Nigeria, it is pertinent to ask; whether the confused end-results are deliberately designed or accidental? But, because its persistent adverse effects on the state of Nigeria is damping all needed enthusiastic efforts aiming at resolution. For now, only cheer will of concern is propelling the spirit to remain undaunted. Otherwise, a reasonable scientific study of leadership should not and must not restrict its coefficient to traits of personality cult. That notwithstanding the fact, we should not reject the bedlam cry with the wave of hand, rather it is desirable to join issue on the subject matter.

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ON LEADERSHIP CONCEPT

With few exceptions, all other writers (embracing the above categories) on political development of Nigeria had concluded that past political events were centered on the scramble for leadership by three persons; Zik-Awolowo-Sarduana. When it is convenient for these writers, the tripod person could be explained on tripod ethnicity. When their eyes are cleared of mote, ethnicity could amount to tribe. Next to that, looking back at the mote, pseudo intellectualism will conjure the persons of Zik-Awo-Sarduana and their individual traits. The range of this sort of study is growing taller this days. Other writers particularly from military circle, mostly on retirement grandeur and their civilian sycophants have started rationalising personal trait of military leaders and leaders for Nigeria without showing a content issue and idea of scientific contribution the said military leaders made to military profession. As I have stated above that, 'with few exceptions' all other writers have taken a viewpoint of personal traits of leadership instead of issues and from this premise therefore, it becomes easier for us to have two Schools of Thoughts:

*Personal Traits of Person As Bed-
lam Factors in the Proclamation of
Political Leadership.*

and

*Chromosome of Ideas and Issues As
Primary Coefficient in the Calculus
of Political Leadership.*

Relating the above two schools to the preceding narrations, there are people's track records which will be helpful to our exploration. There are Mr. Samuel G. Ikoku's and Major-General James Oluleye's both representing the first school. There are many others in this school of thought, but the reason for selecting these two view-points is simple. Ikoku has been in the nationalist movement from the 50's and has been a member at one time or the other of nearly all the major political parties: from Communist/Marxist Party to the ultra-rightist and the invidious reactionary NPN. In each party he always occupied a prominent and strategic position. So, he knows what he is talking about when we are talking about in terms of leadership. As for General Oluleye, it is not possible for us to know the depth of his military prowess, but he is a retired military man who has come out with a study in political leadership of military men of this country.

The significance of his effort is the chance offered Nigerians to know what military politics was all about. The second school attracts to its fold people like Dr. Patrick F. Wilmot, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and on the fringe of the circle Late Professor B. J. Dudley who stood there to strike a balance.

Personal Traits School of Thought

PERSONAL TRAITS AS BEDLAM FACTORS IN THE PROCLAMATION OF POLITICAL LEADSHIP

OLULEYE'S BEDLAM VIEW-POINT

"The people or Nigerian leaders to whom the burden of running independent Nigeria fell can be regarded as the architects of Independence and custodians of the first Republic Although, the whole country was granted independence. The solidarity of the "British must go" among our then leaders quickly got ebbed for a "cut-throat and unhealthy rivalry" for various political motives but all amounting to one thing, struggle for the leadership of the country"

p.20

For the sake of history, the above passage should be quoted completely. Then, here goes the remaining portion of the quotation

*"the independence of which
nobody shed blood except that
Chief Anthony Enahoro was jailed
but another vocal person, Dr.
Nnamdi Azikiwe, escaped a jail
term by the reason of his being in
the Gold Coast (Ghana)" p.20*

In my school days, both at elementary and secondary, we were taught different types of essay among which are narrative, descriptive, explanatory and argumentative each with its own rudiments. The muddle of facts and historical inaccuracy in the above essay of Oluleye would run under a coloured pencil of an essay-master of history. The second quotation likewise lacks fact and where fact is patent it is wrongly or erroneously stated. On the whole, Oluleye's concept of leadership both at pre-and post-independent era and the purpose which the then leadership meant to him was just an unhealthy personal rivalry.

IKOKU'S BEDLAM VIEW-POINT.

(a) BEFORE THE SECOND REPUBLIC

- (i) *"Nigeria's political leadership was cast in the mould of Colonialism"* p.82

Ikoku essayed further in his book "NIGERIA FOURTH COUP D' ETAT" as follow:

"By 1953, the N.C.N.C and Action Group had struck up a political alliance that pushed through Chief Anthony Enahoro's self-Government motion in the House of Representatives. The reaction of British colonialism was swift and sharp (certainly to Self-government motion). Convulsed, by the apparent inconsistency of Chief Awolowo it (British) turned to encourage the formation of the Northern People Congress (NPC under the leadership of Sarduna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello. p. 82

The same inaccuracy which pervaded Oluleye's essay featured on Ikoku's story unshamedly. Many who read this portion in Ikoku's book will get bemused with laughter and stuck in utter embarrassment. The reason is that, Ikoku's track records in the Action Group both here in Nigeria and at Ghana, the way he had extolled Awolowo's leadership particularly during the Action Group crises (1962/66) and the content of his Awolowo's birthday lecture series, all these speak against Mr. Samuel G. Ikoku of the elderly era. When I think of many Ikokus on the African political scene, the thought of Late George Padmore's didactics would reverberate in one's mind. It was Padmore who said that many African politicians, if they are not

communists, they are radical socialists to the core at their 20's, 30's when they get to 40's, 50's they would turn moderate to the right and beyond that age mark, they will become the worst reactionaries and agents of their former enemies against what they stood for in their early life in political affairs. If Late Dr. Nkrumah rise from death to hear Ikoku's assessment of him, Padmore's didactics will be of immense consolation.

