



THE THIRD OBAFEMI AWOLOWO  
FOUNDATION DIALOGUE

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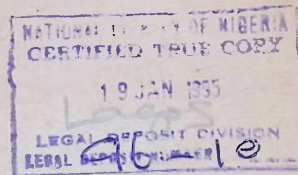
*In Search of*



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LEADERSHIP

Edited by  
Oladapo Fafowora  
Tunde Adeniran  
Olatunji Dare

**NIGERIA: In Search of Leadership**



# FOUNDING PHILOSOPHY

The aspirations of the founders of the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation are articulated in the preamble to its constitution in these words:



**DESIROUS** of inaugurating a new chapter in the work that gave **CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO** his national and international stature:

**EAGER** to ensure that **CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO**'s deep concern for our nation, Nigeria, under God shall continue to be of leadership relevance:

**PURSUANT TO OUR WISH** to immortalize **CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO** and conscious of the need to institute a forum, in perpetuo for that purpose:

[We, the founding members of the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation] **HAVE** caused to be inaugurated the **OBAFEMI AWOLOWO FOUNDATION** as the institution to continue the work of building a Nigeria united through the ideals that inspired the public and patriotic activities of the man immortalised as "AWO".

The Foundation is thus established as an independent, non-profit research institute dedicated to immortalising the democratic and welfarist ideals of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of the founding fathers of modern Nigeria, and committed to the promotion of a socially-edifying interaction between policy and scholarship.

# NIGERIA: In Search of Leadership

Proceedings and Policy Recommendations of the  
3rd Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue

*Edited by*  
**Oladapo Fafowora**  
**Tunde Adeniran**  
**Olatunji Dare**



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# The Foundation's Mission and Policy Statement

The Foundation is not affiliated to any political party or movement or to any religious organisation or interest group. It is a think-tank devoted to the analysis of important policy problems and dedicated to the principles of public welfare, responsible free enterprise, liberal democracy, a federal and republican Nigeria, an economically self-reliant Africa and a stable and equitable global system.

Its objectives are as follows:

- to undertake and sponsor research on a broad range of public policy issues aimed at ameliorating poverty and unemployment and at promoting social justice, individual and press freedom, and the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary;
- to provide a forum for frequent and fruitful interaction between policy-makers and reputable academics and the general public so that each party will be enriched and public policy will be upgraded;
- to make available to the general public and relevant authorities the findings and conclusions of its research;
- to advance public awareness and discussion of the great issues of the day and thereby enhance the participatory capacities of civil organisations and the welfarist content of public policy;
- to promote learning and research in diverse academic disciplines through the award of scholarships and grants, and the endowment of professorial chairs;
- to seek to advance the cause of North-South cooperation and the evolution of a more equitable global system; and
- to critique, elucidate and disseminate the teachings and ideals of Chief Obafemi Awolowo.



# Contents

<i>Founding Philosophy</i>	ii
<i>The Foundation's Mission and Policy Statement</i>	v
<i>Foreword</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<b>Opening Session</b>	
Welcome Address	3
<i>Dr (Mrs) O. Awolowo-Dosumu</i>	
Chairman's Opening Remarks	8
<i>Hon. Justice Chukwudifu Oputa</i>	
Keynote Address	21
<i>Hon. Justice (Dr.) Akinola Aguda</i>	
<b>Session 1</b>	
The Theories and Conceptions of Leadership	43
<b>Session 2</b>	
History of Leadership in Nigeria	81
<b>Session 3</b>	
Sectoral Leadership: Problems and Prospects	107
<b>Session 4</b>	
Cultural and Geopolitical Considerations	185
<b>Session 5</b>	
Comparative Perspectives and Lessons from other Countries	225
<b>Session 6</b>	
The Generational Debate	259
<b>Session 7</b>	
The Way Forward	297
Concluding Remarks	336
Communique	338
Recommendations	343
<b>Appendices</b>	
1. List of Participants	345
2. The Foundation's Principal Agencies	358
Index	359



## FOREWORD

Both in their utterances and conduct, many in positions of authority in post-independent Nigeria have performed below reasonable expectations. This is true of almost every facet of our national life. What prevails is clearly a general failure of leadership reflected in the evident indiscipline, corruption, arrogance, insensitivity, inconsistency and even incompetence of many men and women who constitute the Nigerian leadership class.

Indeed, with the exception of a few, among whom both friend and foe would include Chief Awolowo, majority of Nigerian leaders have been more interested in pursuing their own narrow and selfish interests than in promoting the welfare of the generality of our people. This consistent sabotage of the common good has led to the debasement of public morality, widespread distrust of people in authority and thus their inability to mobilise the citizenry in the task of sustained national development. The prevailing socio-political uncertainty, the sluggish state of our economy, and the unspeakable inequities that blight and threaten our political economy are all, largely, the consequences of the Nigerian crisis of leadership.

It was against this backdrop that I welcomed with enthusiasm the proposal to focus the 1994 Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue on the theme: "Nigeria: In Search of Leadership". My hope was that the seminar would provide a forum for a collective audit of the nation's leadership and a platform for generating possible remedies. The contents of the present volume, which derive from the proceedings of the Dialogue, bear evidence that my expectations were met. The presentations of the experts as well as the contributions of the audience discussed the nature of the leadership crisis and included noteworthy reformative proposals by which to assess, recruit, reject, censure and replace leadership. My prayer is that these suggestions would be of some assistance in our search for the right leadership which is a *sine qua non* for meaningful progress.

My deep gratitude goes to all the individuals who contributed in various ways to the success of the 1994 Dialogue and the subsequent publication of this volume. My special thanks go to the Executive Secretary and her staff at the Foundation for their diligence and loyalty over the years and also to the members of the organising committee for their selfless service. The United States Information Service, Lagos gave invaluable funding support for which I am truly grateful. My special gratitude also goes to all our resource persons and

other participants at the Dialogue for their attendance and input and for the honour thus bestowed on Chief Awolowo.

**Chief (Mrs) H.I.D. Awolowo**

*Chairman, Obafemi Awolowo Foundation.*

## PREFACE

The search for leadership in Nigeria was the key issue at the Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue which took place in Lagos in December, 1994. This publication is the outcome of the three-day Dialogue during which the problem of leadership in Nigeria was exhaustively and closely examined. For over thirty years since its independence, Nigeria has floundered from one grave political crisis to another. In that period, we have had a civil war, five successful military coups d'etat and five attempted but failed coups. We have had only two civilian regimes with a combined total of only nine years in power, while the military has been in power for a total of 25 years. In 1993, the long transition to civil rule programme was aborted following the annulment of that year's Presidential elections which should have brought the civilians back to power. The Dialogue took place in a period of great turmoil, characterised by uncertainty about the nation's political future, by deep social tensions, and by a severe downturn in the national economy with consequent deterioration in the quality of life of the average Nigerian citizen.

In keeping with the excellent traditions established since its inception, The Obafemi Awolowo Foundation brought together for the Dialogue eminent scholars, jurists, politicians, the professional class, retired diplomats and military men, civil servants and traditional chiefs to throw the searchlight on the failure of leadership in Nigeria, and examine in depth the whys and wherefores of a problem whose solution continues to haunt, perhaps even torment, the nation state. Expectedly, many factors were adduced for the lack of credible leadership including the nature of the colonial legacy, our cultural and ethnic diversity, the political and economic imbalance within the nation, the lack of commitment by its leaders to democracy and the tepid political will of the populace.

While it was generally accepted that Nigeria's leaders had failed the nation, many argued that there was no shortage of good leaders as such but that the twin evils of "clientelism and prebendalism" had made it virtually impossible for such credible leaders to emerge. It was for this very reason that Chief Obafemi Awolowo was described (only on his demise) as "the best President Nigeria never had". What it all boils down to is that the structure of power in Nigeria, and recruitment into it, seem destined to produce the wrong leaders for the country, leaders who are neither dedicated nor detribalised, but adept in the pursuit of narrow and selfish interests.

Hon. Justice Akinola Aguda's Keynote Address set the tone. The Lead Speakers' presentations and the Discussions that followed the various sessions were both illuminating and penetrating. Views have been freely expressed following the convention of earlier Dialogues, and a subtle distinction was made by many speakers between leadership and rulership. The essence of purposeful followership was also delineated.

We editors are happy in the thought that a theme so timely and topical should be made available to a wider audience through the medium of this publication, and feel confident that all those at the national and international levels who have a deep and abiding concern for the future of Nigeria will find in this text a ready source of reference.

We would like specially to thank the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Secretariat for providing the ambience and the support that made the collation, editing and publication of these papers possible within a few months of the Dialogue taking place.

**Oladapo Fafowora  
Tunde Adeniran  
Olatunji Dare**

**OPENING SESSION**



## Welcome Address

Dr. (Mrs) O. Awolowo-Dosumu

*Executive Secretary, Obafemi Awolowo Foundation*

I am most delighted to welcome you this morning, on behalf of the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, to this year's Dialogue which is the third in the series of an annual event that has become the high-point of the Foundation's calendar of activities.

As we sought to commence preparations for the Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue, the Foundation was confronted with a peculiar kind of challenge, that is, the challenge of sustainable achievement. This means that in conceptualising and structuring this Third Dialogue, the Foundation felt uniquely compelled to strive to beat its own high record of achievement with regard to its previous outings.

### Review of Previous Outings

As you may recall, the First Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue held in December 1992 paraded a galaxy of stars, with world-renowned social scientist, Professor Claude Ake, taking the centre-stage as the lead speaker. The rather intimidating calibre of key participants at that maiden outing was appropriately matched by the weightiness of the theme of the Dialogue which was "NIGERIA: The Way Forward".

A careful perusal of submissions rendered at that event readily reveals that the chosen theme was not only timely but was, with the benefit of hindsight, prescient almost to the point of being prophetic. Well before the expression "moving the country forward" became twisted into a mischievous banality deployed in the service of crass political brinkmanship, the Foundation had been genuinely concerned to chart a path to progress and show the way forward from a national crisis that was then in gestation. Happily, the proceedings of that First Dialogue have been consolidated into book form. And needless to say, the solutions proffered then remain of realistic relevance even at this frightening conjuncture of our self-inflicted crisis of nationhood.

The Second Dialogue held last year beamed its searchlight on "NIGERIA & EDUCATION: The Challenges Ahead". By common acknowledgement, education remains arguably the single most critical

sector in the life of any society that is sincerely desirous of meaningful development. In crafting the charge given to the eminent scholars and researchers who examined the topic, the Foundation was acutely aware of the convulsions that had wracked the Nigerian education system for some time. This protracted debility necessarily furnishes the background against which the Dialogue was held.

Today, the crisis in our school system continues unabated. Fortunately, the findings and submissions of the Dialogue have also been published in a book of the same title. In particular, the agenda-setting intervention of the keynote speaker, Professor J. Ade-Ajayi continues to be available for profitable use if and when the appropriate authorities decide it is time to do so.

### **Anchoring the Third Dialogue**

Mr Chairman, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, I have attempted to telescope the thrust and parameters of earlier Dialogues not as an exercise in self-adulation but to underline the almost daunting record which the Third Dialogue has to surpass or at least approximate. The challenge posed is not just in terms of the eminence and competence of key participants but more importantly in terms of the thematic essence of the event. And while one should be wary of the perils of premature applause, I make bold to say that both in terms of the chosen topic and the selected speakers, the Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue shall, at the end of the day, mark a qualitative progression from the Foundation's previous outings.

The theme of this year's Dialogue, as you all know, is "NIGERIA In Search of Leadership". This is a theme that is as unambiguous in its meaning as it is urgent in its import. It is a subject that permits no prevarication and allows for no ambivalence deriving from and expressing a general need that becomes more acute by the day. For leadership — or the lack of it — lies at the root of our continuing social, moral, economic and political crises.

In every programme, and every activity of the Foundation, particularly in the choice of theme for our annual Dialogue, we at the Foundation strive to keep in perpetual focus, the mission of this institution as contained in the opening portion of the preamble to the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Constitution; "(the desire to) inaugurat(e) a new chapter in the work that gave Chief Obafemi Awolowo his national and international stature." This connotes a new chapter of incisive, analytical study of the great issues of the day, devoid of partisan political contest.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo will, naturally, continue to be our reference point. His leadership qualities were outstanding. Permit me to quote part of the tribute paid to him, after his transition, by no less a person than Mr Princeton Lyman, then US Ambassador to Nigeria:

“... Chief Awolowo was one of Nigeria’s greatest leaders and embodies the soul of this great nation”

We therefore feel confident that the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, deriving, as it does, its inspiration from the life and work of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, is well-placed to provide a credible platform for critical evaluation of the leadership problematic in Nigeria.

In order to encourage an exhaustive examination of the Nigerian leadership crisis that is both creative and productive, the Foundation has drawn up a schedule that embraces several substantial sub-themes. These include the Conceptual, Historical, Cultural, Sectoral and Comparative aspects of the problem and the Generational issue.

It is our considered view that leadership should not be viewed solely in terms of its political component. To pigeon-hole leadership as a governance-political construct is to provide a ready alibi for other non-political sectoral elite who must share responsibility for various acts of omission or commission, which have over the years resulted in the societal problems all of us so vociferously decry.

However, the fact remains that leadership that is directly concerned with politics and/or governance should expect to attract a great deal of attention and criticism whenever the issue is subjected to dispassionate analysis. The reason for this is obvious. It is always proper and necessary for society to seek to audit the performance and personalities of those occupying high office, because they have such awesome potential to improve or destroy the collective well being.

It is often claimed that the leadership problem has its origin in the social structure, because there seems to be a supportive moral infrastructure at the level of the wider society which is responsible for socially injurious leadership: that a people deserve the leadership they get.

Yet, can we really claim that the ignorance and lack of sophistication of the followership has not been deliberately manipulated against their ultimate interest by what Professor Ake aptly described at the First Dialogue as the “predatory disposition” of the leadership class? What factors or forces have conspired to reduce the Nigerian citizen to a subject in his own land?

## The Imperative of Leadership for Development

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, at no time in the history of our dear country has the imperative of proper leadership been more demanding and more urgent. As the political terrain continues its dangerous slide, there resounds across the land a crying need for respected leaders from all sectors to broker an honourable solution. The overly complex and self-reproducing character of dysfunctional leadership has to be redressed if Nigeria must make a headway. It is this imperative requirement that informs the choice of theme of the Dialogue.

Using the word "search" to pose the Nigerian leadership problematic presumes the possibility of finding the object of such search if we seek hard enough. This, of course, is the prospective approach which the Foundation has always preferred in its analysis of problems and issues. It is an outlook that is rooted in an optimistic worldview, a scenario that insists on being forward-looking even in the face of daunting odds. It is my fervent hope that out of this gathering shall emerge credible and workable initiatives on how to positively remake our present national condition.

Our choice of lead speaker, chairman and key participants for this Dialogue derives from that hope. Mr Justice Akinola Aguda, eminent jurist and scourge of bad leaders is a man whose reputation transcends our national borders. His track record speaks more eloquently than possibly could concerning his suitability for the task at hand. I thank him most profoundly for availing us the unique opportunity of his thoughtful intervention.

Also, I wish to specifically thank the Chairman of this opening session, Justice C. A. Oputa, eminent jurist, philosopher and erudite scholar for so graciously acceding to our invitation. Between him and Justice Aguda, I am sure a very high tone will be set for this Dialogue. Our choice of eminent jurists to lead the proceedings of this Dialogue is perhaps only logical considering that a large majority of our countrymen believe that the judiciary has had a huge role to play in the nation's crisis of mission.

## Conclusion

This year, the Foundation tragically lost two of its most valued pioneer members, Dr Tai Solarin, a member of the Board of Trustees and Mr Olujuwon Adesina, a member of the Governing Council and General Assembly. Both died suddenly within a month of each other. They

were both extremely loyal, and readily deployed their time, talents and influence to the benefit of the Foundation. They worked tirelessly, and with utmost dedication to ensure that the Foundation was firmly established in order to achieve its mission. Dr. Solarin, social critic par excellence and frontline educationist, was present at the 2nd Dialogue, just a year ago, where he presented a paper on Secondary Education. Mr Adesina always coordinated our annual Executive Leadership Seminar on the Budget — the last in this series was held in February this year. In fact, he chaired a meeting of the General Assembly, where he was his usual robust, humorous self, only to die suddenly two days later. The contributions of these two great patriots to the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, and thereby the nation, have certainly not gone unnoticed. May their souls rest in perfect peace.

Mr Chairman, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, we feel encouraged by your presence here this morning and so, I thank you. I welcome you most heartily to the Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue.

## Chairman's Opening Remarks

*Hon. Justice Chukwudifu Oputa*

It gives me very great pleasure to participate in this auspicious and essentially relevant Dialogue.

The topic selected for this 3rd Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue seems to lie at the root of all our problems here in Nigeria — the perennial problem of leadership. Ironically the theme is a tacit admission that we have not found the type of leadership Nigeria needs in order to survive and to advance. But all hope is not lost, for the very fact that this dialogue is being convened today is itself evidence that we have not given up. We are still very much in search of leadership.

In a paper, "In Search of a Disciplined Society Through Law" presented some years ago during the centenary celebrations of the legal profession in Nigeria, I made the following observations:

Nigeria is great — great in size, great in population, handsomely blessed and richly endowed by a kind and prodigal providence with almost unlimited natural resources. The challenge is for all of us — young and old, men and women — to make her even greater than nature portended.

Can we face up to that challenge? Can we make Nigeria greater than nature made her — remembering that God gave us the country which human endeavour gives us the cities? My answer is yes — but if, and only if, we are disciplined; if we are not merely armchair critics, but totally committed and devoted collaborators, and most importantly, if our leadership is not hungry for power because of what it hopes to gain through unjust enrichment and filthy lucre, if our leaders have the sagacity of an Otto Von Bismark, the wisdom of a Cavour, the adroitness of a Mazini, the patriotism of a Gandhi and the selflessness of an Nyerere.

### Leadership

The problem of leadership is mainly how to use power in order to avoid its abuse and misuse. Etymologically, to lead means to direct by going in front. Leadership implies a purposeful direction of the affairs of those led. Leadership implies some movement towards a definite and defined goal which will be for the benefit of society. As i

Bentham's calculus of pleasure — the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers should be the end of government.

## Characteristics of Leadership

### (i) *Imaginativeness*

A leader must be a thinker. He must have simple clear ideas which he can sell to the people and which he can formulate into practical policies capable of implementation. This will imply and require considerable wisdom, for as Mary Meek Atkeson observed, "the best cosmetic in the world is an active mind that is always finding something new." As a corollary to wisdom and inventiveness, a leader should have a good deal of courage — the courage of his convictions and the courage to stand on his principles and by his decisions.

As leadership must necessarily provide the moral, social and motivational climate among the followership, it must involve an outlook and a conviction, several octaves above those held by the workaday world. We cannot afford to have the blind leading the blind.

### (ii) *Firm Character*

A leader should possess physical and moral toughness of character which will enable him to sail over rough waters with comparative equanimity, and endure misfortunes and disappointments without being unduly discouraged or wearied, and without succumbing to emotional paralysis.

### (iii) *Clear Conscience*

A clear conscience is a leader's most enduring possession. The most effective weapon in the armoury of an adversary is blackmail, especially where the leader has several skeletons in his own cupboard. This is why and where leadership by example is still the best form of leadership. Do as I do, not only as I say. Leaders need to be moralists, not just poseurs who sententiously exhort people to be good but thinkers who elucidate what the goodness is. This requires first and foremost a clear idea of right and wrong and the integrity to stand behind one's assessment of any given situation. When supported by education, integrity can give the leader something to rely on when perspectives seem to blur or when rules and principles seem to waver or when faced with hard choices of right and wrong. When choices are limited, a leader should prefer to work with loyal and steadfast plodders rather than with devious geniuses.

**(iv) Disciplined Personal Lifestyle**

A leader (who should go ahead of those he leads) should *ex necessitate* cultivate a disciplined personal lifestyle and a commitment to a personal code of conduct. Thus from good habits, strength of character and resolve will ultimately emerge. Such a leader can raise to the level of consciousness much that lies subconscious among the followership. He will inspire the followership and urge them to do more.

**(v) Stewardship**

The essence of leadership is in service. We lead, if we serve. As a good steward, a leader should know his men and care for them. A leader out of touch with the feelings and aspirations of his men, their problems, their fears and their apprehensions, is sitting on a time-bomb. Before the French Revolution exploded, the king's wife when told that the people could no longer buy bread, retorted — "why don't they buy cake?" The French nobility was completely out of touch with the prevailing poverty of the French peoples.

Stewardship requires tending the flock as well as cracking the whip. It takes compassion to realise that men differ; that all men are not of the same mould. Stewardship is a process which can be painful, continual and difficult — and so is leadership.

**Pyramids of Power**

I have discussed in a general way some of the salient characteristics and imperatives of good leadership. There is the problem of leadership at various levels of society. But in every society there are five easily discernible pyramids of power, namely;

1. Economic or Money Power
2. Political Power
3. Religious Power
4. Ideas Power (the News Media)
5. The Bureaucracy or Service Power.

All these five pyramids have each at its apex a few fortunate elite who exercise power and take all important decisions. These are leaders and they too face the same leadership problems and are expected to have good leadership qualities as well.

## Type of Leadership Nigeria Needs

The type of leadership Nigeria needs is that reflected in our 1st National Anthem — a leadership that will:

Help us to build a nation  
Where no man is oppressed  
And so with peace and plenty  
Nigeria may be blest.

Secondly, the leadership we seek is that which is motivated by the far-reaching ideals reflected in the preamble to our 1979 Constitution:

To live in *unity* and *harmony* as one indivisible and indissoluble Sovereign Nation.  
To promote the *good government* and *welfare of all persons* in our country on the principles of *Freedom, Equality* and *Justice*.

A nation should be assembled around the credo of its ideals by prudent and sagacious leadership. And when a cause is identified with these precious ideals, unlimited loyalty and enthusiasm automatically follow. And there are no ideals more precious to the human mind than Freedom, Equality and Justice.

## Examination of Conscience

Let us now be brutally frank with ourselves. After thirty-four years of independence, can we boast that we are living in "a nation where no one is oppressed?" Can we say confidently that we have "peace and plenty" in our land? Can we say that our government is promoting the welfare of all persons in this country on the principles of equality for all; on the principle of justice to all? Since this is a Dialogue, I have asked these questions merely to provoke your response. If that response is favourable, then we have come to the end of our search for leadership, otherwise the search must continue.

### A: *Leadership, Law and The Social Order*

Law and order are necessary prerequisites of a good society, "a society blest with peace and plenty." Also a society "where no man is oppressed" is a *just* society. In fact the first stanza of our 1960 National Anthem testifies to this:

Our flag shall be a symbol  
That *truth* and *justice* reign.

Our national colours are Green, White and Green. Green symbolises fertility, fecundity and plenty. White stands for integrity, truth, justice

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Our national colours are Green, White and Green. Green symbolises fertility, fecundity and plenty. White stands for integrity, truth, justice

and peace. The Nigerian dream is thus justice, peace and plenty. The dream cannot be attained without *law and order*. But there are different kinds of law propping up different kinds of order. What we need for our country is *good order* not just any order. Edmund Burke was right when he observed:

Good order is the foundation of all good things.

We have therefore to probe further the concept of law and order in order to discover *that law and order* that will enhance justice, peace and plenty in our country.

It is impossible to separate law from order, since the definition of order is always given in terms of law as "the *natural, moral or spiritual* system in which things proceed according to definite laws" (Oxford English Dictionary). Law and order are inextricably bound together in their application to any social context. Law and order not only reinforce one another but they also reflect one another. Thus *an unjust system of law* will surely uphold *an unjust order*. In colonial dependencies, in repressive regimes, a lot of unspeakable crimes and illegalities were, and are still being committed in the name of maintaining *law and order*. There, the so called *law and order* amounted to nothing but *stratified injustice* or else a *legalised disorder*. We do not want such an order in Nigeria.

### B: *Leadership, Liberty and Freedom*

A lot has been written about Liberty and Freedom. We are rational, intelligent beings with *freedom of action, freedom of conscience and freedom of choice*. Freedom does not mean the right to do whatever we please. Rather, it means the right to do whatever we ought. The right to do whatever we please reduces freedom to a mere physical power and degrades and ranks it with instinct. The right to do whatever we please forgets that freedom is a moral power. Free will imposes on man the moral obligation of choice. We are free to choose good or bad, to choose freedom or slavery. Man has a free will in search of liberty and freedom. Free will is the gift, freedom is the conquest. The right to do whatever we like reduces freedom into a licence. *It confuses freedom within the law with freedom from the law*. We are only free when we are not free to free ourselves from the law.

### C: *Leadership and Justice*

In his "Politics", Aristotle said:

All men think justice to be a sort of equality.

This definition by the Greek philosopher has become a core formula of justice. It has cascaded through the centuries; it has spanned world literature from Homer, through Aristotle, through Cicero and the Roman jurists, through Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and the Fathers and through doctors of the Church. It remains a working definition. In fact the Justinian Pandects equated justice with equity which it defined as:

*Honesta vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere* (to live honestly, not to hurt another, to give each his due).

And when we remember that "equality is equity" we can still see the equality of Aristotle reflected in the Justinian definition. Equality may not be the answer since equality is essentially a term of mathematics while justice is essentially moral and ethical. Equal treatment of the handicapped and the absolutely normal would be both irrational and unjust, for treating unequals equally is as unjust as treating equals unequally. Justice may in certain circumstances require an inequality while equality may sometimes be unjust. But adapted for moral purposes *equality is valuable not for what it stands for, but largely for what it stands against*, like — *discrimination, arbitrariness, monopoly and privileges of rank, sex, class or religion*. Viewed from the above angle, equality has an impressive historical pedigree since it has been associated with movements of revolutionary progress. Therefore in the absence of any other alternative definition we may use the "suum cuique tribuere" formula of justice — (to each his/her due).

Implicit in a true conception of justice is the rapport between the individual and the social whole. We are not only individuals but also social individuals, and we socialise at three levels:

- We relate to one another on a person to person basis. This gives rise to individual justice — contracts, torts come under this heading;
- The individual socialises with the social whole. This gives rise to social justice, e.g. taxation by which we pay part of our debt to society;
- The representatives of the social whole relates to the individual, providing necessary amenities, sharing equitably the national cake. This is the province of Distributive Justice.

Individual justice is basically simple both in concept and content. When a party is wronged, say by a breach of contract or by a tort, damages are awarded to redress the balance. Thus justice is done. But

social and distributive justice do not enjoy a similar basic simplicity. What is owed; by whom it is owed; and to whom it is owed are never so clearly defined. Also at the social level justice is not reducible to simple equality, since unequal demands may justly be made.

The courts dealing mainly with breaches of contract and with torts, handle issues of individual justice. The State is mainly concerned with social and distributive justice.

#### D: *Leadership, Government and Liberty*

I have discussed law and justice at some length because liberty is very closely linked with both of them. Etymologically, liberty means the absence of external restraint or coercion on an individual or a group by other people. Liberty does not imply a withdrawal from society. Liberty is not going away on our own to somewhere marked "free and independent". No, it is not. True liberty can only be achieved in society by social cooperation, of free men and free women, in which coercion is absent or strictly limited by just laws, including the decisions of our courts.

The Executive and the Police in their anxiety to preserve law and order, may use excessive force to suppress peaceful protest marches, demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing etc. If this happens, the citizen's liberty would be infringed. But the citizen in the exercise of his much vaunted and highly prized rights should remember that every right has a corresponding duty. The right of the citizen to demonstrate and the duty of the police to maintain order should be carefully weighed in the social balance, for justice herself postulates that my rights end where my neighbour's rights begin.

The dictate of justice and the ambit of liberty therefore should be that each man should be free to develop his own personality to the full in an atmosphere of freedom. The only duties which should restrict that freedom are those which are necessary to enable everyone else to exercise his own rights to self development. But whenever the interests of the State and those of the individual citizen are finely balanced, the judicial scale must always tilt on the side of liberty and the freedom of the private citizen. A fine balance must be maintained between individual freedom and social duty.

#### E: *Leadership and Neo-Colonialism*

There is another threat to liberty and freedom. This is *neo-colonialism*. This is a situation where a foreign power, without being in physical control of an area, still exercises political, socio-economic and

psychological domination. This has created insoluble problems for developing countries in Africa. The proceeds of the economy of nearly all African countries seem to be permanently and perpetually mortgaged to debt-serving and debt-repayment. Every passing day sees African countries sinking deeper and deeper into debt and poverty. Poverty makes a nation subservient and subservience creates a new form of unfreedom, a new form of slavery. Poverty is a serious assault on liberty and freedom. Unless a man has the necessities of a decent normal, comfortable existence, he cannot be free and independent. *Man's right to have, follows from his right to be.* Property and freedom are two sides of the same coin. They are one and the same problem. Power flows from property and *once you concentrate property in the hands of a few, you make slaves of the many.*

There is yet another obstacle to freedom. This is internal colonialism. Here, one privileged group within the country oppresses others. Such oppression may take the form of economic and social domination. This may be the result of internal structural injustice as well as global structural injustice.

#### F: *Leadership and Structural Injustice*

There is again the question of *Structural Injustices* both global and internal. When the structures of society are basically and radically unjust, one cannot readily talk of justice, freedom and liberty. The tragedy of Africa is the *monster of global structural injustice.* The prices of our oil and other mineral resources are not fixed by us. They are fixed by the so-called, but largely manipulated, market forces. The prices of our imports are also fixed from without. We are thus in no position to take important and crucial decisions about our economy. These decisions are made from without by foreign countries and by foreign banks. Our poverty is really, to a large extent, the result of this global structural injustice.

The structures of the international economic order are basically unjust and are biased against the poorer developing countries. Justice requires that the entire human community do collectively make very serious efforts to replace this unjust order with one that is more equitable, one that offers greater opportunities to poorer and developing countries. But sadly the verdict of history is that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor or the exploiter; it must be demanded by the oppressed. No privileged group had ever welcomed its own dethronement. Enconced privileges had never yielded their places voluntarily.

In addition to internal colonisation which I mentioned earlier the structures of our society are such that only a few fortunate elites, the top of the pyramids of power, take all the important decisions. The masses, the so called common man, have no power at all and do not participate in the decision making process — decisions that affect the daily lives. They are marginalised and afflicted with a sense of inessentiality. Now liberty, freedom and justice cannot thrive on a soil made arid and barren by structural injustices. Freedom must become concrete in the structures which hold us captive otherwise it is no freedom at all.

In the economic sphere, the few at the apex of Money Power pyramid act as agents of foreign companies and their interests as such agents do not coincide with those of the masses of our people. There is always a close link between economic and political power. Wealthy people go into politics and politicians become very wealthy by making use of their political powers and influence.

But in spite of all these structures which promote injustice in society, there still exists in every human being an insatiable thirst for justice. This basic and primordial instinct is fast becoming a societal instinct. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty. This, and the instinct for justice, will hasten a change of outlook and direction — from passivity to action; from meek acceptance of injustice to vigorous demand for social righteousness and justice. Out of this there will gradually develop an alteration in the value structure of society. Those authorities which had been legitimised by the previous value structure become illegitimate in the eyes of the people and their overthrow or transformation can now be seen as a possibility and felt as a necessity.

Freedom has two dimensions — freedom *from* and freedom *for*. "From" without the "for" is incomplete. We are freed from oppression, suppression and domination so that our latent energies may be released for self and social development. The law should take note of that. "Freedom for" comprises openness and dialogue, as well as equality of opportunity and the reign of justice. It is the power to take the material conditions of life and give them form — like participation in public affairs, in the social, political and economic life of the country. "Freedom for" gives us the power to transform our society and create a new future for our children.

### G: Leadership, Social and Political Justice

The search for leadership in Nigeria is a search for that type of leadership reflecting the philosophy behind our national colours of

green, white and green. It is a search for justice, peace and plenty. It is a search for social justice, which automatically eliminates social injustice. Now the principle of justice is to give each person or group (whether weak or strong) what is his or their due and to demand the contribution of each on the basis of equal consideration. What is due is often expressed in a right determined by law and a corresponding duty imposed on others on the balance of equal protection. But equality (which is an essential constituent of the principle of justice) presents a problem — the problem of reconciling a common standard of treatment with relevant differences of individuals considered on the basis of merit or demerit.

Individuals can be considered, on the one hand, as human beings with intrinsic worth and value. In this sense they are all equally entitled to their fundamental human rights. But on the other hand, individuals may differ in merit. Thus the principle of justice will combine the egalitarian and the meritocratic elements. An egalitarian concept of justice may admit of just inequalities without inconsistency, if, and only if it provides grounds for equal human rights which are also grounded upon the unequal rights of others. In any event, the differential of individuals should never encroach on the dignity and human rights of others.

A society is just if it allows for horizontal and vertical mobility; if equal opportunity is the rule for all. This will prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnic affiliation, sex, or religion. All these will be irrelevant where they tend to lessen the human dignity and freedom of others. Equal opportunity as a principle of social justice is thus interpreted according to proportionality and ability. This amounts to holding that each individual should receive according to his/her worth as a human being and according to merit, need and work. It is to be emphasised that equal opportunity does not mean a drab monotony of equalitative identity. Social injustice arises when the principle of equal opportunity is not observed; or where there is discrimination between classes and groups; or where the natural resources (which are free gifts of nature) are placed in the hands of a few. A good government will advocate all necessary legislations and reforms without which no society worth the name can prosper — reforms that aim at a more just society, in keeping with the dignity of man.

Since democracy is the government of the people, by the people for the people, it follows that the common good is the limit of political authority. Political injustice arises when the political authority ceases to provide for the common good and is turned to the advantage of a

few; or where even the majority is allowed to oppress and repress minority. Political injustice will also arise when the political authority is abused and used to subjugate the citizenry. But the mere misuse of political authority will not justify its total abolition. Rather, through education we will seek to change attitudes; and through legislation and court orders, we will seek to regulate behaviour. Also, oppressed people cannot remain oppressed for ever. Something within (the primordial instinct for freedom) will remind them that freedom is their birth right, and something without will teach them that freedom can be gained. Now one of the most basic and effective weapons in the fight for social and political justice is the decisive action of the people's vote. With proper education, and enhanced economic well being, the people will appreciate the potency of their votes as a catalyst for a welcome change.

#### *H: Leadership and the Prevailing Poverty in Our Land*

The picture of the Nigerian society is a picture of the few who are rich — some very rich indeed — and the many who are poor, suffering from agonising deprivation, hunger and starvation. These very rich few, often use (I would have said misuse) their wealth to buy political power and privileges. Add to this the fever of spiralling and galloping inflation consequent on the progressively downward plunge in the value of the national currency — the naira — and you have a complete tale of woe.

This sorry picture calls for a daring and creative resolve from the leadership to act timeously to rescue the common man, who is on the receiving end. But what happens if, or where, this leadership is closely linked with those at the apex of the Money Power pyramid? That seems to be the problem, for in that event, the leadership becomes part of the problem rather than party to the solution.

But all said and done, the areas of hunger and misery in our country can be made fertile, in a short time, if we change our perspective and our priorities; and if our heavy investment on a large army; on arms and armaments — all at the service of war and destruction — are changed into investments for food at the service of life. Part of the causes of the poverty in our land is the global structural injustice and the resulting debt problem. A sizeable chunk of our annual revenue seems to be perpetually mortgaged to debt servicing and repayment. Very little is left for social development and the economic advancement of our people. Every passing day sees Nigeria sinking deeper and deeper into debt. It is not fair, nor is it just, that the

standard of living of the rich countries of the North should seek to maintain itself by draining off a great part of the resources and wealth of Third World countries. Leaders of African countries, as well as other Third World countries should jointly wage a vigorous, persistent, and relentless war against this global structural injustice. The debt problem must be jointly addressed and equitably redressed.

Coming nearer home, it is pertinent to observe that our constitutional guarantee of right to life, includes the basic right to food and other materials needed to maintain and sustain life. There has to be an equitable sharing of the wealth of the country. The present disparity between the very rich and the very poor is creating a disturbing and yawning gulf between the few who are rich and the many who are poor. It is ominous and pregnant with dire consequences. One of such consequences is that if the government cannot feed the many who are poor, it can hardly protect the few who are rich. Where the contrast between the rich and the poor, the privileged and the marginalised is acute, crimes against the person and against property become regular features. We have abundant evidence of this in the ever increasing wave of armed robberies in our homes and car snatching on our roads.

It will be revealing and challenging for all of us — government and people — to remember that all the wrecks on either side of the stream of time and all the nations that have passed away — all, are warnings that no nation can stand without a contented citizenry — “from the sand enshrouded Egypt; from the marble wilderness of Athens; and from the fallen, crumbling stones of the once mighty Rome comes a wail, as it were, the cry that no nation founded upon injustice can permanently stand.”

The poor in our midst do not simply lack just material goods; but on the level of human dignity they are denied proper participation in the socio-political life of the country. For being poor, they cannot afford the luxury of very expensive election campaigns. Being poor they sell their votes, rather than using such votes to unseat disreputable politicians. In the long term, it will be seen that improving the economic well-being of our citizenry may be one of the best investments for democracy in our land.

## Conclusion

Leadership in a federation such as ours should be apparently honest and transparently impartial. It has to hold an equitable balance between all the federating units. It has to discourage favouritism and

graft. It has to wage a successful war against the monster of discrimination.

Leadership in a multi-ethnic society will be broadminded enough to regard each ethnic group as its constituency. This will do away with "favoured groups" and "marginalised groups." Justice will demand that all groups approach the leadership on the basis of basic equality.

Leadership in a multi-religious society will adopt secularism as its *magna carta*. It should not be seen to be unduly attached to a particular religion. The necessary distinction should be drawn between the private religious life of the leader and his public image as a leader of many different religious groups. This will give the leadership the credibility it so much requires to inspire and win the confidence of the entire citizenry.

Leadership should pursue useful economic policies which benefit the country. The acid test of any policy or programme is the extent to which it conduces to the welfare of all in our country.

Our leadership will be deeply conscious of the fact that history is relevant in so far as it helps us to solve the problems of the present and plan successfully for the future. To this extent, our leaders ought to have a sense of history. Our leaders should also know that history repeats itself because leaders refuse to learn from history.