(b) IKOKU AFTER THE SECOND REPUBLIC

- (i) *"A new dimension in political leadership was becoming discernible in the Second Republic. This was the tendency for the ethnic minorities of the North and South of the country to club together as a forth force in the Nigeria Politics" p.84*

Ikoku alleged that the thought was made by Mr. Ukpabi Asika and Mr. Allison Ayida and his fellow super permanent secretaries which Ikoku tagged "Ibadan School of thought". What is vital to our exploration is Ikoku's evasive endorsement of this strategy along this premise:

- (ii) *The view was held that Nigerian Political instability arose from the perennial tussle for power at the centre between the three major ethnic groups-Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo" p.84*

Mr. Ikoku wasted no time to join the bandwaggon of this thought when he essayed that:

- (iii) *"To found power on the ethnic minorities would bring welcome relief, and it is more likely to provide the much needed political stability" p.84*

And the most fascinating aspect of his endorsement is the extemporal betrayal of his concept he made, to catch on the morbid ethnicity propounded in the "Ibadan School of thought's quadratic strategy. This is the amusing betrayal:

- (iv) *"In any case, an Igbo people heavily crippled by the civil war will provide ready and willing political reserve for this strategy." p.84*

Ikoku was trying to make un-necessary fuss about this strategy. This was the unpronounced strategy of Igbo people towards 1979 elections and overtly towards the 1983 elections. Apart from the fact that Fulani/Hausa oligarchist pod joined hands with Igbo pod to manipulate minority fourth pod to their side, still instability eluded Nigeria. That is the bankruptcy of the strategy or theory. Ikoku is not a naive political guru which Oluleye may not be. But, the denomination which is common to the duo and generally to this school of thought is its latent venom against excellence, institution and people. This author knows Mr. Ikoku well enough. His political thought is not strange to me and his mode of political operation is neither a marvel. The besetting fact about Ikoku is what he is up to the next moment. Even this concealment is a paradox to Ikoku himself. He may wake up to act without thinking of what to do. Basically, this sort of frame of mind and mood of the body is enigmatic of any sphinx. This is the crux of his problem not only against Chief Obafemi Awolowo, but against many others. In the case of Oluleye, the way he despised educated graduates in the army who carried out the first military coup of January 15/16, 1966 as evidenced in the introduction of his book "Military Leadership In Nigeria" made much absurdities of the ten points trait of leadership virtues he set out to discuss

With this school of thought, the future of Nigeria is inexplicably doom.

There are reasons for that. The search for individual personality cult will be endless. The heretogeneous nature of Nigeria's nationals will make it difficult to depend on personal trait-factors. Even the ethnicity strategy-which was tried with Shagari/Ekwueme (fulani/Ibo pods and minority force failed the test of leadership issue and idea in the context of Nigerian politics. Since the criteria of acceptability was lacking, ethnic-pod strategy was unable to hold. Leadership is not just for a person to come from either minority, or majority ethnic force, because the person assuming the leadership role may be a "supine" or a "hundrum", From the foregoings, we can see the absurdities inherent in the school of bedlam traits of proclaiming leadership. This school of thought is deeply rooted in the cloak of landlock traditional allies among Nigeria's nationals, who are desperate in need of sea outlet. This is not to say that they are unaware of the real issues entailed in leadership and in the making of Nigeria-nation. Their choice to play the ball adversely is designed to deny or preclude Nigerian masses from participating in the decision making of this country. After President Babangida's administration, whether the choice of a leader will be restricted to matter of proclamation of bedlam factors or not, it is now beyond anyone's prediction.

CHROMOSOME OF IDEAS AND ISSUES AS PRIMARY COEFFICIENT IN THE CALCULUS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Whether an idea or an issue is palatable or not, the moment it enters the realm of polemics, the substance of contest is established. The contention in the polemics of leadership in Nigeria from colonial period till the present time centered on the coefficient factors in the configuration of political, social and economic class character existing in the country. What caused British colonialism to prefer Balewa/Zik to Awolowo/Enahoro to replace it after it left? Before we go into history, the question is briefly answered in what was well known in the sphere of ideas and issues Awolowo/Enahoro is and in what they might likely constitute to the future of British imperial economic interest and to the interest of its local agents and the native tyrants. The school of ideas and issues coefficient is spear-headed by protagonists like Chief Anthony Enahoro, Chief Awolowo and Dr. Patrick Wilmot, in their respective Book:

1. Chief Anthony Enahoro: *"The Fugitive Offender"* 1965
2. Chief Obafemi Awolowo: *His numerous intellectual works, one which is, The People's Republic* 1965.
3. Dr. Patrick F. Wilmot: *"In Search of Nationalism" The Theory and Practice of Nationalism In Africa.* — 1979.

STARTING WITH CHIEF ENAHORO

Whenever, politician of class is mentioned, no doubt Enahoro is one among few. From his book, he revealed this assessment which attested fittingly to his class even while he was in prison:—

"I shall endeavour therefore, to occupy my mind periodically with the problems confronting my country and our people" p.367

What are the problems and, if Chief Enahoro is asked what he considered to be the most important of these problems in this age? He said:

"I would answer, unhesitatingly: in domestic affairs, the developement of democratic political system and the acceleration of economic development"

At great length (pp.367-427) Chief Enahoro discussed the issues of the Future of Africa. The stimulating chromosomal issues in his discussion were political IDEAS which enlivened the mind and broaden the outlook. His discussion placed no premium on personal traits of any individual person and no indication of ethnic strategy. The proof of ideas is glaring when he said:



*"Cherished by free men everywhere
these are the ideas and values which
Africa needs" p.377*

Nearer home, Enahoro explained that Nigeria, at the independence in October 1960 was uniquely placed to evolve a democratic system, but it happened that, according to Chief Enahoro that:

*"In spite of these advantages
Nigeria, in 1962 took a dangerous
turn from which it has not yet
recovered. This is because we were
left only the skeleton of democracy
p. 379*

Suffice with Enahoro, and let us come to another protagonist of the school of idea and issue in the context of leadership.

CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO

Under the "Paradoxical Heritage" pp. 61-72 of THE PEOPLE'S RÉPUBLIC", Awolowo marshalled issues involved in the misplaced problems of Nigeria's leadership. The issue which the British Colonial left behind on their transfer of power to Nigerians according to Awolowo are:—

"On their departure, the plants of public order were in the process of being choked by the weeds of insensate intolerance; the forces of progress were deliberately subordinated to the dead-weight of decadent and sophisticated reaction, native tyranny was enthroned as the protector of human freedom; and the country though politically emancipated was firmly held in leash by foreign economic interest"
p. 61

Awolowo later followed the issues of paradoxical heritage with historical accounts which kept the northern areas of the country away from political interaction with other Nigerians particularly from the geographical south. The issue Awolowo raised in the paradoxical heritage is collaborated in Enahoro's evidence which refers to those who are habitually getting worried that the British left her colonies a democratic system; why are you destroying it?" Enahoro's collaborative answer is this:

"British did not leave us a complete system: certain elements, (a parliament, an independent judiciary) were created on the very eve of their departure. Nigerians inherited from British rule a new country, power and the institutions of supra-tribal governments, not a democratic system. The British could and did transfer power but not the imponderables-effective public opinion, fair-play, tolerance-which are the flesh, blood and spirit of democracy" p. 379

Highlight of Awolowo's account was the 47 years of isolation which kept northern areas of Nigeria away from the rest of the country. It was until 1947, from 1900 and 1914 when Nigeria South and North were mapped out and amalgamated together before the FIRST VOICE of a northerner, Fulani for that matter; another conquering imperial voice, was heard on Nigeria's affairs. What was the demand of the voice, what and who the voice was representing? Even from 1947 till the eve of national independence in 1959, northern region was the exclusive preserve of the Fulani conquering imperial power and the forbidding terrace of southern Nigerian politicians. Simple arithmetical calculation of 47 and 12 makes a total of 59 years of despotic rule in the north. Yet this long period meant nothing to Oluleye who is talking of Awolowo's image in the north as if any despot would like to embrace the rhythm of a liberating voice. However, the issue of despotism makes no difference to a person who holds instrument of coercion in the service of despot; human and lethal-of a despot. Oluleye knew that the then northern Nigerian masses had no say in the destiny of their fate. Awolowo's image could not be otherwise than the envious image of a liberator, despised by feudal lords who held the masses in bondage. The exotic discussion of image of any person is not the issue in the concept of leadership.



Awolowo himself conceived leadership in term of chromosome of IDEAS AND ISSUES. In a book which Mr. S. G. Ikoku contributed to Awolowo's authorship in the way Awolowo thanked him (Ikoku) in 1968. When Ikoku was reviewing the book, there was no noticeable dissent from him. Awolowo asserted in the book as follows:—

"The profound conflict of IDEAS is aggravated by the fact that, while the south is terrible earnest and in a hurry about economic and social progress, the North prefers the more leisurely pace of its illustrious ancestors. It is clear therefore that only a mental and spiritual revolution on the part of the North can resolve the conflict amicable. We have no doubt that such a REVOLUTION will come. When, how and under what circumstances, we are unable to predict" p.67

Sor far, both Awolowo and Enahoro know no other factors from which political leadership should emerge besides ideas on any relevant issue of the country. Individual person who stands at the head of an organisation or a movement did so, not because he or she should observe or imbibe Oluleye's ten-points virtue. So long a person can reflect idea and represent value of the nation, group or class. If values and ideas are not different, "political stability" will enjoy the serenade of a grave-yard. This is the more reason Awolowo was pensive in his assertion thus:—

"47 out of the 61 years, they (British) divided the North from the South so thoroughly and effectively that the two were divergently and almost irreconcilably orientated; the one looking intently to the Middle East and illustrious past, and the other to the West and a glorious future. All the efforts at common orientation and concerted nationalism were made by southern Nigerian nationalists in the face of manifold discouraging odds" p.72

The odds Awolowo's Action Group found and faced in the north were apparent in the incursion of 1959 parliamentary elections and the successive elections of 1979 and 1983. These incursion succeeded to the extent;

"that today there is a forceful crop of nationalist in the north (comparatively small in number by (1968) who share identical political views with progressive elements in the south" p.72

Awolowo's conclusion here tallied with Enahoro's view-point which was mentioned above. Awolowo's conclusion runs thus:—

"It is incontestable that the British not only made Nigeria, but also handed it to us whole and united on their surrender of power. But, the united Nigeria, which they (British) handed to us, had in it the forces-British-made forces they were-of its own disintegration"

It followed that Awolowo suggested his idea to neutralise the British made forces of disintegration. He opined:

"It is up to contemporary Nigerian leaders to neutralise these forces, preserve the Nigeria inheritance and make all our people free, forward-looking and prosperous"

No sane person nor a venal politician could say that this address is to an ethnic group or class. The patent factors of issues are boldly written here without resorting to personal traits or virtues of leaders and leadership. If any person can emerge with ideas to tackle the neutralisation of British made forces of disintegration which is the idea-issue-factors of leadership, the problem of emergence of leadership will eclipse the misplaced concept of personal traits as bedlam factors in the proclamation of political leadership. Not probably, but definitely this is where Dr. Patrick Wilmot comes in to illuminate on this discussion of leaders and leadership.

DR. PATRICK F. WILMOT

Dr. Wilmot, in chapter one of his book discussed three major parties embracing three major country-areas of West Africa; N.C.N.C in Nigeria under the leadership of Dr. Azikiwe, C.C.P. in Ghana under Late Dr. Nkrumah and Democratic Party of Guinea in Guinea under Late Sekou Toure. The concern of our exploration will restrict us to Nigeria. This is how he discussed Dr. Azikiwe's leadership of N.C.N.C. The foundation of NCNC was not the making of Dr. Azikiwe. Even the incredible genius—S.G. Ikoku was the one who removed the mote from Dr. Azikiwe's eyes to tell the world that Dr. Azikiwe had never found a nationalist movement of his own. As usual, Zik was actually invited to join NCNC and the NPP, even to "join" governments. Anyway, Ikoku's sarcasm does not reduce the fact of Dr. Azikiwe's effort at organising a still-born National Reconstruction Group—(NRG). Dr. Azikiwe became prominent through Yoruba's effort in Yoruba areas of Nigeria. The journey started in 1937 when he was co-opted into the Executive Committee of Nigerian Youth Movement. He was a member of the Movement till 1941 when he left on account of struggle for candidature to the Legislative Council between Late Ernest Ikoli and the then Samuel Akinsanya. Awolowo supported Ernest Ikoli against Akinsanya of Zik's interest. Ikoli an Ijaw man from the present-day Rivers State won the nomination and Zik cried havoc of tribalism. It was Zik who started invoking tribal jingoism which was not known in Lagos Colony politics at that time. Pseudo intellectuals have polluted Nigerians' understanding with this tribal nonsense to the point of ridicule.