Our leadership should ever be conscious of the fact that God has endowed this country with a bounty of several raw materials. God gave us a world unfinished so that we might share in the joy and satisfaction of creation. He gave us the challenge of raw materials, not the satisfaction of perfect, finished things.

Nigeria is now in search of a leadership that will accept this divine challenge. This, my fellow countrymen and women, is the purpose of this Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue.

# Nigeria: In Search of Leadership

## Keynote Address

Hon. Justice (Dr.) Akinola Aguda

The gigantic British creation in Africa, christened "Nigeria", mid-wifed by an ex-officer of His Majesty's Army, Sir Frederick Lugard in 1914, is eighty years old this year and this Foundation has thought it fit to remind us that this country is, in spite of its age, still in search of leadership. But then we must bear in mind, and the facts stare us in the face, that this is the weakest year of its existence, with all its peoples faced with utter hopelessness, agonising helplessness, and unimaginably terrifying despondency, manifest in all aspects of human existence: political, economic, educational, social and spiritual.

This inglorious and lamentable situation must, I believe, have operated on the minds of the Council of this Foundation when they chose for this year's Dialogue the subject: "Nigeria: In Search of Leadership." In view of the picture which I have painted and which to the best of my knowledge and belief is true, and in all the circumstances, it seems unnecessary for me to say how greatly honoured I am to have been invited to give a Keynote Address in the present Dialogue, and to say how very grateful I am to the Governing Council.

### What is Nigeria?

We who are gathered here are a part of the large population of the intellectuals of this country, and such a question as "What is Nigeria?" cannot, I hope, be totally strange. We must examine that question first before we can even consider whether Nigeria is or is not in need of any leadership; or whether indeed it is in search of such a phenomenon. One thing seems certain: if we are honest with ourselves many of us will say publicly especially outside Nigeria, that we are Nigerians but down in our hearts Nigeria as a nation is a futuristic entity which may or may not materialise. This is what our so-called present leaders will not admit.

"The unity of Nigeria is not negotiable" — that is the sing-song — a mere rehearsal like a school pupil who has memorised by heart a biblical or koranic verse or even the National Pledge which he must

graft. It has to wage a successful war against the monster of discrimination.

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regurgitate on demand by the headmaster on pain of punishment or ridicule by his classmates. If that were not so, how can we explain the incessant cries by our so-called leaders that "The President must come from the North"; "It is over our dead bodies a Southerner will be made the President", "It is the turn of the South to produce the next President", "We must have six Vice-Presidents to ensure full participation in government of all parts of the country." "We must rotate the Presidency."

Two pertinent questions emerge: (1) What happens if the North fails to concede the Presidency to the South or vice-versa; and (2) What precisely has the constitutional conference been attempting to do during these months? Are the *dramatis personae* negotiating the union of Nigeria in their own way? Whether they succeed or not is a different matter.

We must at this point go back into history. I have already confessed my lack of expertise in that field but a mere lawyer myself cannot and should not be permitted to claim total ignorance of the history of his country. Here I would like to say that if we are honest with ourselves the inevitable conclusion is that whatever efforts we might have made both before and after 1914 have yielded but a few little results in any attempt to create a Nigerian nation out of the diverse nations and tribes that occupy the geographical land now called "Nigeria." Again if we are honest with ourselves this ought not to look strange to us. Our erstwhile rulers, Great Britain, never intended to make Nigeria anything other than a mere geographical land mass inhabited by hundreds of diverse peoples with different cultures and totally different levels of education as well as totally different religions. You will all recall the system of "indirect rule" introduced by Lugard and the establishment in 1923 of a Legislative Council with jurisdiction limited to the colony of Lagos and the southern provinces.

In other words the two parts of the country were administered through different systems of legislation and this went on till just before self-government. It is sometimes forgotten, or not given adequate recognition, that the North was a "class" society consisting of a ruling class or titled aristocracy of the Fulani emirates for whom nobility of birth was the supreme qualification, and a non-Fulani subject class of the *talakawa*. This was compounded by religious injunctions of subservience to the authority of the ruling cum religious leaders which cannot be questioned by the *talakawa*. On top of all this was the lack of Western education to which, even at later times, the *talakawa* had no opportunity.

On the other hand, no part of the southern provinces suffered from such sharp political class division and distinction. Long before the 1914 amalgamation, excellent schools at different levels had been established by Christian missionaries in many parts of the southern provinces, schools from which children of parents both rich and poor had benefited. They had imbibed Western culture and education whilst most of the children from the northern provinces, especially and mainly, children of the ruling aristocracy had only imbibed Arabic culture and education. In other words, whilst the South looked West, the North looked East, but the British Administration went on governing the country as if this was of no importance. Whilst political leaders in the South started to confront the British administration in cases of maladministration, that administration found a haven in northern Nigeria, to the extent that by 1916 that administration was able to make the declaration that all lands in the North were "under the control and subject to the disposition of governor"! This was supposed to have been "incidental to the abdication of sovereign powers possessed by the Emirs and Chiefs in 1900."<sup>1</sup> That has remained the position until today.<sup>2</sup> However, when it was felt in southern Nigeria that the British government was contemplating extending that policy to the South, the then leadership of the South raised serious objections and sent a strong delegation in 1913 to the colonial office to protest. The delegation which made the arduous and risky three-week boat journey to London consisted of:

both educated Lagosians and Chiefs from such interior centres as Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode, Ilesha and Ife... (and although the whole episode was based on fear, rather than actuality of some new imperial coercion or deprivation, it resulted in the political mobilization of new elements of the population and brought together for the first time educated Lagosians and chiefs from the interior.<sup>3</sup>

It is noteworthy that furthermore by 1914 political leaders like Herbert Macaulay — a civil engineer, surveyor and journalist, and John Payne Jackson had emerged and had become thorns in the flesh of the British administration. According to Richard L. Sklar in *Nigerian Political Parties*:

"by 1914 Macaulay and John Payne Jackson, editor and publisher of the militant *Lagos Weekly Record* were the leading exponents of nascent nationalism."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. John K. Randle had founded in Lagos the People's Union in 1908, but the Union had become pro-government by 1916. Dr. Henry

Carr, a mathematician and physicist turned lawyer as well as Kitoyi Ajasa were leaders in their own right — but their association with the government alienated them from their people.

The point that is being made here is that the astute builders of an empire "over which the sun never sets" could not have been so stupid as not to have realised that they were not establishing a Nigerian country or nation when they effected the amalgamation of the North and the South in 1914. Hence one recalls with certain amount of reverence the one sentence uttered by Ahmadu Bello, the Sark of Sokoto when on March 31, 1953, Anthony Enahoro moved for "Nigerian self-government motion." The late Sark said:

The mistake of 1914 has come to light and I should like to go no further.<sup>5</sup>

I must quickly add that whether the Sark was right in 1953 or not, he has not been the only important "leader" who has expressed skepticism about the amalgamation and as to whether there is a Nigerian nation which is or should be in search of leadership.

That sage who happened to have been one of the greatest political thinkers and intellectuals this country has ever produced, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, had written in 1947 that —

Nigeria is not a nation: it is a mere geographical expression. There are no "Nigerians" in the same sense as there are "English" or "Welsh" or "French"; the word 'Nigeria' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not.<sup>6</sup>

The thought of the first Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Tafawa Balewa was no different, for, according to him —

Since the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Provinces in 1914, Nigeria had existed as one country only on paper. It is still far from being united. Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country.<sup>7</sup>

As I have tried to show, I do not even think that unity was the British intention for Nigeria. If that were so they could have attempted very vigorously to weld together through education and uniformity of political administration both the North and the South. But this is precisely what they failed and refused to do, for as they thought and now they have been proved right — a united Nigeria would have been a threat to the continuation of their hegemony even after the departure from the visible political administration. Of course Chief Awolowo was right in enlightening "Nigerians" as at 1947 the

"Nigeria" was yet a geographical expression. At this juncture I hope that the prediction which I made in 1988 will not come true — I sincerely hope so from the bottom of my heart. In my Nigerian National Merit Award Winners Lecture which I titled "The Challenge for Nigerian Law and the Nigerian Lawyer in the Twenty-First Century" which I delivered at the time, I asserted that "Nigeria has now become a nation." That was of course before the catastrophe of what has now become popularly known as "June 12 1993."<sup>8</sup> Then I said:

In spite of all the setbacks we have passed through, including a devastating civil war, and the unimaginable avarice of most of our political leaders since 1960, it seems to have become an established fact that Nigeria has now become a nation; and in any case if it does not become one by the turn of this century, it probably would never be one.<sup>9</sup>

We now know that my optimism that Nigeria had become a nation in 1988 was misplaced and that my hope and our hopes that Nigeria would, at least by the turn of this century, have become a nation have become shattered and dynamited into smithereens by a self-appointed leader and President, General Ibrahim Babangida. His purported annulment of the election at which millions of Nigerians chose the one to lead them for at least four years underscores in a very graphic manner the necessity for a search for a true leader and a true leadership.

### The Concept of Leadership

The problem in an intellectual discourse of this nature is usually concerned with the definition of terms. But fortunately a discussant usually has some freedom of choice as to the definition of a term around which he intends to weave his discussion. In our study of judicial interpretation we are obliged, if we are confronted with the meaning of a word to search our dictionary first for the common and ordinary meaning of the word, unless of course it is a word which in the process of previous judicial interpretations has taken on a specialised meaning. In this case I feel that my first point of call is to consult a common English dictionary to see what meaning we should attach to "lead", or "leader", or "leadership." The *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (1987 edition) says that "to lead" means "to show the way by going first"; "to guide by the hand." According to the same dictionary, "a leader" is "one who leads or goes first"; and "leadership" means "ability to lead."

In all honesty I wonder how many of our so-called or self-styled leaders fully appreciate the concept of such a simple and straightforward word as "leadership." I have often argued with prominent intellectuals as to whether the major problem of Nigeria is that of leadership or that of followership. Every one has agreed that Nigeria, like most other African countries, has had to face enormous political, economic and social instability problems, at least in the forty years or so. However, when it comes to the question as to whether those enormous problems have resulted from the problem of leadership or followership, these intellectuals have taken different positions. Three such positions seem to have emerged:

1. That our major problem has been that of poor or no leadership.
2. That our major problem has been that of poor or no followership.
3. That our major problem has not been one or the other of these two but a combination of both.

But then those who fall into the third group are divided as to which of the two elements is the more significant. For our purpose, however, an examination of those views may not be very important. What is important is an examination of the concept of "followership." In my search for this I find I have to go back to the same dictionary, from which I made a very interesting discovery. It says that "to follow" means "to go after or behind", "to imitate"; and "follower" as "one who comes after; a copier; a disciple."

Major General James Oluleye devotes the first chapter of his book *"Military Leadership in Nigeria 1966-1979"* to the definition of leadership with particular reference to the subject of his study. I shall concern myself with only the parts of his definition which I consider relevant to this short address. He says that *Webster's Third International Dictionary Volume II* says that a leader is a "person or animal that leads a person" and that a leader must have the "capacity to lead, having that ingredient of personality which causes men to follow, successful solution of problems and moulds individuals into a team." He goes on to inform us that Borgadus in 1928 defined leadership as "the creating and setting forth of exceptional behavior patterns in such a way that other people respond." He states further that "the leader must possess more intelligence and ability, personality, task motivation and performance and social consequences", than the followers. He then goes on to say that a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways.

The first method for the attainment of a leadership position mentioned by Oluleye is self-imposition, which is totally devoid of constitutionality. Secondly, a group of persons may forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people. Even though Oluleye does not say so, such a self-imposed leader may not be a true and worthy leader. We have of course become painfully aware of this since January 1966. We are told that a person may come into a position of leadership through a demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time. Here we may cite the examples of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi; Seretse Khama of Botswana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana; and Nelson Mandela of the Republic of South Africa.

I think it may serve some useful purpose if I attempt to summarise what has emerged from all I have said so far as the qualities we should look for in our search for a leader and leadership. One crucial attribute of the leader which Nigeria must search for is the quality of being able to "show the way by going first". In other words, he must be one whose footsteps we the followers can follow to the greater glory of our country. He must be someone who can mould all the nations and tribes that make up Nigeria into a unity. The leader that Nigeria needs is not a semi-educated person lacking in intelligence, ability, and integrity but one of high intellect, ability and transparent honesty.

At this juncture we must look into our past and see what has happened to our search for leadership.

### **Civilian Leadership up to January 1966**

It will be profitable to remember that up till 1951, Nigeria was virtually ruled by the British government as two different countries but with one name. It seems therefore that it will be incongruous to speak of a Nigerian leadership. The three major ethnic groups, the Yoruba, the Ibo and the Hausa/Fulani — had their respective leaders. The centre of politics, education, business and trade had been Lagos and the leaders based thereat had assumed leadership of the country. However, with the political changes which commenced by the Richard's Constitution of 1946 which centralised and divided the administration into three, each region which thus emerged sought and had its own leader.

The nation-wide political party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) which had blossomed under the

leadership of Herbert Macaulay began to disintegrate following his death that same year. The leadership mantle fell on Nnamdi Azikiwe but before long Azikiwe's right to the leadership of the whole country had not only come under challenge but was subsequently taken from him. Such leadership fell to the lot of no one single person. Ahmadu Bello had emerged a northern leader of great stature. He had already given the reason for the 'greater-than-life' stature of Ahmadu Bello — he was an educated full-blooded Fulani prince, the Sarkin Mada Gwari of Sokoto as well as a religious leader. Obafemi Awolowo's leadership of the West did not come to him as easily as that of Ahmadu Bello. Indeed 'it was by sheer hard work, high intellect and personal magnetism that he was able to acquire the leadership of the West'. Nnamdi Azikiwe was content to start to lead the East, but he abandoned his position of national leadership at the Constitutional Conference by accepting "regionalisation."

The effect of all this was that at the time of independence in Nigeria could not truthfully say that it had a leader in the same way as Ghana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and so on. The coalition government at the centre with Ahmadu Bello's second-in-command as premier and Azikiwe himself as a mere ceremonial Governor-General who later metamorphosed into President without much added prestige. At this stage it is noteworthy to recall what Ayo Rosiji's biography says:<sup>11</sup>

Of all the leaders, he (Awolowo) was the most qualified by education, by intellect, and by organisational ability. Had he been prime minister and Azikiwe governor-general, Rosiji feels they would have made an unbeatable team for Azikiwe's charisma and humaneness would have complemented Awolowo's single-minded dedication and thoroughness."

Let me hasten to make the point here, lest the point escape you. There was a large number of others who were in a position to take leadership at that time but who had to give support to one or two of the three mentioned because of the circumstances which prevailed at that period. What is worthy of note is the way through which each of those three leaders attained the leadership in their respective regions. I have summarised the unassailable position of Ahmadu Bello. Neither Azikiwe nor Awolowo was born with a silver spoon in his mouth but whilst only very few Ibos had the opportunity of university education before Nnamdi Azikiwe,<sup>12</sup> Awolowo was the first in the West to meet and compete with a formidable array of

who had been qualifying in all the professions even before the end of the last century.

We must not, for reasons which would have been obvious from what I have said so far, blame those leaders for not coalescing in order to form a common leadership. But we must note that it is their failure to coalesce at that point to evolve a formidable leadership that brought the Army into the politics of our country, and to what may amount to eternal perdition. What gave the young majors who attempted to wrest power from the elected representatives of the people that they could provide better leadership baffled me then and still baffles me now.

### Military Usurpation of Political Power: Search for Leadership

On the night of Saturday, January 15, 1966, a few members of our armed forces, mainly in the rank of Major, staged a *coup d'etat* that failed. But they succeeded in changing the history of Nigeria for all time. As at that date I was a principal legal draftsman in the Western State Ministry of Justice but on secondment to the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) as Dean of Law. I have made this point only to show to those who in the future may read this, that I was aware of all that was happening throughout the country, particularly Western Nigeria, since 1963.

What gave those young men the idea that they could run the politics of this country better than their elders who were seasoned politicians? This will ever continue to be a question which should agitate the minds of independent persons. Let me recall to mind the reasons which impelled those five majors as given by the one of them who survived long enough to put down their thoughts on paper. He happened to be the only Yoruba man while the other four were Ibos. He says:<sup>13</sup>

There was no doubt that 1965 was a year of political gloom throughout Nigeria. Generally, people had been disillusioned and disaffected with the Balewa Government and the rulership of the Balewa/Akintola/Sardauna clique of the NNA. Economic, social, educational and political problems were not solved. Corruption was rife and nepotism was the order of the day. The safety valves of the nation were reposed in such institutions as the courts, the Census Commission, the Electoral Commission, the Police and finally the Armed Forces. But the sanctity of those institutions was being politically assailed, assaulted and dragged in the mud, so

leadership of Herbert Macaulay began to disintegrate following his death that same year. The leadership mantle fell on Nnamdi Azikiwe but before long Azikiwe's right to the leadership of the whole country had not only come under challenge but was subsequently taken from him. Such leadership fell to the lot of no one single person. Ahmadu Bello had emerged a northern leader of great stature. He had already given the reason for the 'greater-than-life' stature of Ahmadu Bello — he was an educated full-blooded Fulani prince, the Sarkin Mada Gwari of Sokoto as well as a religious leader. Obafemi Awolowo's leadership of the West did not come to him as easily as that of Ahmadu Bello. Indeed it was by sheer hard work, high intellect and personal magnetism that he was able to acquire the leadership of the West. Nnamdi Azikiwe was content to start to lead the East, he abandoned his position of national leadership at the Constitutional Conference by accepting "regionalisation."

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that they were fast losing their credibility. It became obvious that the national leadership was nearing its collapse and that the ship of the nation was heading for the rocks.

I have made this rather long quotation to allow all those Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike who are familiar with the situation in the country this year 1994 to judge whether or not those majors and their "successors in title" have effected any change for the better or for the worse. Of course a northerner by the name A.M. Mainasara says the Ademoyega is lying, and that the purpose of the majors "was to prevent a section of the country, the North, from effective participation in the governance of the country."<sup>4</sup> Whether Ademoyega speaks the truth or not, the coup was a failure, save that the plotters succeeded in killing some of the political and military leaders of the time. And they succeeded in changing the course of our history for the worse for ever.

I had no doubt in my mind even at that time that those five majors, even if their intentions were noble, were incapable of giving political leadership of the quality which the Sardauna, Azikiwe, and Awolowo could have given. It is true that the political firmament was overcast, but my expectation was that, if they had succeeded in wresting power, they would have made efforts to reconcile the political actors and call fresh elections supervised by themselves, and the United Nations if needs be. Rather than do that, Major General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi to whom the mantle of leadership fell showed a complete lack of political capacity and vision. Hear what Oluleye say of him:<sup>15</sup>

It must be remembered that Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi did not prepare himself fully for political leadership role which was thrust on him... he did not have much claim on the understanding of his profession but he remained a very jovial senior officer at officers' messes. If he was handicapped professionally, a near-good performance politically would be impossible task. With him being disadvantaged militarily and politically, he walked into the ambush laid by the Ibo hawks...

Before leaving this point, I would like to recall another possible solution to the political problems of Western Nigeria in 1965 as stated by Ayo Rosiji's biographer. She says<sup>16</sup>

In retrospect, Rosiji considers that there were possible political solutions to the crisis in the Western Region of October 1965 which were not employed. Balewa could have declared a state of emergency in the region, dissolved the Western House of Assembly, released Awolowo and umpired a reconciliation meeting between him and Akintola. That way military

intervention would not have been warranted. The Federal Government could then still have maintained political control over the armed forces.

Like Ironsi, political leadership was thereafter thrust on Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon in 1966. The first good point which must be made about Gowon is his appreciation of his lack of political knowledge and experience for which reason he had to seek assistance from all those who had experience in political leadership. One such which I am bound to mention is Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Awolowo had been jailed along with a number of his political followers for purely political offences. Gowon ordered his release even though he had never met Awolowo. Awolowo, recording their first meeting on the day of his release from Calabar prison on August 3, 1966, says:<sup>17</sup>

He shook my right hand very warmly with both hands. 'I thank you very much indeed for your kindness' I said with uncontrolled emotion. 'You deserve it. The country needs the wealth of your experience' he said, also with emotion.

As long as Gowon, then in his early thirties, surrounded himself with experienced political leaders, he was a success, and he saw Nigeria through the civil war. His handling of the end of the civil war was a masterpiece in nation-building. But before long he lost his bearings completely, and he felt very comfortably attached to the seat of power as Head of State. Meanwhile he had become a General in the Army, and he found it difficult to contemplate surrendering the position of Head of State to anyone else. He permitted himself to be goaded along the path of ignominy by renegeing on his promise to quit power in 1976. He became enamoured with overseas trips as Head of State and it was on the occasion of one of such trips on July 29, 1975, — to Kampala, Uganda — that the announcement of the end of his reign was made. According to Oluleye, "This was where Gowon put the final full stop to the chapter in his life history in abnormality of leadership." According to the same writer<sup>18</sup> —

As at present, it is difficult to know where to hang Gowon's portrait for obvious reasons. In war he triumphed over a more educated and articulate opponent (Ojukwu) while at the same time ruling the country during the war years. But after the war, he fumbled politically and failed.

If there was any doubt as to where Gowon's picture should be hung, his association and manner of such association with recent rulers and his recent political ambitions have ensured a place for him among the political leaders who have failed.

General Murtala Mohammed who knew of the impending coup against Gowon's government but did not take part in it was saddled with the responsibility of the Head of State, assisted by General Olusegun Obasanjo. It is a matter of common knowledge that Mohammed exhibited some measure of political capacity and sagacity but in some other areas he allowed himself to be led astray into errors which could have been avoided. One of such errors was the dismissal from service or the termination of the appointment of several public servants who, had they been afforded opportunities to defend themselves, might never have suffered such ignominy. I am not saying that none or even majority of the persons concerned were not entitled to such punishment but that a more careful leader would have ensured compliance with the rules of natural justice.

The Chief Justice of Nigeria then, the Honourable Justice Taslim Olawale Elias was relieved of his post for reasons which under any conditions did not justify such treatment. But as God would have it that led to much higher heights for him in the international arena Obasanjo says that they recommended him for election to the International Court of Justice, but they had no alternative. It was either he or an alleged supporter of Biafra and in any case Elias had an overwhelming support of the rest of the world. The reasons Obasanjo gave for dismissing the Chief Justice only showed their total lack of understanding of tolerable judicial comportment laced with some falsehood. According to Obasanjo:<sup>19</sup>

One issue of integrity that was raised and the accusation against him was the empanelling of a Supreme Court body to hear the appeal of a land case brought by the Chief Justice's brother on which the Chief Justice was alleged to have sat, and he chaired the panel which decided in favour of his brother.

As there was no foundation whatsoever to this allegation which he considered to be a malicious libel, Elias issued a writ even before the book "NOT MY WILL" in which this falsehood appeared was published, to stop the publication. The case abated only by reason of the death of the great Chief Justice. In any case, as Oluleye has pointed out in his book, the noble concept of accountability which the exercise was meant to demonstrate was later turned into a witch-hunt and resulted in the ruin of many innocent lives.<sup>20</sup>

After Mohammed's assassination, Obasanjo succeeded to the leadership of the country. Obasanjo has been praised for faithfully carrying out the programme of the disengagement of the military from political governance which Mohammed had mapped out before his

death. However, many people detested his method of the execution of the programme at the very end. In a public lecture, I had suggested a much earlier election of the President than was being contemplated to obviate stampeding the courts in the discharge of their duties. That was precisely what happened. Then he installed Alhaji Shehu Shagari as the Executive President of this country in 1979 among the cries of "foul" in most parts of southern Nigeria. Obasanjo's actions and non-actions since then, especially in the recent past, have not depicted him as a person capable of providing this country with the right leadership she deserves.

I do not believe that any member of the armed forces can give the right political leadership so long as he continues to be a member of those forces. Their training and discipline cannot be conducive to the building of a voluntary followership which in my view is necessary for a successful political leadership. Practically all the military Heads of State have been abysmal failures as political leaders in this country. A number of factors have been responsible for this:

- The command structure of the forces which has been part and parcel of their lives is hardly compatible with voluntary followership;
- Their unyielding faith in non-accountability by which they and their friends have become fabulously wealthy;
- Their lack of understanding of elementary rules of political leadership save the desire to continue in power by securing followership by coercion or by bribery.

### The Civilian Interregnum, October 1, 1979 to December 30, 1983

For a period of four years and three months, an elected President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari headed the government of Nigeria. Shagari had been sworn in as President in 1979 amidst deafening criticisms especially from those who felt that this purported election did not conform with constitutional and statutory provisions into which it is unnecessary to go in this address. In view of those thunderous criticisms I conceded that he might not have been able to perform fully and satisfactorily as a leader, bearing in mind, as we should, that he was more or less dragged into the saddle by the Makaman Bida. In order to survive the initial onslaught by his opponents, it could be conceded that he was compelled to make some rather startling appointments into very high and sensitive positions in government. Before long, however, it soon became clear that whatever qualities he

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might have had, he was simply not the type of leader that Nigeria wanted or deserved. His election was never in fact based upon the exhibition of any political leadership qualities; rather it was based almost entirely upon the fact that he came from the Fulani ruling elite, and was a Muslim. Stealing of government money at the yet unprecedented scale blossomed under his very nose, and yet he felt helpless — he simply felt that he could do nothing about it.

To the best of my knowledge no one ever accused him of being one of the looters of the government treasury, although he could hardly have escaped the legal classification of accessory. From this it is of course clear that he lacked one or more of the qualities of a leader as defined. Then his first term ended and some of us thought that the time had come to elect a real leader. But this was not to be: the ruling northern aristocracy would not hear of any change. So Shagari was once more fielded in 1983. There were massive rigging and falsification of election results everywhere. After the announcement that Shagari had won the elections he told the whole world that he would be going to the yet scarcely inhabited Abuja to make up his mind free of all pressures in Lagos, then the seat of government. He went and came back to Lagos, blank. Naturally under greater pressure, he once again made extremely bad appointments to many high, important and sensitive positions in government. That showed conclusively, in my view, Shagari's incapability to offer good leadership to the good people of this country. I am not for one moment saying that it is his fault — it may well be his in-born good naturedness which constituted a hindrance to his capability to provide political leadership which can make Nigeria great.

Much as I detested and still detest military intervention in political governance, I persuaded myself to agree that the passing of the leadership mantle to General Mohammed Buhari on the last day of 1983 had become inevitable. Speaking for myself I did not expect any acceptable political leadership from Buhari because of his background, training and profession, but I felt convinced that he might provide a better alternative to Shagari's ineptitude and careless leadership.

### **Another Usurpation of Political Power by the Military: Search for Leadership Continued**

Let me start by saying that I hated the circumstances which made it tolerable for the military to once more seize power from those who were supposed to have been chosen by the people to lead them. However as the Armed Forces came into governance again we

believed that they would simply make the necessary corrections of the errors which had been made by the civilians and go back to the barracks where they belong as soon as possible. However, within a few weeks of his stay at Dodan Barracks (the then seat of government), Buhari had felt comfortably settled enough for him to commission and publish a book on himself in which there appeared a beautiful colour photograph of "The First Family of Nigeria", whatever that may mean. In the book, *Muhammed Buhari, Nigeria's Seventh Head of State*, Buhari gives an interesting answer when asked what he thought of military rule. He says:<sup>21</sup>

I think we should differentiate between Nigeria and other countries. Military rule in Nigeria has come to be a necessity. Civilians easily become hostage to interests that do not go hand-in-hand with the national interest.

To say that military rule in Nigeria has come to be a necessity is, of course, built upon some fallacies, namely:

1. It is only the military that can provide the right political leadership;
2. It is only the military that can run an efficient and corrupt-free government;
3. It is only the military that is capable of forging unity among the peoples of Nigeria; and
4. That it is only the military that can provide all that makes a country worth living in and dying for if the necessity arise.

As I speak today, the overwhelming majority of Nigerians will agree with me that each military administration has demonstrated these fallacies. There has hardly ever been any military rule in Nigeria in which the leadership has not become hostage to interest opposed to national interest, completely or to a very large extent. Admittedly, Buhari and his next-in-command, General Tunde Idiagbon, made efforts to provide some political leadership, especially in the fields of curtailing indiscipline and corruption, but not only were some of their laws too draconic, but what was really damaging to their leadership was the discrimination exhibited in some ways in favour of certain sections of the country. One thing they did not reckon with was the damnifying ambition of General Ibrahim Babangida. So the fairly acceptable leadership which they had started to provide was brought to an end prematurely and suddenly by Babangida and others on August 27, 1985. Before I move to the Babangida era I would like to say that it appeared that Buhari was a committed opponent of official corruption and that was one of the main reasons why he seized power

from Shagari. Hear what he said:<sup>22</sup>

The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years has been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. Since what happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society, we deplore corruption in all its faces.

What has baffled me is that both he and Shagari and many others have now, barely ten years after, found a common platform to lay claim to political leadership, jointly and severally.

So much has been said and written in the past one year about the leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida, that you may consider it a waste of time if, in this presentation, I go into that leadership at any length. In this connection, I shall rely mainly on what a close associate of his, not his detractor or enemy, has said about him. From the picture of the leadership given by this friend of Babangida, it will be for you to decide for yourselves whether it is the sort of leadership Nigeria is entitled to have. The friend is no other than the multi-millionaire Arthur Nzeribe, who would have preferred Babangida to continue to lead this country possibly into the next century. Nzeribe says:<sup>23</sup>

I have a President nicknamed Maradona, who has not done everything he said he would do and has done everything he said he would not do. My President set out initially trying to be loved by all and to please all but ends up being doubted by all for being unpredictable and contradictory ... He dribbles and joggles Nigerians better than Maradona does with football players... a consummate soldier, leader, strategist, ruthless and selfish politician... an opportunist in the political arena;... by his own admission 'law breaker'.... bold, fearless and full of enterprise. He is cunning and foxy...

Those are the qualities of a man who provided leadership for this country for eight years, and had Nzeribe and his co-travellers had their way, would even have continued leadership of you and me till this very day, and for many more years to come.

As is well known, Babangida stepped aside from the leadership mantle on August 26, 1993, and installed a caretaker to look after things for him until his coming back, so he hoped, in glory. He also did not take into consideration the danger that his erstwhile co-couper plotter and collaborator, General Sani Abacha would throw out of office his caretaker. That was precisely what happened, and in my view, that caretaker does not deserve any mention in this address.<sup>24</sup>

Sani Abacha is of course still very much with us. A lot has been written, a lot is being written and perhaps much more shall be written

about him in the near and distant future. As I have just said, Abacha simply withdrew from under Babangida's caretaker the seat upon which he had sat precipitously for seven months, and the caretaker crashed to the ground. Many interpreted that act as a preliminary to the installation on that seat of the man who had fought and won the battle for it. No, that was not to be, the rightful occupier of the seat must be incarcerated. If the courts say that he should be freed then he would be freed. So the new leader said. Again he failed to put into consideration the existence on the Bench of some Judges who prefer dismissal or death to a deliberate breach of their oath of office. So as it turned out, a superior court much earlier than expected held that the one entitled to the seat was also entitled to his freedom. The answer of course was for the leader to keep quiet and do nothing other than disobey the order of the court and to plead with courts to continue to do justice. If you feel aggrieved, then do your worst! His predecessor had told us that the man who won the seat could not have it. He gave no reasons. The leader who succeeded him says why must I give any reason for disobeying the order of the second highest court of the land?

The pertinent question is whether we have been offered the type of leadership we need and deserve. If not, the search must continue.

## Leadership and Followership

I earlier on raised the question whether we can blame our misfortune in this country on poor leadership or poor followership. If we recall the definitions I earlier proffered, it would be clear that a follower is merely expected to follow what the leader does. From that point of view, our major problem is that of leadership. I have often heard people argue that if followers do not receive bribes from those seeking elected positions then the problem of maladministration and corruption would be minimal. Arguments of this nature appear to me puerile. A school certificate failure of two years ago has now become a multi-millionaire — the wealth which he parades very loudly — because he is a cousin or a friend or a thug of one of the political leaders. No one asks questions as to how he has come by his wealth. The accounts of many government departments and parastatals are not audited, and if audited, are not published. A military officer who retired on a salary of ₦15,000 per annum a year or so back, is now, to the knowledge of everyone, worth billions of naira. No questions are asked. The school drop-out and the ex-military officer now seek elective posts, and you say that voters who cannot boast of one square

meal in three days have no right to demand and receive a mere from these seekers after the public treasury?

Have we forgotten that a jobless loafer of 1978 became millionaire in 1979; that a colonel or major who retired or was retired from the Army in 1984 became a multi-millionaire a year or so later; that a few army, navy and police officers who acted as administrators in some states for less than four weeks looted the treasuries of those states; that some of the looters of the federal treasury are "performing their art". All these are the leaders now. How do we expect the ordinary, poverty-stricken, illness-ridden, uneducated fellows not to follow the footsteps of this ever-escalating culture of indiscipline and corruption. Our leaders have done nothing to curb these, save to sermonise on radio and television.

I have no apologies to offer in respect of my view that practically all our misfortunes in this country have been due to poor leadership. Improve the quality of leadership, the quality of followership will also improve. So the search for the right leadership must continue.

### Conclusion

It seems I have taken too much time over a keynote address at the Dialogue in which some much more knowledgeable in this subject will later make their contribution. I have gone to this length in order to open up a large vista for discussion. I cannot end this address without once more saying that if we sweep under the carpet the very reason why we must continue to grope in the darkness in search of leadership, we do so at our peril — by that I mean at the peril of Nigerian unity.

By and large, each community, each local group, and even in some cases each ethnic group can at certain periods or the other boast good leadership. But it seems that Nigeria has never been blessed by a good leader who also has had the mantle of governance of the country. It is most sad that at the present moment no effort is being made in that direction. We must thus end by admitting that our country must continue undaunted in its search for true leadership.

### Notes

1. Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part II* (London. HMSO, 1951), pp. 89ff.
2. The Land Use Act of 1978 only confirmed the position.
3. James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: Uni. of California Press, 1958), p. 181.

4. Richard L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (Princeton UP 1967), p.43.
5. *House of Representative Debates*, Second Session, March 3-April 1, 1953.
6. Obafemi Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (Lond. 1947) at pp. 47-48.
7. See the Hansard of the Legislative Council of March 20 to April 2, 1947.
8. For purely historical reasons, I deem it necessary to recall that it was on that date, June 12, 1993, that Nigeria conducted the freest, fairest and most peaceful elections throughout its history to choose an Executive President, the result of which was annulled by a self appointed Military President on June 23, 1993.
9. Akinola Aguda, *The Challenge for Nigerian Law and the Nigerian Lawyer in the Twenty First Century* (Fed. Rep. of Nigeria, 1988), p. 18.
10. James Oluleye, *Military Leadership in Nigeria: 1966-1979* (UPL, Ibadan, 1985), p.16.
11. Nina E. Mba, *Ayo Rosiji, Man of Vision* (Spectrum Books, Ibadan, 1991), p.195.
12. The first Ibo doctor, Sir Francis Ibiam, returned to Nigeria in 1935, and the first Ibo lawyer, Louis M. Mbanefo, (a great jurist in his own right) returned in 1937 about the same time as Azikiwe came to settle in Lagos.
13. Ademola Ademoyega, *Why We Struck — The Story of the Nigerian Coup: (Evans, Ibadan, 1981.)*
14. A.M. Mainasara, *The Five Majors — Why They Struck* (Hudahuda Publishing Company, Zaira, 1982), p. 9.
15. Oluleye, *op. cit.*, at p. 32.
16. Nina E. Mba *op. cit.*, p. 196.
17. Obafemi Awolowo, *My March Through Prison* (Macmillan Nigeria Ltd., Lagos, 1985), p. 308.
18. Oluleye, *op. cit.*, at p. 161.
19. Olusegun Obasanjo, *Not My Will* (UPL, Ibadan 1990), p. 97.
20. Oluleye, *op. cit.*, at p. 173.
21. Rosaline Odeh, *Muhammed Buhari, Nigeria's Seventh Head of State* (Fed. Dept. of Information, May 1984), p. 31.
22. Rosaline Odeh, *op. cit.*, at p. 8.
23. Arthur Nzeribe, *Nigeria, Seven Years After Shehu Shagari* (Kilimanjaro Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1990), pp. 10-11.
24. For the sake of history the caretaker was no other person than Ernest Shonekan, lawyer, company administrator, ambitious politician.



# SESSION 1



## SESSION 1

# The Theories and Conceptions of Leadership

Chairman: *Professor Claude Ake*  
Lead Speaker: *Professor Omafume Onoge*

### Chairman

Welcome to this session. We shall be dealing with Theories and Concepts but I hope we are going to do much more than that today. The practicalities of these days compel us to be more down-to-earth and while we know that theories are illuminating, we also know that the imperatives of our situation are such that it is necessary to marry theory with practical concerns. I think that there is perhaps too much complacency about what we know and what can be, about the obvious, about knowing and about articulating the Nigerian problem. The situation today is that we have many self-confident answers, and yet the questions that are being answered are not in the least clear. That indeed is one of our problems, answers chasing questions that are highly blurred and one of the contributions I would like to see in this dialogue is the clarification of not only the issues of direction beyond the usual easy assumptions within which we have been gravitating for the last ten years. We now need to break out of them and I look forward very much to a stimulating afternoon in which we will try to confront some of these barriers of values and the intellectual dispositions that have constrained these breakthroughs. I am confident that we have very good guidance, you might call it leadership, in this endeavour, in the person of the lead speaker and discussants. And without further ado, I would like to call on Prof. Omafume Onoge to make his lead presentation.