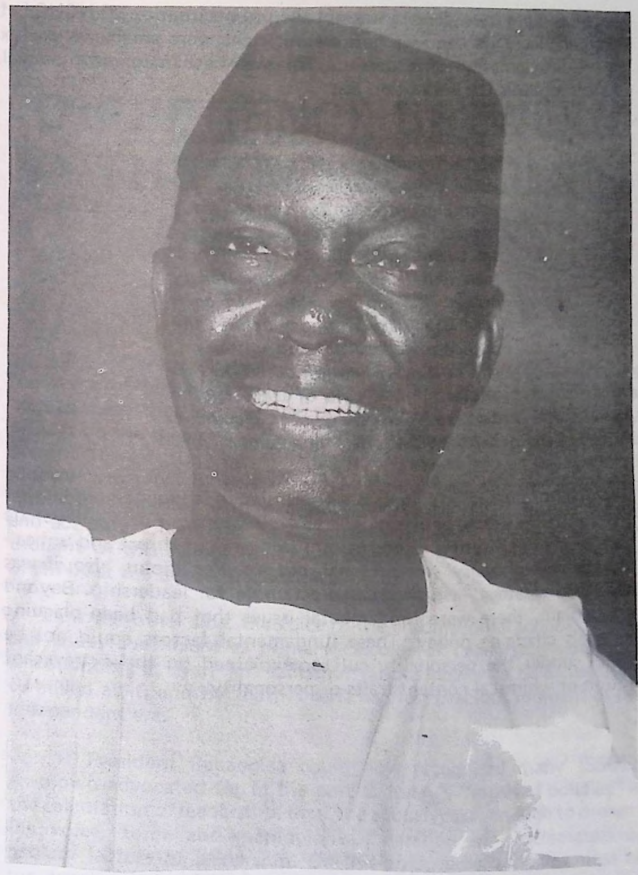
Again on the invitation of Nigerian youths and students in the south without a northerner in attendance in 1944, some young men organised a gathering which gave birth to NCNC and Macauley was its first President via his Democratic Party of Lagos Colony. Initially N.C.N.C. was not an Igbo organisation, but how it became at later stage an Igbo political machine is what Zik, Ikoku and other sophists of political analysis of the problems of leadership in Nigeria owe the nation..

Wilmot came down on political action of NCNC with this observation

"Because of (this) incoherence and lack of system the action of the NCNC was likewise a mixture of unstable, poorly articulated elements. These could reach heights of intensity at one moment and depths of apathy at the next. 'It was a party of indiscipline because it was a party without principles and discipline requires principles and determination and will to apply these principles firmly and consistently'" p. 8

This is exactly our point, that leadership necessarily need not be an ethnic thin-god. Leadership must emerge from the chromosomal ideas on issues-warranting a defined, coherent system of action and disciplined organisation. Wilmot insisted that regardless the:

"merits of capitalism or socialism, one needs to develop consistency and coherence if one hopes to apply either of these theories to a PROGRAMME OF economic development" p.8



Factoral ideas in leadership was not the pre-occupation of NCNC but the party and its band waggon theoreticians were smarter than fox in the proclamation of leadership. This was best imagined than real. We can consult Dr. Wilmot on this:

"The same applies to the structure of Nationalism it (NCNC) advocated for Nigeria. Awolowo for example consistently argued for a federal structure for the country. In Ghana and Guinea, Dr, Nkrumah and Sekou Toure consistently argued for unitary state. In each case, there was a theory behind the choice of federalism and unitarism, and policies for action based on this choice. In the case of Dr. Azikiwe and the NCNC there was vacillation between unitarism and federalism"

Ikoku and Oluleye and their entire school of thought can see the differential essence between Zik and Awolowo. For Oluleye, he stands corrected on his wrong assumption of "cut-threat and unhealthy leadership rivalry" for personal motives. For Ikoku, also, it was not "pod strategy" which created scramble for leadership. Beyond the bedlam, there were fundamental issues that had been plaguing Nigeria's changing policy. These fundamental factors could not be swept under the personality cult or explained on the extravagant notion or whimsical content traits of personality.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHTS

The difference between the two schools of thought is so glaring. The voice of bedlam proclamators of leadership have been on the increase over the years. It was the soundest noise that tickled many princes on the throne most of the time to their fall and Nigeria to the present lowest step on the ladder. Nigerian social and political science "experts" of this school of thought are the uncontrollable slobbering trendies who had been spurting words before thinking and act before planning. Nigerian had not been faring well with the thought of this school which had constituted itself into a miserable SPHINX at the border of dilemma.

On the other side, the voice of the chromosomal school of ideas and issues coefficient as primary calculus of Leadership emergence is resounding as ever. The fact that various power to be deliberately connived at it, and by that, Nigeria had lost precious moment of her independent era.

If President Babangida could now recognised many ISSUES Awolowo advocated for in the past as today's "received policies" in the calculation of leadership, then, the apocalypse is enough to drown the voice, force and manipulative operation of proclamators of bedlam factors of leadership. On this note, ideas on issues must be the watch-word of Nigerians along the ability to articulate a coherent theory, principle and policy. The past and the present Nigeria had been a land of conflict of ideas and principles championed by different people. And so it will be in the future.

MACRO INSTITUTION OF LEADERSHIP

(Education As Factoral Case Study)

Between Nigeria and South Africa there is hardly a difference in the nature of their problems. The protracted nature of Nigeria's problems seems to tend everything on the path of no return. These problems are not responding to solutions, apart from the presence of all types of criticisms; constructive or destructive. The cause of this defiance is the adoption of inappropriate approach. In essence, Nigerian's problems are not natural phenomena like natural characteristics of passing phases of other nations. These problems are deliberately created, foisted on Nigerians like apartheid problems in South Africa and fuelled by vested interest in the rapacious capitalist economic system with its attendant reactionary political framework. It is clear evidence of institutionalised leadership.

Criticising official policies and other multifacet societal shortcomings is a waste of energy and time. Likewise, offering alternative ideas and expressing opinions are even worse than crimes. It is better to allow impulse to drill condemnation in silence instead of the vocal barren exercise. Since criticism has not been dividently profitable, moreso, when yearning and aspiration of Nigerian people had not influence or effect a positive change on official actions, then a purposeful revolutionary zeal is the inevitable tool to scrap the auction mart of barren criticism. Such zeal must abhor and distaste the root, the stem and the fruits of venal platitudeness. In extension, the zeal must revitalise hopes and devest despair from wasted generations, who need no more chasing political shadow with fire of criticism. As harbingers of glorious dawn, they must face the struggle for social justice and economic equity with absolute dedication which the struggle demands.

Between Shagari's and Buhari's administrations, there was no differential mark except latter's military posture. When Major General Babangida became the President, his administration was enthusiastically welcomed. By the time the President selected his ministers there was a premonition which restrained the public and particularly university students to applaud some appointees. Students of University of Ife, Ile-Ife called on the President to drop Professor Jubril

Aminu from the ministry of Education. Babangida's administration had not gone a full circle of one year before various organisations connected with education were calling on the President to remove the Minister. Though these calls were courageous and impliedly progressive, but can it stop the section of the decree which can convict anyone on "wilful obstruction of an inspector" who is appointed definitely by the minister to INSPECT CONTENTS OF COURSES AND BOOKS USED BY LECTURERS AND TO DETERMINE AWARDS OF DEGREES"? While the primary situation is still persisting, an addition in the form of "rationalisation of courses" was added to it. Jubril Aminu as minister of Education did not by himself came up with the whole idea. There must be a chambers from which the stuff is brewed. Anyone can be the marketeer. Jubril can be a marketeer of an institution's idea. We shall come to the apartheid feature of the above underlined passages, after we must have acquainted ourselves with open-secret background of Professor Jubril Aminu.

What is very known of him was how he started at the strategic height of one appointment to another. He was for sometimes, Executive Secretary of Nigeria's National Universities Commission where he was positioned to monitor and study the trend of unabatted educational avidity of heterogeneous Southern students. During his tenure at the Commission, Nigeria's educational institutions became the segregation ground of "federal character" and "Quota System". From the Commission, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of University of Maiduguri, where his rabid anti-Southern educational advancement no longer remains secret. He is a disciple of an institution and a representative of an objective which require no political identification. He is a member of Implication Committee of Nigeria's OIC membership, possibly or probably representing Islamic conquest of Savannah forest black people. No one knows his covert concept, particularly when the tentacle of Islamic caliphate gripped the entire educational establishments of the country with specific design to stultify Southern educational drive.

Without pretence and indulgence in self-deceit, could the appointment of Jubril Aminu as federal Minister of education be accidental or competence and merit, or a calculated design for a disciple of an institution and a representative of an objective (which

despised Southern educational advancement) to accomplish the objective of the institution he represents?

When disciples of northern Islamic caliphate fashioned the strategy to step up apartheid segregation in Nigeria's educational establishments, "federal character" and "quota system" were advocated to replace effort and merit. That marked the beginning of attainment without effort and the fall in educational standard.

We can see that Professor Jubril Aminu as a person does not matter much in the over-all machinations than the institutional leadership that conceived it.

Suffice at this point to return to nearness aspects of South African Apartheid policy with Nigeria's educational policy under Jubril Aminu.

In South Africa, there are different forms of educational contents for different racial communities. Bantu Education Bill of 1953 has several administrative similarities with Nigeria's educational decree which empowers government's minister to appoint inspectors to inspect contents of courses and books used by lecturers and to determine awards of degrees. With South African Laws, the Minister responsible for education was given wide powers to frame the regulations covering details applications.* "African Opposition In South Africa" pp. 146 by Edward Feit. By the aforementioned section 17 of Nigeria's decree on education, Nigeria ruling Islamic Caliphate is entering the same apartheid train with racist whites South African government. To that extent, ASSU's several calls and students protests, except those of religious bigots, are the voices of defenceless majorities who are opposed to "determined well equipped minorities. Many black South African parents, youths and students in their thousands met untimely death in protest against the obnoxious education bill. South Africa in turn has never been in peace as a result of perpetrating a sectional hegemonic institution which in purpose and in intent is the same with Nigeria's modus operandi of Hausa/Fulani Islamic Caliphate's grip on Nigerians. It follows without equivocation that South African racist government is a twin sister and brother of Nigerian ruling cast whose political truncheon has been controlling and dominating Nigeria subtly, covertly and overtly since independence. There is no point therefore shedding tears over their failures. Rather, it is capitalist class leadership which failed abysmally in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FOUR

REFERENCE AND ADDITIONAL READING

1. *Nigeria Fourth Coup D'etat — Options for modern statehood — S.G. Ikoku. Fourth Dimension Publication 1985*
2. *Military Leadership In Nigeria — (1966-1979), Major-General James J. Oluleye — University Press Limited, Ibadan 1985*
3. *The People's Republic — Chief Obafemi Awolowo — Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1968*
4. "Fugitive Offender" — Chief Anthony Enahoro
5. *In Search of Nationhood — The Theory and Practice of Nationalism In Africa. By Dr. Patrick F. Wilmot, ABU, Lantern Books 1979*
6. *President Babangida's Message of Congratulation to Chief Awolowo on his 77th Birthday Anniversary, (Tribune Edition 1986).*

CHAPTER FIVE

WHITHER NIGERIA?

EPILOQUE

The idea of legend was conceived each time I ponder over the divergent knowledge and understanding people have of Chief Obafemi Awolowo; his place and role in this century. Legend, generally may be a chronicle, biography or series of selections especially from the lives of saints or sacred history. So, the intensesness which always accompany discussion on Awolowo is just like a true story or a myth. Even fables in traditional story is doubted when imagination can no more perceive the existence of the legendary object. Of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, there is no doubt about his biological existence. Furthermore, the apocalypse which President Ibrahim Babangida precisely unravelled in his congratulatory message really sent the nation literarily agast. The message which in part reads thus:—

"You have always led the way in raising the fundamental issues of our time and demonstrated an uncanny ability to foresee the problems ahead and proffer viable solutions."

is a testimony of legendary. Years and centuries to come, generations will read about a country with tractable multiple societal, economic and political problems and about a man who possessed "an uncanny ability to foresee the problems ahead" of others. Not only foreseeing but "proffer(ing) viable solutions", When the story thrills their minds, their imaginations will wonder, why those solutions were not applied and wonder more about to know the country and the man. There in the chronicle, the inscription will show the names of Nigeria and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. That, he enters the scroll of legendary in his life time is also a testimony of a true statesman which is now recognised all over.

This chapter cannot be complete without discussing some vital aspects which the President's message has on Nigeria's problems generally. I was privileged to write few papers on President Babangida and his administration. It is relevant to mention some of them.

- (1) President Babangida And The Web of Government.
An Appraisal of His Selection of Ministers
Among Ministries" (An Unpublished Article)
- (2) "WHAT IS TO BE DONE"
(A Socialist Approach to Babangida's Administration)
Booklet reviewed in Nigerian Tribune — 25/12/85
- (3) BUDGET AMONG BUDGETS
Published, 5/2/86, Nigerian Tribune".

The central theme of these papers of different subject matters centred on admiration of the President's political astuteness, insight, and judgement. When the booklet was reviewed, the reviewer bashed me that I was given too much to an administration which was still difficult to differentiate from its predecessor. Actually, I maintained then that President Babangida needs the support of the "left socialists, but which type? The parrot essayists or the performers? Whether the end-purpose of Babangida's judgement fansies us or not, one thing is profound about the administration-its approach to an

end. The President and his administration are not claiming a commitment different from the prevailing social, and economic system. So long the administration is opened to public argument and scrutiny. It follows to reason that areas to repair the dislocated national psyche is assured. In effect therefore, the administration is imbued with the ability to collate, assess, differentiate and appreciate values available among myriad human materials and inanimate factors in national polity. This brings us to the vital aspect which the President's message has on Nigerian politics.