### Omafume Onoge (Lead Speaker)

That "the trouble with Nigeria" is primarily a leadership deficiency is a recurrent diagnostic assertion in Nigerian popular opinion and

serious literature from a variety of disciplinary persuasions.<sup>1</sup> In certain circles, the protracted political crisis of June 12 has also brought to fore a more strident articulation of the leadership question as part of the competitive "national question" debate. I refer to claims and counter — claims about the ascriptive suitability of particular ethnic nationalities — usually one of the big three, to either political commercial or industrial leadership.<sup>2</sup>

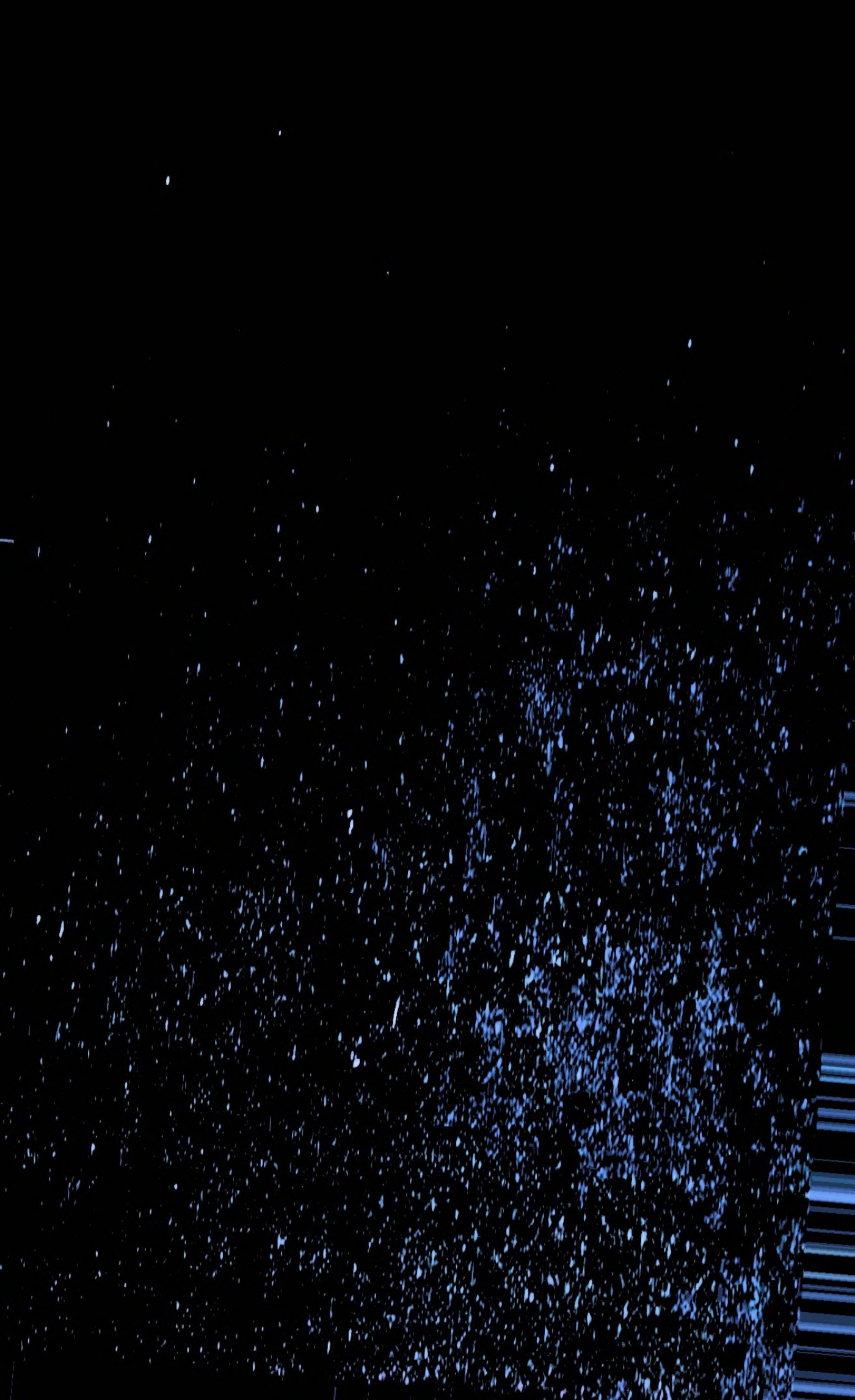
In recent years, however, leadership explanations of Nigeria's troubles have been rivalled only by the novel aetiological conception of a so-called "Nigerian Factor".<sup>3</sup> By means of this Nigerian factor concept, the followership, not just the leadership, is made to share responsibility for our national malaise. The followership — that is the broad masses of the people — are conceived as frustrating and contaminating the implementation and efficacy of otherwise "good policies" which sometimes emerge from well thought-out plans.

In this presentation therefore, I have staked a more modest path and have selected for review only a few theories and conceptions — dimensions, perhaps — which I consider to have some significant bearing on the Nigerian dialogue on the subject. Even so, a preliminary difficulty remains: who is a leader?

### Defining the Leader

There are two broad tendencies in the usage of the term "leader." One tendency is to regard as leader the individual who occupies the formal office of leader. In this regard, the leader who occupies the office of national president is the leader of the nation; the official head of a business organisation is its leader; the general is the leader of an army; the vice-chancellor is the leader of the university; the pastor is the leader of the church; and so on. There is also the other usage of the term leader which is predicated on the degree or quantity of influence which an individual exerts on his group. Thus group members who "outstandingly influence" the rest of the group are called leaders. By this usage the formal leader may in fact not be the actual leader of the group. The formal leader may have very little influence on the group.

Moreover, this latter usage which does not automatically equate leadership with superordinate positions in formal organisations, makes the designation of the leader contingent upon the voluntary action or assessment by the group. This immediately raises a problem for Nigerian usage at the level of political leadership. When we lament the failure of Nigerian political leadership are we correctly assessing actual leaders or mere formal occupiers of such positions? This is with



serious literature from a variety of disciplinary persuasions.<sup>1</sup> In circles, the protracted political crisis of June 12 has also brought to fore a more strident articulation of the leadership question as part of the competitive "national question" debate. I refer to claims counter — claims about the ascriptive suitability of particular nationalities — usually one of the big three, to either political, commercial or industrial leadership.<sup>2</sup>

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special regard to the fact that in Nigerian experience, most of our formal political offices have been filled through ballot rigging and military coups, rather than the result of the peoples' will.

Another important effect of the predication of the term leader on outstanding influence, is that it enables us to acknowledge the many cases of leaders who emerged not as part of their role in pre-existing formal organisations but as creators of new movements, new ideas, and so on, that had enormous appeal and transformatory impact on some significant aspect of their society or epoch. Jesus, Mohammed, Newton, Marx, Lenin, Martin Luther King are some examples that come to mind.

Yet another important consequence of this definition of leadership is that it enables us to explain the spontaneous emergence of leaders in certain temporary emergency social situations where there was no prior existence of a structured group. Here an individual may emerge as leader in certain types of crisis situations if he demonstrates control of the situation, where others are helpless. Hence a further definition which is part of the literature:

Leadership is control in certain types of situations, actual or potential, and followership is relative helplessness in those same situations. The amount of skilful experience and understanding that a person has in a situation determines the role that he may play — leader or follower.<sup>4</sup>

A corollary of this definition is that leadership is not necessarily trans-situational. A leader in one setting suited to his skills may be a ridiculous simpleton in another setting. But Philip Selznick (1957) warns that this situation boundedness does not mean "that the *nature* of leadership varies with each social situation. If that were so, there would be nothing determinate about it; its study would be a scientific blind alley. In fact, of course, we must assume that significant leadership patterns are relatively few; and that these patterns are related to *types* of social situations."<sup>5</sup>

## Leadership Activities

A relatively non-controversial aspect of the literature on leadership is the importance attached to its roles: Without lapsing into an over-emphasis on the role of the individual-group relationship, the activities often listed as leadership functions include the roles of planner, policy maker, executive, expert, group ambassador, facilitator of internal communication within the group, mediator, bearer of gratifications and punishments, exemplar, and symbol of the group.

The socio-psychological studies of leadership also conceive of the functions to sometimes include the emotional roles of father figure, scape-goat and even substitute for individual responsibility. Of course the roles which a leader is called to meet often depend on the type of social situation. In any case, the point to be stressed here is that whatever functions receive emphasis from a particular theoretical perspective, there is relative consensus that the leadership role is of some importance in its specific context. We return to this question much later. For now we move to a more variable terrain — the major theoretical approaches to the study of leadership characteristics.

Unlike the situation today where much research energy on leadership is derived from social-psychological studies of experimentally created groups, small scale groups or organisational behaviour within formal institutions (e.g. an industrial organisation) with narrow specific objectives, the first systematic theorising concerned political or societal leadership. In Western intellectual history the first type of theories were broadly elitist.

### Elite Theories

Plato's theory of the political community formulated in the *Republic* enjoys pride of place in this respect. For Plato, if all men were virtuous and rational, there would be no need for laws and the state. A completely virtuous person is governed by reason, not by external laws. The state originated because of the imperfections of human nature. Therefore, the state should be organised in such a way as to promote the ascendancy of reason — just like the rationality of the virtuous man and the essential rationality of the universe.

To achieve this ideal political community, political leadership should be left to those virtuous persons who have philosophical insight; those who live by reason. They ought to rule. They are the philosopher kings — the guardians of society. The ideal political community is one in which the guardian class and the other military and industrial classes perform their proper functions without mutual interference.

To ensure this ideal harmony, Plato devoted a large portion of the *Republic* to elaborate on the type of exclusive education which the caste of rulers should have to prepare them for the proper role. For "unless it happens either that philosophers acquire the kingly power in states, or that those who are now called kings and potentates be imbued with a sufficient measure of genuine philosophy, that is to say, unless political power and philosophy be united in the same person... there will be no deliverance for cities nor yet for the human race."<sup>6</sup>

The ten centuries of medieval society and culture from about the late 5th century A.D. to 16th century A.D. reinforced elite conceptions of the right to political leadership by a few — this time by virtue of their divine ordination. Medieval cosmology and social philosophy postulated a teleological world under divine governance with the kings as his political representatives on earth under the guidance of the church. The political division of rulers and the ruled was held to be sacred.

Only as we enter the modern era is the relationship between ruler and ruled decoupled from the ascribed innate superiority of the ruler or divine sanction. It is now premised on a secular social contract. Yet even in its first appearance in the hands of Hobbes, the people necessarily surrender all their powers to one sovereign in order to escape from the pre-political state where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Only in the formulation of the 18th century Enlighteners can the people repudiate this contract if the political community frustrates their natural rights to liberty and happiness.

## Enter Marx

The right of the working people to participate in the political process which Enlightenment philosophy foreshadowed were shown to be only theoretical rights under the conditions of bourgeois democracy as was practically manifested in 19th century European industrial society. The signal contribution of Marx in the political sphere was to draw attention to this discrepancy, and to suggest that the deepening of democracy was possible only if the working people as a class achieved political sovereignty. Only through the assumption of political leadership by the working class — via their conquest of state power — would there be a progressive resolution of the political economic antagonisms which plagued the new capitalist industrial social system.

By this formulation, the class sourcing of political leadership which had been located in non-productive groups of wisdom-seekers, divine monarchs or property owners was unambiguously shifted to the mass majority whose criterial attribute was the production of the material sustenance of society.

This was a revolutionary breach in the theory and conception of the future leadership of the new industrial society. Marx accepted the fact that bourgeois elite leadership had smashed feudal elite rule and pushed society forward in modern directions. But future progress now lay with the ascendancy to leadership of the oppressed proletariat

whose objective material and cultural interests coincided with the future advancement of the new socio-economic formation into socialist democracy.

This conceptual revolution, thoroughly subverting the old associations of political leadership with elites, was soon challenged by the triumvirate of Italian sociologists — Pareto, Mosca and Michels. As is well known, they seized upon Max Webber's postulation of bureaucracy, rather than class cleavage, as the typical feature of capitalist industrial society, to argue that the insertion of the masses into the political process as leading actors was empirically impossible. For even when the elite theorists were forced to abandon their reactionary thesis of the innate superiority of the rulers, they could fall back on the organisational unity of the ruling minority vis-a-vis the disorganisation of the majority, as a basis for the inevitability of elite minority rule. The organised minority could exploit the cumbersome nature of bureaucracy to substitute their own preferences for those of the majority.

### Pro-People Theories

Despite the challenge by the modern elite theorists of the marxist thesis of the class leadership of the working masses, not as an atomised free-floating category, but as an organised force under the directing leadership of its own vanguard political party, the political circumstances of the cold war impelled the bourgeois democracies to mask the property qualification for significant political participation in their systems, and stick to the Lincoln slogan of democracy as "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." They thereby continued to proselytise the idea of democracy as an important value over and against any form of ascriptive political orders.

Secondly, the academic development of sociology — even of its bourgeois anti-class analytical variant — continued to require the acknowledgement of its distinctive insight which is an explanatory framework that looks to the social environment in the first instance. Therefore, in the study of a phenomenon such as leadership, whatever the psychological variables asserted for such individual behaviour, they had to be related to their relevance to the prevailing sociological milieu. Individuals, despite their psychological endowments, can become accepted as leaders and become effective, only if favourable social conditions prevail. As Giddens (1989) illustrated the point "Hitler was able to seize power in Germany in the 1930s, for instance

partly as a result of the tensions and crises which beset the country at that time. If those circumstances had not existed, he would no doubt have remained an obscure figure within a minor political faction.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, the major conceptual thrust of the Third World decolonisation movement was to uphold a radical socio-political critique of colonialism and imperialism. It ignored the reductive and racist psychologism of the coloniser's self-justification and, instead, unleashed an attack using the categories of political economy to explain colonial exploitation of the people. Therefore, its national liberation mission was to restore the historical initiative of the people. This thesis, refined with sophistication in the hands of Cabral (to cite an African example) also stressed the necessity for class suicide as the inevitable birth mark of an authentic African leadership in the current epoch. Kwame Nkrumah and Fanon speak in essentially the same idiom. Nyerere with his celebrated facility in the indigenous political idioms of the people phrases this mass involvement by invoking the familistic metaphor of dense reciprocal relationships of the Ujamaa:

Sometimes you hear people talk about themselves as being simple ordinary men. They think their leaders know everything.... This is a bad habit. You have been brought up badly. We have been treated as slaves and we have accepted that status. This is bad. What is the meaning of leadership? When you are selected to lead your fellow men, it does not mean that you know everything better than they are — especially the elders. Sometimes my own mother calls me and gives me some advice.... She advises me even in matters of Government. ... You must not fear your leaders. Our aim is to hand over responsibility to the people to make their own decisions. Our leaders are not leaders by birth; they are elected by the people. For why should a person be a leader by birth? Our leaders must be chosen by us. There is no need to have hereditary leaders.<sup>8</sup>

A fourth intellectual source for the social anchorage of the notion of political leadership can still be hinted at. I refer to the discoveries arising from the systematic field ventures of the disciplines of cultural and social anthropology. For all their initial lapses, especially with the self-serving amnesia over the exploiting reality of colonial social formations, their descriptive ethnographies contained accounts of social systems which functioned without divine monarchies or alienated centralised authorities. There were rich descriptions of societies which achieved political communities on the basis of kinship and gerontocratic principles, with the peaceful transfer of political leadership from generation to generation. Even in some monarchical

systems where the state was an emergent phenomenon, the archaic form of popular power remained to check the new ruler. These archaic forms of direct democratic political participation were preserved in rituals, songs and proverbs. The recognition of cultural relativism further weakened intellectual attachment to purely psychological conceptions of the leader as some kind of superman.

### Leadership in Organisational Studies

With the pervasive complexification and structural differentiation of advanced industrial societies the researches on "organisation management" have continued to blossom. The phenomenon of leadership in such relatively micro-institutional settings has continued to attract scholarly attention. The world of the public bureaucratic settings apart, the vast networks of commercial and industrial institutions which are driven by a neo-Darwinian competition of survival of the fittest, have encouraged the sustained sponsorship of studies of factors that will ensure organisational growth. The leadership factor has thus become a prime research issue. The results of such studies are part of the staple of short-term consultancy courses offered to managers in Nigeria today. The discipline of social psychology has been particularly ingenious in the construction of novel techniques for probing the leadership factor.

Interestingly, the theoretical and conceptual developments here seem to parallel the developments emerging from the macro-sociological studies of political leadership. Surveys of the work that has been done in this field confirm our initial operationalisation of the definition of leadership as "a special case of social influence." However, as Dr. E.U. Egwu, a psychologist at the University of Jos notes, "just as groups can influence individual members, so can particular individuals influence other individuals. However, unfortunately, unravelling the process by which certain individuals at certain times... exert this influence has proved to be somewhat difficult for behavioural scientists."<sup>9</sup>

### Trait Theories

Egwu, like Handy (1985), recognises three major theoretical and conceptual shifts in the social psychological study of leadership characteristics. Before World War II the dominant theoretical approach was the investigation of individual traits. The studies rested on the assumption that the individual was more important than the situation. Thus if we can identify the traits which characterise successful leaders,

then we could either make or select good leaders. According to surveys, the results have been inconsistent in discriminating leaders from non-leaders. In part the results suggest that "good leaders can come from a wide variety of sources, that the traits that lead to success may differ according to the situation."<sup>10</sup>

Most trait studies single out the following characteristics — intelligence, initiative, self-assurance, physique and the like. It appears that leaders as defined in these studies are not any better endowed with these traits than many of the other group members.

### Style Theories

The assumption behind these theoretical approaches is that particular styles of leadership affect the performance of subordinates in particular ways. The differential styles often contrasted in these studies have come to be conventionally known as *authoritarian* and *democratic*. Quite apart from the difficulties of precise delineation of what are democratic and authoritarian styles, the research assumption is that "democratic" leadership style which, by definition, encourages participatory transaction, will tend to satisfy members' needs for esteem and self actualisation.

Again, Handy (1985) suggests that the research findings "suggest that style alone is not the answer to effective leadership. However, there are good indications that, where the psychological contract encourages it, a supportive style of management will lead to a higher degree of contentment and to greater involvement with the work group. This is not necessarily the cause of higher productivity but it is a good base to build on. Overall effectiveness, however, is clearly dependent on more than style alone."<sup>11</sup>

### Contingency Theories

These theorists include many more variables in any leadership situation, such as the relationship between the leader and the group and, in particular, the structure of the group task as a basis for selecting the most effective style of leadership. Various permutations of these variables indicate which leadership style to adopt. A single style cannot be prescribed in advance for all tasks and all situations.

### Other Psychological Approaches

The foregoing does not exhaust psychological approaches to the study of the phenomenon of leadership. Different strands of psycho-analytic

approaches exist which I now merely indicate. There is the extreme, vulgar reductionistic strand typified in the popular work of Eric Hoffer (1951) in *The True Believer*.

Hoffer treats leadership in the context of social movements. He denies the possibility of social movements and their leadership arising out of the pressing need for social change. Instead, he sees the leader-follower relationship as that of a pathological exploitation of the irrational true believerism of followers. Says he: "A rising mass movement attracts and holds a following not by its doctrines and promises, but the refuge it offers from the anxieties, barrenness and meaninglessness of an individual existence."<sup>12</sup>

According to this rendering, members are afraid of autonomy and decision-making. They, to appropriate O. Manoni's equally regressive study of the psychology of colonisation, have a "dependence complex" which makes them seek refuge or attachment to leaders regardless of the leader's message or vision. The larger import of this for national liberation mass insurrections is that the followers are exploited by an irrational charismatic leash between them and the leaders. It is the magic that binds them and not the validity of the objective analysis of the coloniser's exploitation. With this exploitation of the regressive potential of the concept of charisma, marginalised groups which organise for change around leaders are dismissed as seekers after illusions.

In contrast to the true believerism strand, there exists deeper psychological probes of the biographies of outstanding historic figures such as the works of Eric Erickson on Martin Luther or Ghana where an attempt is made to analyse the intersection between personal crisis and social crisis which called forth a creative resolution effect of epochal significance. In this regard Abraham Maslow's psychological model<sup>13</sup> of self-actualising individuals, whose epochal leadership behaviour is the result of peak experiences, is also instructive.

In the same vein, the psychological anthropological work of Anthony F.C. Wallace which recasts the charismatic figure as a revitalisation leader, who rescues followers from a social order whose values and normative expectations have collapsed, by supplying a new maze — way configuration that can guide behaviour of his followers, is also significant.

## Towards a Convergence?

There are hints of a possible convergence in the conception of leadership phenomenon in the broad reviews of sociological, organisational studies and non-Hofferian personality approaches, already presented. That is the ultimate rooting of the emergence of leadership and its efficacy to the prevailing social circumstances. A relevant leadership must respond to the crises of the day. To do this, the leader must of course have what Chief Obafemi Awolowo used to call the "mental magnitude" to know that there is a crisis and understand the nature of the crisis. We return to this later, after we have briefly indicated Nigeria's leadership problems.

## Nigeria: The Failure of Leadership

The leadership problem which troubles Nigerians most is the failure of political leadership. There are of course failures in other domains, but these are traceable in the national consciousness to political leadership deficiencies.

The de-ideologisation of Nigerian politics means that aspirant political leaders do not see a pressing need to state their macro vision for the nation. There is no explicit formulation of any systemic values. The cash nexus values of market forces now codified by the SAP movement suffice. Political leadership is parochial rather than national; and corruptly converts national resources into its project of primitive accumulation. Ethnic diversity is manipulated to stay afloat to the detriment of national cohesion. There is an embarrassing lack of national heroes. The failure was usually explained either by the easy manipulability of the cultural pluralist background, or by the "two-publics" antagonism.

The emergent structural cleavages of class which cut across the cultural heterogeneity and are expressed in such groups as labour unions, students' associations and professional bodies, are deliberately harassed and suppressed. On the other hand, groups which dramatise and reinforce particularisms are deliberately promoted to high visibility. It was in expectation of the bridging of these deficiencies, that the first intrusion of the armed forces into the political stage was uncritically hailed in the liberal political sociology of Africa. The armed forces, in contrast to civilians, were described *a priori* as modernist, universalist, achievement oriented, honest, and oriented to instrumental solutions by way of their habitual valorisation of technological and scientific efficacy. The empirical results after almost

three decades of militarisation of the political sphere have been disappointing for Nigeria and Africa, even by the self-reckoning of the military itself. In Nigeria the current special pleading from the military's propagandist circles is that it is unwise to shame it out of the political sphere until it has institutionalised a democratic success. Justifications in terms of optimistic expectations of performance in the economic and social development spheres have virtually vaporised.

### What Can be Done

That we are in a crisis is not really the problem. Transitional social systems, especially those with our degree of structural inequality, are crisis-ridden. Crisis can be the basis of a qualitative leap, provided the leadership can read the crisis correctly and align with the social forces which stand to benefit from its *progressive* resolution. We need the leadership which has the "mental magnitude" to decode the crisis and the ideological commitment to uplifting the material and cultural aspirations of the broad spectrum of the people. As such it will find strength in promoting the popular forces against the reactionary forces which prefer a negative crisis resolution. For instance, a timely abandonment of one of the first crucial affirmations of national solidarity by the Nigerian peoples — such as the epic event of June 12 — is a momentous setback. It urges us back into the primordialities which will betray the robust legacy of Pan-Africanism of Africans at home and in the diaspora.

Defining *correctly* the nature of the crisis is quite a critical step for the efficacy of leadership performance. For what has happened over the years since independence is that we have accepted a one-dimensional definition of our condition offered by neo-colonialist circles. The agenda of structural liberation of our political economy from external domination has been replaced by a narrow simplistic formulation of the problem as one of merely increasing the efficiency of the received structures. A managerial modernisation was offered as the required cure. And so all manner of management projects and courses have been introduced for the purpose of administrative skill diffusion from the experiences of advanced capitalism.

During the long night of military rule the conceptual crisis in the definition of our national condition has become deeper. The reinterpretation of our national political economic predicament culminated in an anti-people and anti-nationalist Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This politically disembodied technocratic conception was further dramatised by Babangida when he was at his wit's end. When the

failures of his SAP economic policies could no longer be camouflaged by rhetoric or brute force, he abandoned his newbreed and introduced a cabinet made up of persons whose advertised credentials were essentially in the area of managerial leadership. Ernest Shonekan was appointed Head of the Government and later of the "interim" contraption, on the basis of his record as a successful manager of the Unilever complex. Thus the re-interpretation of Nigeria's history and condition was complete. Unilever, which yesterday was the first colonial proprietor of Nigeria, had now become the training school for national leadership. The exploiter had been transfigured into the liberator.

The national leader we need must be a clarifier of the goals and the path to their achievement. He must review the situation clearly so that the chosen path can lead to the goals. This is what successful leaders of societies in the necessary throes of transition do. Mao Tse Tung's famous speech to the effect that "a revolution is not a dinner party" is a significant instance of such agenda and path clarification, recorded by history. It enabled him to clarify to his comrades the necessity to embrace the spontaneous rebellious lawlessness of the poor peasantry in relation to the centuries of class oppressive customs prevalent in rural China, as an important aspect of China's revolutionary process.

Only a leadership that has maximum empathy for the people can be relevant to the qualitative movement of the nation. External signs of such empathy include the leader's simplicity, even in forms of dress. His presentation of self does not alienate the people. It is significant that successful Third World leaders such as Mao, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Nyerere, and the like, could not be distinguished from their people in their styles of dress and consumption habits. When a Nigerian president moves, the full intimidating symbolism of the awesome power of the state apparatus is brought out to public glare. Not so in Nyerere's Tanzania. The culture of the piercing sirens, more frightening than the nocturnal howls of the Yoruba *Oro* or the Uvwie-Urhobo *Egri*, did not seem to be a visible part of Tanzania's public state culture under Nyerere. The non-alienating appearance of the national leader facilitates popular identification with him as a role model.

The people are wont to project him in the humanistic metaphors of teacher and guide. And so Nyerere was the *mwalimu* (teacher); Mao was the *helmsman*, Ho Chi Minh was *uncle*. Such social contexts of leader-people empathy, simplicity and identification do not permit the sprouting of metaphors with sleazy connotations of duplicity and cunning.

Successful leaders of transitional societies also have a philosophical anthropology of man, here on earth, which respects the necessity for the individual's material and cultural upliftment. They also have a basically egalitarian conception of humankind. They anchor their visions of a great nation on great citizens. This philosophical anthropology often imposes on them the practical necessity to place emphasis on enlightenment projects — such as mass-education. Their attachment to citizen empowerment as the premise of national greatness also impels them to pursue other policies such as job creation, provision of housing and health care, which have both a general reach and fulfil vital primary needs of human security.

On the other hand, leaders who define national greatness in terms of the military might place more emphasis on developing the instruments for sustaining such macho postures while their citizens are hungry and uneducated. The pursuit of a national egoism agenda can, as has happened in Nigeria, lead to a promiscuous external parade of military power in all manner of expensive international missions without the necessity for internal justification.

The long period of militarisation of politics and society in Nigeria created special problems which a relevant leadership must tackle. Such leadership will have to distance itself from the superman, omniscient images created by military dictatorships. The degrading depths to which consciousness has sunk as a consequence of this superman image is the view recently canvassed by certain politicians that the injustice of June 12 should be accepted by conceiving of it as a military coup!

A relevant leadership concerned with the people as the centrepiece will have to raise the value and equality of citizenship. Such leadership will, of necessity, require the constant deepening of the democratic milieu for *co-leading* with the people.

The leadership qualities we have indicated above as relevant to the contemporary Nigerian situation, have not been pulled out of the magician's hat. They are not the products of an imaginative voluntarism either. On the contrary, they receive theoretical substantiation from our prior reviews of theories and conceptions of leadership, as well as the actual examples of some successful leaders. The developments in the scholarly literature suggest that effective leadership is grounded in the social needs of the people, the nature of the particular tasks, and the specific circumstances in which these needs and tasks are to be fulfilled. Of course the passionate commitment of the effective leader to the pursuit of these goals must be the result also of some inner psychological strength, which is a

historical product of the individual's socialisation experience. For example, the psychological basis of the epic fortitude of a Nelson Mandela where others faltered, may be gleaned from a profound study of his personal *history*. The reviews also demonstrated that the effective leader is not some genius of superior intelligence. If genius, he was, it would be in the capacity for empathy with the social aspirations. It is the capacity for the common touch; for developing trust; and catalysing the release of the peoples' creative problem-serving energies.

Our final observation examines what can be done about leadership in Nigeria, in the light of the literature and the historical record. I refer to the need to take the nurturing of leadership much more seriously across the board, and not just in the political domain. Even without lapsing into Plato's elitism, we must begin to undertake a broad leadership education and the development of a leadership code. Experimental communities such as the Kibbutzim in Israel and Aiyetoro in Nigeria, utilised such conscious civic education to reinforce their social structures and values in their days of strength.

China, the very mention of which used to provoke knee-jerk resistance in neo-colonial Nigerian circles, has successfully used such broad civic education to preserve its political community even while achieving the current status of the fastest growing economy in the world. China promotes major contestations at the level of the cultural superstructure to consolidate the world outlook necessary to facilitate the advance of the people. It has clear-cut problems for regular training and retraining of a leadership cadre for a vast number of public offices in the nation.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps we have moved too far from our continental and cultural sphere. Instead of China, we can cite the example of our sister nation, Tanzania. As long ago as January 29, 1967, this sister country without the abundance of oil resources launched the humanistic Arusha Declaration which contained a leadership code as follows:

1. Every TANU or Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism and feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorship in any privately owned enterprise.
4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.

5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
6. For the purpose of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following: Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of organisations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of parastatal organisations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).<sup>15</sup>

I cannot vouch that there was 100 per cent compliance by all leaders to every item of the leadership code. But the compliance to these leadership values were sufficiently high to preserve the integrity of Nyerere's Tanzania and give it an international political and moral prestige far in excess of what its material endowments were.

In any case, the necessity for leadership training and leadership behaviour in relation to an explicit code is an important dimension of theories and concepts of leadership which we in Nigeria can begin to adopt.

## Notes and References

1. The Nigerian literature on this subject is burgeoning, but I continue to find Chinua Achebe's *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Fourth Dimension Enugu, 1981, absorbing.
2. The most recent entrant to this arena which occasioned much controversy was Maitama Sule who allegedly spoke of the differing exceptional qualities of the Hausa-Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba. Despite the flippancy of such statements, note however, that supposedly serious psychological anthropological works incautiously canvassed the same issues over two decades ago. I refer to Robert Levine's *Dreams and Deeds*.
3. I first heard of the "Nigerian Factor" from the diplomates of the Nigerian Institute of Strategic Studies, Kuru. I believe it was coined by elite circles.
4. Emory S. Bogardus, "Leadership and Social Situations", in C.G. Brown and Thomas S. Cohn (eds); *The Study of Leadership*, The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc; 1958, p. 62.
5. Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Study*, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1957, p. 23.
6. Plato, *The Republic*, Bk. V, p. 473.
7. Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K., 1989, p.641.

8. Julius K. Nyerere, "Leaders Must Not Be Masters", February 1986, in his *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 139-140.
9. E.U. Egwu, "Leadership: Roles, Types and Styles; Implications for Team Building" (Unpublished article). Let me state here that my discussions with Dr. Egwu helped to orient me generally to the theoretical tenor of studies of organisational leadership behaviour.
10. Charles B. Handy, *Understanding Organizations*. Penguin Books, Third Edition, 1985, p.94.
11. *Ibid*; p. 98.
12. Erick Hoffer, *The True Believer*, p. 39 cited from Hans Toch, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc; New York, 1965, p. 133.
13. I refer especially to Abraham Maslow's *The Psychology of Being*.
14. See for example, Jane L. Price, *Cadres, Commanders, and Commissars: Training the Chinese Communist Leadership, 1920- 45*, Dawson, Kent, England, 1976.
15. "The Arusha Declaration", in Julius K. Nyerere, *op. cit.*; p. 249.

### Professor K. Tijani (Lead Discussant)

Professor Onoge is a sociologist of international standing. I am glad to observe that throughout his presentation he did not say that we should pray for the emergence of a good leader. That is not the way of the sociologist. The sociologist observes empirically how leaders emerge and how they disappear and so, true to his calling, he gave us a *tour de force* of all the theories about how leaders appear and disappear. He did observe, as we all know, that the leadership problem is a recurrent problem in Nigeria but the June 12 situation just brought it so forcefully to the forefront as well as the national question. Today, another complication is built into this problem by talking of the Nigerian factor. We have been told that leadership alone is not to blame but also followership. People, they say, get the leadership they deserve, so people blame the followership also. I do not take exception to this.

It is true that people get the leadership they deserve if all the variables are equal. If the people have guns just as the leadership has; if they have control of the media just as the leadership has; if they have sycophants with them just as the leadership has; then, of course, we will get the leader we deserve but not when all the variables are loaded against us.

So the issue is really how does leadership emerge? The emergence of leadership is a sociological phenomenon. It is, in fact, a response to crisis situations; then within the process of solving this problem, the leader will emerge. He who has the most potentials of solving the problem emerges as the leader. It is not a matter of creed, it is not a matter of birth, it is a matter of the qualities individuals have for problem-solving. In this connection, we can say where such a leader emerges, he also gets authority to lead, to give directives, to say 'do this and everybody will be happy to do it, not necessarily by coercion but because you know that this man, if you obey him, will solve your problem. A revolutionary situation is a crisis situation, so obviously, a crisis situation will bring out its own leadership.

Onoge pointed out to us that leadership is not a trans-situational phenomenon. Just because you are a leader in this one position, a successful leader, does not mean you will also be a successful leader in another position. That attitude automatically leaves out the issue of the divine rights of the king because the theory of the divine rights of kings says they are born to be great and they will remain great; but they could not remain great because situations change. That is why even parents are now losing their authority because the situation we

found ourselves when we were young is not the situation our children are finding themselves today. We are moving from subsistence to industrial economy. So, obviously, the situations are different and so authority tends to disappear where you are not able to solve problems.

There is also the issue of the roles of leadership. There are so many explanations and arguments about that but we see that leaders are executive. They play executive roles; they promulgate policies, they are symbols of our group solidarity; they are also father-figures to us. But the issue he raised earlier was whether the people who formally occupy offices are our true leaders or there are leaders that are actually buried in the society who are not mentioned by the popular Press; whose praises are not sung by the sycophants and who, in reality, are the leaders of the community. They are the ones that the community will go to if there is a problem. Not many people will run to Aso Rock in Abuja if there is a problem. You have your leaders in the neighbourhood, you go to them. So, that is the issue. When we blame our leaders, are we really blaming the right people? Is it the person who just shot himself into office or who rigged election and became President? What Onoge has said is that we probably have never had the leaders we deserve. So, the argument that a people get a leadership they deserve is not true.

We have also been given the various stages which the definitions of leadership and the description of their roles have gone through. When Plato talked of virtuous men, he meant that leaders are people who have the virtue and who by their virtues automatically become leaders. This could be taught and would also be taught to their followers. Then those were the days of the divine rights of kings when a group was just believed to have the right to rule and these were superseded by the arguments of the days of enlightenment when democratic ideals superseded those of the divine right of the kings. This, of course, was later superseded by the arguments of people like Marx whose thesis is that leadership is a function of the mode of production in the class structure of society.

Later, there were people who opposed Marx because they didn't like the implications of Marx's argument. So they came to say that leadership is the function of organisation. The few enlightened or educated people are able to organise themselves and they are able to impose themselves on the majority who are usually disorganised.

So, what is to be done? Professor Onoge says response to crisis is the route by which leaders emerge. Crises themselves are not the problem. The problem is how to overcome the crises and the role of leadership is actually to correctly read the nature of each crisis, to

define it and find out solutions to it. Those solutions must be through popular will, the popular participation of the people. Even if you read the crisis correctly, if you want to do it alone, people will mistrust your motive and you will find it difficult to do it because problems in modern society cannot be solved by the action of one man. You have to mobilise popular response and by doing that you are giving them the opportunity of self-actualisation and will yourself be benefited from the support you are getting. The problem will be solved naturally, that process throws you up as a leader.

In short, we have to take seriously the issue of training our leaders by bringing up leadership types. This has been done in China very successfully and, even coming nearer home, let us not forget the example of Tanzania where even with the very serious lack of natural endowments that they suffer, they are able to produce leaders who are willing to impose upon themselves codes of ethics that make them stay with their people, not above their people. This really is the way we should look at our leadership crisis in Nigeria. Cynicism will not help us. Cynicism will only help our detractors when they say, 'All Nigeria's problem is God-made, only God can solve it. That is sweet music to the ears of the leaders who only want to exploit us. So cynicism is not the solution. That, in brief, is what I think Onogwu wanted to convey to us.'

## Discussion

Mr. Esemokhai

I subscribe to the view that in Nigeria the followership has a role to play which it has failed to play. Leaders are just a few people in society, the Head of State is just one person, so it is a matter for regret to hear millions of Nigerians vilify the name of one person throughout his tenure and he continues doing what he is doing. I think Nigerian citizens fail to perform their individual roles and that is the crux of the matter because no matter how well endowed a statesman is, no matter how well educated, no matter how gifted, he still needs the citizenry at least to respect those directives which he may give. In this country, as soon as a law is passed, as soon as a decree appears, the first thing Nigerians do is to subvert it and make it unworkable. What can a leader do in the circumstance? A lot of people falsify documents, and the law enforcement agents do not perform their roles. What can a leader do? Let us also take the example of colleges and universities

which are in distress because of a lot of reasons. I don't think we can all blame that on the Head of State.'

So, we have to look at ourselves, that is the problem, every Nigerian wants to be President or head of whatever institution he finds himself even if he is not prepared; and when he gets it by hook or crook, he does not perform. Now, if I am Head of State and I have fifty directors and 40 of them are not good, what can I do? I am the Head of State and I have Ministers who are not interested in managing their Ministries properly but only interested in the award of contracts, what can I do?

Now, let us ask ourselves which leader had groomed himself like Margaret Thatcher, for example. She studied chemistry and joined the Conservative Party in 1949. She then studied law, prepared herself, went through the ranks until she became prime minister. That was why she was able to perform. Most of the Western democracies we are thinking of imitating have people who work within groups, over years, and learn from day to day. This is not so in Nigeria. Suddenly, a military officer comes to power, he appoints one man as Director of Institute of International Affairs or he appoints somebody a minister who might have been in his village fishing. Some ex-convicts have even been appointed ministers. I begin to wonder what we are talking about because a leader is somebody who, through education, through altruistic impulses, wants to put himself forward, having done well for himself and now wants to multiply that and cater for the social welfare of his people. But look at our so-called leaders. Many of them take leadership roles just to enrich themselves. An urchin who had not up to ₦200 in his bank account, because somebody from his own village is Head of State, suddenly becomes a millionaire in two or three years! What do we expect from such people? Nigeria has been unfortunate. We have people with potentials but we have not had good leaders.

#### **Mr. Babalola**

I disagree with the foregoing view especially in terms of followership. If you take, and I accept the definitions of Dr. Aguda, a leader is somebody who gives first, takes somebody to a goal. He leads, he goes ahead, then the follower now picks up, goes after him. But the basic principles of psychology about moulding behaviour shows us that reward and punishment are critical, they are critical principles in the moulding of human behaviour and I still believe very firmly, it's been proven, that you can mould people's behaviour either as individuals or as groups, by using very cleverly in a very expert way, the

principles of reward and punishment. The keynote speaker identified two factors which I agree with. First of all, a leader should be capable of defining very clearly what the goals are. If you want to lead somebody to goals, you must be very clear about the goals you are leading people to.

Now, the problem of Nigeria is its homogeneity and heterogeneity, and even though the discussants say that cynicism does not help, I am sorry I am still a cynic in the sense that we have not been able to, and I believe it will be an extremely difficult thing for us to produce a leader that will define a goal that the other sections will agree with. It is true that right now when hunger cuts across the nation, most people who haven't stolen millions are hungry, they might still be able to say, all right, here is something, still a common factor, the lowest common multiple or whatever it is, that most people will agree upon. But, even if they say we are all hungry, how about the process of resolving the problem? It's not the concrete identification of the problem that is the issue, but the problem of actually defining the process of the problem, of moving from A to B, if A is the beginning where you are and B the goal.

Mr. Nwando

First, are we facing the problem of leadership or followership? I want to differentiate headship from leadership, I also want to differentiate headship from leader and manager and I want to put this in a model. In my conceptual approach, you have the headship, just the head. Sorry, let me get back a little. The chairman asked a question whether the problem with Nigeria lies with the head or the follower. I assert firmly that the problem is with the head. Once we have a defective head or we do not have a head, then we will have difficulties surviving. So, I am placing the whole thing here within the context of the leadership of the Nigerian situation.

Then, who is the head? And how does that head emerge? In Nigeria, we haven't had it but it could be by heredity, by the divine right of kings. It could be by self-imposition or by a group imposition. It could be by crisis situation and the most important process which nobody has mentioned is the leadership emerging through selection.

Speaker

Leaders set directions while managers plan and budget. This is important. Leaders align people while managers organise and deploy, leaders motivate people while managers engage in controlling and

problem-solving. I want to mention this because Prof. Tijani tried to assign the role of problem-solving to leaders. This is not the role of leaders but that of managers. The leader must have the ability to persuade others to seek defined objectives enthusiastically. Thus, this means that as Justice Aguda, Justice Oputa and Professor Onoge said this morning, the leader must possess higher or near-higher intellect, initiative, imaginativeness, fair moral and physical character and implied higher degree of self discipline. The leader must also have clear conscience.

### **Speaker**

In the case of Nigeria, the question is what do we do to create the right leadership? You may create a leader using the contingency approach which Professor Onoge just told us about. Professor Tijani put it as situational, not trans-situational approach. This is pertinent but only when you are talking about an individual. But the problem about Nigeria is that if you remove that individual as we have removed Babangida, an Abacha comes, and the same situation arises. So what we would be talking about is how to create the right atmosphere for the right leadership not for the right leader because that right leader cannot arise unless the atmosphere is right. For this I would suggest we take a hard look at Tanzania's code of conduct, put across by Onoge.

### **Mr. Adubifa**

I want to tell a true story of how a leader emerged. He is a leader we are all familiar with. I think he started with the leader appreciating the general will of the people concerning education. He had written a book about this, *'Path to Nigeria's Freedom'* in the early 40s. It took him ten years to develop the idea. In the process, he called the other people to look at these problems, this crisis, that education was what would free us from ignorance and disease. He did not have the opportunity to implement his idea for more than a decade but in the end, because he had been emphasising this problem, people believed him and they pushed him forward to be the leader. We all know the free education of 1955, it only concerned primary schools but the effect of it, he was sure, would be everlasting.

When he got to the position where he could make the changes, where he could implement the educational policies, he then found that there were other problems. The first one was the colonial government itself. He was the Head of Government, the governor was the

chairman of the executive council and there were civil servants in the executive council and they all had to vote. So when he called for free education, they put it to vote and he lost. But being a leader he did not give up. He called the governor, then a European and told him, "we are trying to educate our children not yours, so when next we vote, tell your people not to participate in it at all"; so, the next executive council, the vote came up again and this time it was accepted. Then, the other problems started.

It was true, as the colonial governor said, that we could not afford to build the classroom if we were going to build it with cement blocks, so he thought about the problem for days, almost sleeplessly. Then it occurred to him that our forefathers built houses with mud which lasted many years. So, why not build classrooms like that. Then he called some contractors that he had a project, he wanted to build classrooms, the contractors said they were ready to participate. He said "but we are going to use mud" and all the contractors ran away. Of course, no contractor wanted to be associated with mud houses, so another problem emerged. Then he said, why couldn't these villagers themselves build the classrooms if we gave them the money. I think £80 per classroom or per building was provided. That was how the free education started in the West and we can see from this that a leader emerges as a problem-solver. He identifies the crisis as we said and he begins to solve the problems of the crisis. In the process, more crises would come up. But he would not give up. The leader in question knew what his people wanted and he knew that they did not have to vote about whether they wanted education or not. He knew education was good for everybody and he made that the basis of all his policies. We have here the emergence of leadership and the principle that a leader, somebody who expects to lead, must begin to put his ideas forward long before he becomes the leader.

#### **Mr. Fadahunsi**

Maybe by way of continuation, picking up on the quality of leadership, I think the identification of problems and setting of goals become very important. We must be really celebrating forty years of the introduction of free education in Western Nigeria and one wants to contrast the situation then with what is happening to education today, the sensitivity of leaders to the problems that face the country.

Here is a country where you have schools closed down at the primary school level, teachers are on strike in the secondary school level, and almost all universities are closed down. I have not seen a

single leader, either at the Abuja National Constitutional Conference or those outside of it who has made any statement or shown any concern about this particular situation. Then when you go to the hospitals, the teaching hospitals, they too have been deserted. Then you come down to the issues of the physical infrastructure, roads, water, electricity. Now, what type of leadership is this?

When you have a leadership that is not sensitive to the immediate problems of the population, such people cannot be leaders. Obafemi Awolowo's generation as a whole could be credited with at least identifying problems of the population and marking out strategies for solving those problems. Who among the present-day generation, the generals right down to the politicians who are now supporting them, are reacting to the problems of this country and finding any solution to them? The founding fathers of Nigerian federation recognised what leadership is about, maybe that's why the federal structure itself worked. It is our tragedy that the present leaders not only destroyed that federal spirit, they took over many of the regional assets and are now using them against the local population. And when citizens now come to demand that we return to genuine federalism, they are locked up. Leadership that shows intolerance and insensitivity to the problem of the people is not the type of leadership that will push Nigeria forward as they are saying.

#### **Mr. Ilenre**

If we are discussing the leadership question in Nigeria, we have to discuss it in consonance with global trends, what is happening universally, because this is a country or can I call it a geographical area that experienced over 500 years of Arab slavery, 300 years of European slavery, 150 years of colonialism and now we are having 30 years of military dictatorship. The evolution of leadership, of national formations show that the era of empires came and went, the eras of colonialism came and went, the era of centralised heterogeneous nations have come and gone and Nigeria today is still pretending that it can run a centralised federalism. We have some ethno-elites who are now giving themselves a country without territory and they are colonising the country and they are picking surrogates from all the segments of the country.

On global trends, I have said that empires have collapsed and colonialism has collapsed. The Soviet Union, of course you know it is like the Nigerian model, has collapsed. Yugoslavia is a Nigerian model, it has collapsed. Czechoslovakia is a Nigerian model, it has

collapsed. Sometimes, some of our elites, of course, like to cite India and Switzerland. But Switzerland is a multi-ethnic nation. Those who have been there know that it is run on collegiate system and the eight component parts send their representatives to the centre and every member of the collegiate council runs the government for one year, then another leadership takes over.

We can't talk of India. India is like the Nigeria of 1960. In 1949, Pakistan and Bangladesh were part of India. Today, they are no longer part of India. The population of India today is 910 million people. Uttarpradesh alone is 130 million people while the smallest state is about 180,000 people. What I am saying is that we are running a country which we know cannot work because you cannot bring the Yoruba, the Ibo, the Hausa, the Edo, the Ogoni and say they have to stay in one centre. I have been to the Constitutional Conference. I took three weeks to study the place. I saw that most of them don't understand English. They don't understand the utterances being made.

So, what I am saying is you cannot get good leadership unless the structure is put in proper perspective. The conference is an assemblage of ethno-elite cleavage. You can see that the system is built on entire artificial orientation. It has no goal. These people are different people, and God knows why he created them different people. Why not organise them according to their geo-political and ethnic territory and then have a common union because today, even in Africa, all the amalgamated countries in the world have collapsed, only Nigeria is existing. The East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika has already gone. They are now autonomous states. Rhodesia is now Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Of course, Eritrea is no more part of Ethiopia.

If we want to keep Nigeria one which I believe is a big market, we should do more than we are doing now. With this present arrangement, by the turn of the century, I am afraid if we who are fraudulent at our 50s now accept it, our boys in their 30s may not accept it. We need structural rearrangement of this country.

#### **Mr. Olukotun**

I would like to return to more theoretical concerns. First of all, I have observed that there is what one may call a yearning for a messiah in the Nigerian public mentality. One sees for example in the dramas, the plays that are written by our dramatists, some logos that resolve their conflicts or plots by the gods intervening at the right moment, and the

villains are kicked out and then we are on to a brilliant new start. Even at popular levels, one wonders what we are talking about. Have we really talked about the interaction between leaders, social values that throw them up and so on? For instance, how are people asocialised into norms and grow up living with those norms all their lives? Even if we have a leader who begins by being different, whether he can sustain that miracle over a long period is a different question, since he is from the old stock of values. I don't know how he can sustain that miracle for a long time unless he himself is engineering an altogether new system of values.

I would also like to react to the question of federation that has been raised by several people. The federation itself seems to be unviable. Let me recall 1975. I was a student union leader and had gone to Maiduguri for what was then the NUNS Conference. I was from the then University of Ife. I had gone for a NUNS Conference in Maiduguri and, on the last day of the conference, there was the coup and the first thought most of us from this part of the country had was how to get home safely because one didn't know what could develop. We wanted to know first of all who was the coup leader. "Is he a southerner? Is he a northerner?" If a southerner then we wouldn't feel safe because anything could happen with the memories of the *araba* and all that. By some coincidence also, ten years later, Buhari coup occurred. I was a lecturer at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Again, we were worried.

We need to bring some of these fears into the open because they have their ways of affecting the way we perceive the federation. For instance, June 12, to many people, was just the simple refusal of a certain northern key player to accept a southern president, and I am saying that it seems as if there is this cloud of uncertainty that hangs around the whole debate of federation and there is still this deep suspicion and fears about north and south, about whether the north is in fact willing to concede a southern president and things of that nature. I want to link this up with what Professor Ake said earlier that there could be effective leaders at micro-levels but because of the nature of the federation, they have not been able to emerge as national leaders. Awolowo was a damned effective leader of the Western region and his record in the Western region is yet to be paralleled in Africa, but he was denied the leadership of Nigeria. Ojukwu once said that he was the best leader Nigeria never had. Abiola was to repeat the same experience several years later when he won an election but would not be allowed to assume the presidency.

**Mr. Atimomo**

I would like to give you a result of my own findings on problems which we are now discussing. For thirty-four years this country has been groping, trying to search for a particular system. I therefore believe that the journey we should now undertake is a mental journey into the spheres of ideas, ideas which pertain to areas which motivate the ability for a nation to create a good leadership across all boards.

If Chief Obafemi Awolowo were here today, I am sure he would not have paid particular attention to the problem of leadership because he was a leader. The problem which Awolowo had with Akintola resulting from the 1962 Jos conference was an ideological problem, not the question of leadership, so this ideological problem was situated within a political system and Awolowo opted for welfarism. All through, up to the period he died, Awolowo talked about economic justice. The truth today is that our systems have collapsed, institutions of thought have collapsed. Some have attributed this failure to corrupt practices of political actors while others say it is the Nigerian factor. Awolowo, Lenin and Friedman all agreed on something, that is the nature of the economic structure that determines the nature of economic system which you have and it ultimately determines the nature of the State. If we agree with this thesis, then we can see that the fundamental causes of the problem today, of leadership, is the false choice of our political economic systems.

The whole world today shows that the world has been misdirected over several centuries. Today, mankind is moving towards God and there is no movement towards God that will not at the same instance need a neutralisation of such factors which prevent that movement from achieving its goals. There are five anomic agents, religion is one of them; ethnicity is another; political party is another; militarism is another. Unless we neutralise these agents, then it would be very difficult for you to have good leadership because these agents are good in themselves, but they have been used badly, saliently to destroy society because of the competitive class struggle in the economic nature of the capitalist and socialist conflict system.

**Chairman**

Before taking the next speaker, I just want to mention that there is a certain circularity. The things we are suggesting as possible parts of movement out of our predicament already pre-suppose good leadership and so we are not really saying anything. We are repeating

the problem. That's the same thing with cataloguing qualities of good leaders and then saying that the people we have don't have them. It's not arguing anything. The question is how do we move non-tautologically? Our movements seem to be tautological at this point, maybe I am misunderstanding it but let us be careful with that dilemma. I have no answer to that but I think I want to say that this is what makes this whole thing a very difficult problem.

### Speaker

The social scientists say that if we define the problem thoroughly, then we will be able to devise an adequate empirical framework to investigate it. I feel that we have not defined the whole problem of leadership very thoroughly. It's not encompassing enough. First and foremost, I think what we need to do is redraw the epistemological nomenclature of leadership. We tend to look at leadership as something that is black and white. There are a lot of grey areas in leadership as well as followership in different compartments. When you look at it, we have not been able to ask ourselves what are the institutional safeguards against which we are judging leadership? Leadership has its own requirements — including a framework within which to operate, including set objectives, including targets and continuity in terms of achieving those specific objectives.

In this country, a tour of the horizon will reveal to you that in most of the situations we have not had somebody who came in there with already made agenda which he was meant to conform with. They come in there, sometimes they improvise themes, they invite one or two academics from the university to put a few things together and that becomes an agenda for them, which is quite disparate and different from the preceding one. So, in every case, we have never had continuity as a matter of policy in this country. That is one.

The other thing is that most of these people who come into positions of leadership are people who were not actually groomed for the role of leadership. In fact they had very flimsy and sometimes hazy conception of what leadership is all about. Apart from that, in a country which is ethnically varied, there is a tendency for those who find themselves in positions of leadership to dance to their own predilections. Sometimes they begin to give their own interpretations to what they feel they should be pursuing.

Another issue which I also want to highlight is commitment to goals. Because to lead is really to reach a particular outcome through a judicious utilisation of human and material resources. How many of

these supposed leaders can really carry the people along with them? Earlier on Professor Ake mentioned that if everybody does his bit in their own local spheres, then the country will be moving forward. Actually that will be a recipe for disaster. Such leaders will pursue narrow and primordial interests that will tear apart the very fabric of the society we are trying to build.

Another omission is the whole question of the nature of man. How do these people feel about the nature of man, what is their conception of the nature of man? In the past we have seen one psychologist, Macgregor, who came out with X and Y and he said in the theory X that man does not like work, man does not like to belong to any corporate group because he has to be caned, he has to be coerced, he has to be forced to do things. Theory Y says man likes work, man likes to get together in a group, man is gregarious and so on and Macgregor came with the question of theory X. Looking at the history of this country, you see that we have always been caged with theory X. They feel we don't like anything unless we are forced to do it, that's why most of these decrees just come in. You cannot decree human behaviour and even the best scientists have not been able to predict human behaviour, let alone decree it.

So, these are some of the areas I think we could expand the horizon of some of these leadership theories into. There are lots of other imaginative areas if we can only let our imagination fly high so that we can come out with something very indigenous or contingent as Professor Onogo proposed.

#### Chairman

You must do something about what you feel is wrong, that is the only way and you cannot disagree with decrees and obey them and be at peace with yourself. Of course, we may not be very courageous but at least we should admit the principle and accept responsibility for what is going on. My point is that, in the final analysis, we must all accept responsibility and the problem is that we are always trying to shift this responsibility with fine speeches, theoretical conjectures.

#### Mr. Uchendu

Of late, I have been doing a lot of work on this issue of leadership. Here I think our problem is a question of semantics. Division of leadership is very important. We only think of leadership in relation to group leadership. That is not all that leadership entails. There is what we call self-leadership. In fact, if you don't have this self-leadership,

you cannot lead in any group. By self-leadership we mean that you must be motivated yourself, you must learn how to lead yourself well, you can't make any success in life without leadership. For example, if you want to pass any examination, you must prepare yourself for it, forget every other thing in life, pursue it, have a purpose, have a goal, have a direction. That is self-leadership and it is very important. After self-leadership, you go to group-leadership. So, let us stop passing responsibilities.

#### **Mr. Akinterinwa**

As to the question — how can we solve this problem of leadership? I think we can do so if we all agree that our problem is that of leadership. I think the problem of Nigeria is basically the inability of Nigerians to even identify and agree on what their problem is. But where we assume that leadership is the problem, we will be confronted with one question — Do we have to wait for the emergence of either a situational leader or a carefully planned-for leader? Do we have to produce a leader? If we have to produce a leader, who should produce it? Because, in this case, by "June 12" Nigerians have tried to produce a leader. Whether that leader would be a good one or not is a different thing entirely, but they have tried to produce one as a result of sovereignty of the people but the sovereignty of the people was counteracted by the sovereignty of the incumbent government. There is a conflict in sovereignty in this case. Which sovereignty should we accept? If the power of the incumbent government appears to predominate, what do we then do as a people? This is where the question comes in.

From my own perspective, I think that the situation in which we find ourselves as at today is that the President or the government should not be blamed in that, how can we explain the fact that a Minister for instance, say Idika Kalu, supported the idea of an IMF loan which was eventually rejected, but he still stayed in government. Olu Onagoruwa who said that there wouldn't be decrees of whatever nature with ouster clauses did not resign by the time these decrees were rolled out.

I want to believe that Nigeria's problem, our problem as at today, is not strictly that of leadership. It is basically the struggle for survival, for power, for money, for economic posterity. The point is that in Nigeria today, the concept of Nigerianess, the concept of Nigeria, as it was pointed out by someone else, only exists on paper. If I cannot send my daughter to a Federal Government College for whatever reason, if

for instance I can no longer behave like a Nigerian and tell everybody in the world that I am a Nigerian, then there is problem and it is that particular struggle for the centre that has to be addressed. The moment we solve that, all other so-called leadership problems would have been solved.

### Dr. Fafowora

I was very impressed by the point which has been made about building blocks. I think generally when we discuss leadership, there is a tendency to discuss it in a vacuum. But there are good examples. An instance was the case of a judge in Uganda who was killed because he insisted on the independence of the judiciary. Another was the Vice-Chancellor at Makerere who was also murdered because he refused to give Idi Amin an honorary award. Now, what I find in this country is that such examples are rare. We don't find Nigerian "leaders" acting in such courageous manner. I have come to the conclusion that the real reason that the institutions fail is that the props are simply not there. Take the civil service, and what has happened over the years. There just wasn't any reaction within the bureaucracies to resist encroachment into the traditions of the civil service and we have already seen it is happening with the judiciary. It is happening with the Bar Association. I have seen it in the private sector.

Well, some of us had to tell the government it could not interfere with the private sector and we were prepared to pay the price. Now that's the kind of support you are going to need if you are going to get the right kind of leadership; because leadership does not exist in a vacuum and you have to start building bridges. And this is where the question of public enlightenment also would come in. And, if you look at, let's take China, I've just been reading Edgar Snow's book published many years ago, but it is still worth reading. He described the situation under the Kuomintang, the nationalist government and the situation at that time was analogous to what we have today in Nigeria. A corrupt army, a bankrupt bureaucracy, all states' institutions had broken down and then you had a new group, the Communists emerging, destroying the old traditions.

So, really, that is the way we can move forward, because all of us are clear in our minds what we mean by good leadership. All of us know what a good leader is. But I don't think that in the present circumstances of Nigeria, merely debating it will produce that kind of leader. We ought to really look at the various institutions, the

countervailing forces, the judiciary. How do we assist the judiciary to reassert its independence? How do we assist? Because you see, we must look at the leadership at various levels. It's quite rare to find leaders like Nyerere or Gandhi. We have not had such outstanding leaders in Nigeria and our whole political set up makes it very difficult for such type of leaders to emerge. So, what is the alternative? The alternative is to pay closer attention to countervailing forces — the judiciary, the civil service, the universities, the press and see in what way we can assist these institutions. Both private and public institutions should constitute a bulwark of democracy because really one of the reasons why we have not had good leadership is that the army has made it simply impossible. I don't see really how you can have the calibre of leadership that we have all been talking about. It's just not possible and we have seen over the years how generations of Nigerian leaders, emerging Nigerian leaders, have been destroyed by the military.

#### **Mr. Tijani**

The theories Professor Onoge has given us need to be applied to the Nigerian situation mercilessly and let's see what we will find. People have spoken of the mistake of 1914. Honestly, which country in the world is entirely homogenous? If they are homogenous, look at Somalia. When it was not tribe, it was crime and when it was not crime, it would be famine. So you cannot build a nation by looking for homogeneity. Heterogeneity, quite frankly, is a blessing. We have enjoyed a collective heterogeneity, that's why we get all fruits, all vegetables, all minerals, everything. So, that is a plus and even our cultural, historical or cultural and heterogenatal differences are a plus.

Well, of course, our leaders, all of them, at one time or another, expressed dissatisfaction with Nigeria. Nigeria is a geographical expression. What to do is to overcome that problem if it is a problem. Unfortunately, we would say, we were already locked into a difficult situation by the time Nigeria was amalgamated. I think the conflict is this educational imbalance, not the geographical differences, not the cultural differences but this educational imbalance. When we came to confront that problem, we wanted to take advantage of it rather than to overcome that problem and rebuild a better nation. The issue is really not education, it is productivity. What do people do with their their education? Northerners, southerners, if with their degree or whatever it is, they come and occupy a post, use the certificate just as

an open sesame, and sit down and loot, what is the use of this their education?

So, the issue is productivity. Somebody has mentioned America. Nobody cares if it is Clinton or Bush who is the President. That is because America is productive. People are enjoying, so that's why they cannot talk of secession. They cannot talk about tribe, they are Americans because the country was productive and everybody was enjoying. Here, we are not productive, we just use education as a pretext.

Now, the other problem is really one of the theories Professor Onoge has mentioned as trans-situationality. If we need to define this slightly broadly, what we are saying is that, okay, we've got different situations. Chief Awolowo was in his particular circumstance the leader of the Yoruba. He solved the problems of the Yoruba; Sardauna solved the problems of the Northerners; and so on and so forth. So, the theory of trans-situationality would mean that they have to cross over and solve the problems of other people as well. If they are not able to do that, then, of course, the people have the right to say that they are not our leaders and that is exactly what happened and the crisis today now is that when people are trying to cross-over, which means they have to sacrifice or compromise the interest of their local followership. The followership will not allow them, they will drag them down. Instead of seeing these people as political leaders, they see them as enemies and they disown them all that is the crisis. The crisis of Nigeria is that we are not ready to build a united country, we are only thinking of our particular parochial interest.

### **Prof. Onoge**

I have listened very carefully to all the contributions. I have learnt a lot but I must say also at this point I'm quite confused. Just a number of issues purely from life experience. The accumulation drive is so high, in our own era, right now. It is so high that very often you find people, even in positions where they are actually misfits. You find a situation, for example, where a Vice-Chancellor is actually a hater of students. I mean a person like that does not even belong to an environment where there are students, but nonetheless we climb or struggle to get there because his interest when he gets there is to be friendlier with contractors, be a teacher-hater and student-hater.

There is also this point that has been made about the fragility of our institutions. They are truly quite fragile. The institutions are not in

place, the due processes therefore do not work. Again, persons who capture official leadership positions have a larger-than-life size but I am wondering whether in fact they could be built up in this piecemeal fashion that Dr. Fafowora and Professor Babalola mentioned. I admit the cruciality of these principles of reward and punishment in moulding and so on, but we keep coming back to the question of who can administer these rewards and punishments. I take very seriously again what Wole Soyinka said, at least the way he described my generation as 'a wasted generation', and also recently added that it is a discarded one. Even for the societies that I so admire and that I talked about like Cuba, China, Tanzania and so on, it seems to me that perhaps it is very difficult to make the types of interventions we want to make when the system, as it were, is in its routine existence.

The exceptional leaders, leaders who are able to carry their people, translate their aspirations, empathise with them and move forward with them appear to have come as it were as the head of a conquering party. What I'm saying is that the way a person or group comes into power is very important. If decolonisation itself is thorough and the party truly conquers state power without any compromises, no games about power sharing here and there, then the field is clearer. It can impose its party will, its vision, its party cadres are persons truly committed because they've gone through a long struggle where it was a life and death affair, and it has required a very thorough-going identification with the missions. So, when you put a party cadre in charge of a ministry or a position, clearly he already knows all these years when they were fighting or struggling to get into power, all the difficulties and so on. He has been programmed not to deviate from that project, but the way in which we got our independence, the types of compromise here and there; the routine drift of the system, these are the factors that make people take the easy solutions. We no longer think big. We make compromises here and there. At the end of the day, there are no checks on our ethical postures and behaviours and so on.

But we must still aspire. It's in the veins because we are human. I find, for example, the resistance against Babangida truly impressive. The role of the Press and the level of consciousness that developed was why Babangida left. It was not God that removed Babangida, it was the action of our people and the man left. Unfortunately again, there were also setbacks. The defeat was not total, otherwise a person like that really ought to be on trial now; but that he can still stay there and even scheme possibilities of coming back shows the incompleteness of the level of oppositional consciousness.

We can't jump our history. Perhaps we need the sense of anomie, an experience of anomie and alienation much more deeper, to create the possibilities for a multitude of oppositions not only in my day, at least in other peoples' days.

Finally, when I was in High School, there was no African history. It had not been legitimised as a fit and proper discipline for us to study. There was also no African Literature, so it was the Francis Drake and American wars of independence that we studied and we used to cram the remote immediate causes. Then our civil war came on our doorsteps and I was scratching myself all the time in those terrible days. That these things we read in history which looked like things that happened to other people, had really come here, and that we were in a civil war. Perhaps we need that kind of illusions of exceptionalism; exceptionalism from the kind of historical process and the painful struggles that other people have had to undergo before they moved their societies forward. We may have to live through such struggles too. Perhaps we have not suffered enough yet. A more profound suffering would create a much more thorough-going resistance and the accumulated experiences of our partial success in the various struggles that we are living through would help the generation that will be there when all the conditions for a revolutionary upsurge, a revolutionary transformation of our society in more humane directions, arrive.

#### Chairman

That brings us to the end of this session. It remains for me to thank all of you for being here and for your very thoughtful comments and productive interaction. And, finally, for your staying power. Most of all, I would like to thank our major presenters for their leadership which may not have solved all the problems but it was leadership all the same. Thank you very much.

**SESSION 2**



## SESSION 2

# History of Leadership in Nigeria

Chairman: *Mr Mokwugo Okoye*  
Lead Speaker: *Chief Bola Ige*

### Chairman

Probably no subject is more deserving of attention at this time of our history than that of leadership. I take leadership here to mean not only in harnessing our rich resources but also in helping us to achieve integration in such a vast territory especially if we can do that to establish equity and justice. It has been said that the trouble in Nigeria is with the leadership. People have agreed there is nothing wrong with our climate, with our environment, our rich endowments in natural resources. Why then have we not made any progress? I hope our lead speakers will help us to answer these questions. Why is it that when Chief Awolowo passed away, it was said that he was the best President we never had? Why is it so? Why is it that we find it so difficult to establish excellence? Why is it that even younger countries, by this I refer to Mozambique and Namibia, can hold fair parliamentary elections while we can't and yet we are supposed to have been holding elections since 1922?

Chief Awolowo and his contemporaries fought for independence. Of course, there was economic rivalry and they had industries springing up all over the place. At least there was gaiety; these days, there is gloom, uncertainty. I was happy the other day that our old leader, Dr. Azikiwe, came to confess that he no longer believes in diarchy as a solution to Nigeria's problems because many Nigerians told him then that diarchy did not solve any problem for us, even the problem of civility because soldiers still overthrow government headed by soldiers. Is that not so? We have had it here in Nigeria, they introduce certain evils from the civil society, through the military, they destroy comradeship, even professionalism. So forget them, the world is not foolish for abandoning military rule all over the place.

Chief Awolowo, I think, in an address he gave in 1976 or 1977 at Agbowa, mentioned some factors which he thought were responsible for the fall of the 1st Republic. They even applied to the 2nd Republic.

First, he said there was no consensus on the fundamental objectives and policies, including of course, fundamental human rights. Secondly there was rivalry among the three major ethnic groups. He thought it was unfortunate that Nigerians were not prepared to accept leadership from outside their own ethnic groups.

There has been a great deal of double talk and ignorance and of course, our recent history suggests that we need a greater measure of discipline and social justice to nurture the nation and its democratic ideas. I remember Chief Awolowo, at one time when he had probably lost faith in the tide of democracy in Nigeria, expressed the hope that someday a Bismark or a Garibaldi or a Stalin will arise, to weld our different components into one. Unfortunately, we haven't had the Garibaldi or the Stalin. Most of the people who aspire to power are guided by self-interest and, for whoever is in power, power attracts confidence and those who want to use power for their own selfish needs. But this cannot be struck from the pioneer work, that is what I said, what has happened, that the older generation of nationalists whose fate it has been to be part of a play, had rules and with little short time to evolve such rules.

But what is wrong? What is wrong with the people like us? Not long ago, somebody came to my place. First of all he introduced himself. I hadn't met him before. He said he was looking for some documents on the nationalist struggle and the rest of it. He pretended to be a student preparing his thesis and he wanted my help. Of course, I saw through him, I knew what he was. Even people like Bismark and Stalin were spies for their own establishments but apparently, according to the legends, when they went out to collect information from the patriots, they were converted to the new rules and of course abandoned the old establishments and that's why ultimately both of them, when they rose to power, helped to destroy the old establishment.

Thirty, forty, fifty years ago, the fury we had, the type of fury we had at independence is not what we are having now and you feel that nobody appears to be listening on the other side, nobody appears to be listening and when you come to leadership, one thing is curious about leadership. In this world some people achieve leadership without any struggle whatever. I'm sure some of you who are christians remember that David, when he was a young boy, was just invited to come and take over, whereas St. Paul had to fight all the way. In some cases, the path is smooth, some other cases, slightly uphill, some they just want to be alive and available when the time arrives, that is all, just to be alive. People will say 'destiny'; yes luck, destiny, shrewdness, courage,

competition and integrity, all these count and more.

Some people tell me they've lost hope for Nigeria. But I have not. I was telling Bala some years ago when I was in the campus talking to him and some of the students, I felt invigorated that all hope was not lost. So that is one thing one gains you know, coming to interact with friends and we hope in the end, we will all bring our children up, our children should know the way to make sure that our fathers have not struggled in vain.

## **Chief Bola Ige (Lead Speaker)**

When I was trying to decide for myself what I should do in leading this discussion, I wasn't quite certain of the format I should take. In the last two or three weeks, I have had to write out two lectures, so I thought that since I have professional lecturers who are going to take part in this discussion, I should leave the writing of the papers to them. There is a professor of history and there is a senior lecturer that has refused to become a professor of history, so they will write the papers. I have only made notes.

The second is that I know the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation has a very good system of taking down what is said and I have no doubt that they will do a better job of putting the thing in a more readable form than I would have if I had written it down.

The discussion is on the History of Leadership in Nigeria. One thing which gladdens me is that we have an ocular demonstration in our chairman today. I am sure that more than fifty or sixty per cent of the people who are here do not really know who Mokwugo Okoye is. He became famous before most of you were born. He is one of the greatest nationalists that Nigeria has had (applause), not only one of the leading members of the Zikist movement who wanted a revolution and positive action at that time, in the mid-40s, but he was jailed. He, Tony Enahoro, Raji Abdullah and others were jailed in the 40s. He was in his 20s and from that time till today when those leaders who have achieved power have forgotten that others died and lived and worked and slaved and went to prison for them, Mokwugo Okoye and others have remained faithful and so that is an ocular demonstration of the History of Leadership in Nigeria (applause).

I was very thrilled by the chairman's remarks this morning and also the keynote address of the Honourable Justice Akinola Aguda. I don't think that any paper that I would have written would have done better in sketching the history of leadership in Nigeria.

I describe leadership as the management of men and resources and when you talk about Nigeria, it is true that Nigeria did not become an amalgam before the 1st of January 1914 and therefore, theoretically and legalistically, when one talks about history of leadership in Nigeria, one is bound to talk about the history of leadership from that time. But we cannot run away from the fact that before January 1st of 1914, the various parts of Nigeria had thrown up various types of leadership in these parts of the country. I am sure that most of us have memorised, we have spoken the English statement, 'some are born great, some achieve greatness, some have greatness thrust upon them'. I think it is generally true but is not totally applicable to Nigeria. The statement may be relevant in societies which are monarchical and accept some measure of feudalism, where greatness of birth is accepted. But I think in large parts of Nigeria, including some parts which have Obaship or things like that, or royalty, you might be born great but that doesn't mean you are great.

In England, everybody knows who is going to be the next king if his mother does not outlive him and from the time Prince Charles was born, everybody knew that whether or not Charles makes it, no thanks to Diana, his son will be king, that's known. In Nigeria, among the Bini, the eldest son of the Oba of Benin is going to be the Oba of Benin. There is nothing anyone can do about it. The present Oba, Erediauwa, when he was in King's College, when he was administrative officer, Permanent Secretary, everyone knew he was just bidding his time for the old man so that he could perform. It is true that after Oduduwa, his seven or sixteen children, depending on what history you read, went to various parts of the Yorubaland. But it is not accepted among the Yoruba that after the father, the son shall reign. Even in places like Owo, Idanre and Akure, Omo-orioko has to become Oba, that is the child born while the Oba is king. It does not mean that the eldest will be. The kingmakers, Iwarefa, still have to take the decision as to which of them will be and so if you remember the case of the Aremo in Oyo, he never became king. He enjoyed himself, took as many women as he liked on any market day; went to places like Awe and considered all those places as his vegetable but the day the Alaafin died, the Aremo was buried with him.

So, now compare this situation. In the case of the emirates, it is true that usually the ruler emerges from the family, but if it was that so easy, Dasuki would never have had to fight it out with Maccido and Babangida would not have had to intervene if the thing was that straightforward. What I am saying is this, that it is not true in Nigeria to say that many people are born great. Anyone who thinks that he

will naturally succeed his father in his greatness does not live in Nigeria. People are born to achieve greatness and that is what has happened in the history of Nigeria and what I intend to do is not to look at persons but situations.

In the United States, I think that is a country where you can say satisfactorily that nobody is born great, you have to achieve greatness or you have greatness thrust upon you. When you think about this lady who is now representing the United States in the United Nations, she was not even born in America, she wasn't, and when you think about that German accented settler who used to be the Secretary of State, he wasn't born there. In fact, if he was born there, his American accent would be different from the way he speaks even now.

In Nigeria, there are three groups of people: those who achieve greatness, those who have greatness thrust upon them, and those who contrive leadership. I think I should add another one, those who appropriate greatness either through rigged ballot or through the smoking bullet (applause).

I want to take over one or two nationalities to give examples of great men in the history of Nigeria. I want to start with the Fulani first. Of course, one name that comes to the mind of everyone is Usman Dan Fodio. If you read his history, you cannot but be impressed by certain qualities of leadership, single-mindedness, honesty, selflessness and what I call having a programme, those four elements. He not only fought for what he considered to be important to him, that is, religion — and it was part of his programme to overthrow what he considered the pagan fetish religion which his household had — he believed that there must be a monotheistic God that should be accepted rather than polytheism. He was very single minded in his purpose. He was also a good manager of men and resources. This was why it was not merely his charisma but also his ability to deploy his followers to wage battles and to win them. The interesting thing is that no one has heard about his children, biological children, succeeding him. What we hear is about that great brother of his, Abdulahi, who went further and who can be said to be a great administrator and certainly more intellectual than Usman Dan Fodio. But those who have come after him and have become rulers in various places now claim to be as great as Usman Dan Fodio. Of course it is not true because what has happened is that the present Emirs are living in the shadows of the greatness of Usman Dan Fodio and they have appropriated to themselves his greatness, single-mindedness, dedication and simplicity.

Today, you have Emirs who are in cahoots with the Israelis and Jewish people, you have Emirs who are absolutely friends with economic saboteurs of Nigeria. They are there, Emirs who claim to be leaders of people when all their businesses, including usury, are managed by Jewish people who they pretend to hate. Can we say that such people are born great? They have only appropriated, as a matter of fact, I think the word is misappropriated the greatness of Usman Dan Fodio. One other thing which one can say about them is that they have learnt the art of "settlement" better than military politicians.

In Yorubaland, the great men were not usually through birth but through pride in their activities, because for the Yoruba, Oduduwa is the icon, he is the symbol. But if you look at the history of Yorubaland, you will see that all the children that were dispersed were people who achieved greatness through their powers and that is why you have Owa Obokun or say Ajakaiye which means somebody who fights all over the place and wins. You never found a lout succeeding and we have no history of louts being remembered in Yoruba history. You hear Alara or Ajero and then you hear people saying, '*Alara se ti e o wu, Orangun se ti e o ye*'. Look at the name Oranmiyan, it means 'my part is perfect, is true', and that's the compliment they have given to the Obas who went to Benin to free the Benin dynasty before going back to Oyo. Of course, the Benin people would say it is their own who went to free Oyo, not the other way around.