That part of his message reads as follows:

"True, some of your dreams remain unfulfilled, but I am sure you will find solace in the fact that many of the policies you have advocated and over which you were 'derided in the past have become with the passage of time, the received policies of the day'"

Interpreted anyhow and in anyway, these forty-eight words paragraph simplifies the highest testimony that is yet to be made of any Nigerian politician, alive or dead. With this background, what Chief Obafemi Awolowo foresaw of/in the "thesis and antithesis" forces at the close of partisan politics in December of 1983 will be the next theme of our discourse.

The purpose of thesis and antithesis is the criss-cross of the "received policies" on which past politics centred. In the words of the legend, it was recorded that:

"There is one point which must be emphasized whether we like it or not, all human beings are inescapably involved in the binary compounds of THESIS and ANTI-THESIS of the dialectical procession. In other words, all of us in the UPN and those of them in the

*NPN and other parties are already in the thesis-antithesis war. When the war is over, only the best of us will be accommodated in the synthesis with the best in the antithesis in complete dominance**
p.12

Awolowo did his best to bring together the best of Nigerians irrespective of their areas of origin. He never deluded himself that only his party harboured the best in the country.

The proof is patent when he said:-

"I believe much sooner than later the figurative 'explosion' will occur in which the forces of the thesis and the antithesis, in the original forms (dialectic materialism) will disappear. Then the synthesis will appear which will embody the best in the NPN (thesis) and the best in the UPN (antithesis)

*I hasten to add, in sincere deserved tribute to those in other parties opposed to NPN-that is those leaders who are not venal politicians waiting for the highest bidder on Nigeria's political action mart:-I hasten to add that remarks which I have made concerning the best in the UPN apply to them as well"*pp.12-13*

The type of politics and politicians which and who infested the firmament of second republic were not exceptional or stranged. When the seed of that politics was about to be planted, first, Nigerian working-class was dislocated and a toothless bull-dog central labour organisation was created. Second, a mistified Constituent Assembly was constituted and third, a private-property protecting constitution

was yoked on the nation. To worsen the situation, a mournful epitaph was inscribed on the political soul of the nation.: PEOPLE DESERVE THE GOVERNMENT THEY GET". Do Nigerians deserve the type of moribund governments they have been getting since independence? Whereas, effect of proper reasoning showed rapacious enthronement of undeserved governments of reactionary social and economic class.

Whatever pattern of politics and government that may be fashioned on Nigerians now or any other time, without due cognisance of class distinction will boil down to the same past barren exercises. Added to this, there is a chronic disease in Nigeria which is not TRIBALISM or ETHNICITY, but an incurable Hausa/Fulani oligarchy of Islamic caliphate. Either Westminster or Presidential system or even the much advocated unimported, outdated and meaningless 'Nigeria' indigenous fashion cannot cure it. Particularly these days when like before, "NEW NIGERIAN" and the SUNDAY TRIUMPH" newspapers and the entire disciples of Sarduna of Sokoto Late Ahmadu Bello, are not bothered to have the asthmatic feelings of military/political prowess of Hausa/Fulani oligarchy, within the Armed Forces of Nigeria and the nation's security network; the subtle linkage contrived among its bureaucrats, military elements and political god-fathers. If Yoruba soldiers and soldiers of other ethnic groups team-up with their respective political elites and exploit the backing of their civilian masses, the provocative arrogance of political power which the "north" oligarchy is presuming inexhaustible would have been mellowed. In the light of Retired Major-General James Oluleye's Military Leadership In Nigeria" assertion that Yoruba soldiers saved Nigeria's Army from disintegration *pp.45-49, that is sufficient to caution every section that the upturn attitude that one section is more prowess than the other is unhelpful to peace and unity of the country.

Though erroneous conception of south/north dichotomy had been over-flogged. While there is a geographical south, there has never been a political south like the combined geographical and political north. It has been a bogey all the time talking of "north" versus "south" politically. In view of this, each section of the country must imbibe the ideal of greater interest of Nigeria and play less fuss of unreasonable military myth which has terminal effect when a hege-

mony is fast becoming decadent. As Hitler and Mussolini were sawdust heroes in their life time and a curse after their death, in their bids to conquer other people in the name of their respective countries, that is enough to prick our conscience that there is no honour in an attempt to bury the Quran and plunge the sword into the Atlantic. If memories of numerous untold agonies Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto's politics brought on this country in his bid to conquer-islamise- the Western part of Nigeria are allowed to regenerate, certainly recrimination will not heal the wound.

Awolowo is eulogised today, not for military clout and impulsive manipulation of electoral process. This is a lesson, disciples of other leaders should try to instil in minds in their approach to Nigeria's existence. Tolerance has its limit.



ANOTHER HORIZON

"All is not yet lost" said Awo during his testimony at Babalakin Commission of Enquiry into Fedeco — 1983. Yes, there is chance for hope. On the horizon, a synthesis is emerging: Bastion of "northern" oligarchy which it was before has become a nuisance or a menace to the political "north" itself. Gradually, thesis and antithesis within Niger, Plateau, Benue, Gongola and Kwara, is blooming a synthesis with far reaching effect on political situations in Sokoto, Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi and Borno. When the bastion of Hausa/Fulani oligarchy is deflated in the political north, its constant supportive efforts to other bourgeois in the geographical south will become ineffective. Already, chances of reactionaries gaining political control in the entire Yorubaland is dim and over. Similarly is the situation in

Cross River and Rivers. It is probably in Bendel, Anambra, and Imo, these Igbo areas constitute a special case study. Their age-group system and the character of "traditional alliance" they maintained with the oligarchy in the north give no clue to diagnose economic and political changing pattern and the contending forces in their society. Hardly any prognosis could place them correctly in the stream of Nigerian political current. That notwithstanding, it will be difficult for their monolith in-built to dictate pace to others, to stem down social changes within their own society, or even hold other sections of the country into ransom.