But then again in Yoruba history when you remember people like Kurunmi who was a general, he was Aare Ona Kakanfo of the Alaafin. As I told you, the Aremo never lived after the Alaafin and then when the Alaafin died, this Aremo lived and said, 'no, its against tradition'. He was a general of the army so of course he fought against it and if you read about his life, you'll know how he ended. When they talk about Balogun Ojekunle or even Lajetan himself who came from Ife, these were men of prowess. I don't want to go too much into Yoruba history because I think it is only fair to remember Ogedengbe Gbogunboro. As you know, Ogedengbe Gbogunboro was a slave, was captured a slave by the Ibadan people but then he went back and during the Kiriji war, the slave became a Field Marshal.

We have all heard about Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan, we have heard of Moremi in Yoruba history of Ife, those of us who are from Edo, we have heard about Emotan. In the last fifty years, we have heard of Fela's mother, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti together with Mrs. Margaret Ekpo whom Mokwugo knows very, very well. These people and Gambo Sauraba of Zaria whom I know very well; these are not people born with silver spoons in their mouths. They achieved

greatness by their hard work, by their commitment to their course. Of course, I think Bala would quarrel with me if I didn't mention Queen Amina. He is an offspring of Queen Amina because as you know, they said the man was from Baghdad but we call him Bayajida in Hausa but actually it was mispronunciation of someone from Baghdad. Then you have all read about the history of the snake in the well which Queen Amina dealt with.

Now, it's a pity that Mama (Mrs Awolowo) is not here, because I think it is only fair that when we talk about women leaders in Nigeria, when our leader was in prison, although Alhaji Adegbenro was the acting leader of the party, the role which Mrs. Awolowo played was fantastic. In 1964 when UPGA decided that we were going to boycott elections, Mama was the first person to boycott the election. Mama did not take part in the election and Adeleke Adedoyin won with, I think, about 600 votes and what I'm saying is she gave such leadership not only to the Action Group but also to the United Peoples Grand Alliance. She held the fort very well for her husband and I testify to it because I was Federal Publicity Secretary of the Action Group. That aspect of Mama's life is not acknowledged as much as it should be but I want to say that in politics, Mrs. Awolowo has been a political leader in this country.

People have given their service, people have given of their learning, people have given off everything they have to improve the lives of the people of this country. In the education arena, Nigeria has had a very good line of dedicated leadership, both foreign and Nigerian. My mind goes to somebody like Dr. Walter Miller of Wusasa in Zaria. Yes, he was an Anglican, Protestant, Evangelist but he took education seriously and under his leadership, people like Dr. R.A.B. Dikko and others became educated. We cannot also forget those who founded places like the Katsina College (which became Kaduna College which became Balewa College) for their foresight and those Nigerians like Dr. Onimole who worked in various parts of the country, particularly in the northern parts, to impart education through nationalism and dedication to Nigerians.

When I think about education and history of leadership, those who founded the IONIAN group of schools will forever be remembered. These were Nigerians who were running what we call voluntary agency schools, against Government Colleges. The first four secondary schools were Abeokuta Grammar School, Ibadan Grammar School which was founded in 1913, and much earlier, Ijebu-Ode Grammar School and Ondo Boys High School. They were headed by Revd. I.O. Ransome-Kuti, Fela's father, Bishop Akinyele, Canon

Adeyemi, as he then was, and later on Rev. S.R.S. Nicholas. Rev. W.R.B. Kuye was the founding principal of Ijebu-Ode Grammar School in 1913 also and Canon Adeyemi founded Ondo Boys High School. These four schools have nurtured hundreds of thousands of graduates in Yorubaland. Their founders were dedicated, they were Nigerians who wanted to prove that the English people who headed King's College and other places were not better than they, and they certainly weren't better. But it will also be foolish to forget about people like Spicer or V.B.V. Powell who was principal of Government College, Ibadan and those of you who went to Government College, Edo or Umuahia will remember the calibre of foreigners who headed your schools and had great input into the education which you had.

In recent history, take for example two schools in Onitsha, Christ the King's College run by Roman Catholics and Dennis Memorial Grammar School, Onitsha. Those two schools, between themselves, have probably provided all the great men that Iboland can say they have produced. But I just want (when we talk about leadership and education) to mention one person who has just passed away in the last few months and who is the giant in education. He is Dr. Tai Solarin. I don't think the history of education in Nigeria will be written without his name being written in gold.

Now, to business. From the beginning, Nigeria has always been very enterprising but one thing again is that the type of devotion, the type of dedication which we find in those educationists and in the political leaders, you will also find them in those who have been leaders in the business sector. I will only mention three and incidentally, they all come from three different parts of Nigeria. Take the Dantatas from Kano. Everyone knows they are just good business men and everyone respected them that they were dedicated to their jobs. In the West, can anybody forget Adeola Odutola? Thank God he is still alive, knowing he is still going strong. And of course Odumegwu Ojukwu will forever be remembered for his business sense and acumen. He not only played and did business in Lagos, he was also probably one of those who opened the traffic between the East and these parts.

In today's Nigeria, I will just mention the type of leadership that we have. I won't mention bureaucrats as such but young people like us — Gamaliel Onosode, Christopher Kolade, Aliko Mohammed and Arthur Mbanefo. They are examples of those who today can be said to be leaders in their businesses.

I want to move on to Labour. We have had, until the Babangida years, dedicated leadership in the labour movement. It was found to

be so and a few days ago, I was saying to Sylvester Ejiofor, "see what you did". Of course, he himself would be the first to say that the monster which they have created has become unmanageable by them. The crux of the matter is that most of the people who pretended to move the labour movement today have no track record of being labour leaders. They are used to bribery and settlement, they are used to being manoeuvred from one place to the other but if we look back, from the colonial days up till the 70s, we had a dedicated core.

The foremost labour leader, of course, was Michael Imoudu, the epitome of a labour leadership from the time he started in the railway compound here. By 1945 he had been exiled, but he came back still fighting and after him, we had S.U. Basse. We had Wahab Goodluck, we had Dapo Fatogun, we had H.P. Adebola and in those days, the NCNC got to itself the labour leaders and that was why of the five people who went to the Western House of Assembly from Lagos, they had to include Adebola so that the Trade Labour Movement could believe that they were part of the NCNC. And can we forget people like Luke Emejulu of the Labour Workers Union? Can we ever forget E.E. Esua, the greatest General Secretary of the Nigerian Union of Teachers that Nigeria has ever had? Can we ever forget such people? (Applause). Recently, I think we must accept that we had a good trade union leader in Hassan Sunmonu but the present people whom Babangida put there, the less said about them the better.

We should say something about military leadership. Need I say that you should take whatever I say with ten grains of salt, in fact, with a bag of salt. I am not enamored of the military, I am not. I think their business is to do what we pay them for, to protect this country from aggression. If they would not allow me to go and command the 2nd Infantry Division, I don't understand why some colonels want to be Head of State of this country. But then we have had some fantastic military leaders and some of them, I know personally.

When it comes to professionalism, you have to give it to Ademulegun, you have to give it to Largema, you have to give it to Pam. I knew them, they were great soldiers. But of course, the coup of 1966 did away with them. We had all the great soldiers which the civil war threw out. Whatever you might say about Benjamin Adekunle about Obasanjo, during the civil war, they showed their greatness as military officers. It was when they started putting their snout in politics that they missed it. I think whatever anyone might say about Babangida, the military boys themselves acknowledge that he was a soldier's soldier; they loved him. One thing which many civilians don't know is that in the army, once you become a major or

lieutenant-colonel, you are expected to groom some majors and that is why those who come after them are so loyal to them because many of them groomed the others who came after them.

We have had a good crop of very fine military officers, I mean, people like Jalo for example, like Wushishi, like Alani Akinrinade. Ask anyone in any part of the world who either went to Sandhurst or Moris with them and they will tell you that these are fine soldiers. Unfortunately, some of those who are not so good are the ones that have turned up to be seizing power among them.

Now, I have mentioned some of our pre-independence leaders. Now I want to talk a little about politics before I round up. We have had good leaders, what we have not had is for those leaders being able to get the followership throughout the country or being allowed by various circumstances to be leaders. I am one of those who had the highest regards for our founding fathers, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Obafemi Awolowo of the Western Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello of the Northern Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe of the Eastern Nigeria. Whatever may be our criticism of them, these men showed that they were good managers of men and resources and the history of Nigeria shows that the golden period of development of Nigeria was between 1952 and 1959, in spite of all our quarrels, between 1960 and 1965 we have not matched what these people did. Some of us have tried but we have not matched them.

Whatever you might say about these people, none of them could be said to have stolen money, none of those four people. You may not like them, you might say one is intellectually arrogant, the other one was moving about Nigeria like a Middle-East Sheikh and things like that, but you could not accuse them of stealing one kobo. Secondly, they knew how to handle their listeners and direct them to good ends. Yes, they were regionalists, yes they were tribalists, but could anyone say that Sir Ahmadu Bello did not do everything humanly possible to develop the meagre resources of Northern Nigeria? Can one dispute that when Nnamdi Azikiwe was Governor of East, sorry, he was Premier of Eastern Nigeria, he did not take the interest of Eastern Nigeria to heart, not to talk of Obafemi Awolowo and then even at the centre here, where the style of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was different from those who accepted to be his leaders?

Balewa had purpose. You might say, yes, it was not as radical as the people of the Cassablanca group, you might say that his golden voice was meant for the British, but the truth of the matter was that he managed the men and resources he had for the good of Nigeria. It may not be according to the high standard of Awolowo or Zik or Ahmadu

Bello. Yes, but don't forget that he was not as big or as great as any of those three but I bracket those four people as great men in Nigeria, whenever they are called. They were there before independence, they were there after independence but its not only those four I want us to remember even from the time of the five obnoxious days in which you had the leaders of the NCNC go to the colonial office even though their delegation broke up in pieces there. But the truth of the matter is that they went round the country and they spruced people up. They got people and worked against British colonialism.

It is tragic of course that our post-colonial leaders never got together to move Nigeria forward. As a matter of fact, since 1966 when those four leaders were put into the background, Nigeria has not moved forward. Yes, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was the vice-chairman when Gowon was in power and Gowon was a very sensible man but the truth of the matter is that since 1971, where have we been? Nowhere. And then of course, the cause is that since 1966, we have had incursion of the military into the political arena, we had people who are not trained to man, to husband, to harness and to manage men or resources coming into power. Those of you who know the type of training given to soldiers won't be surprised about what we have. The first thing a soldier is taught is dehumanisation, whether as a recruit or as an officer. In the first few weeks, you must say and believe that you are not a human being. Yes, they scrape off their hair like they do in the convents so that they could become new men. Dehumanisation is the basic element of military training. How can you have dehumanised people managing men and resources? I mean we ought to be frank and honest with ourselves. It is one fundamental reason why no sane, rational person can accept military regime. Their personalities must be changed and for you to be a political leader, you have got to be humanly human, you have got to be not only humanly human, but also humanely human. That is not what the soldier is trained for.

What are the things that are needed for leadership? I have said that leadership is the management of men and resources. I have tried to give some examples of those who have done so. Mr. Chairman, I want to suggest that there are four things which have to be looked at when we want to give marks to leadership or a leader. The first one is, what is the quality of his service to the fatherland? I use 'fatherland' loosely and even in his community, let us even say that the man comes from Esa-Oke, what is the quality of his service to the place he comes from? If the man is not good to the place from which he comes, he cannot be good to the place he doesn't come from. And when we talk

about service to the fatherland in Nigeria, how many people today can be said to have qualities of service to the fatherland, who look at the Federal Republic of Nigeria as a place where they should render service?

The second element which has to be looked at is selflessness. All the leaders I have mentioned, including Mokwugo Okoye who is an ocular demonstration, were selfless. If you ask him, I doubt whether the man has ₦10,000 in his savings account. He probably has only one roof over his head. How many of those who claim to want to rule this country can be said to be selfless? And the leaders that I have mentioned, can anyone accuse them of selfishness? Because the opposite of selfishness is selflessness. When you go to the junction of Olashore street there, what do you see? What do you see? You go to the extension, Victoria Island extension, who are the people who own them? You find houses made in the image and likeness of boats. I have gone into some of them and I shake my head because I know that their children will never be able to maintain them. You have a Nigerian spending ₦200,000 a month to maintain a house and some of those houses have to have 50 kilowatts generators working 24 hours a day because NEPA is the standby; the generator is the normal thing. And foolishly they get architects who do not put windows in those houses in tropical Nigeria so they must have aircondition and light, fluorescent light all the time. Their children will never be able to live in them. I hope we convert them to nursery schools in future. (Applause).

The next thing is singlemindedness. Whatever you might say about those leaders, they were singleminded. Yes, Ahmadu Bello spoke of the mistake of 1914. If he was not singleminded he would not have even made that statement. Awolowo, of course, everybody knows that the man was pigheaded for principles. He was singleminded and if you look at the history, whether it is Queen Amina, Moremi Ajasoro, Efunsetan Aniwura or Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, there can be no leadership that is not singleminded. You can be criticised if your singlemindedness is wrongheaded, but if you have not made singlemindedness your pursuit, you are not a leader.

Fourthly, purposefulness. It is not enough to be singleminded. You must be purposeful in achieving what you want and of course however much service you give, however selfless you are, however singleminded you are and however purposeful you may be, if you have no programme or goal, or what we call (in politics) 'manifesto', you won't be able to lead properly. And I want to ask, since the Babangida years, has any so-called political leader shown you his

manifesto? It is because Babangida knew the quality of those whom he wanted to succeed him, that is why he said 'don't bother, I will write your manifesto for you'. Of course, all those wretches also wanted to be President. Did any one of them sit down to say, I will write my own manifesto? No, they were carrying money about.

There can be no successful leadership without a programme, without a goal, without a manifesto. Thank you very much. (Applause).

### **Professor Obaro Ikime (Discussant)**

First, I want to apologise because my notion of a discussant was that I would have a paper in my hand to speak to, but Uncle Bola Ige has cheated me of that. I hope that if he writes the paper, he will give me a copy. But having listened to him, I will for the next few minutes leave what he said apart and just speak on some other issues, then come back to him.

I think that as you look at the subject of this afternoon's session, the history of leadership in Nigeria, I think that we have to admit that the elders who came up in the 50s, if you like, the early 60s, have certain excuses which the nation cannot deny. Those who have been leading in the 70s and the 80s and the present cannot pretend to have these excuses. For example, we are very quick to say Awo was a Yoruba man, Zik an Igbo who began as a national figure and degenerated into being an Igbo man. Ahmadu Bello was Hausa-Fulani, essentially that is a northerner. These people have excuses in the sense that really and truly, none of them had had the challenge of having to operate at national level before they found themselves being thrust into the arena and I believe Awolowo's philosophy was to establish a firm ground in his home and then project to the centre. In a sense, you can't blame them for that. They knew the game and they had to learn the arts, learn the tricks on a smaller canvass if you like, first; and hope to broaden that canvass into the larger fairway we now call Nigeria. They had no previous opportunity because the British did not provide that opportunity. So, whatever their faults, they did have an excuse and their circumstances were different.

Now, when you became head of state of Nigeria in 1985, you became Head of State of Nigeria and nothing else. What I am saying is that what we have, in fact, is that rulers are seeking to become rulers now in circumstances very different from those of Awolowo, Azikiwe, Ahmadu Bello and Balewa. And I say that we take note of the

difference in historical circumstances. That is the first point I want to make. Nigeria now is the laughing stock of the world, but I believe firmly that our size, our diversities and so on constitute a distinct advantage in the world of 1995. The world is not getting into smaller and smaller groups, the world is getting into larger and larger aggregations and here we are, because we have fooled around with ourselves we are saying 'let us break into small, small groups' in the hope that within the small groups there will be peace, there will be fairness, there will be justice. Is there justice in the local government areas? Are they not stealing there?

The Constitutional Conference delegates are fooling themselves again. They want fifteen new States and over 300 new local government areas. Why, everybody wants to be ruler, nobody wants to be a follower. Oh yes, they can give all kinds of excuses why they want more states. Look at all the states we have been creating. Have they, in fact, learnt to get justice and fairplay within each state? So, the problem is not the size of the state yet; the problem is the kind of human being who says he wants to be leader and that is a problem we must address seriously.

They should look at the character of that person, what has he been? But you know something? The truth of the matter is that nobody knew those who have ruled us the last twenty years or so. But you see, the trick was that those who became Emirs or Obas or whatever they were called, were known. The recruitment procedure, if you like, to high office was such that the person who emerged as leader was known, his character known. Now, tell me how do you know the character of fellow Nigerians? And when you turn on that radio and you hear 'Fellow Nigerians' do you know the chap who is talking to you? And the strategy of this country is that even though this fellow has no track record to go on, you cannot say that he is your Head of State, he is your governor and so on or whatever it is called because he has done ABC days of work in this particular area.

Despite that known fact, otherwise respectable human beings would carry their CVs and lobby for appointments. When I was in detention in 1990, somebody said to me, "who are your friends in the army?" because they had to find some reason why I had to remain in detention. I said I had no friend in the army. Ah, they said, "Professor, how can you say that? How can you say that?" I said, "how many of you" — there were nine of them on the panel, "if any of you has ever seen me in your office before, put up your hand", I said to them. I said "I'm not an office seeker, I don't go begging those I taught in Kaduna".

We have not yet established any due procedure for the recruitment of people onto the political leadership and that is a major issue that we must address and, of course, you cannot establish a right procedure for recruitment when the military are in office because when they are in office, they don't establish any procedure for recruitment. They just recruit. In most businesses, in most trades, there is an apprenticeship system. In Nigerian politics, there is yet to emerge a proper training system before one can emerge as a leader and our history this far has not made it possible for such a system to properly emerge.

The next point I would like to make is that there is something in our history that may be affecting present trend of leaders. If you are the Oba for example, there is no distinction between your privy purse and the purse of the kingdom; there is no distinction in the traditional system. Of course, your people expect you to entertain, they expect you to finance the festivals and so on. And of course, they will give you, as their Oba, various services in return for which you must perform all those festivals and so on. But there is no separation between the purse of the Oba and the public purse if you like. And I begin to wonder whether that is the problem with all the Heads of State we are having now; that they don't want to have any separation between the privy purse and the purse of the nation. Is there something perhaps in our pre-Nigerian systems that makes our leaders want to see just one purse?

However, as against that, there is always the reality that even in the pre-Nigerian situation, as the Oba, he must make sure the harvests are good. If the harvest fails year by year, the Oba is responsible. Oh yes? And if it continues he must leave. They have a way of getting rid of him. In other words, the lack of distinction between privy and public purse stays balanced by the sure knowledge that when you overstep the bounds, you have to go. Unfortunately now, we have a system in which you are a failure, and you 'stay' put. When the fellow who has failed again and again has the guns, you cannot force him out unless you have more guns and perhaps that is what we are all waiting for.

My next point has to do with my dislike for military rule; or rule by any professional group. When one particular professional group thinks that it must rule this country, I think the rest of us should say 'No' because it is wrong anyway. However, the point I want to make is this, that so long as the army is in power, then corruption is endemic, because the poverty of the masses makes corruption endemic and any ruler who does not alleviate the poverty and suffering of the

masses, must and does perpetuate corruption. If I go to my village now to contest an election and I give out ten naira notes to the voters, I will win. Oh yes. Because the people are too poor. A system which perpetuates this kind of environment is bound to be corrupt.

So, the history of our land thus far has been one in which we have kept the masses poor and they are getting poorer and consequently corruption must become endemic. I was one of those who investigated FEDECO, and I can tell you what I am saying is true. So, I think our history has not addressed the issue of poverty of the masses and so long as that remains like that, we will have a corrupt leadership at all levels. I am sure that Bala Usman will know about that more than myself. All of us in this place are leaders. Do not kid yourselves, I am not talking about Abacha and Co, all of us here, we are part of the leadership of this nation, and we are all failing the nation in our diverse ways.

I am suggesting that we address the issue of the structures that make up Nigeria if we are going to begin to look at the whole business of leadership effectively. We cannot carry on with this present trend for that tendency is merely promoting greater corruption.

If you were to ask me what I regard as the greatest trait of Nigerians, which trait has promoted political decadence, decadence at every level of our national life, I will tell you what it is. It is clapping. We are a nation of clappers, we like to clap (Applause). [Now, look at them, they are clapping already. I am saying don't clap]. You know, people get up, they talk nonsense and we clap for them. When I come and talk more nonsense, you clap for me. I then become big-headed and I think I am a genius. We must stop clapping and that includes the women.

What does Family Support Programme mean to you? Did you not clap, women? Somebody says, 'Oh, this is a fantastic thing, we want to build hospitals, we want to build clinics. What is the Ministry of Health there for? You want to build schools, the Ministry of Education, what is it there for? Now, how many of those units have you given ₦300m before? Tell me one thing that that programme is going to do for which there is no governmental department, ministry, whatever? You are going to launch a programme which is in fact undermining the very structures of the nation, and yet we go and we clap. We have had a history of clapping and clapping is destroying us. Please learn to boo as well.

For everything there is a season, as well there is a time, a time to clap and a time to boo. Let's begin to apply our heads more constructively to the issues of the nation so that those that are in

power will know that we will not clap for everything they do. (Applause).

### Dr. Bala Usman (Discussant)

What I would like to do is to address the issue of definition because obviously I cannot make my presentation without clarifying the issue. And in doing so, I will disagree with a number of positions already taken. I will also raise questions about some of the historical references that have already been made; but that is what dialogue is supposed to be. We are supposed to disagree and then agree and then disagree, a permanent process of conflict and coming together.

I do not think it is correct to say leadership is the management of men and resources as Bola Ige said. Nor do I agree with that definition. Leadership is more than that. There is a major distinction between leading and ruling, leadership and rulership, between power and authority. I think it was the keynote speaker, Justice Aguda, who quoted some dictionaries where he said leadership was having something to do with showing the way. Now, managing men and resources is managing men and resources, it's not mostly showing the way. It could be according to a plan which is already established. I think we have to have a clear definition of leadership before we can in fact establish whether it should be searched for. I don't think one can search for leadership because it is not something that is standing up there which you go and pick and break. It is something which has to be produced by a community and organisation. Once you say 'search for it', the implication is that somehow these people are searching for leadership inherent in them. My argument is that these people are produced and they don't search for leaders. We have proved this. If you do not want to produce them then leave yourselves with rulers who will just oppress you.

You see, there is a distinction in Hausa between *Inko* and *Sugabanchi*. Wherever you go in the areas where the head is *sugaban*, he is still *sugaban* after forty years. He usually cannot feed himself but he is *sugaban*, he is a leader, he has maintained it, he has no equal, he has no power. It is very important to make this distinction between leadership, particularly in the political level. Leadership, I think, has to be something to win, not necessarily managers. Managers are there. When I was Secretary to Government — I'm not talking just like Obaro who has not been in government — we set the directions, we supervised, we didn't sit down and say "clothe us" everyday. So, management is a level of ruling, but leadership has to do with

showing the way. I think this dictionary still captures it, defines where to go, where you are going, where the direction is.

I think leadership in the political sense, political leadership, not only implies showing the way but also having a common set of values of goals with those who are accepting that leadership because it is their own. You are expressing their aspirations, where they are going. So, it is essentially consensual.

There is no question of leadership in the case of Abacha. Abacha is not leading Nigeria, he is ruling. The military leaders have been rulers. A ruler is somebody with power, he is somebody who exercises power because a thief in your house can exercise that for a few minutes. So, it is very important to make this distinction and lots of people we mentioned as leaders were not really leading anybody. Somebody like Mokwugo Okoye could remain a leader of Nigerian nationalists because he is leading them, he has expressed our common values, our aspirations, where we are going. He is not like somebody who sits down and says he is leading. You are not a leader, you are a ruler. I hope that distinction is clear, fundamental distinction between power and authority. Authority is there inherent.

Obaro is no longer a staff of Ibadan University but wherever he speaks about the history of Nigeria or the history of the world, people listen. He has authority. Bola Ige will say: what is your authority? Somebody in academia may be totally unemployed like Obaro is, but he has authority. In his area, he is an authority, he has no power, he can give examination marks. He has authority because the standards of academic performance which you accept, the criteria of conducting research, he has imbibed it and he expresses it.

So, my argument is that leadership is the exercise of giving direction out of a common set of values which we share, taking people to a certain goal. It is not the same as rulership. Leadership and rulership are not the same. A leader may rule. Usman Dan Fodio for instance, refused to rule, he did not rule, he never, in fact ruled. This is in contrast to Dasuki. The people who did not want Dasuki said that Shehu Usman was never the caliph, he remained Shehu but he never ruled. Dan Usman and Abdullahi were rulers and there are many cases like that.

Rulership on the other hand is the exercise of power. It has nothing to do with going anywhere. Like these characters now, the soldiers, they have no idea what we want, they just want to fill their pockets basically and protect themselves afterwards. So, please don't call them leaders of Nigeria, they rule Nigeria but they don't lead Nigeria. Leadership means more than that, showing the way but with

them there is no showing of the way. They do not care, except to ask us to give them ideas. This is part of the problems some of us have with them. They just say 'okay, what is your idea, we will announce it'. Policies are not formulated like this. You will sit down, set up a party, agree, take over government with elections and pursue a programme.

So, now what is this issue of search for leadership in Nigeria? Questions have been raised about the nature of this Nigeria by the keynote speaker, Justice Aguda and it does not seem to be clear what this Nigeria is. The people who came to constitute Nigeria, various nationalities, have been around for centuries here, the most recent migration from outside are the Nupe and the Shoa Kanuri, but generally they have been around for a very long time. But about 100 years ago, if this Dialogue was taking place in Eko in 1894, people would certainly have raised the issue of the leadership crisis because there was a crisis of leadership.

But from where did this crisis emerge? I think it emerged from two distinct processes which our people faced in late 19th century. I want to express it because I want you to understand what this Nigeria is because there is an impression that Nigeria was just created in 1914. This is misleading because the amalgamation of 1914 is just one of a series of amalgamations. When you emphasise 1914, you find that there was the South and there was the North. Now that is not true. There was also the Rivers before, there was Lagos Colony and the hinterland of Yorubaland. They amalgamated them and merged them into Lagos State. So, the British had a series of amalgamations.

The emphasis on 1914 is to play the politics of North-South. If you want to play such you can do it but it is not politically elective to emphasise 1914 as the first amalgamation. There were series of amalgamations which produced the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria which amalgamated in 1915. So 1914 was the final step in the amalgamation which started in the 1880s. Obaro will correct me, he is the authority in that area.

So, why did the British defeat us? It is not because of the gun. Obaro said, take out the military, a leader will emerge. I do not think so. The British did not defeat us probably because of the maxim gun. That is their propaganda. There were others who have defeated people with better weapons. The British in my view conquered this country because the governments of most parts of Nigeria were in serious crisis and in many parts engaged in civil wars. These civil wars arose because the communities had become more heterogenous, that is they

were more mixed; but the political system was not capable of coping with the point people are complaining of now.

Bola Ige is a Kaduna boy and even if he has lived in Kaduna all his life his child cannot go to school in Kaduna State. He cannot get Kaduna quota. I am arguing that if you take the Nigerian army and police, and ask their children to speak about their origins, they cannot really. Their father is Ibo, their mother is Yoruba, they are born in Kano, they speak Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba here and there. What I am saying is that our societies have been getting very mixed. The slave trade made it very mixed. When I say that more than half of the population of Calabar were Ibibio, not Efik, people are surprised. It is there in the records. It is true and in fact if you take Ibadan, it is very mixed, various nationalities of the Yorubas, significant Nupe and Edo groups.

The problem that our government faced was how to continue ruling on the basis of hereditary rights of autochthony when many of the people there are from elsewhere? Nigeria did not emerge simply because the British wanted to create it. Nigeria emerged because the Nigerian government and societies of the late 19th century helped to organise a society. Even, if the British did not come, the Yoruba alone would have continued and merged with the Asumulo in the Nupe and it would have generated conflict, but I am sure we could have come out of it somehow. It may not have produced Nigeria, it may have produced smaller states. I do not want to go into this counterfactual history but the emergence of Nigeria was not inevitable, but the fact of the matter is that Nigeria was not something which the British just created.

There was high level of integration going on in the 19th century. The government of that period could not cope. Between 1894 (I think it was 1894 when Alaafin Abiodun was removed, I am not sure, that is about 100 years ago) and 1898, there were series of civil wars in this part of the country. These civil wars were what facilitated the conquest of this area. We were not able to fight them because we were weak. We were weak because of our internal political structures, because of the dominant process in our economics. So, when you come to the period of the struggle for independence, what do you have? We resisted colonialism and our attempt to win independence produced organisations out of which leaders emerged.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo whose Foundation is organising this lecture was a leading member of the NYM, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa and the Action Group. Chief Bode Thomas was there with him along with Akintola and others. In 1954, let us say forty years ago, although he was already king in the Western Region, we saw him as the creator of the Action Group. No, he developed, he emerged. I am saying that

Chief Obafemi Awolowo was a product of a particular struggle for independence and self-government. He did not make himself, he did not even imbibe, he was produced. This is the point that we must get.

The Sardauna was produced, too. Somebody said he was unassailable. Justice Aguda said we should read Sklar. If you read Sklar, you will discover that Sardauna himself went to jail; he was locked up by Sultan Abubakar and was jailed. It was in Zaria that they freed him. Some Ibo and Yoruba lawyers freed him, got the British to clear him and he suffered to become leader of the NPC. In fact, if not for Zarkin Badu Matuta at the Jos convention, Alfa Abbey would have won because if two votes had been taken, Alfa Abbey would have become leader of NPC, not Sardauna. The opposition to the Sardauna remained in NPC up to the point that by January 1966 the NPC was going to lose the majority of its members from Kano State because they joined the opposition.

Why are we searching for leadership? Why has it become important? Because of the crisis we are in. I believe we are involved in the crisis because of the political and economic processes that have become prominent in Nigeria. Even before military rule, we had a process in which those engaged in the production of goods and services were those who were increasingly marginalised from getting rich. This was accelerated by military rule.

Increasingly, since independence, there has been a process in which when you are in a leadership position, it is possible for you to enrich yourself but you are not enriching the people. It goes back to the Industrial Revolution. Every time they open new factories, employing more people, giving them high wages, you collect thousands from the countryside, put them to work, give them high wages, give them better food so they produce more cotton for you. We will export it. This was how capitalist processes went on. The capitalists were getting richer, the workers were getting a pathetic thing. The most substantial example is what happened to the American capitalists when they fought the revolution of the 1940s in which they create a working class and a middle class which was earning enough to buy cars and televisions and refrigerators while they were also exploiting the rest of the world, using them. What was being done in Nigeria was the opposite. The leadership were getting richer while the people were getting poorer. Even if you cannot blame the Premiers and Prime Ministers, the fact of the matter was that the parties of the 1st Republic became weak because of the level of corruption within them. This is a fact and they lost a certain amount of position and credibility. The reports are there and they are not

fabricated.

When the military took over, which is a must because in the case of the military, not only do they not have the training, not only do they not have consent, not only are they not bound by any moral codes but they are hostile, very hostile to the establishment of civil organisations that can hold them accountable. They are very hostile even among themselves. Look at what happened to Babangida over June 12. They all said he did it himself, even Abacha. What was he doing? The circle then is moving because accountability is opposed to the kind of command and control system in the Nigerian military and they are hostile to it. All this talk of they will hand over, is futile. They will not do it. They are not compelled to hand over to anybody unless we kick them out and you can't kick them out unless you organise yourself.

Soldiers are not the problem. The problem is the idea that leadership has to be sought. We are waiting for a messiah. We didn't wait for a messiah in the struggle for independence. Did we wait for a messiah? You organise the NCS, you organise the Zikists, you organise the Action Group, the NPC, you produce leaders. These people fought. To sit down and look for a leader is going back to very primitive times when you looked for the strongest men to fight the elephants.

What you have when a society is complex is a situation in which you must come to organisations and structures through which you can pursue your goals. In the course of that, leaders will emerge and these leaders will be outstanding and some of the qualities will be their own. I'm not denying personal qualities which people have. Every human being is different and unique but I do not think we should be searching for leadership. What we need is the production of leadership and how do we produce leaders?

We sit down and recognise the situation of our country. These characters are enriching themselves at a rate at which they will never feel safe to hand over to anybody they do not vote for. Abacha probably cannot. They do not want to go abroad, they cannot enjoy life abroad like they do in Nigeria, even though most of their wealth is abroad. So, they will stay here. So, if we make all the noise we can, what we have to recognise is that they cannot just go like that because we made noise or because of the United Nations etc. The UN will not do it for you, the Human Rights group outside will not do it for you. What will only do it for you is organisation. This is their advantage. It is not their guns. It is 100,000 people coming out and performing. Disciplined, purposeful political parties can do it. The leaders who have been praised here were produced by political parties. They did not create themselves. The Sardauna did not know anything up till

1949. He came to be what he was because he was produced. People pushed him and said 'go and do this and this' and this was how they produced a leader.

Leadership, when you look at it closely, is collective. Because of public image, because of public presentation, one person appears dominant, but actually in almost all instances, you will find that it is something which you produce. So, the point I want to make is that I think we have to recognise that leadership means showing the way. It involves common values, common aspirations, common goals. Even Hitler was a leader much as you may dislike what he did. Many Germans supported what he did. He shared their aspirations.

The people we have had under military rule are not leaders; Babangida was not, Buhari was not, Ironsi was not, Murtala was not. Hitler tried to express his peoples' aspirations but he remained a ruler for the fact that he was not a product of their aspirations. A leader is to be produced from these processes I have talked about; through the building of organisations of civil society, and especially through political parties. Other organisations with clear-cut goals are also very important. In the course of the struggle people will die, some people will survive and we will produce the kind of leadership which will at least pursue the common aspirations that we have. I do not think there is any other way. Thank you.



**SESSION 3**



## SESSION 3

# Sectoral Leadership: Problems and Prospects

Chairman: *Mr. Allison Ayida*

### Chairman

You are welcome to this complex session. We have to deal with so many problems and prospects from eleven angles. There are eleven presentations and the way I understand the problem, I think something is missing and I will deal with that at the end, if we have time, that is leadership in the Civil Service or Bureaucracy. It is just as important as any. Again, I would have been much happier if we spoke of sectoral and sectional leadership. By sectional I mean, if you like, tribal leadership. It is very important, the problems and prospects, because unless the ethnic groups in this country can channel their obligations under the right leadership towards the national goal, we cannot make it. In some cases, states or groups of states represent together the interest of an ethnic group.

What is the leadership trying to do in the various states? This we will touch on if we have time but I am just to lay down the ground rules. I have been told that each presentation should last less than 15 minutes. I am told that this way we hope others can contribute from the floor, because most people who are here are leaders in their own right. Whatever is said will be challenged, and we need all the insights we can get.

In my five-minute introduction, I would like to say this is the first opportunity I have on commenting on one of the serious leaders that Nigeria has had. I had the privilege to serve under many distinguished ministers from Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh to Alhaji Shehu Shagari, but when I serve under Chief Awolowo, I must say, as a civil servant, I cannot go into what happened between us, but it was the first time I saw what administration and leadership at its best is about. (Applause).

I can assure you, gentlemen, there was no day I sent a file to Chief Awolowo that I didn't get it back. (Applause). He was in the office till

six o'clock everyday and the ground rule was that while he was in the office, official matters took precedence over everything else. If you sent a file to Chief Awolowo, in an hour or two you got it back clearly stating what actions you were to take and if he didn't agree with your submission, he was very polite. You still got the file back the same day and he would say, 'let us discuss'; maybe you had not considered A, B or C of the problem. You discussed, you reached an agreement and he would give you appropriate directives.

So, the Ministry of Finance was organised with that yardstick. The evidence shows that he produced results because in organising the finances for the civil war, the watchword was 'Discipline and Integrity' and Chief Awolowo displayed those qualities on such a scale that we really moved forward. I still regret it but I wish he had organised, or had the opportunity to organise this country for a peacetime economy especially when the oil money was gushing. When the oil money was gushing I was one of those who said we had more money than we had management capacity to cope with. There was too much money, but how do you get it to the right channel? We would never have faced that problem if Chief Awolowo had stayed with the government. If we have the time, I will come into why he left the government. I do not want, at this state, to pre-empt what people will say but I want to say that I would like to return to this subject. In my own right, if I have the time, I will tell you more about Chief Awolowo than Mrs. Dosumu knows (Applause).

It was a pleasure to have worked with him and I felt, given this opportunity, I must come here and pay my homage and respect and say a few more things about the man than the public knows. The problem was that even those who did not know him criticised him more for what people said rather than for something based on their knowledge. I tell you, one of the pleasures of working with Chief Awolowo was that you believed your day was made if you got him to smile and if you got him to smile, you knew that you had done your homework and he didn't hide it. He was a man of humour. The humour only came through when you had satisfied his basic needs for efficiency. If he must pay you a compliment, he would smile and laugh and you thought that he was not the man the public knew. He was very hard working.

I will now go on and invite the presenters to take the podium.

## The Judiciary

### The Hon. Justice Kayode Eso (Lead Speaker)

The topic — NIGERIA: IN SEARCH OF LEADERSHIP — set down for this Dialogue is intriguing. It connotes a serious indictment, to wit — either a lack of leadership or that whatever leadership there is, requires re-examination. This is sad in a way; especially if it is realised that after thirty-four years of self-governance, there is still a search for leadership. However, it is a healthy sign to engage in self-analysis.

The statesman in whose memory the Foundation was established was reputed for his irrevocability in his commitment to true leadership in all sectors; and in his uncompromising stance against ineptitude. For this Dialogue to be meaningful, therefore, participants would have to be frank in their self-analysis, and the authorities themselves receptive and tolerant. For it is only in such atmosphere that the truth could emerge. The country is in a state of malaise and doldrums exist on most of the fronts.

On the economic front, the signs do not indicate buoyancy. A country which used to give aid to others now has its currency so devalued that the Naira is hardly worth an American cent. The Gambian currency is worth ten times the Nigerian currency, and Gambia is a country that takes aid from Nigeria. Many manufacturing companies have folded up. One does not need to be an economist to know that foreign investors have no faith in non-democratic settings for their investments.

On the political front, the question which every patriot asks is: *Quo vadis?* While a faction gets into the warm embrace of the criminal law for announcing the formation of a political party, another faction would appear to be free to orchestrate formation of such parties with impunity. For at least so it seems. It is sad, that we should have in this country one law for the *Medes* and another for the *Persians*. If it is so, such never works. It has never worked, and it is not likely to work now.

There is a general malaise in our social environ. We now live with armed robbery, unparalleled corruption and ineptitude as a matter of course. Revelations of disappearance of funds do not seem to be pulsating the blood pressure where they should. Only very recently, the Okigbo Panel, set up by the Government itself, reported that a sum of 12.5 billion naira could not be accounted for. Reactions are still awaited. The charge should either be denied, or the culprits arrested.

It was John Donne who said in his *Devotions*,

"No man is an Island,  
entire of itself."

Unless we start to appreciate this, and give active effect thereto, our rating in the international field will continue to exist only as a fancy.

### *Quo Vadis?*

The answer to the question, *Quo vadis?*, has been the declaration that our problem demands only an African solution, whatever that may mean in international politics. But caveat! In the Middle East, the clamour, at a time, was for an "Arab solution". The Middle East has since entered into international solution, but after a fruitless war. Bosnia could not end with European solution. It is international. South Africa only succeeded with international solution. Nigeria is a member-state of the United Nations. She is not an island. An African solution without an international stamp needs serious re-defining; otherwise the sermon may merely be sanctimonious and platitudinous.

Our goals, I believe, are democracy and human rights, and the only problems are in the attainment of both. But both are complementary. If we attain them, all other things, including our economy, would fall into place. Democracy has international connotation. It means the same thing in both the Pacific and the Atlantic. The same meaning is ascribed to it in the United States of America, Russia, Japan, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria *et al.* It does not mean an Interim Government, which some people are known to advocate, nor an admixture of nominated and elected people, which some members of the Constitutional Conference seek to establish.

A nominated member has primarily got to serve the interest of his nominator. That is his constituency and that system of nomination, I submit, is insulting to the intelligence and the integrity of the electorate, and should have ended five decades ago when we did away with the nominated Legislative Council and opted for democracy. Nor does democracy mean a diarchy of military and civilians, an idea which even its leading protagonist, the respected statesman, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, has now jettisoned. It means, very simply, a government voted into power by the people at a secret ballot to rule the people and could be voted out of power, again, only by the free votes of the people also at a secret ballot. There is nothing like

"guided democracy". That, too, is insulting. A military democracy is meaningless, a contradiction in terms.

As for human rights, they predate organised society. They are neither a new morality nor a lay religion. (Mukhajin C.J., India). "(They are) requirements which every civilised State is expected to ensure to its citizens." Our military rulers, I do hope, will not deny that Nigeria is a civilised state. I had cause to say once in the Supreme Court of Nigeria:

(They are) not just mere rights. They are fundamental. They belong to the citizen. These rights have always existed even before orderliness prescribed rules for the manner they are to be sought.

They should never, therefore, be denied under any guise whatsoever. No gun has a right to usurp them as they were never attained by the gun but given by nature itself.

This takes me therefore to the search for leadership in the Judiciary. It is only through this Institution that the interpretation of all the aforementioned attributes must be sought and realised.

The search for leadership in the Judiciary must be conducted on two broad fronts:

- (a) leadership among the other organs of government, and
- (b) leadership of the system by its operators.

Both are equally important.

## **The Judiciary and other Organs of Government**

For the Judiciary to be effective, it must necessarily be assured leadership, or at least, equality within the comity of organs of governance. For this to be achieved, the Orders of the Judiciary have to be like Sir Henry Rider Haggard's "SHE" that must be obeyed. It is only in the obedience of its orders that the institution itself could be relevant. It is that obedience of its orders, especially by the other organs of government, that gives the institution life, existence and respect.

The judiciary can justify its existence only when it is permitted an unadulterated leadership in the realm of the Rule of Law and this would be only by an unquestioned obedience of its orders as permitted by the Constitution. There could be appeals against the orders. It is to safeguard judicial anarchy that the Constitution has provided a hierarchy of courts and has provided for checks and balances through the other two arms of government. When these two other arms are seized by the militia, as they have been for twenty-five

out of thirty-four years following our independence, there must be accepted rules of operating these checks and balances without throwing the Judiciary into contempt and ridicule, otherwise the country could be plunged into darkness. I said once in regard to the Judiciary, and I still maintain —

For the Judiciary, a powerful arm of government, to operate under the rule of law, full confidence, and this must be unadulterated, must exist in that Institution. It must indeed be demonstrably shown, especially if it is the other arms of government that are involved. In civil days both the Executive and the Legislature must show to the entire nation their demonstrable confidence in the Judiciary. The responsibility is greater during Military rule. The Military in coming to power is usually faced with the question as to whether to establish a rule of law or rule of force. While the latter could be justifiably a rule of terror, once the path of law is chosen, the mighty arm of government, the militia, which is an embodiment of legislature and executive must, in humility bow to the rule of law thus permitted to exist.

The rule of law knows no fear, it is never cowed down, it can only be silenced. But once it is not silenced by the only arm that can silence it, it must be accepted in full confidence to be able to justify its existence.

— *Garba v F.C.S.C* (1988) INWLR 468-470.

I respectfully recommend this dictum, which has the stamp of the Supreme Court of Nigeria to all Military Governments and their functionaries, in particular, the Attorneys-General all over the Federation and the Heads of Service throughout the country. They just must accept this as the Charter of the Rule of Law for their governance of this nation, if they mean well for the nation, during the period of their self-imposed stranglehold on the nation. It is the only path for not strangulating the nation.

If however it is not the intention of the authorities that the Rule of Law should exist, they should be bold enough to abolish the judiciary and stop parrying the issue by the so-called ouster-of-jurisdiction clauses in legislation without which even these clauses are draconian enough, or defending the indefensible by hairy-fairy, unacceptable platitudes and incorrect legal data supposedly collected all over the free world. Ordinary commonsense should dictate an answer to the question: Why save the Judiciary only to deprive it of its only weapon — the interpretative jurisdiction?

## Government and the Rule of Law

Comparisons, it is wrongly said, are odious. They are not. They provide revelations. In the Second Republic, the President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, though toppled by the Military for failure to do well for their dear countrymen, had, before he was so toppled, stated what should be the attitude of the Executive to the Judiciary and the Rule of Law. He said, at a dinner in honour of the Judiciary Consultative Committee:

All of us — the three arms of government — have just over two years experience in the Presidential system of Government and in the operation of our new Constitution. During these two years, each arm has undergone some critical tests in the process of operating our new Constitution.

From records, the Executive arm has been taken to court a number of times. The Legislative arm has similarly been dragged to court. In each case Your Lordships gave your verdict. I am glad to say before you that we, on whom those verdicts have been passed, have always respected your pronouncements. We have by so doing, demonstrated to you, to our people and to the whole world, not only our respect for, but also our commitment to, the Rule of Law. We have shown our determination to live by it. It is on record that even where we had cause to feel dissatisfied, we made sure that, in exercising our right of appeal, we strictly adhered to the rules and procedures as laid down by law. We have by our actions affirmed our commitment to the principle of separation of powers, particularly the independence of the Judiciary, which is central to our democratic system of Government.

Indeed, there are people who regard those citizens of our country who challenge the constitutionality of certain actions of Government as bad citizens who are obstructing the progress of the nation. I want to assure you that I do not hold or share this view. On the contrary, I believe that by freely exercising their fundamental right to take matters to court for constitutional interpretation, such people are helping us to consolidate the Constitution. In every case where the Supreme Court is called upon to give an interpretation on one provision or other in the Constitution it is creating history and helping posterity because, should similar disputes arise at any time in future, there will be legal precedents to cite. This is one of the reasons why I have never nursed a grudge against, nor quarrelled with anyone for going to court to seek constitutional interpretation of any of our actions. I know of course that there may be a few whose motive for taking Governments to court is far from genuine. Their desire

may be to obstruct or embarrass or ridicule the Government. I am never disheartened, not even by such ill-wishers of this country. My reason is simply because I have the greatest respect, trust and confidence in our judiciary, and respect for the rights of all Nigerians under the Constitution.

I believe members of our judiciary are mature and are worthy of this respect. I believe they can and do always pass judgements without fear or favour. This I regard as one of the great blessings showered by God on our country. We are extremely lucky in being able to evolve, over the 20 years of our independence, a judiciary that is truly independent, a judiciary that is honest and a judiciary that has set standards for the rest of Africa to follow. Indeed ours is comparable to the best in the world. So if I say I am proud of Nigeria's judiciary I believe I am saying aloud the mind of the people of the country. One only needs to travel to some other parts of the developing world to be so convinced. Our respect for the integrity and impartiality of Nigeria's judiciary must therefore be maintained."

— Fatayi-Williams: *Faces, Cases & Places*.

This was thirteen years ago! The military rulers of Nigeria should say today, that this declaration, rather than the impotence and disgrace to which the judiciary has been subjected, is the norm. After all, the judiciary is the last hope of the dear countrymen! Provisions of the Constitution and even the Decrees which are made by the Military Government themselves, cannot be tested in an atmosphere of ouster-of-jurisdiction clauses. The Supreme Court of Nigeria has repeated this, times without number. The Law Reports are replete with dicta in this direction.

The sub-stratum of a court, said the Supreme Court, "is no doubt jurisdiction. Without it the 'labourers therein, that is, both litigants and counsel on the one hand, and the Judge on the other hand, labour in vain.

If it is the intention of our military rulers to make laws which they alone, and not the courts, should interpret, let them say so. If they need a precedent for such an action, I could refer them to Lewis Carroll's *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* —

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| Humpty Dumpty<br>(in a rather scornful<br>tone) | : | When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean, — neither more nor less'. |
| Alice   | : | The question is whether you can make words mean so many different things'.           |

Humpty Dumpty : The question is, which is to be master — that is all'.

Whatever may be said of the man, Shehu Shagari, his statement, *supra*, is a great espousal of the doctrine of Separation of Powers. It is acceptable internationally. It is worthy of emulation by successive governments, civil or military.

Under the military governments which immediately followed the Second Republic, the orders of the Judiciary were obeyed, following severe castigations by the Courts! Why not now?

In *Governor of Lagos v. Odumegwu Ojukwu*, the Supreme Court as per Eso J.S.C. warned the Lagos State Military Government about its actions which tantamounted to executive lawlessness. The Court said:

The powers granted by the Constitution to these organs by S.4 (Legislative powers), S.5 (Executive powers) and S.6 (Judicial powers) are classified under an omnibus umbrella known under Part II to the Constitution as "Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria." The organs wield those powers and one must never exist in sabotage of the other or else there is chaos. Indeed there will be no federal government. I think, for one organ, and more especially the Executive, which holds all the physical powers, to put up itself in sabotage or deliberate contempt of the other is to stage an executive subversion of the Constitution it is to uphold. Executive lawlessness tantamounts to a deliberate violation of the Constitution. When the Executive is the Military Government which blends both the Executive and Legislative together and which permits the Judiciary to co-exist with it in the administration of the country, then it is more serious than imagined.

... The essence of rule of law is that it should never operate under the rule of force or fear. To use force to effect an act and while under the marshal of that force, seek the court's equity, is an attempt to infuse timidity into court and operate a sabotage of the cherished rule of law. It must never be.

The Lagos State Military Governor very quickly obeyed the order of the Court and submitted himself to the Rule of Law. The Attorney-General, Mrs. Harriat Balogun complied with the order immediately and without any complaint. And that is what anybody who is a lawyer should do!

In *Eleso v. Government of Ogun State*, the Supreme Court warned the Governor of Ogun State again as per Eso J.S.C.:

In exercise of his powers as a matter of order, peace and good government the Governor must have recourse to law. The

Governor is not there to seize the power of other functionaries nor is he there to rule in dictatorship in disregard of the established laws of the land. That would not bring order, nor peace nor good government.

Both the Military Governor and the Attorney-General of Ogun State complied with the order of the Court.

But in 1994, it is as sombre, as it is alarming, to note a serious setback in the Rule of Law, which setback is epitomised in astonishing pronouncements credited to leading functionaries of the present government. We now have not only executive lawlessness, we also have administrative lawlessness to the bargain. By their pronouncements these functionaries are turning lovers of the Rule of Law all over the world to view the military governments, which these functionaries believe they must be pleasing by their utterances, to Thomas Browns' hated *Dr. Fell*:

I do not love you, Dr. Fell. But why I cannot tell: But this I know full well; I do not love you, Dr. Fell.

We must be able to tell the common man why he does not love "Dr. Fell". We must chart out what must be done by "Dr. Fell" to redeem himself from the torrid hate.

Military governments in Nigeria, especially the present one, have been loudest in blaming the judiciary for not pursuing the path of the Rule of Law. Indeed, the present military government took a step in the right direction by setting up a panel to look into and recommend means of re-organising the institution. In the process of setting up the panel, the government severely castigated the judiciary for its part in aborting the transition into the Third Republic. Indeed, the Head of State himself has most recently promised an implementation of the report of this panel, which implementation, it is respectfully submitted, should reinstate the judiciary into full glory.

One would have therefore expected government functionaries to assist their government to promote, rather than to exterminate, before the implementation, whatever respect is left with the institution. One would have hoped that the government itself would be in the forefront in obeying court orders and not present a posture to the international community of holding the judiciary, which it intends to re-organise, to degradation, contempt and ridicule by a flagrant disobedience of its orders. For recent happenings could only dampen hope in the common man.

Disobedience of court orders by the government has now become the order of the day. The Court of Appeal ruled that passports are the

inalienable rights of the citizen and ordered seized passports to be returned to owners. Without appealing against the order (incidentally, an appeal has at last been filed and the matter is now sub-judice) and without, at that time obtaining a stay of execution, the order of the Court of Appeal was treated with total contempt and arrogance. What would, at the time, have been the difference between that and the executive lawlessness in Ojukwu's case?

The pronouncements of leading functionaries of the government have also given cause for grave concern. A foremost administrative officer in the government has been credited with giving definitions of "treason and treasonable felony" in a matter which is sub-judice. He was alleged to have pontificated on what the law is, and purported to have traced the legal history to the colonial days.

In those days, and even after those days, if he had been well advised on legal history, such a behaviour by the functionary was visited with imprisonment until a purge of contempt by the contemptnor. He would have learned further that in the days of the Star Chamber, it was worse. It was *pein et forte* for such administrative lapses. In countries which practise the Rule of Law, the Attorney-General of that country would have waded in and filed an action for criminal contempt in such action. Under the Rule of Law, there is no big man, there is no small man. There is no scapegoat. There is no sacred cow.

But of graver concern, however, is the pronouncement credited to the honourable Attorney-General himself. He was reported to have advocated disobedience of the orders of the courts where the courts have no jurisdiction. That is contrary to the decisions of the Supreme Court which laid down the principle that the decision of a court of competent jurisdiction is valid until it is lawfully set aside.

The Attorney-General is not such a lawful authority! He has no right to over-rule the Supreme Court. Otherwise, the Attorney-General, the military government *qua* its Attorney-General would be the judge of what is peculiarly within the interpretative jurisdiction of the courts! Such a situation is as alarming as it is novel! I am not aware of a similar statement by an Attorney General in any country that believes in the Rule of Law. There is no known record of such pronouncement in any common law country, or any country practising the Code Napoleon or Roman/Dutch law. It is preposterous as it is sacrilegious for such utterance to emanate from a lawyer, worse still from an Attorney General. Surely, that could never qualify him as ministering unto justice!

All over the free world, the judiciary is the *only* institution empowered to interpret the law. It has jurisdiction to determine whether it has jurisdiction in a case or not. And when a judge so decides, only a higher court or a legislation could validly set that decision aside. No other organ, however powerful, should arrogate this power unto itself. The only remedy left with anyone who is dissatisfied, including the honourable Attorney-General, is to utilise the constitutional avenue for appeal. It is for this reason that there is a hierarchy of courts.

### Separation of Powers: Door to Independence of the Judiciary

The doctrine of separation of powers has been eloquently articulated in our various Constitutions, right from 1960 to 1979 and to 1989. It was fostered by the philosopher, Aristotle. Later, it was well articulated by Montesquieu and subsequently, it was copied into most Constitutions in the free world, including ours. Therein is a dispersal of powers of government among three coordinate branches, namely, the Executive; the Legislative and the Judiciary.

These three branches are, under the Constitution, separate and distinct from one another. The wisdom in the separation is not the separation *per se*. It is in the powers of one branch being delicately balanced by the powers of the other two, not subjugated or ridiculed by those others. If the legislature is not made by the Constitution to be subservient to the executive, why should the judicature, which is also not rendered so, remain subservient to the executive by any official, however highly placed? There is certainly no constitutional mandate for such subservience. Shehu Shagari appreciated this. The Chief Justice himself has cried out! Others should heed the bold hand-writing on the wall.

Governments controlled by the military or by civilians, but especially by the military, have often paid lip-service to the judicial branch as that separate entity, that equal partner established by the Constitution in governance and progress. But the acceptance has to be real, for it to be meaningful and fruitful. For it is the acceptance that constitutes the distinguishing badge of the presidential system which we have been operating since 1979, which the 1989 Constitution sanctions, and which the military government seems to wish to preserve and which is what is emerging from the Constitutional Conference. To be able to lead, the judiciary must be independent.

## Judicial Leadership

The leadership required of the judiciary is however not a one-way traffic. Sometimes, there are internal deficiencies that militate against leadership. They are ignorance, incompetence, ineptitude and corruption. If these exist in the judiciary, leadership is jeopardised. To attain leadership as desired, the judge himself must be intellectually and morally equipped to participate in establishing, maintaining and enforcing that independence by observing the highest standards of conduct and integrity. The court system requires the confidence of the people in the judicial process. Once that confidence is destroyed, it is good bye to the system. It is farewell to justice. It is welcome to anarchy. The Bench and the Bar, partners in leadership, must bear this in mind always, and thus to refrain from acts and omissions which might undermine and erode public confidence in the administration of justice in our courts.

The judge must be known to be just and transparently so. To be effective, his impartiality must be regarded as one unto dismissal and unto death. He must be seen as exception to everything ill. The Romans regarded him as an *exceptio* to all *exceptiones*. He must, before appointment, be regarded as a person of great learning, unimpeachable character and assured moral fibre. He is to live up to his oath — affection to no one, ill will to no one. After appointment, he has a duty to stand clear of all odium. He must give leadership by example.

The judge should be above all political parties; curry no government favour and be unbiased in favour or against any ethnic or religious group. Now, it is important to note that the character of every judge is public property. His public life cannot be separated from his private life, and every judge should therefore, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion.

## Summary

The leadership of the judiciary has thus two ramifications: first, the objective and external pressures; and secondly, the subjective and internal shortcomings of the judge. From the objective angle, judicial independence which assures leadership will require the removal of all pressures — executive, political, religious, ethnic, big business and money bags, and also mob hysteria. From the subjective angle, judicial independence means that when it comes to decision taking, the judge

should be completely independent with nothing to influence him or control him except God and conscience.

The solution to the issue of leadership in the judiciary therefore is, simply: uninhibited democracy which will breed unadulterated rule of law, the harbinger of human rights.

## Labour

### Dr. Lasisi Osunde: (Lead Speaker)

It is acknowledged by virtually all shades of opinion that our dear country is blessed with a tremendous amount of natural and human resources. Therefore, if the overwhelming majority of the citizenry are unable to benefit from these huge resources, through the establishment of functional essential social services, then something fundamental is wrong.

In the search for what went wrong, empirical evidence, especially in the last decade and half, points to the inevitability of the leadership factor as a crucial starting point in any discourse intended to address our national crisis. Evidence which is everywhere manifest indicates that in the period under reference, our country's managers abandoned all pretensions to public probity. Public office was no longer seen as an avenue to serve the rest of the society. It became a means to openly steal public money. Projects are conceived not to leave one's mark as an achiever but on the basis of how much "kickback" will be accruable to the person who originates the contract. Huge contracts are given to sons, daughters and relations irrespective of their professional competence without any fear as to the consequences on public morality or code of conduct.

Huge national monuments built at great expense of the tax payers are auctioned out to family members of powerful government bureaucrats, their friends and cronies. Education, the surest path to any nation's greatness, has been destroyed from the primary to tertiary institutions. Medical care, housing, potable water etc. are similarly no longer accessible to the vast majority of the people.

The naira, which is the symbol of our national pride, has been dishonoured, battered and made worthless, largely because we have ruling elites who feel that speculating on foreign exchange stolen from the people is better and easier than investment as a way of generating wealth.

Definitely, a leadership such as we have had in the country that have condoned all these, is a sick leadership, and it may be wise to

diagnose the illness and cure it. However, in acute cases such as ours, it might prove useful to isolate the symptoms and treat them, preparatory to final cure. The major symptoms of our decay as a nation is the quality of leadership. The leadership that we have is a function of our social and productive relations as organised. With a dependent crude capitalist system, all that we have seen of our national leadership is certainly possible. It is possible to have a more disciplined neo-colonial dependent capitalist leadership (as was the case in the First Republic, and earlier parts of military rule), but ultimately, it could degenerate to the type of leadership we now have that makes no pretension to any accountability.

My presentation is centred on the struggles of the labour movement from independence, to have an accountable leadership, and the ups and downs of that process, resulting in the on-going painful process of complete capitulation to the state.

### **Labour and the Military: The On-Going Experience**

Nigerian working class and trade union movement have had to face and are still facing a whole range of retrogressive acts by the military government which are, both in fact and purpose, detrimental to real development of trade unionism. Nothing illustrates this better than the NUPENG, PENGASSAN and NLC Dissolution of Executive Councils Decrees 9 and 10 of 1994. Today, that the labour movement can proudly acclaim not fewer than three million members organised into trade unions (which makes the Nigerian trade unions amongst the numerically most powerful in the whole of Africa) is due to their persistence and courage. Before and after the country's political independence, the workers and their leaders had to face bullets and go to prison in the cause of trade unionism. If an examination is made of the development in the colonial and post-colonial period in the country, it will be noticed that a particular problem the workers have had to face has been the need to maintain trade union unity and the constraints necessity to repair and strengthen that unity in the ranks of the workers whenever a breach has been made in it.

### **Trade Unionism in the Transport Sector**

The economic crisis of the 1930s marked the beginning of the mass movement of workers of Nigeria. The catastrophic effect of the crisis on the Nigerian workers led to the many spirited actions of protest, outstanding amongst which was the Railway strike which, starting in

Lagos, spread rapidly throughout the entire country, leading to the formation in 1932 of the Railway Workers' Union.

In 1933 the Nigerian Railway African Staff Union founded in 1919 was revived under a new name, Nigerian Railway African Staff Union; in later years, it changed its name to Association of Nigerian Railway Civil Servants. By its constitution, all staff of the Nigerian Railway from whatever department were eligible for membership. Prominent among the early leaders were T. Elias and S.O. Adebó (who acted individually as Secretary). They did a lot to improve the conditions of workers.

This period also witnessed the formation of the first employers' organisation, Nigerian Motor Transport Union in 1934 under the leadership of one of the most resourceful fighters for human rights, Mr. Samuel Akinsanya (who later became Oba Odemo of Isara in Ogun State). The Union represented motor transport owners, principally in southern Nigeria and did much towards the improvement of the standard of road transport in the country. Mr. Obafemi Awolowo (later Chief and a great political figure and fighter for human rights and social welfare) subsequently became the Union's Assistant General Secretary and the Secretary at its Ibadan branch.

In the situation which developed, confrontation between trade unions and government became inevitable amidst the growing uneasiness among the working class. The increase in licence fees for motor lorries led to the transporters' strike of January 1937 in which Messrs. Obafemi Awolowo and Samuel Akinsanya played a leading role. Although broken by police action, the strike achieved its purpose, for the increase was withdrawn the following year.

### Comrade Michael Imoudu's Campaign for COLA

Following this trend, the labour movement was characterised mainly by the development of trade unions in the transport industry. In October 1939, a conference of all trade unions in the Railway was held to discuss wage and conditions of employment. This move represented an evidence of improved organisation and consolidation of labour unions within the Nigeria Railway, an indication of their growing awareness and strength. This conference gave birth to the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (Federated) under the leadership of Michael Imoudu as President and Simeon Adebó as Secretary. It laid the basis for a claim to be put later to the Railway management and the government on the cost of living allowance.

Following this, the trade union movement made further progress, and by 1942 there were 80 registered trade unions with a membership

of 26,000. It was in that year that Michael Imoudu, the then President of the Railway Workers' Union led a great campaign for a Cost of Living Allowance (C.O.L.A.).

Imoudu's banishment failed to deter the movement. By 1945, there were 103 trade unions with 30,321 members and a Trade Union Congress (TUC) embracing all trade unions except the Federation of Government Employees and the Nigerian Union of Teachers. The Trade Union Congress had been established with the assent of the government labour department, which had hopes of keeping the TUC under its control and of persuading it to follow a policy of subservience to the government and collaboration with the employers.

Nigerian workers however had other ideas, and were to ensure that TUC functioned as an instrument of working-class struggle, rather than of collaboration with the employers and the government. As a result of the workers' efforts, the Nigerian TUC called a general strike in 1945 which lasted forty-four days and paralysed the country. The strike ended in victory for the workers, and the trade unions continued to grow.

At the end of 1948, however, divisions were fostered inside the TUC, and a new centre was established, the Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL). Taking advantage of this disunity, the authorities then turned to the use of direct method of repression. On November 18 1949, when coal miners were on strike at Enugu coal field for higher pay, twenty-one of them were shot down in cold blood by police and fifty were wounded. This massacre, far from cowing the workers, led to widespread protests throughout the country; these had the backing of wide sections of peasants, shopkeepers, intellectuals and others.

In the face of this nation-wide storm of protest, the government was compelled to call off its tactics of repression, and once more the trade unions began to grow. By 1950, there were 149 unions with a membership of 125,000 of which 74,000 were in the five biggest unions. The Nigerian National Federation of Labour was able to establish friendly relations with the union from which it had hitherto been isolated and in May 1950, a united Nigeria Labour Congress was formed.

This was a high point in Nigerian trade union movement, and in August 1950, the powerful United African Company Union (UACU) organised a successful strike, resulting in the winning of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent Cost of Living Allowance. Apart from its economic success, this strike also played an important role in deepening the hatred of the Nigerian workers and people against British imperialist rule, of which the UAC was such an outstanding symbol.

At this point, there arose a split in the Nigerian labour movement as a consequence of the split in the international labour movement — the break away from the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU) of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU) in 1949. Meanwhile, important developments were taking place on the political front.

### **Quest for a United Front and Campaign for Better Conditions of Service**

In 1953, a Constitutional Conference was held in London with representatives from Nigeria and the British Government, who were empowered to draw up a Constitution for Nigeria. The decision of this Conference, in August 1953, marked a certain development in the strength of the political parties, who were able to win some political concessions from the British rulers. The trade unions then felt that the introduction of the new Constitution was a challenge to them to put their homes in order. Thus an inaugural conference was held in August 1953 to set up a new trade union centre.

Militant elements, who had given leadership in former trade union struggle up to 1950, won considerable influence in the leadership of this centre, the All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation (ANTUF). At first the government refused to recognise the new organisation, and at its second conference in 1954, tried to get more moderate elements into the leadership. But it failed, and in fact the militant elements in the leadership were strengthened. Thus the ANTUF was so strong and well established that the government was at last compelled to give it official recognition.

By 1956, ANTUF, with forty-five registered trade unions totalling 181,000 members embraced the overwhelming majority of the organised workers of Nigeria. Only six trade unions including the National Union of Teachers, the Association of Local Government Employees, and a few smaller unions, remained outside this important trade union centre. The ANTUF, by decision of its second annual conference, affiliated neither to the WFTU nor the ICFTU.

During 1955 and 1956, ANTUF faced considerable problems, and led a number of successful struggles. The third Annual Congress of ANTUF was held from November 25th to 27th, 1955, and was attended by 306 delegates. The spirit of the Congress was indicated from the very first, in the presidential speech of Michael Imoudu. "We workers, as members of a class are one" he declared, "and it is in unity that our strength lies".

The report of the General Secretary showed how the efforts of the trade unions in the past year had already scored successes, as in the campaign for better and cheaper housing. Pressure by the unions had also resulted in the enacting of Factory Ordinance, and the winning of wage increases.

The General Secretary, Gogo Chu Nzeribe, drew attention in his report to the question of trade unions and democratic rights stressing that "conditions appear to be getting worse" and pointing out that "up till this moment we still cannot hold our trade union meetings without permit from the police". He further pointed out that many employers "continue to resist unionism in their establishments and try to dictate to the union how it must organise, who are to be its officers" and so on. Mentioning by name, in this respect, such well-known British monopoly firms as United African Company, Barclays Bank, John Holts and Elder Dempster, he went on to criticise the failure of the Labour Ministry to deal with these conditions which he characterised as "a direct violation of Conventions 87 and 98 of the ILO, which had been ratified by the United Kingdom Government on behalf of her colonies including Nigeria."

With regard to the mines which had been the scene of a big strike just prior to the Congress, delegates went on record in support of the miners, pressed for steps to be taken to secure greater unity and possibly final amalgamation of the mine workers' union into one single union. The Congress also strongly re-affirmed its stand in favour of independence for Nigeria.

Wages was one of the dominant concerns of the delegates. Congress ratified the figure of 9s. (nine shillings) per day as the minimum wage for a general labourer and decided to launch a fight for this demand, as well as for children's allowances for those in the lower wage groups.

In ending this report to Congress the General Secretary declared:

This Congress is a turning point in the life of our movement. From the first to this third Congress, we have merely tried to build and consolidate. From a total membership of a mere 53,000 at the inaugural meeting in 1953, we have now reached the 181,000 mark out of a total organised labour force of about 200,000".

In the period immediately preceding the Congress, and in the months that followed, Nigeria was the scene of some of the biggest wage movements and strike action in the entire history of the country's labour movement. Outstanding amongst these actions was the strike of tin and columbite miners who stayed out for eighteen

days during November 1955, in support of their demands. With low wages and in the face of the rising cost of living, through their two unions, the Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria African Workers' Union and the Nigeria African Mine Workers' Union demanded increases in wage rates ranging from 25 to 40 per cent for the various grades, annual wage increments, and production bonuses for columbite workers.

After a breakdown in negotiations owing to the resistance of the employers, the miners' union gave the necessary twenty-one days strike notice. Neither the employers nor the government thought that the miners would strike. But when the twenty-one days were up, the strike was almost solid. Police were sent into the mining areas and many arrests were made, often merely on the requests of the European mine management or because of the calling of a trade union meeting. Solidarity from other sections of workers was immediately forthcoming, and there were, in fact, preparations for sympathy strikes if the struggle had continued any longer. Other sections of the population, too, such as traders and farmers, set up ad-hoc bodies to collect food for the strikers, to arrange credit, and to organise other forms of resistance.

A highlight of the strike was the 22-mile march of 10,000 miners from Bukuru to Jos to protest against police brutality, and to win support from the population. This was the first time there had ever been a mass procession of workers with banners in a rural area. On their banners were such slogans as "Away with iron-fisted employers", "Mineried slave labour must end", "Strike for food, shelter and clothing".

"Never in the history of the Plateau mine field had there been such an organised strike as this..." declared C. Okei-Achamba, Secretary General of the Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria African Workers' Union. The unions called off the strike after eighteen days on the basis of a promise by the employers to give an increase of 25 per cent, backdated to October 1954, and to victimise none of the strikers. Despite this promise, the two unions had difficulties in their negotiations with the employers following the strike and, in fact, negotiations broke down again. Their dissatisfaction with these protracted negotiations was so great that the demand for the nationalisation of the mines became more pronounced than ever. It was against the background of the miners strike that the ANTUP Annual Congress was held.

Inspired by the miners' struggle, and on the basis of wages policy adopted by the delegates, workers in a whole range of industries

engaged in battles for higher wages for several months, resulting in the winning of wage increases, ranging from 20 to nearly 100 per cent in some cases. For example, minimum wages for general labourers in Lagos were raised from 2s.7d (two shillings seven pence) to 4s.8d (four shillings eight pence) and even greater increases were gained in other cases. Later, under the Handbury Arbitration Award, November 1955, they were raised to 5s (five shillings).

Strikes, sit-downs, stoppages, go-slows, demonstrations and other forms of action involved Post and Telegraph Workers, Railwaymen, Port Workers, Marine Staff, Civil and Local Government Employees. A significant strike was that of January 1956, when Building workers stopped work for ten days in support of their demand of 7s.6d (seven shillings six pence) per day for artisans and the payment of the Handbury Arbitration Award to general labourers as from October 1954. Largely directed against the big British monopoly firms such as Richard Costain, Babcox and Wilcox, Johnson and Phillips and Bush Electric, the strike was successful and the workers' demands were conceded, almost 100 per cent.

### Setbacks to Labour Unity

But the Nigerian Trade Unions were not yet out of the woods. Following the holding of an African Trade Union Conference under the auspices of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU) in January 1957 and the visit of American Federation of Labour leaders to West Africa, fresh attempts were made to spread disunity in the ranks of the ANTUF. A "red scare" campaign was conducted against a section of the leadership, and a number of leaders left the parent body and set up a small breakaway organisation.

The workers, however, were not prepared to accept such a division, and even beyond the ranks of the working class movement itself, as shown by editorial articles of the *West African Pilot*, there was serious concern over the events that had taken place and a strong desire to re-establish full trade union unity, with one trade union centre for the whole organised movement. After many months of discussions, campaigns and negotiations, the new centre was at last established at Enugu in March 1959, with the veteran trade union leader, Michael Imoudu, President of the former ANTUF, as the President of the new body, the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN).

Throughout 1959 and 1960 attempts were made to break the unity created around the new Trade Union Congress of Nigeria and, as on previous occasions, the "red bogie" was the main weapon used in this

disruptive game. Feeling that this alone was insufficient to bring about confusion and chaos in the trade union, some elements, backed from outside, swung the TUCN into the ICFTU fold, although it had been previously decided at the Enugu inaugural Conference that, in the interest of unity, the Trade Union Congress should have no affiliation with any international trade union body. But unfortunately, the leadership of the rump TUCN affiliated the organisation of ICFTU.

These activities resulted in the setting up at Lagos on April 21, 1960 of a new body, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) and with affiliations from most of the unions. The new NTUC had endeavoured to champion the interest of the Nigerian working class and, in the interest of trade union unity, had followed the policy adopted by the previous organisation at Enugu of remaining organisationally free from any connection with either the WFTU or the ICFTU.

Nigerian trade unionists had still not fulfilled their life-long aim of establishing a single, united trade union for the country before the attainment of independence.

### Central Trade Unions and International Affiliations

In 1962 a new effort was made by a committee of All Nigeria People's Conference earlier held in 1961 to unite the Nigeria Trade Union Congress (NTUC) and the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN). Thus the inaugural conference of United Labour Congress was held at the Trenchard Hall of what was then known as the University College, Ibadan from May 3-5, 1962.

The decision to affiliate ULC to ICFTU caused an immediate split of the new Congress. While the United Labour Congress headed by Mr. H.P. Adebola was affiliated to ICFTU, the Independent United Labour Congress (IULC) headed by Michael Imoudu opted for maintenance of fraternal relationship with International Trade Union Organisations.

Because of the doctrinal orientation of various conferences, Pan-African Trade Unions advocated some form of progressive trade unionism (trade unions united throughout Africa but also at national levels) and principle of independent, free and committed trade unionism. The position was that Pan-Africanism was incompatible with membership of any non-African international trade union organisation and therefore, African trade union groups were urged to dis-affiliate from such bodies, including the International Confederation

of Free Trade Union (ICFTU), the International Federation of Christian Trade Union (IFCTU), now World Confederation of Labour (WCL), or the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU).

In 1963, Anunobi broke away from IULC and founded the Nigerian Workers' Council (NWC), an affiliate of International Federation of Christian Trade Union. A few months later, there was a change of leadership in the IULC; Wahab Goodluck became President and S.U. Bassey, the General Secretary. The Executive Committee changed the name of IULC to Nigeria Trade Union Congress.

Early in 1964, representatives of twenty-one uncommitted registered trade unions came together and formed the Labour Unity Front (LUF). A.A. Ishola was elected President and Gogo Chu Nzeribe General Secretary. The Front was originally organised as a peace and goodwill committee of uncommitted trade unions to unite all the labour centres. From its inception, the Front directed its efforts towards the achievement of its objective. Because of the strategic position of the unions constituting the Front, the Federal Government accorded it recognition as a central body in 1966.

In August 1973, the Front merged with NTUC and ULC(R) to form the Nigeria Trade Union Federation (NTUF). But the new federation rejected international affiliation, and notified ICFTU, WFTU and WCL accordingly and called on them to deal with it purely on fraternal basis. The Federal Government refused to accord recognition to NTUF because ULC and NWC remained outside it. Application for registration was refused by the Registrar of Trade Unions.

Before the ultimate unity of the Nigerian Trade Union movement was achieved with the establishment of the present Nigeria Labour Congress in 1978, Government instituted the Justice Duro Adebisi Tribunal of Inquiry into the activities of the Trade Unions in 1976. The immediate result of this was that the over nine hundred House Unions were restructured into forty-two Industrial Unions with the NLC as the umbrella Trade Union body.

The activities of foreign trade union organisations came in for very close scrutiny by the panel of inquiry. The panel found that they played a very unhelpful role in their quest to keep Nigerian workers divided and at their beck and calls. To achieve this objective, they kept some labour leaders on their payroll. The State Department funded African American Labour Centre (AALC) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) were particularly guilty of this meddlesome role in Nigeria and other African countries. These factors constituted the background to the subsequent decision of the Nigeria Labour Congress at its inception in 1978 not to affiliate to any

foreign trade unions outside the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), and the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

### **Nigeria Labour: In Search of Leadership**

From independence in 1960, until the formation in 1978 of the present Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), the issue of disbursement of aid fund, the complete reliance of Trade Unions on foreign financial assistance, the open and unabashed interference by foreign interests in the activities of trade unions, the use of trade unions as an anti-red front, and the blindness of some trade union leaders to the dangers of these destabilising forces to the future of Congress and the labour movement, led to the development of factions opposed to foreign organisations and dependence on foreign financial assistance. In fact, the 1977 institution of automatic check-off dues collection in the Nigerian Trade Union movement was largely aimed at making the trade unions financially solvent, so as to stop their dependence on foreign trade union organisations for funding.