On the whole, the new influence which is pervading the horizon will no doubt augur well for Nigeria. People in the middle belt zone of the country are realising their political destiny is viable in the wider context of Nigeria. Days when they were cannonfodders of unbridled geo-politics against the geographical south have gone. The selection between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean outlet must

dictate a preference for a closer choice. The lever of the preference no doubt is brotherhood which is predicated on the sense of belonging to the whole. This is the underlying factor of any successful political class struggle. Also military presence in politics has the same corollary to this sense. Major General Ibrahim Babangida is reflecting this sense in his approach to Nigeria's existence at the federal level. On the state level, the same feelings are noticed. The motto is just capable Nigerians; Colonel Inieger of Benue/C. River state parental origin posted to Bendel, Col. David Mark of Benue posted to Niger, Navy Commander Akhigbe of Bendel posted to Ondo State, Lt. Col. Chris Garuba to Bauchi state, Governor Fidelix Oyakhilome from Bendel to Rivers. And the interpositions of Governors Omerua/Madueke and Colonels Popoola/Olurin. Even some of those posted to their state of origin among whom is Group Captain Gbolahan Muda-shiru have not given cause to doubt their unalloyed commitment to Nigeria. All the governors are pursuing their task without sectional prejudices. These Governors are brilliant young men any country should be proud of and why not Nigeria! In the absence of class contest, they are proving their mettle in the face of crucible social, economic and political problems. It is now, more than before, Nigerians can talk meaningful politics. Because there is clarity on the horizon that Nigeria has arrived.

OPTIMISM

From chapter one to two; I gave historical background of Awolowo's legendary and drew the attention of readers to the inhibiting factors against Nigeria's progress. First part of this epilogue contains briefly, President Babangida interim factor in Nigeria's politics. Babangida's administration came in at a time when national psyche of Nigerians was dislocated. After Shagari/Ekweme economic bankruptcy, the succeeding Buhari/Idiagbon Political heartburn left Nigerians wondering of what to do: Bravest men, even stone-hearted, have moment of despair. This was the initial state of Nigerians under the blizzard vapour of Buhari/Idiagbon. Nigerians are redou-

table people, when they wake up from slumber. It was this profound belief in Nigerian masses, that made me not to be unduly perturbed at the length Buhari/Idiagbon might ruled this country. I was sure, given few more months, Buhari/Idiagbon regime would have fallen under the rise of "People's Power". Each time people's storm gathered momentum, military factionalisation or sectionalisation would come to diffuse it. Ironsi came to diffuse the people's storm of Western Nigerians. Generals Murtala/Obasanjo came to diffuse people's storm against the last era of Gowon, Buhari/Idiagbon came to save Hausa/Fulani oligarchy against people's storm and Babangida came to channelise people's storm and anger which were gathering momentum against Buhari/Idiagbon to the fallow land of argument. If nothing is profound in the channelisation, at least the significant factor of Babangida is the revival of Nigeria's national psyche. The credit is his, which he must not be denied. It is with the revival of the national psyche, class struggle can assume a vigorous contest, and there lies the flavour of optimism for Nigeria.

STRANGED REASONING

Stranged reason, Is it not? Nigeria is a breeding ground. If care is not taken, propensity of our optimism can turn out to be a bedrock of despair for what is current in political debate without politics.

The genesis of this stultified contrivance was first tested and practised at the peak of Sarduana and Akintola era. Both the then Northern and Western Regions under the aforementioned leaders tried in vain to stifle breath out of the organised opinions in their respective areas of jurisdiction. In the North brutality attended every articulated divergent concept and in the West, it was with every unimaginable crudity. It got to a stage that, for the Lagos City Council elections of 1963/64, there was an open order against political campaigns.

Swift and fast, electorates countered and devised a slogan of "bi o ri owo mi, o le ri inu mi — Demo ni mo wa." literally translated thus "if you see my hand, you cannot see my stomach — know my mind". Between that time and now, it is more than two decades. We should have been more reasonable not to resort to this backwardness.

Apartheid in South Africa is based on racial line and significantly here in Nigeria, apartheid is contrived on segregation of conscience and belief. Since January 1986, when President Babangida declared political debate opened, there was no misgiving about possible exchange of political opinions between and among fellow Nigerians. It follows that Nigerians have to gather to talk and speak out on the type of politics they want next. But, subterranean forces are doing everything manly possible to drive military administration on political debate without politics head collusion against the masses. As usual they will easily abandon the boat for the captain to maroon at the slightest storm-drift to the isolated shore of conflict and failure.

Apart from many governments which had been grounded as a result of some stranged reasons, Progressive Party Alliance (P.P.A.) was afflicted with Progressive People Party (P.P.P.) disease prior to 1983 elections. For this may not linger on to the present, it all depends on the permit of Political Debate with full politics whatever is the meaning of politics.

KEY TO SUCCESS

With optimism, human beings will attempt to move mountain. It cannot be otherwise with what Babangida administration rekindled in the nation. The fallow land of argument on which Babangida's factor channelised Nigerian "people's storm" can rejuvenate a dynamic government again. There is only one major key to its success or failure. Generally, economic bankruptcy of Shagari/Ekweme's administration led Buhari/Idiagbon and likewise Babangida/Ukiwe's administration to harp ceaselessly on economic sign-post. There was no contest on economic bankruptcy of successive administrations at the federal level, only it was too detracting to focus attention on economy all the time without adequately reflecting the cause. It is high time to jettison this myopic focus in order to reflect and adopt an opthalmoscope to examine the inner disturbing situation. President Babangida must not fail to reflect on the cause and should not fail to adopt the instrument.

The complex problems of Nigeria arose as results of anachronistic consideration. The portend factor of Nigeria was her colonial past which foisted neo-colonial politicians on an independent nation. In order to keep economic domination of Nigeria assured, for the outgoing imperial power and its Nigerian infant counter-pants, there must be a simultaneous neo-colonial political force to accomplish the objective goal. To combat this economic domination, it is simple logic of reason to tap the very root which bred the domination, and this is nothing, besides politics. In effect, politics should be tackled first before the economic neuroses. This is illustrated with the position of a horse and the cart.

Cart is always placed behind the horse,. In the case of Nigeria, horse is placed behind the cart to create a standstill, if not commotion. Certainly, no government can go anywhere or make progress with this type of arrangement. When proper arrangement is ordered, cart behind the horse and horse in from of the cart, the wheel of progress remains with the horseman's direction. But, the anachronistic attempting to tackle economic problems before political is self-defeating which had left this country on the static plane for a long time. Apart from the fact that such orientation lacks direction, it was the country which has been much battered for it. Furthermore, elementary social science indicates that it is economy which should fit in to an already designed political ideal, philosophy or framework.