At the continental level, the principle of the independence of African Trade Unions was entrenched in the OATUU Constitution. Article 8 of that Constitution prohibits affiliation to any other extra continental body as a pre-condition for rights of membership. The vanguard role OATUU had played in championing the cause of African workers, led to the granting to it of an observer, consultative status at the International Labour Conference in Geneva, making it the only regional trade union to be so honoured.

For the last eight years, our own Comrade Hassan Sunmonu has been at the helm of affairs of the OATUU Secretariat in Accra, as Secretary General.

In the last couple of years, the spectre of foreign interference in trade union movement is back as the ICFTU has been making frantic efforts to get the NLC to affiliate to it. This move is being pushed on by opportunistic trade union leaders, who feel that the current international situation is sufficient reason for them to return to the old practice of hawking the labour movement to the highest bidder. We appear to have returned full circle to the era of opportunism.

### **Trade Union Leadership Today**

Outside the dubious politics of affiliation, the rot within the leadership of the labour movement as presently constituted is deep rooted. The unprincipled capitulation of the labour movement we have just

witnessed had its origin in the infiltration of fifth columnists and government agents into the ranks of labour years back. When these forces took strategic control of the leadership of Congress, the process of dismantling of the structures of resistance earlier painstakingly erected began in earnest. A policy of distancing the Congress and the trade union movement in general from its base was begun. The rank and file of workers were systematically isolated resulting in the total absence of accountability to the membership on what the leadership was doing.

A particularly accurate analysis of the situation was done by a group which styled itself as "Alliance of Progressive Trade Unionists", in a recent leaflet entitled "The on-going crisis in the labour movement and the way forward". In it, they asserted that the current decay in the labour movement "was a process masterminded and perpetrated by a group of labour leaders some of who professed commitment to the workers' cause through pretentious leftist sloganeering, while secretly stabbing the workers in the back, in exchange for a mess of government porridge. It has since grown into an institutionalised and entrenched culture threatening to turn the whole labour movement into a government parastatal for use against workers rather than a platform for unremitting struggle for improving the welfare of workers and their total emancipation from oppression and exploitation".

The authors further maintained, rightly in my view, that not only did this labour leadership become a stumbling block to the workers interest within the period, it ensured that even the gains earlier made by the trade union movement in the fight against privatisation, increases in prices of petroleum products, and in principled alliances with other patriotic organisations like the students and academic bodies, were broken.

## Conclusion

Just as the country is faced with the search for an authentic and patriotic leadership today as perhaps the greatest single requirement to move it forward from the present quagmire we find ourselves in, so is the labour movement. As we enter the 21st century, with a changing working environment, and increased unemployment occasioned by the vicious circle of economic mismanagement and underdevelopment, the labour movement is in a dire need of genuine and honest leadership; a leadership that will commit itself to squarely addressing the many problems of the membership in our current era,

rather than the self-serving and corrupt one that currently bestrides the movement.

Between 1978 and 1988, there was at least a genuine effort at the apex level to represent the membership fairly well and to fight for the preservation of fair wages and working conditions. From 1988 to the present, the labour movement lost respect and prestige both from its members and from the general public because of the open collaborative role with government of key elements within the leadership.

We will not need to look far for key figures to emulate should we decide to retrace our steps and go back to the fighting unions of old. Despite the opportunism that had dodged the movement, some of the most eminent Nigerians that had left indelible footprints in our national history were from the Trade Union movement. We cite a few examples in Chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of Nigeria's most outstanding statesmen; Simeon Adebó, an accomplished technocrat and Chief Michael Imoudu, Labour Leader No. 1. Others who have given exemplary leadership include S.U. Bassey, Comrade Wahab Goodluck, Rev. Ransome Kuti of the Nigeria Union of Teachers fame, to mention a few.

Whether at the level of leadership for labour or the entire country, a primary requirement of any emergent leadership is that it must command the loyalty of Nigeria (and Nigerian Trade Unionists in the case of Labour).

## The Press

### Dr. Olatunji Dare (Lead Speaker)

Journalism was one of the major vehicles through which the anti-colonial struggle in Nigeria was conducted. Many of the major figures in this struggle — Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ernest Ikoli, Obafemi Awolowo, Anthony Enahoro, Dutse Mohammed Ali and Mokwugo Okoye, to name only a few — were newspaper publishers or commentators/editors or both. They were professional or vocational journalists who took a positive interest in politics and were active in social life. Their newspapers served as a platform for mobilising the people, for spreading nationalist awareness, and for opposing the worst manifestations of colonial subjugation and the racialism that was its accompaniment.

This role of the Nigerian press has been documented by scholars and commentators, among them Kalu Ezera,<sup>1</sup> Richard Sklar,<sup>2</sup> James

Coleman,<sup>3</sup> Increase Coker<sup>4</sup> and Fred Omu.<sup>5</sup> The Nigerian press, Peter Golding<sup>6</sup> has written, "was born of anti-colonial protest, baptized in the flood of nationalist propaganda and matured in party politics." According to Fred Omu, pre-eminent historian of the Nigerian press, the early Nigerian press provided "the most distinguished intellectual forum in Nigerian history", one in which "the high standard of debate and discussion and the quality of thought and expression cannot fail to fascinate the modern reader."<sup>7</sup>

This was a press that provided intellectual, political and cultural readership; a press that sought consciously to steer its leadership in a particular direction — toward preparing to take their future in their own hands, distant as the prospect of self-government seemed at that time, and toward repossession of a culture that had been undermined by colonial rule. True, there was mutual antagonism among the various newspapers which were owned for the part by rival political groupings. But the press kept the primary goal of independent nationhood in sight.

In this manner did the press function until internal self-government in 1951, when Nigeria was carved into three regions, each controlled by a political party that drew the bulk of its strength and support from the dominant ethnic group in that region. The nationalist press of the earlier period was thus supplanted in the new regional centres of power by a press controlled by and beholden to the political party in power at that centre. Since there was no distinction between the political party in power at a given centre and the government, the newspapers were for all practical purposes, government organs. And they were used remorselessly to heap adulation on the government and to pour vilification on its opponents, real or imagined. The opposition responded in kind. It established its own newspapers and used them to criticise the government in and out of season.

As independence grew imminent, the stakes rose higher and higher, and the contest for power became more desperate. The press was one of the theatres in which this contest was waged, and so bitter was the tone and the spirit that newspapermen across the political divide were hardly on speaking terms.

One year after independence, the Federal Government decided to set up its own newspapers to counter not only the opposition press, but the press controlled by the junior partner in the governing coalition, which included the powerful *West African Pilot*, and the *Outlook*, the organ of the Eastern Nigeria government. The *Daily Times*, owned in substantial part by foreign interests but espousing political neutrality, found itself caught between and betwixt, denounced by the

government for pandering to the opposition and vilified by the opposition for being a tool of the government.

Those who claimed that it was an opposition newspaper in disguise demanded frankly that it be taken over by the government. This call would be repeated some fifteen years later, and would be heeded by a military government suffering from a messianic complex, with consequences that few persons deem worth of celebration today.

Sharp polarisation continued to characterise the Nigerian press in the years following independence, right up to the outbreak of the civil war. On a few occasions, the newspapers took a common stand, a notable example being the successful agitation against the proposed Preventive Detention Act of 1963. But in the major events of the immediate post-colonial period such as the Action Group crisis of 1962, the 1962-63 and 1963-64 Census, and the federal election of 1964 and its aftermath, the newspaper press provided, in the words of Fred Omu, "a remarkable example of over-zealous and irresponsible partisanship and recklessness".<sup>8</sup>

Chief Anthony Enahoro, speaking in 1970 as Federal Commissioner for Information, put the matter even more forcefully. "Let us remember to our shame," he told an audience of journalists, "that whoever and whatever ruined our First Republic did so with the active collaboration of the greater part of the Nigerian press". The Nigerian press, Enahoro continued, lacked "the vision to recognise danger and courage to oppose wrong". He warned that it could inspire no confidence if it continued to give unquestioning differential support to rulers and to manifest "a craven desire to bat on any winning side."<sup>9</sup>

Omu and Enahoro were commenting on the press of some four decades ago. Yet their remarks do have a contemporary ring. They certainly can be applied with justice to the Second Republic, a period when for things judged intrinsically right or wrong by the press; it all depended on who was performing the act or the political party on behalf of which the act was being performed.

It was an era in which a newspaper could report in screaming headlines a strike threat by workers in a state controlled by a rival political party and keep totally silent about an actual on-going strike in a state controlled by the newspaper's political proprietors... usually the very state in which the newspaper in question is based. It was an era in which journalists and commentators went out to invent and publicise bizzare theories to explain away and justify political skulduggery of the most brazen kind. It is instructive that Nigeria's

second attempt at civilised self-rule collapsed just when some sections of the press were proclaiming that the country was entering its golden age.

Yet another attempt to return Nigeria to civilised self-government was made, in the guise of General Ibrahim Babangida's transition programme. It would be hard to improve on Richard Joseph's comment that the scheme represents the most brazen exercise in political chicanery ever visited on a people. Anyone who took more than a casual glance at the design would have seen that it was duplicitous through and through, and was intended to fail. Even when a section of the press displayed scepticism, the overriding public sentiment was that criticism should be kept to the barest minimum, lest Babangida and the military change their mind about relinquishing power. Monstrosity followed upon monstrosity, culminating in the annulment of the 1993 presidential election by the principal architect of the transition programme himself.

At first, the press was almost unanimous that this was one political crime too many. But as the crisis wore on, a large section of it settled into the familiar posture of acquiescence and approval. The important thing was for the country to move forward, and if the annulment was an act of injustice, it was only one of innumerable acts of injustice, and should not therefore be allowed to retard the country's march to greatness. So went the conventional wisdom.

The newspapers that asked inconvenient questions and asked them insistently were banned, much to the delight of some sections of the press. Historians will no doubt record that, once again, the press demonstrated for the most part a lack of vision to recognise danger and oppose wrong, and a predilection for batting on whatever side appeared to be winning. Since the annulment, the country has been frozen in confusion, self-doubt and paralysis.

If the trouble with Nigeria is the failure of leadership — as Chinua Achebe has stated, and as the theme of this Dialogue suggests — it seems clear from the foregoing that the press cannot be absolved completely from responsibility for the failure. The press is in some of its significant functions a mirror, reflecting the happenings in the environment. But if it seeks to play no larger role than that of a mirror, it is abdicating and subverting its historical role. For the press is a mobiliser *par excellence*. It helps shape the agenda of public discourse. The issues it highlights and comments upon are to a significant extent the issues that the public comes to judge as important. And while the press may not be able to tell its readers what to think, it is enormously successful in telling them what to think *about*. In this way, the press

provides orientation and leadership on public affairs. It is not for nothing that, in Britain, newspaper editorials are called "leaders". They are designed to lead, and this leadership is a role that the press ought to take seriously.

Ours is a society in which consensus on relatively unimportant issues is rare. On the more significant issues, consensus is rarer still. No one expects the press to manufacture consensus, to invent it where it does not exist. No one expects the press to stand totally above every kind of partisanship. For in one sense we are all partisans of one cause or another.

But society has a right to expect the press to avoid the most brazen kind of partisanship, the type that twists facts and puts the most ludicrous constructions on them. Society cannot expect the press to provide definitive answers to all its nagging doubts about men and events. But it has a right to expect the press to engage honestly in a continuous search for truth, to report the day's issues in a context that gives it meaning. Society must concede to the press the right to be wrong. But it should demand of the press the duty not to be irresponsibly wrong.

Freedom of the press and expression is perhaps the most fundamental of all freedoms. Any measure that threatens it threatens the very fabric of society itself. This means that the press and indeed the public cannot and must not be indifferent to any measure that threatens that freedom, even if the immediate victim is someone we heartily detest. For unless you care about every violation of freedom, you do not care at all about freedom. When the press and the public acquiesce in human rights violations, whether from corruption or opportunism or fear of self-preservation, they are unwittingly subverting the health of the polity.

It is all right for the attentive audience of public affairs to denounce the ban on *The Guardian*, *Concord* and *Punch* publications and to lament how much they miss them. The question is: What have they done, individually or collectively, to put these publications back into circulation? What have they done to defend the freedom of the press and of expression which, at bottom, belongs not to the press but to the public. Perhaps this is an impertinent question to put to a people who have been content to allow a handful of self-appointed state functionaries to annul their sovereign right to elect their own rulers, a people who seem to have given up their citizenship rights and are content to behave as subjects who can only plead for favours and concessions. But it is an important question nonetheless, and it lies at the heart of our current grief.

It cannot be assumed that every person who sets up a newspaper, whether an individual or corporate body, does so for entirely altruistic reasons. He who pays the piper will often seek to call the tune, regardless of where the public interest lies, or what integrity demands. The journalist who prides himself on his professionalism must be able to stand up to his proprietor when occasion demands. For, in the final analysis, it is the journalist's integrity and character that are at stake.

The present crisis has shown that the freedoms we used to take for granted rest on a very insecure foundation. The challenge before the public and the press is to wrest back these freedoms and make them secure against the assault of even the most desperate despot.

Restrictions on the press and on freedom of expression must not be seen as hurtful only to the so-called chattering classes: they undermine the health of the entire society. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, suppression reaches back into the steadiest minds, creating tension everywhere and the tension of fear produces sterility. In such a situation, wrote Lippmann,

"men cease to say what they think and when they cease to say it, they cease to think it. They think in reference to their critics and not in reference to the facts. For when thought becomes socially hazardous, men spend more time wondering about the hazard than they do in cultivating their thought."<sup>10</sup>

Critics and protagonists alike are agreed that the press should be responsible. This agreement breaks down, however, when the question is asked: To whom should the press be responsible, and for what?

The journalist will be responsible at one level to his proprietor, at another to his conscience, and at yet another to his craft and the professional code of ethics that undergirds it. In the final analysis, however, it is to the national constitution that the press ought to be responsible — the same constitution that the principal officers of state pledge to defend and uphold. Here I am talking of a constitution drawn up and approved by the people themselves, through authentic representatives, not one foisted on them. The press should at all times promote democracy and defend and uphold the constitution, its letter as well as its spirit. But especially the spirit, since conflict sometimes arises between the letter and spirit of the law of the constitution. By answering in the final analysis to the constitution, the press can rise above the kind of partisanship and opportunism that has proved so fatal to its claim to leadership.

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A final word about the electronic media, which have remained under heavy-handed government control. Those who control radio and television will do well to remember that media that have been employed to deceive, intimate and harass the people and thwart their aspirations cannot be employed to mobilise the same people toward achieving higher national goals.

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## Traditional Institutions (A Nation Without Nationhood)

### Chief Nosakhare Isekhure (Lead Speaker)

Nigeria may not have deserved to exist as a country if not for the circumstances of British imperialism and colonialism that sought to strengthen its hold on the African continent by coalescing a people with radically divergent historical, religious, philosophical and traditional outlooks into a single polity.

To build a nation under this kind of artificial climate requires serious, deliberate effort and an effective policy of nation-building where the political environment will be designed to groom, specifically, leadership that has national dimension. Such a leader must be groomed to transcend sectoral, primordial, ethnic, religious, personal and geographical considerations.

Such effort at nation-building will as a matter of priority establish a credible, viable, sustainable, elastic and relevant method of grooming leadership cadres. There should also be an institutionalised, well articulated and understood conceptual framework of what modern government is all about. What are its responsibilities and what are the peoples' responsibilities?

The people, as the repository of power, should effectively have the instrument of controlling and bringing to book all those leaders who misgovern to the detriment of the people. In short, leadership must imply public trust and accountability which must find expression in a national ethic of reward and punishment.

To speak of leadership in Nigeria, one must examine the traditional models practised by the various nationalities or ethnic groups that make up the country. The term 'tradition' in this context must be understood to imply a system of political and economic control exercised within the context of African leadership experience to manage the affairs of the people, and has been operative for a long period. The Benin, Oyo, Kanemi and Bornu empires survived their period of political and administrative control not necessarily because of their ability to effect dictatorial rule, but because of the system of control put in place to ensure that an *Oba* (King) presiding over a given territory did not violate the conditions prescribed as guiding principles of leadership quality at that level.

A traditional leader, be he an *Oba*, *Emir*, *Obi*, a local chieftain, community clan head, or *Baale*, *Odionwere* or *Idiokpa* as known in some Nigerian languages, knows right from the day of his ascension to the position that he must be just, fearless, visionary, credible, tolerant,

productive and innovative. The person recognises right away that he occupies such a position for the general good of the community without creating a pool of either the benefactors of the system and the victimised. He must ensure that his reasoning and perception transcend the immediate affairs of his families and behave as a role model for the community.

Under this condition, the people submit themselves voluntarily toward community work without thinking of personal gain. The traditional leader ensures that there is an acceptable, tested, workable and understood method of political and leadership succession rights. The system also provides for means of control expressed in taboos, sanctions, banishment and other sanctions for those who violate community ethic and rules.

The Benin people till today have a system of dealing with traditional office holders by various kinds of sanction. The Oyomesi in the Oyo Empire system had a way of balancing political authority and control with the paramount ruler, the Alaafin. The Igbos who developed a partial/republican organisation in community control also had a well-entrenched system of reward and punishment. The system of justice was such that the village assembly, presided over by elders and in some other instances by the Ozo title holders, effect political and administrative control. Offenders were reasonably punished.

There is no ethnic group in Nigeria which before colonialism did not have a system of administrative and leadership succession. Today, Nigeria ought to have a pool of systems from where to draw experiences and models without necessarily drawing inspirations from foreign models. Over the years Nigeria's political experiences have been borrowed, not internally-derived. We have tended to behave as though the country has no political history.

The problem of Nigeria is the problem of a divergent people coalesced into a single political entity which successfully produced a Nigeria without Nigerians. The nation-state provided for the office of a national leader, but did not provide for sustainable and clearly understood mechanism for recruiting one. The nation-state did not provide for the orientation of the people to understand the concept of the modern state and government. Successive governments over the years have taken advantage of this situation to create a tradition of non-accountability in the act of political leadership. This dovetailed into an absence of credibility in policy formulation and implementation, inconsistency, and lack of a philosophical base for progressive development. No system of reward and punishment has emerged.

There is no standard of assessing the prescriptive quality of a leader. There are only few role models and no viable system of justice. Instead, fraud and sycophancy have been elevated to a national creed. The consequence of all these dysfunctions is an environment in which government is operated only on the basis of personal interest and specific group benefit. There is a dearth of national objective. A country where government can explore subterfuge to suppress people's mandate cannot hope to achieve nationhood. Before the problems of leadership is addressed, we must first focus on the instrument of leadership control which will enforce accountability in public governance.

Since 1960, Nigeria has had political office holders who were, for want of a better term, designated as leaders. We know how we have been led and where we are now. We are witnesses to the experimental, visionless, unpatriotic, and accidental occupation of leadership at all levels of national governance. We have also witnessed, quite strangely, how public office has ceased to be a public trust and how such office has been turned into a private enterprise where personal interest and safety in office is often translated as meaning "national security". We are all familiar with the lack of accountability in the spending of public fund.

When we talk about leadership, it must be understood purely in the context of its capacity to resolve problems and lead the people to their destined goal and national objective. Nigeria in this context does not have any identifiable goal and objective. So, when people stumble into leadership positions in this kind of climate, they find themselves dazed and appear as a flotsam in the sea whose destination cannot be determined. Even when such a leader presents his reasons for assumption of leadership which may appear patriotic at a first glance, actual implementation often turns out to reveal all the hidden motives.

Take a close look at the leadership style within our political environment. Most of the abuses tolerated in government would not have been tolerated within our traditional leadership system without sanctions. No one would steal a village fund meant for development and be given a village award thereafter for being smart. Our traditional leadership system may not have been perfect, but it successfully addressed the most important issue of public accountability.

Nigeria has a dearth of genuine leaders. Also equally relevant and important is the absence of political will. A political will is the compelling force for sound leadership quality, the ability to do what is right, what is relevant and what is attainable within the context of

patriotic nationalism. Political will very often means personal or group sacrifices. It implies the ability to implement policies that have a nationalistic import and relevance without allowing pockets of interest to detract from what should naturally be of national benefit. In contemporary Africa, President Nelson Mandela represents that model of leadership by personal sacrifice to redeem his people from servitude.

A leader is considered great not necessarily because of how many mansions and huge bank accounts he or she is able to amass from public wealth but rather because of the level of personal sacrifice for the public good. The system of political leadership in Nigeria which over the years successfully produced a Nigeria without Nigerians has entrenched itself into the psyche of the people to the extent that government is seen by the people, including those who have operated it, as something to be exploited. To be in government means an opportunity to enrich oneself. Government is alien to the people, uncontrolled and untouchable. Every Nigerian sees Nigeria from his or her own ethnic or tribal, religious and geo-political location. Nigeria's problems are also viewed and rationalised from the same perspective. This segmental ethnic nationalism is quite destructive to nation-building. Many of our so-called national leaders who ought to diffuse ethnic nationalism, have introduced policies which clearly generate specific ethnic advantages, deprivations, repression and exploitation.

In this climate it becomes extremely difficult to groom people who will reflect on Nigeria's multifarious problems from a purely supra-ethnic viewpoint. This is why there is no genuine nationalism in the country. That explains why for thirty-four years of Nigeria's independence, the country cannot identify a national leader without ethnic colouration. That also explains why nationalism which ought to be nourished, having been planted by the architects of Nigeria's independence, is on the wane. That explains why when a Nigerian occupies a public office and performs quite badly, he returns home to the warm embrace of his compatriots. The simple reason for this is that it is not Nigeria itself that really matters but where one comes from. That is how the country has flourished for the past years. That is why the country is unable to move forward.

One must thank the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation for organising this Dialogue and for choosing leadership as the theme. The late sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, sent sufficient signals to the country many years ago that the ship of state was poised to hit a formidable rock. Those who were already entrenched in government were quick to

dismiss the alert as politically motivated and ill-conceived. Today, we are wise enough to see that the real fools were those who could not see what Awo had seen so clearly. They were the ones who underdeveloped Nigeria because it was convenient for them to make money from such transactions.

If Nigeria must move forward, then the institution of government must be organised to make sure that it is no longer something to be exploited. Civil society must be courageous enough to question and bring to book those who misappropriate public funds. Today, it is a known fact that many Nigerians siphoned public money abroad and such capital flight is one of the reasons why the economy is on a nose-dive. Only a few Nigerian leaders have ever asked what should be done about that.

Some day, I am optimistic that if Nigerians refuse to pull themselves out of this quagmire, Nigeria will pull Nigerians out. There is a point beyond which no society can drift without crashing.

## The Professions

### Professor Jadesola Akande (Lead Speaker)

I wish to add my congratulations and felicitations to those that the Board of Trustees, the Governing Council and most especially the Executive Secretary to the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, have been receiving for choosing as the theme of its Third Dialogue, Nigeria: In Search of Leadership. The theme is most apt at this time when the country is facing the problem of survival. Were the sage in whose honour we are gathered here today alive, he would never have been a passive on-looker, deluding himself that patience will solve our problems. It is his guiding spirit that has led the organisers of this Dialogue to choose this year's theme. I consider myself privileged to have been chosen as one of the discussants.

My contribution to the Dialogue is on the professions, and were I to have been slated to speak last during the session on Sectoral Leadership, I would have considered that my presentation would have been adequately covered by all the other speakers before me. During the first plenary session, both the lead speaker, Chief Bola Ige, and the discussant, Professor Obaro Ikime, appeared to me to have touched on virtually all the professions in tracing the history of leadership in Nigeria. Indeed, Chief Bola Ige spoke "sectorally", analysing leadership in politics, education, trade unionism, industry

and the military. Professor Ikime, alluding to poverty of leadership, referred to "poverty of academics" in government.

At the beginning of the discussions on this Sector, the Hon. Justice Kayode Eso dealt with the Judiciary, Dr. Lasisi Osunde with Labour, Dr. Olatunji Dare with the Press and Chief Isekhure with Traditional Institutions. It would thus seem that almost all the professions have been covered. Be this as it may, in this type of Dialogue, I do not think there is too much disadvantage in repetition, if some overlapping should be inevitable.

A researcher always seeks subterfuge in definitions, and indeed there is some merit in defining terms. So what is a profession? According to the Standard Oxford Dictionary, a profession is "an occupation, especially one that involves knowledge and training in a branch of advanced learning", etc. In view of this definition and because of the constraints of time, I shall limit myself to those core professions which are well known and so classified, namely law, medicine, engineering, accountancy and banking. This list is not intended to be comprehensive.

### The Legal Profession

The legal profession used to be the terror of governments, and the Nigerian Bar Association was very highly respected. But it has become infiltrated by a group of touts and confusionists who have succeeded in so much disorganising it, that it is now itself having a leadership problem. It seems to have lost its dignity and respectability so much that the government has dared to "decree" how it shall organise its own professional association!

All Attorneys-General are members of the legal profession, the traditional upholders of the rule of law. But no sooner are these "hope of the common man" appointed into the office of legal adviser to government and heads of the ministries of justice than they become very willing instruments for the denial of peoples' rights under the law. They are so knowledgeable about all the intricacies of law that they not only advise that retrospective and retroactive laws are perfectly constitutional, that the ouster of the jurisdiction of the courts is normal in the interest of state security and that for good measure, laws can even be backdated. To give a practical example of a recent occurrence — there are very many examples — the Constitutional Conference adopted the report of one of its committees which had recommended that all former political office holders within the last ten years should be made to give an account of their stewardship. A

former Federal Attorney-General, now a nominated member of the Constitutional Conference, disagreed with this on the ground that it was illegal to have such a recommendation which would have a retroactive effect. One is amazed that it is this same person who, as Attorney-General, had drafted several decrees promulgated by his "master" which had both retrospective and retroactive effect. Indeed, in order to validate a decree to achieve the specific objective of legalising an illegality, the decree was actually backdated.

In the history of civilian democracy in this country, the preponderance of members of the legal profession in Parliament is challenged only by that of headmasters and teachers. In spite of the "newbreedism" introduced during the transition programme of General Ibrahim Babangida, it is doubted whether this tradition will change remarkably when and if politics and democracy returns. Therefore, we may still need to search for leaders among members of the legal profession.

### **The Medical Profession**

Perhaps because by their calling, they have been trained to be more concerned with saving lives, members of the medical profession have not been too obviously concerned with governance. Unfortunately, they cannot be insulated against the effects of bad leadership. The country is submerged in filth, malnutrition, sexually transmitted diseases, water-borne diseases etc. and yet there are neither properly equipped hospitals nor drugs to address our myriad of illnesses. So what do our doctors do? They find greener pastures in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and make their reputation and their wealth internationally.

Until very recently, the medical profession had not been under political searchlight. The homogeneity in the profession as represented by the Nigerian Medical Association is perhaps an untapped resource for leadership, but not among those who sacrifice the inadequate public facilities to build their own private empires, forgetting the Hippocratic oath to which they subscribe.

### **The Engineering Profession**

The point that immediately comes to mind about this profession is that the evidence of lack of proper maintenance of many of our structures requires their attention. Edifices are built at great cost to the tax-payers without regard to their continuing maintenance. It is our engineers

who design roads or approve the design of roads without adequate drainage. They supervise the sometimes shoddy construction by foreign firms without any demur. They approve that official vehicles be taken to roadside mechanics for repairs for good or ill. My reading of the book, *My Year of Service* by T.M. Aluko is really an eye-opener of the very many ills of our society in the area of public works and construction which our engineers in government can correct if only they are uncorrupted and incorruptible.

### Accountancy Profession/Economists

I assume that all Accountants-General and Auditors-General in the Federation are highly qualified accountants. So why is the audited account of the Federation always in arrears by as many as three or more years? How can accountability be ensured when accounts are not properly and promptly audited? How can budgets be balanced or adhered to when some of our highly qualified accountants manipulate figures to suit the whims and caprices of those functionaries who are less educated about figures and its importance in national planning?

Why do our economists who are invited to solve the problems of other countries find it convenient to agree that "the economic problems of our nation defy all known economic principles?" Why cannot those theories which catapulted China and Japan into the league of First World Countries be reconsidered by our own internationally acclaimed economists? What have the professional associations of the accountants and engineers done to salvage this country? What will they do about our search for leadership?

### Banking Profession

The banker was recently defined by an associate as "one who makes millions for himself/herself out of other people's hard-earned money." There are regulations to protect the interest of the customer, but it is amazing how often the customer finds it difficult to receive the money which he genuinely saved and for which service he pays. He has no remedy. Indeed, the apex banker, the Central Bank, promptly dissociates itself from all the ills of the sector.

On a final note, I would like to make a brief allusion to academics. Frankly some of the academics who have found themselves in or lobbied for the position of leadership in recent times have left a lot to be desired. No sooner are they in leadership jobs than they forget all those principles of honesty, discipline and accountability that they

have for years sought to inculcate in their students before certifying them fit "in learning and character."

I read in a newspaper — one of the few still publishing — that when the Ondo State Military Administrator dropped the hint of an imminent cabinet reshuffle, he got more than 200 applications and curriculum vitae, more than 70 per cent of them from academics. There is no harm, really, in anyone blowing his own trumpet and seeking office if the purpose is genuinely to serve, but I am yet to see any advertisements for the posts of Ministers/Commissioners/Chairmen of Boards and Corporations, to which those dons were responding. It is no wonder that when they get there they see it as their primary role to be the defenders of every and all government policies, irrespective of the interests of the public which they had pledged to serve.

We can have good leaders. The potentials are there. Each profession has a code of ethics and conduct, if members of each profession would always remind themselves, in every situation, of the code of ethics and be guided by it.

Lord give us professionals who hold out

Justice to the oppressed  
Comfort to the depressed  
Help to the needy, and  
Solace to the frustrated.

May love of wealth and self interest not stifle their inherent potential for good leadership.

## The Arts and Culture

### Professor Eburn Clark (Lead Speaker)

I am asked to discuss the theme "Nigeria: In Search of Leadership" from the perspective of the Arts and will of necessity be very broad and general.

The Awolowo Foundation has fallen into the usual error of treating these two different subjects as one or as synonymous in meaning when they are not. Art is indeed a department of culture, and since a main function of culture is to aid the refinement of a nation's lifestyle, Art is a potent agent of this cultural imperative.

Many subjects make up what is known as The Arts. I shall argue the topic from the perspective of one of my main areas of specialisation, namely, Literature in English.

I have in various addresses presented on specialised platforms in my subject, discussed how African leaders are viewed and portrayed in English literature, particularly Renaissance literature of 16th century England. I have contrasted the Renaissance writers views with those of African writers, and have shown that both groups appear to agree that the African leader is corrupt, deceitful, brutal, murderous and unredeemable. Good leaders are few, they are the exception rather than the rule, they hold. As the enslavement of Africans became the norm, African Leaders were portrayed as naive and childlike. Man Friday in De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* is a good example of such portrayals.

In case we appear to agree that good governance is a lost cause for us because foreign writers say so or have said so for centuries, let me point out that the bad portrayal of African leaders in English literature is due to racial prejudice. I refer you to G.K. Hunter's very interesting discussion on this matter in his book, *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Traditions* (1978). He tells us that for centuries English literature reinforced the cultural notion in Western civilisation that black is evil and demonic. Interestingly, quite a few of the major English classics centre on African soldiers and their barbarous deeds. Aaron and Othello in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello* respectively are good examples of such concentration. The portrayal of Othello as an African soldier wielding immense power as the head of a major European army, is Shakespeare's contribution to the humanisation and ennoblement of a 'barbarian'.

This question of soldiers now brings me to a very important point. Chief Bola Ige, or Uncle Bola, as he is affectionately called, reminded us yesterday that Nigeria is eighty this year. What he did not say is that out of the eighty years our country's existence, Nigerians endured colonial totalitarian rule for forty-six years, the authoritarian rule of Nigerian military for twenty-four, and have known democracy for only ten.

Lord Lugard, the principal actor who founded the nation and was its first Governor-General, was a senior serving officer in the British Army, holding (I hope I'm right) the rank of Brigadier-General. So were his lieutenants serving officers. Morehouse, his assistant in southern Nigeria, was a Lt. Colonel. Granted, subsequent governors were civilians, but each governor's tenure of office was maintained by the might and power of the British army stationed throughout Nigeria. Thus Nigerians have been conditioned over the years to accept both totalitarian and authoritarian rules. I believe the weakening or the diminishing of the collective will of Nigerians through decades of

oppressive rule has been one of the major reasons why it has been difficult for democracy to take root in this country.

The conditioned imagination is a phrase that is often used in literature to denote or explain the mind that has been subjected or bent to accept what its oppressors dictate. When Nigerian nationalists began their push towards independence, they solicited the aid of Yoruba Theatre from the forties to the early fifties to recondition or retrain Nigerians to be proud of their own culture, and through this approach to cultural nationalism. They empowered a large section of their followers to reject colonial rule and the cultural dislocation such a system brings. I have dealt extensively on this subject in my book, *Ogunde: The Making of Nigerian Theatre*. (1979).

Unlike the great English writers that they all read, the founders of modern Nigerian literature in English expression: Achebe, Soyinka, Okigbo and Clark, all prime movers of a major literary movement, proceeding from the reality and the historic fact of their lives, were highly pessimistic very early in their career, wondering whether their people could be healed from years of subjugation and brutalisation as a subject race. Their early works seem to suggest that it would take years for the country to formulate any workable system of governance because the collective will of a conditioned people is weak. This to me is a central thesis of Achebe in the later part of his novel, *Things Fall Apart* which was published just before independence. Soyinka's *A Dance of The Forest* was written to mark the nation's independence.

In it, Soyinka submits that Nigeria has nothing to celebrate. Clark in *Ivbie* and *The Raft* foresaw the possible disintegration of Nigeria. *The Raft*, for instance, depicts the journey of some rafters to a destination which they never arrive at either through acts of God or because of lack of firm leadership. As Clark seems to suggest in this play, some thirty years ago, as the raft drifts aimlessly, so the journey of Nigeria in its quest for true independence will be purposeless as the nation battles against all odds to survive, cursed with poor leadership that is bankrupt in more ways than one. Okigbo whose works were published later than his other three colleagues, in 1966, prophetically predicted in his powerful poem, *Path Of Thunder*, a nation at war, with brothers fighting brothers.

These writers from the inception of their artistic careers met a major Aristotelian demand that the function of a creative artist is to narrate the possibility of history. He utilises the facts of history and narrates the pity of it.

Mr Chairman, I seek your indulgence to dwell, however briefly, on the insensitivity of the major groups towards the minorities.

Yesterday, Professor Ikime made light this very serious subject: the marginalisation of his people who in no small measure contribute greatly to the economic well-being of this nation. There are a few well known writers among these groups of Nigerians. As a founding father of contemporary Nigerian Literature in English expression and a major force within the movement, Clark is the pre-eminent writer. There are, too, Gabriel Okara and Ken Saro Wiwa, and there are many younger writers springing up. These writers from the oil-producing areas are my concern here.

When a situation arises whereby the singer of tales or the oral poets, as they are also known, and the writers of tales agree on a subject, that is the looting of their wealth and the impoverishment and marginalisation of their people, then all is not well with the nation. The problem to them is not about the North and South divide. As far as they are concerned, those at the centre are there to take control of the wealth accruing from the sales of petroleum, 75 per cent of which comes from Izon areas.

Clark does not mount the political rostrum. Anyone who wants to know what he has to say about the state of the union will have to read his works. Unfortunately majority of Nigerians do not read literature by habit and so can never know what their writers say. That is why some of the writers in frustration become politicians! Listen though to the social commentaries in the *udje* poetry of the Urhobos, the lamentation of a colonised people will be heard, this time colonised not by the whiteman but by their big brothers. It is probably more painful to be subjected to one's own people than to foreigners.

The laughter that greeted Prof. Ikime's objections is the same that greeted Isaac Boro's announcement in 1966 that he had taken his people out of Nigeria to form an Izon state. It did not take long for the Nigerian army to bring him and his rag-tag army of followers back to the fold. Ironically, the ethnic group of the Head of State who ordered the squashing of the Izon rebellion themselves left the union the same year, and this time it took the Army several years and much loss of lives to bring the Ibos back to the fold.

The point I am making here is that the search for leadership and the discussion of it cannot be done through the distortion of the nation's political history. The first secession that took place in Nigeria was an Izon action and not Biafran. The wise Nigerian leader is he who would woo the minority groups, particularly the oil-producing groups, and assure them that they are equal partners in the growth and development of this great nation of ours.

In his poem, "The Leader", Clark suggests that Awolowo would have been such a leader. As he says in his paean to Papa, he came from abroad and:

Wrestled to a standstill his champion  
Cousin the Killer of Cows

Clark continues:

No iguana during decades to tongues  
Could throw or twist him round  
While he rallied the race and clan

Notice the use of the word 'race'. This is to suggest that if given the chance to be head of Nigeria, Pa Awolowo would have been not only a great Nigerian Head of State, but a great Pan African leader as well. Nigerian literature certainly laments the dearth of good leadership, but offers no tangible solution to this intractable problem. Many would ask if solutions have a place in literature. This point is one for another platform.

## Political Leadership

### Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife (Lead Speaker)

Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the professions are in trouble. Leadership, labour, all present problems; the judiciary is disorganised; the press has failed us; religion offers nothing; commerce and industry are having their obituary sung. Mr. Chairman, if we don't get the centre right, we cannot determine the circumference (Applause).

Possessing vision, that is actual analytical powers guided by a higher spirit endowed with a great organising ability, Chief Awolowo was generously blessed with wisdom and administrative skills. His thoughts and actions flowed from a base of correct and sound principles, which principles provided light illuminating the paths of his followers, exceptional light that made following him a delight. He was indeed a leader in his own right, he was indeed a leader of leaders. For good leadership is a scarce factor in many polities, including Nigeria. It may be the missing element in a country's development effort.

My role is to make some comments on the search for political leadership. That search will not end until we get principled followership and principled leadership resulting in a principled governance of Nigeria. To lead is to be followed, to follow is to be led.