From this premise, we should address attention of President Babangida's administration to its existence within the time limit it sets for itself, (1985/1990) a duration of 5 years. A period of five years in the annals of a nation is very minute, but the same period in the span of a government or an administration is extremely too much for the government to perform and achieve a set goal. An administration which is purposed need not excuse its failure or non-performance on dearth of time. Successive administrations at the federal level, military or civilian enmeshed themselves in with the habit of disdaining the lack of time. Whereas, their problems were, after wasting precious time on wrong direction, time in turn will start wasting them on purposeful demands. Fancifully, political solution which they thought themselves of being clever to leave in abeyance in searching for economic solution will become a thorny issue in their hands. This is the case which breeds those solicited and unsolicited terrible administrations' sycophants known for calling for an endless military regime or sounding the cacophony of NPN-Shagari's non-stop or one-party state-administration. What the nation had been suffering at the end (Awolowo personally suffered nothing comparatively) from all these are the expanded miseries, each round of the concentric circle. The vicious circle is not likely to end so long the precious time-limit of President Babangida's administration is deadly focusing on:-

(1) Economic Sign-Post

and

(2) Allowing Political

Bureau to misdirect itself

When this administration came in, a promise was made that Nigerians will decide their political future and that no specific political order will be imposed or enforced. In consonance with this promise, the President set up a Bureau to MONITOR public opinion on political matters. The Bureau was given a period of one year. A quarter of the period had gone, and the Bureau has only shown sign of perpetuating itself and to CONTROL what is supposing to monitor. is a serious dilemma for the administration to entrust such an assignment with untested bunch of theoreticians, The key to success of Babangida's administration is hoped, will not get stucked in is dilemma.

There is patent difference between MONITORING public opinion on political formulation and gathering materials to write a constitution. The former is fountained out from mass movement. The latter is to conscribe materials gathered so far into a legal assignment. One wonders therefore, how political Bureau understood assignment? The Bureau is like tomato condiment to Babangida's constitution: When fresh, it can sweeten the soup, and when pale-sour the soup. Since, it is the creation of the administration, it can sour the Bureau is fraught with gall. In all seriousness, the juice of the Bureau handles political framework for the key to success or failure of the administration depends on how President Babangida handles political framework for the country. The Political Bureau of Babangida's time is not the same values of Murtala/Obasanjo's Constitution Drafting Committee and will aggravate discordant when formation of political Constituent Assembly. Political mesmerism of Politicians will start testing the compound. For President Babangida and his administration, the concentric vicious political circle has been the course for more than a quarter of a century, they must change the starting-pads of that movement. This administration has pass the buck to an extraneous body like the Political Bureau of the matter is either the armed forces become a

political movement embracing everybody or everybody to become part and parcel of the armed forces. Nigerians cannot wait till 1990 to start experimenting another political grotto. In what account and whose account will the present 1985 — 1990 be?

The present military administration has machinery and goodwill more than enough to sort out the type of political tomato/condiments needed to relish a durable political outfit for the nation. The foregoing depends on how the administration and the President himself see and think of their roles in the present dispensation:

(1) Either a transient

(2) Or a transmutative

political force. Any choice is the KEY to success or failure of Babangida's administration. When the call for mobilisation is made and the grass-root tag is flagged, it is beyond the comprehension of essayist ideologies. So political issues before the present administration is beyond the competence of Political Bureau. It is squarely on the shoulder of the Armed Forces itself. The movement, which President Babangida's administration must evolve to mobilise Nigerians is a forum where the most elderly statemen of proven ability and the last citizen in the country are allocated parts to play. It is never too late to reflect on the possible success so to pave the way to initiate an imperative political starting-pad which can meet an economic sign-post.

CHAPTER FIVE

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INFORMATIVE GLOSSARY OF WORDS AND EVENTS

1. **GEO:**
Pertaining to the earth. As viewed from or having relation to the earth as centre.
2. **GEO-POLITICS:**
 - (a) The study of how the political views and aims of a nation (of an ethnic) are affected by it's geographical position.
 - (b) The study of the influence or application of Economic and geographical factors upon the politics of state: A sort of policy formulated in the inter-relation of geographical, historical, racial or religious, economical and political factors to justify the extention, expansion or invasion by a foreign power, a native alien or a filibuster.
3. **POLITICAL ECONOMY:**
The social science of the inter-relations of economic processes in political and social organisations. A 19th century social science precedent to modern economic science.

4. **DETERMINISM:**

1. The doctrine that the will is not free, but is determined by antecedent causes, whether in the form of internal motives or external necessity.
2. From philosophical angle, it is a doctrine that all existences and happenings are inevitable outcome of preceding conditions, and especially that man's actions are not based on a free will, but are determined by inherited or environmental influence.

5. **ISM:**

A doctrine of a distinctive kind, forming abstract noun denoting theory, principle or a system.

6. **Violence;**

- 1 Intense or severe force; a state of intraguilt, an unfair exercise of power or force, an inordinate vehemence of expression or feeling, a distortion or misrepresentation of content, meaning on intent.
2. Illegal exercise of physical force, an act of intimidation by the show or threat of force, to violate.

7. **POWER;** [stem of posse; to be able

1. Ability to do or so as to effect something; a mental or bodily faculty or potential capacity; influence dominion, authority (over) right, or ability to control, to effect political ascendancy; political force or national strength of control or command over others.

8. **FILIBUSTER:**

One who uses irregular or obstructive tactics by minority in a legislative assembly. Semblance of Nigeria's hegemonic group interest.

2. An irregular military adventure; a freebooter or a buccaneer.

3. One who engages in an unlawful military expedition into another area of territory to inaugurate or to aid an unpopular regime. (NPN's activities in Oyo, Ondo, Bendel, Gongola, Anambra Borno, Benue, Niger and Cross River

9. **PAWN:** Sell out or pledge of one's birthright.

10. **REVOLUTION:**

Eradication of reactionary existence. Forcible overthrow of the existing system and substituting of a different new political system:-

1. "The Revolution" by which James II was driven from the English throne in 1688.

2 Thirteen American colonies revolt against British Authority in 1775-81.

3 The overthrow of French Monarch in 1789.

4 The greatest of them, The Russian Revolution which led to overthrow of Tsarist regime in 1917, by the Bolsheviks.

5 Fidel Castro Cuban revolution against US backed Batista in 1956.

11. PEACE;

A state of quiet or tranquility, absence of civil disturbance or agitation. A state of friendliness, calmness of mind.

Justice of the Peace; The state of tranquility, order and absence of strife throughout the realm for which the sovereign is responsible.