Leaders and followers are therefore like the two sides of a coin. In modern politics, the followership largely generates the leadership chosen by the followership. According to some defined and accepted procedures, in this note, only such leadership chosen by the followership are recognised thus. Leadership and rulership are to be distinguished — a leader can be a ruler; it is a matter of approach. But not any ruler can be a leader irrespective of his approach.

Well, we have had spasms of very good leadership in Nigeria before independence. Nigerians participated in electing the leaders of their self-governing regions but we can talk about political leadership and followership in colonial Nigeria. At least the experience was not disastrous. On the contrary, the leaders responded reasonably well to the yearnings of their followers. That must have been why at independence, the sun of great expectations shone so brightly on Nigeria. Nigerians were full of hope, some foreigners were full of envy and some of admiration.

Since independence we have had political leadership from October 1960 to January 1966 and from October 1979 to December 1983, a total of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  years or 27.9 per cent of our thirty-four years of post-independence existence. Of course, there were some failings of political leadership in that period. This became very serious towards the end of 1964 and after, but proper thinking should see the problem as that of orderly succession, peaceful change of political baton in the era of "unopposed" candidates whose virile opponents could not locate the elusive electoral officers to submit their nomination papers. It was the era for electoral results announced by radio without respect for the actual vote counts. Basically the problem was a clash between a particular social system and democratic norms, especially the democratic norm of a polity of persons and decision-making by all adults rather than by the very few. These problems have persisted. The period was also the golden era of the Nigerian military, properly so called.

Some young idealistic military officers thought they could improve things. They failed. The pattern of their activity which emphasised the character of national power and political power distribution rather than federal character ultimately in 1966 ended the era of Nigerian military and worsened the problem of Nigeria. The civil war completed the rout of the pan-Nigerian character of the military in Nigeria.

The political leadership of October 1979 to December 1983 also had problems. Each emergence was tempted by that underlying class of democratic norms and social system. In addition it had the problem of lack of vision and even ordinary foresight.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo had to alert the nation of impending economic problems while the government which should have more information not only failed to see the problem but also ignorantly disputed Awolowo's prediction. There was corruption, some flamboyance and some excesses. In all this, every civilian political leadership was characterised by the existence of a virile opposition, positioning itself to take over the government. This was made even worse by the larger number of vocal actors on the civilian political scene. There is this fact of experience. A military government can survive with one hundred measures of inequity; a civilian government cannot survive with ten measures. These inequities may include corruption in partisans, inadequate development effort, suppression of the press and freedom of speech, insensitivity to the freedom of the governed, executive lawlessness, irresponsible utterances and actions.

In the second half of 1983, the abiding bane of democracy in Nigeria, the difficulty of political decisions through peaceful elections resurfaced again. The year 1983 ended with the military taking over. They did not take over because of the failure of electoral processes. They took over in order to save Nigeria from biting economic hardship. They took over to improve our educational systems and to make more effective our health-care delivery system and generally, they took over to salvage Nigeria. There ended our experience of political leadership in Nigeria so far.

Now to judgement. Is political leadership the weakest link in our governmental effort? Is political leadership the problem with Nigeria? The comments I have already made clearly show that we have had problems with the political leadership which constitutes only 27.9 per cent of our independent existence but the experiences, especially in the 1979-83 spell, were not nearly so disastrous. The rest of the period of our independent existence, i.e. 72.1 per cent of that period, has been under military dictatorship and it has not been glorious.

The problem with Nigeria is military dictatorship. Military dictatorship does not qualify as political leadership. A military dictator, benevolent or insensitively harsh, is a military dictator, an actor on the political stage dancing to his own tune or to the tunes played by those who prop him up. Nigeria chose no military dictators to rule over them nor does any military dictator owe anything to Nigerians, protests to the contrary notwithstanding. No military dictator is our political leader and we are not the political followers of any. That is why I do not believe that the religious injunction which requires us to pray for our leaders applies to military dictators who

came to power not by the vote of the people but by the barrel of the gun.

Nigeria is the largest country in the continent of Africa and has the greatest concentration of black peoples anywhere on the face of the earth. Climatically, Nigeria is blessed with equatorial, tropical, sub-tropical and by the grace of the islands, even sub-temperate zones. The vegetation reflects the climate patterns. Most crops can be grown in Nigeria even without the benefit of bio-technology. Today, delicious apples are grown and the soil is naturally rich. Nigerians should be building a country for the pride of the black race. We have everything today. We have people with great diplomacy. But instead of developing, what do we find?

Together we achieved independence in 1960 but since then, a tiny group, a clique has been in power, ruling and ruining Nigeria. The ruling clique has completed the ruining of Nigeria. The results are there for all to see — the economy has totally collapsed, commerce, industry and all, the Naira tells it all. It is doubtful which weighs more: the quantity of Naira used to buy some vegetables or the vegetables bought.

Every dimension of decline has been played to the fullest — crushing poverty, accelerated ignorance and disease without cure. The thought of feeding a family has become a nightmare except for the richest few. We export petroleum products but their domestic prices are prohibitive. Most times we cannot find petrol to buy. Housewives have to scramble for sawdust to cook. Education from primary to secondary to tertiary levels has long crashed out of meaningful existence, economic infrastructure — roads, bridges, airports, railways are barely usable. Public hospitals have become places where the poor go to die and our health delivery systems are in complete ruin. At home, Nigerians are poor, wretched and frustrated; abroad we are treated with ignominy and avoided as lepers. We have become a shame to the black race. Security of life and property is at risk; our police have become highway beggars. Law and order and the justice system have collapsed. Today the Ministry of Justice, rather than the courts, interprets the law.

The needed leadership in Nigeria may have the qualities of Obafemi Awolowo, but it is not given to most men to have such qualities. Some men can be bought or hired. What we cannot buy or hire or loan are those correct and sound principles which generate good thought and right actions in leadership. What are those correct and sound principles? The principles of caring, integrity, truth, courage, humility, fidelity, justice, steadfastness and industry are the

golden rules. These correct and sound principles have their source in godliness. Possessing a correct and sound principle, other leadership deficiencies can be made good but nothing, nothing atones for lacking them. Yes, our godliness must find expression as much in politics as in other activities.

It is a truism in Nigeria that politics is or should be the torment of the filthy rich. The fact is that you cannot be dirty in politics and be acceptable in the sight of God. There is no terrain of human life from which God can be excluded. (Applause). If there were to be any, certainly, politics, which deals with the affairs of man, the highest of God's creation, cannot qualify.

One important point that must be raised is the issue of followership. In these days of crass materialism, it is already said that people are so hungry, they are tired of voting, they are asking about what happened to their other votes and that they can only vote for the best that can emerge. But let the people enjoy an electoral season just the way transporters enjoy the Christmas season. They raise fares and collect money. Let's educate our followership on the following issues:

1. That taking money can be politically all right as long as you vote according to your conscience. Take the money and cheat the cheat. The person who is giving the money (applause) to buy your conscience and your vote is a cheat. The angels will not revolt in heaven if you cheat him.
2. Where did he get his money? It could be our money being returned to us in small portions.

Once you take the money and put it in your pocket, it has expired. There is no contract, no investments, no commitment. We have to find ways of motivating our people, innoculating them against taking money or voting against their conscience. By standing on the high ground and saying 'don't take', we lose. Therefore preach 'take', and be a higher politician.

## **The Military Perspective**

### **Colonel Yohanna A. Madaki (Lead Speaker)**

The Nigerian military is relatively young when compared to the military establishments of the advanced democracies. August 6, 1806 is said to be the date when the Prussian government issued its decree on the appointment of officers which set forth the basic standard of professionalism with uncompromising clarity:

The only title to an officer's commission shall be, in the time of peace, education and professional knowledge, in time of war, distinguished valor and perception. From the entire nation, therefore, all individuals who possess these qualities are eligible for the highest military posts (emphasis supplied). All previously existing class preference in the military establishment is abolished, and every man, without regard to his origins, has equal duties and equal right.

Military professionalisation was concentrated in two periods in the nineteenth century, both during and immediately after the Napoleonic wars. In both periods, Prussia led the way. While all the nations of Europe by 1817 had acquired the basic elements of military professionalism, in Prussia alone were these elements developed into a rounded complete system.

In Great Britain, from where the Nigerian military was conceived, however, the system of dual control established by the constitutional settlement of 1688 delayed professionalisation. Parliament had the power to raise and maintain military forces; command and appointment were within the prerogative of the Crown.

The institutional rivalry of the executive and the legislature involved the British forces in domestic politics until the supremacy of Parliament was firmly established in the nineteenth century. The achievement of this supremacy in military spheres began with the creation of the office of the Secretary of State for War in the 1790s and ended with the abolition of the office of Commander in Chief a century later. Meanwhile, however, the 18th century system had been exported to the American colonies and copied by the framers of the American Constitution. Consequently, many of the problems of military professionalism and civilian control later faced by the United States closely resembled those of Georgian Britain.

In Nigeria, the advent of the military in the modern sense was in 1861 with the formation of the Lagos Constabulary using discredited elements as the nucleus of what was later to emerge as the Royal Frontier Forces. The Nigerian Regiments that fought under the 81 and 82 West African Divisions in Burma were essentially part of British Regiment stationed in the colonies. All the officers and the non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were of British origin. Africans were sometimes promoted to various NCO ranks and styled African non-commissioned officers.

The Nigerian Army was established by an Act of Parliament by the promulgation of the Nigerian Army Act, 1960,<sup>1</sup> as opposed to a constitutional provision. It was not until February 1964<sup>2</sup> when the

Nigerian Air Force was established by the promulgation of an Act of Parliament, the Air force Act 1964. The Navy Act promulgated in May 1964<sup>3</sup> established the Nigerian Navy. The Nigerian Navy emerged from the Merchant Navy while the Air Force was a product of Germany's experiment. The pioneer officers were seconded from the Army.

In 1979 the Nigerian Armed Forces was established by Section 197(1) of the Federal Constitution. S.198(1) vests the President of the Federation as Commander-in-Chief with the operational control of the Armed Forces.

The history of our military lacks originality in conception and design, hence we cannot point easily at officers of the status and calling of George Washington, General MacArthur, General Eisenhower of the USA, Field Marshal Montgomery of Almain, General De Gaulle of France, General Moshe Dayan of Israel, the hero of the 1967 War, and Colonel Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Leadership from the military is essentially from the officer corps. Anything else is ancillary though it can be promoted by good statesmanship acting as an impetus.

This is why the military profession must be insulated from party or partisan politics. We shall see in the course of this presentation that the difficulties or obstacles earlier overcome some two hundred years or so ago in the other Armies are what we are battling with today in the Third World countries: Haiti, Zaire, Ghana, Uganda, Sudan and Latin America.

It is on account of the peculiarities of our military history that I have had to go on this long voyage of discovery just to speak on national leadership within our military.

When we talk of a country's military we are talking essentially about the quality of the officer corps and their relationship with the state. The 18th century officer corps subordinated the military values of expertise, discipline and responsibility to the aristocratic values of luxury, courage and individualism. The aristocrat was an amateur at officership; it was not for him a vocation with ends and standards of its own but an incidental attribute of his status in society.

Some of these amateurs turned out to be competent soldiers, but they were the exceptions. In the French Army the only officers skilled in the practical aspects of their vocation were the soldiers of fortune who, however, were only a minority of the corps and who were restricted to the lowest ranks. The general level of competence of the French officers drew cries of dismay from their commanders. Conditions were little better in the English and Prussian services. The

senility, corruption and ineptitude of the Prussian officer corps increased during the eighteenth century as the higher ranks filled up with aging generals and the lower ranks with the least able sons of the nobility.

The deterioration of the officer corps, the product of the entire Federalist system of selection and organisation, culminated in the disaster of Jena and the capitulation of the Prussian fortress to Napoleon.<sup>5</sup>

In Great Britain, the persistent interference of Parliament and the Crown in military affairs made discipline impossible. Members of Parliament intervened with the authorities on behalf of mutineers and deserters who were relatives and friends.

### The Imperatives of Civil-Military Relations

The military institutions of any society are shaped by two forces: a functional imperative stemming from the threats to the society's security and a societal imperative arising from the social forces. Ideologies and institutions which reflect only social values may be incapable of performing this military function. On the other hand, it may be impossible to contain within society military institutions shaped purely by functional imperatives. The interaction of these two forces is the nub of the problem of civil-military relations. The degree to which they conflict depends upon the intensity of the security needs and the nature and strength of the value pattern of society. Some societies may be inherently incapable of providing effectively for their own military security. Such societies lack survival value in an era of continuing threats.

For Nigeria, the problem of balancing the functional and societal imperatives has not yet acquired any significance. There is a false presumption of societal inviolability to external threat, a false sense of national cooperation, hence a false assumption of security as if same is given. The American society has recently become aware of the need for the balancing of the function and societal imperatives which has only recently acquired a new significance. Before now, Americans took their security for granted.<sup>6</sup>

### Professionalism and the Military

The modern officer corps is a professional body and the modern military officer a professional man. But what is professionalism? Who is a professional?

A profession is a peculiar type of functional group with highly specialised characteristics. It has been argued that sculptors, stenographers, entrepreneurs and advertising copywriters, all have distinct functions but none of these functions is professional in nature. The distinguishing characteristics of a profession as a special type of vocation are its expertise, responsibility and corporateness.

### Expertise

The professional man is an expert with specialised knowledge and skill in a significant field of human endeavour. His expertise is acquired only by prolonged education and experience.

### Responsibility

The professional man is a practising expert, working in a social context, and performing a service; such as the promotion of health, education, or justice, which is essential to the functioning of society. *The client of every profession is society* (emphasis supplied), individually or collectively. A research chemist for instance is not a professional man because the service he renders, while beneficial to society, is not essential to its immediate existence and functioning. The essential and general character of his service and his monopoly of his skill impose upon the professional man the responsibility to perform the service when required by society. This social responsibility distinguishes the professional man from other experts with only intellectual skills. The research chemist, for instance, is still a research chemist if he uses his skills in a manner harmful to society. But the professional man can no longer practise if he refuses to accept his social responsibility; a physician ceases to be a physician if he uses his skills for anti-social purposes.

The responsibility to serve and the devotion to his skill furnish the professional motive. Financial remuneration cannot be the primary aim of the professional man. Consequently, professional compensation normally is only partly determined by bargaining on the open market and is regulated by professional custom and law.

The performance of an essential service not regulated by the normal expectation of financial rewards requires some statement governing the relations of the profession to the rest of society. Conflicts between the professional man and his clients or among members of the profession, normally furnish the immediate impetus to the formulation of such a statement. The profession thus becomes a moral unit posing, containing values and ideals which guide its

members in their dealings with laymen. This guide may be a set of unwritten norms transmitted through the professional educational system or it may be codified into written codes of professional ethics.

Here lies the dilemma of the Nigerian military. Relying on the concept of professionalism and clientship as espoused above, where do we place the Nigerian military with respect to its clients, the society? Can it be said in all honesty that the Nigerian society is still the client of the Nigerian military profession or shall we say, in view of the present circumstances, that the Nigerian military finds itself in the position of the research chemist, for instance, who is still a research chemist even if he uses his skill in a manner harmful to society whereas the physician, as has been argued, can no longer practise if he refuses to accept his social responsibility? Recent events have compelled onlookers of the Nigerian political development to pose the hypothetical question: Who is the client of the Nigerian military profession? In my view, the Nigerian military is a client to itself.

### The Military Profession

Professionalism distinguishes today's military officer from the warriors of previous ages; the existence of the officer corps as a professional body gives a unique cast to the modern problem of civil-military relations.

In our experience, neither the public nor the scholar conceives of the Nigerian military officer in the same way that it does the lawyer or doctor. It certainly does not accord to the Nigerian military officer the deference which it gives to the civilian professionals. This neglect by the Nigerian public as well as the scholar occasioned by gross ignorance of what the objective role of the military officer is all about and what it ought to be, enables the military officer to escape the scrutiny of the tax payer, who ordinarily ought to have been very alert and inquisitive. It is this neglect by both the public and the scholar, it would seem, that has led the Nigerian military to be influenced by an image of "superiority complex" in the public mind and, at times, to refuse to accept the implications of their own professional status.

When the term "professional" has been used in connection with the military, it normally has been in the sense of "professional" as contrasted with "amateur" rather than in the sense of profession as contrasted with "trade" or "craft". The phrases "professional army" and "professional soldier" have obscured the difference between the career enlisted man who is a professional in the sense of one who works for monetary gains, and the career officer who is professional in

the very different sense of one who pursues a "higher calling" in the service of society. No doubt the average Nigerian has been so confused by the turn of events in the last twenty years that he could not be bothered about what is and what is not. He prefers to be left alone.

### **The Military Officer as a Professional**

The vocation of officership meets the principal criteria of professionalism. It has been argued that in practice, no vocation, not even medicine or law, has all the characteristics of the ideal professional type. Officership probably falls somewhat further short of the ideal than either of these. Yet its fundamental character as a profession is undeniable.

The Nigerian military officer, whenever tested in the field of his specialisation at the international arena, meets adequately the professional expertise of his calling. Evidence abounds where the Nigerian military, as young as it is, has shown not to be any worse off than their contemporaries in the developed society, but that holds true when servicing with other forces. In peace time and within the boundaries of Nigeria the story has been different. The reasons for this mutually conflicting state of affairs is the concern of this paper as will be seen later.

Another question which we must answer immediately is *what is the specialised expertise of the military officer?* Is there, for instance, any skill common to all military officers in the military profession and yet not shared with any civilian group? Ordinarily, we are tempted to answer the question in the negative and even if we were to answer in the affirmative, we probably do not have an immediate reason for our answer. An answer to the question *not* the answer, may be framed thus: Because the officer corps appears to contain many varieties of specialists including large numbers which have their counterparts in civilian life — engineers, doctors, pilots, ordinance experts, personnel experts, intelligence experts, communications experts. These are found within and outside the modern officer corps. Even ignoring the technical specialists, each absorbed in his own branch of knowledge, just the broad division of the officer corps into the Army, the Navy and the Air Force appears to create vast differences in the functions, performances and the skills required. The captain of a cruiser and the commander of an Infantry Division appear to be faced with highly different problems requiring highly different abilities.

In answer to the question whether there is a specialised expertise common to military officers and not to their civilian counterparts, therefore, we say, yes. Yes, because a distinct sphere of military competence does exist which is common to all, or almost all, officers which distinguishes them all, or almost all, from civilians. This central skill is perhaps best summed up in Harold Lasswell's phrase, "the management of violence".

The function of a military force is successful armed combat. The duties of the military officer include:

1. the organising, equipping and training of this force;
2. the planning of its activities; and
3. the direction of its operation in and out of combat.

The direction, operation and control of a *human organisation whose primary function is the application of violence is the peculiar skill of the officer.*<sup>7</sup> It is common to the activities of all the armed services, air, land and sea officers. Therefore it must be borne in mind always that the peculiar skill of the officer is the management of violence, not the act of violence itself. "We are practitioners at the management of violence", said General Babangida in a television broadcast. This is what distinguishes the military officer qua military officer from the other specialists in the modern armed forces.

The skills of other experts within the officer corps may be necessary to the achievement of the objectives of the military force. But basically they are auxiliary vocations, having the same relation to the expertise of the officer as the skills of the nurse, chemist, laboratory technician, dietician, pharmacist, and X-ray technician have to the expertise of the doctor. None of the auxiliary specialists contained within or serving the profession is capable of the "management of violence", just as none of the specialists aiding the medical profession is capable of the diagnosis and treatment of illness.

Individuals, such as doctors, who are not competent to manage violence but who are members of the officer corps are normally distinguished by special titles and insignia and are excluded from positions of military command. They belong to the officer corps in its capacity as an administrative organisation of the State, but not as a professional body.

### **Military Leadership in Nigeria**

The search for leadership from the military perspective, as it relates to the Nigerian situation can only be a frustrating exercise in that a detailed analysis of the relationship between the officer corps and the

state, remains elusive because fear, suspicion and conflict are the yardsticks for measuring their respective relationship.

Everywhere, the executive has always been concerned with how to keep an effective check on its officer corps. Britain established the Royal Military College in 1802, and in the same year changed the Naval Academy into the Royal Naval College, and later came to possess adequate institutions of preliminary professional education. The Admiralty, moreover, had long adhered to a policy of "catch them young," enlisting future naval officers at the ages of twelve to fourteen.

Accordingly, if the naval officer was to get a general education, he had to get it from the Admiralty, hence from 1806-1837 an effort was made to supply this at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth. When the college was closed in 1837, naval cadets obtained their education at sea, being educated by headmasters on board ships afloat. The need for higher and specialised education led to relaxation of this system, thus permitting later the direct entry of cadets from public schools.

In 1954, the British introduced similar innovation into what later became the Nigerian Army. They established the Boys Company at Zaria, where boys of between thirteen and fourteen were enlisted and trained initially for four years.<sup>8</sup> The scheme commenced with an initial intake of thirty boys, fifteen from the North and fifteen from the South.<sup>9</sup>

The objective however was to supply technicians and junior non-commissioned officers (NCOs) to the Nigerian Army then under the Royal West African Frontier Force. Independent Nigeria as at then was still a dream so it would have been unlikely that the British wanted to build a sound Nigerian Army.<sup>9a</sup>

The Boys Company was later to metamorphose into the Nigerian Military School. Today, this school provides or supplies between 60 and 70 per cent of Nigerian Army officer requirement.<sup>9b</sup>

The French Law of 1818 was a bold attempt to exclude non-professional factors from advancement in the military profession. Staff promotion rules were made in the lower rank up to Lieutenant Colonel, while all appointments of colonels and general officers were by selection. More significantly, the law merited its title as the "Charter of the Army" because it guaranteed to the officer his rank except at instance of misbehaviour punished by court martial.

Prior to the 1966 takeover, the Nigerian Army operated on a similar platform but the 30-month civil war disrupted the system when all sorts of characters invaded the officer cadre.<sup>10</sup> The Nigerian military officer was the most promoted military professional anywhere in the world. Soon after the war, sanity was restored

quickly; hence the promotion examination was introduced, while a selection board was set up to select those to attend senior course at the Staff College overseas.<sup>11</sup>

Promotion thereafter in the junior ranks from Lieutenant up to Major was again based on passing a prescribed examination usually limited to practicals, except in the case of the Major rank where officers in this grade were required to pass not only a practical examination but a written examination to qualify for selection to the Staff College without which he could not hope to gain promotion beyond Lieutenant Colonel.

The Nigerian civil war enabled a large number of officers to gain promotion without having passed any examination and to be appointed to command positions of authority without responsibility. This crop of officers who entered the war barely as lieutenants soon found themselves in command of formations usually or normally reserved for officers who had completed and passed a course at the Command and General Staff College, and who by virtue of their ages and experience could be trusted with senior command.<sup>12</sup>

The coup of 1975 which removed General Gowon and installed General Murtala Mohammed who was later assassinated after six months, dealt a fatal blow to military discipline and, among other things, singularly questioned the officer-state relationship than anything else. Junior officers gained prominence over their seniors. It was about the same time that ethnicity and regionalism gained prominence in the armed forces. Religion also gained a permanent foothold in the officer corps of the country's armed forces.<sup>13</sup>

The failure of the Gowon administration to effect demobilisation of the overburdened Army of over 250,000 men with mobilised 1945 veterans enabled junior officers to retain command appointments for which they were not trained or adequately prepared for.<sup>14</sup>

So the destruction of discipline and professionalism in the Nigerian military started soon after January 15, 1966. The ill-conceived mass sackings in the civil service and erosion of confidence in the public service eventually led to the liquidation of the Nigerian military under General Ibrahim Babangida. Normally, all over the world, the military is subordinated to civil authority but the incessant military interruption in partisan politics in the country confused the officer corps as to where absolute discipline depended.<sup>15</sup>

General Babangida may not be held responsible for the initial disablement of the Nigerian Armed Forces; he only quickened its demise. He was wrong when he said in a nation-wide television broadcast in 1993, that soldiers "are practitioners in the management

of violence". What he ought to have said is, "we are practitioners in the art of violence", which is the perspective the Nigerian military comprehends today.

From time immemorial, governments have always been skeptical of the soldier. This fear culminated into the passing of the Bill of Rights in 1688 after the militia Act of 1861. The Bill of Rights, properly so called, provides as follows:

The raising or keeping of a standing army within the Kingdom in time of peace unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

There is no doubt that the authors of our 1979 Federal Constitution realised the inherent fear posed by the Nigerian military. That is why in Section 197(1) of the Constitution, specific responsibilities are assigned to the Armed Forces, viz;

- (a) defending Nigeria from external aggression;
- (b) maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air;
- (c) suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly; and
- (d) performing such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

The supremacy of the 1979 Constitution notwithstanding, our military elites continued to find it amusing to interrupt democratic processes without due regard to the limitation of their calling. Can one expect leadership from what appears to be a mercenary military? I do not think so.<sup>13</sup>

In view of recent events, leadership within the Nigerian military can hardly be located in the officer corps of our present military. Those who could have provided the much-needed leadership were either framed up and shot or were frustrated out of service. The officer corps is today bereft of professionalism, though not lacking in officers who serve the military for the purpose of earning an income.

Asked in a telephone interview with the BBC on December 1, 1994 whether his annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election has not been motivated by ethnic considerations, General Ibrahim Babangida retorted, "No. By our calling (as soldiers) we are immuned against ethnic influence." The truth is the precise opposite. The Nigerian military survives today on the ethnic strength of its members.

## Notes

1. The Nigerian Army Act, first promulgated October, 1960, now Cap 294 Laws of the Federation (LFN) 1990.
2. Airforce Act 1964, first promulgated February 1964, now Cap 15 LFN 1990.
3. Nigerian Navy Act 1964, first promulgated in May 1964, now Cap 288 LFN 1990.
4. African soldiers were sometimes referred to as "Native African," those promoted to non-commissioned officer rank (NCOs) were limited to control and command of fellow African soldiers only. A senior African non-commissioned officer was under the effective control of his white junior in rank.
5. See Huntington, *The Soldier and The State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relation*, pp. 11-15.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-45.
8. The author was among the second set of 30 boys of their age bracket in 1955 recruited on the principle of North-South consciousness. As at 1955, there were 60 boys from all over the country including the Cameroons. The nationality principle was not strictly enforced and one or two boys came from the Republic of Chad, then a French colony.
9. There was conscious adherence to the regional quota system. Boys were carefully selected on the basis of where they came from. Barring fraudulent representation equal number of boys came from the North and the South; there were two or three such fraudulent misrepresentation virtually every year. The concept of quota dates back to the 1950s, consciously or otherwise.
- 9a. The educational requirement for admission to the Boys Company was very low. In the South, boys who gained admission had completed their primary school; from the North however, no particular attention seemed to have been paid to the standard of education. Boys were supplied with all items of military uniforms and a greater attention was paid to military training such as learning about weapons, shooting, physical exercise including drill-swing and compass and map reading. The average boy soldier was expert at all of the above. Formal education gained no special advantage.
- 9b. As time went on, the Emirs began to show interest in the school hence they started sending their children. Academic performance eventually gained prominence when the school was renamed the Nigerian Military School. Since then their performance at the West African School Certificate has been very impressive. Not less than seventy per cent gain admission to the Nigerian Defence Academy. About twenty-five per cent of the rest are absorbed by the Universities where they qualify in specialist fields like engineering and medicine.

10. The entry standard into the officer corps was reduced in order to meet the vast enlargement of the size of the military from less than 10,000 all ranks including those who left for Biafra. The Army expanded rapidly to about 200% of its original size. Casualty rate of good and well trained officers was so high that the criteria for advancement were bravery and courage, with little or no intellectual base. There was lack of control in who got commissioned; some senior NCOs with sufficient aptitude were commissioned to the officer rank with little or no training.

Some survived and were absorbed into the regular officer cadre. No doubt the quality of Nigerian officers was adversely influenced while the lack of proper regimental life enabled mediocrity to gain prominence in the officer corps.

The coup of 1976, popularly referred to as the Major's Coup which led to the death of General Mohammed, was partly blamed on an attempt to streamline the officer corps through the elimination of the unqualified.

11. The introduction of the promotion examination which could not be followed during the period of the crisis led to professional improvement but those who escaped the examination and got to attend senior staff college courses brought back scandalous course performance reports which portray the Nigerian officer corps in very bad light. Some of them, if not most, survived to take up senior commands. The damage caused to the service by tolerating this below-average performance accounts for most of the crisis the army had which led eventually to several mutinies.

12. Until 1978, all senior staff courses were undertaken in foreign staff colleges which provided only limited military spaces. One, two or three officers at a time were admitted in foreign military staff colleges.

The author attended the United States Army Staff and General College in 1976/77 together with the present Chief of Defence Staff and the Chief of Army Staff. It was in the realisation of the need to absorb all or majority of the officers in the staff college that gave birth to the present Command and General Staff College in Jaji.

Both General Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha attended the senior staff college as pioneer members in 1978.

The establishment of the Staff College Jaji enabled a large number of the officers to have the benefits of attending the staff course. Courses one and two were limited to senior officers who had attained the rank of colonel and were already holding senior command appointments. Such officers need not have passed any examination to qualify as they had been promoted well above the rank of those required to write the qualifying examination.

13. It was after the assassination of General Murtala Mohammed that Lieutenant Colonel Shehu Yar'adua was promoted from that rank to Brigadier and appointed Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters. His appointment was based on both religious and regional considerations.  
This precedence shook the confidence in the officer rank. The grudges of General Bisalla against Murtala were said to have been centred on the fact that Brigadier Theophilus Y. Danjuma, his junior, had been promoted Lieutenant General and appointed Chief of Army Staff over him.
14. There was a large number of mobilised ex-servicemen of the World War II who were not demobilised at the end of the civil war and swelled the rank of the regular troops who in any case were far in excess of establishment. They did not set a bad example of discipline but had to be commanded, hence tying down young officers who could have been released for training. These junior officers lacked the necessary training and experience to be entrusted with battalion command in peace time. Consequently some got swollen-headed and started misbehaving. Corruption crept in and was never to be successfully arrested.
15. Some officers of the Nigerian military have never served under a civilian administration. They have therefore never experienced the meaning of military subordination to civil control. They cannot distinguish between discipline and loyalty to the constitution of the State.

## Commerce and Industry

### Chief Akin Apará (Lead Speaker)

I wish to express my appreciation to the organisers of this Dialogue who have given me the opportunity to contribute to the discussion on private sector leadership problems, as an aspect of the deterioration in the cohesion and discipline required to ensure economic development of our country which good leadership can ensure.

I would like to begin by indicating how members of this sector are recruited. To be able to own a business, you must first learn how to run a business successfully, that is, make profits in a moral and legal way. Your leadership quality will show in the level of success you have achieved in what you have done as an individual or have mobilised others to do.

Those who start business in a small way and grow gradually to make more profits must have shown great initiative and determination to succeed. Claims to leadership will be measured in

terms of the quality of success. But it is possible for those who are already very wealthy from other professions to enter business. I would suggest that if in five or six years of entry, they have not lost all their money, they may be able to lay their claim into leadership position in business, a little longer in business than in politics.

Some people enter business to legitimise their fabulous wealth from some other sources as a stepping stone to enter politics, so that they can make more money. Some of them give freely to charity in high profile government supported or charitable programmes! But are they successful leaders?

The main institutional frameworks for breeding leaders in commerce and industry in Nigeria are trade organisations or trade associations. These are different from other business organisations or companies or the professional associations, who are also doing business. A trade organisation may be defined as a "voluntary association of business firms, organised on a geographical or industrial basis to promote and develop commerce and industrial opportunities within their spheres of operations, to voice publicly the views of members, on the matters of common interest or in some cases to exercise some measure of control over prices, output, and channels of distribution." (see *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15th edition, Vol. II, p.886.) Examples include the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industries, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria and NACCIMA — The National Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture.

Business Associations are established for promoting and developing commerce and industrial opportunities in various countries depending on the level of the growth of business in that country. We may distinguish these bodies from professional associations whose main function is the promotion and maintenance of professional practice, ethics and discipline in such professions.

The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) looks after special manufacturers' interests, which may not be adequately covered by general commercial and industrial interests of the various Chambers of Commerce and Industries in Nigeria. In some European countries like France, Germany and Belgium, business associations were established by law and are funded by the Government, but the Nigerian Chamber movements are by and large voluntary organisations although in some of the newly established Chambers state support and funding have been noticed as the rule.

The Nigerian Association of Women in Business and the recently established Money Market Association of Nigeria which focuses on

the promotion and development of the Nigerian money market are other trade associations which tend to focus on special interests in the economy.

The Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry which recently held its 106th Annual General Meeting is the leading and oldest Chamber of Commerce in Nigeria. It pioneered the development of the major city chambers throughout the country. It has also nurtured to maturity, the National Association of Chambers of Industries Mines and Agriculture, as well as the Federation of the City Chambers in West Africa. In 1972, it was also responsible as the moving spirit for the establishment of the West African Chambers of Commerce for the whole sub-region with the cooperation of the city chambers of Accra, Lome and Freetown. This was the forerunner of ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States with the strong support of the Lagos, Accra, Freetown, Lome and Cotonou city chambers. Despite the success indicated above political and economic differences have made it difficult for the organised private sector to speak with one voice in Nigeria.

Majority of successful businessmen do not participate in chamber movement in Nigeria. They do not have for it they are more interested in joining and contributing to political parties, pressure or interest groups because of the expected patronage from those in the corridor of power. There are costs to such choices, for the inefficiencies of the groups will reinforce each other.

- Growth of awareness of Chamber of Commerce movement country-wide was initiated by the Lagos Chamber of Commerce, for this was important for its own growth.
- Visits by trade delegations to foreign countries and the reception of visiting foreign companies have been a platform for investment promotion in Nigeria and may have been very successful.
- The indigenisation of our Company Law 1968, had large inputs from the Chamber movement, the nationalism of businessmen to assert their independence and not as subsidiaries of bigger companies.
- Agitation for the Indigenisation Decree which was passed into law in 1972 reserved certain types of business for Nigerians. The decree was revisited in 1988/1989 following claims that some groups took undue advantage because of the location of indigenised businesses in different parts of the country. The decree has now been repealed, in the drive toward a free market.
- Private sector inputs into government policy in respect of tariffs and taxation, the management of foreign exchange, monetary

policy and the warped development of the financial sector has not helped as much as we may have wished.

- Export promotion, the control and regulation of imports, and the protection of infant industries have not been as successful as they were meant to be.

To conclude, one may look at the consequences of failed leadership in the areas of government and private sector co-operation as shown in increasing complaints of indiscipline, corruption, inflation, high unemployment rate, increasing poverty, armed robbery and lack of security all of which have increased capital flight from Nigeria during the last five years, and may continue to bring down the economy and the standard of living of our people. The current level of conflicts and lack of trust in the intentions of various groups will continue until some drastic action is taken to stop the decline. It has become clearer that Nigerians have not agreed on the terms of their association and the goals which the association will set for itself. It is the duty of our leaders to reach for these terms of one association and evolve them to encourage both political and economic development.

During crises, in all human societies, false prophets usually abound with promises of moving a stagnant society forward. Before you can move this heterogenous country forward you must first stop the decline. There are two examples, from whose experience Nigeria may benefit. Let us choose India and Japan: India for its diversity and size and the stability of its leadership, in spite of grave crises and large scale communal disturbances; Japan for the rapid way it has grown from a very backward country, just one hundred years ago, to a subjugated and humiliated country at the end of world war II, to a modern economic superpower. It is obvious that the foundation of the growth laid towards the close of the last century which was disrupted by the preparation for war, and the war itself, have been overcome.

Japan's GDP in 1990 was over \$3.5 billion, second only to that of USA and about twice that of Germany, the next economic power after Japan.

The various groups in alliance with the dominant expatriate capitalist companies are in joint exploitation of the resources, and have been able to play one group against the others in a deliberate game of divide and rule. This has made the total independence of the groups almost impossible as special interests have become more important than the common interest.

The different religious and cultural differences of the groups also contribute to misunderstandings, even among the working class and professional groups who have not been strong enough to challenge the conservatism of the centre.

In the early stages of development, the government guided the private sector in Japan to modernise the economy which was feudal; the economy was liberalised; people were educated to adopt western civilisation and to increase production by developing industries. Western science and technology was used deliberately through the Japanese spirit to ensure equal development of the various feudal societies.

People were involved in the process of bold economic liberalisation to transform the economy. The feudal class system was modernised. Freedom was granted to the entire labour force; farmers were allowed to own their land to allow free transactions in landed properties, free choice of cropping and free transactions in their products. Western type of liberation of a free competitive system was introduced. All these developments were allowed to be absorbed in the Japanese cultural system, where new relationships were developed to enable the growing productive class to participate in the results of the increased production.

In India it was a little different. The caste system was allowed to continue, whilst the new capitalist system of production which was based on the old trading houses of the major Indian cities, was not disturbed. The alliance which was with the distinct political class and the civil servants who had full control over the military forces, was able to provide some stability in the system. The cooperation of the civil service and the military provided the discipline which assisted the growth and development of leadership in the commercial and industrial classes. The cooperation of the various states and the Union Government of India has ensured the stable polity and gradual development has assisted in reducing the poverty and gradual development of the masses of underdeveloped Indians.

There was no attempt to separate the wealthy industrial and commercial group from participating in the governance of the country. Even though it is obvious from all records that unequal economic development in India may be worse than the present economic inequality in Nigeria, no group has suggested that because one section or ethnic group has the so-called "control of the economy," that group should be excluded from governance. It is the same illogical situation that is also preventing the minority communities, from where the major present resource of the country is realised, from benefiting fully from the resource. Unfortunately they are also being excluded from active input into governance because they are in the minority. A situation that allows this contradiction is not good enough for a developing country.

## Religion

### Rev. Fr. M.H. Kukah (Lead Speaker)

Everywhere one turns or looks, Nigeria's seemingly imminent decay and collapse are palpable. What is not immediately clear to us is the depth of the decay and the timing of the collapse. Indeed, the prophets have been at it for a long time, and given the millenerian nature of the times, visioners, seers, shamans, prognosticators, *babakwas* and witches are laying claim to the ability to predict with precision when all things will run their course. This explains why everything — wealth, education, housing, food and every good thing in life — will have to wait for the year 2000 before they become available to us.

Following very closely to the season of anomie has been the escalation of all forms of dubious prescriptions for those who want to benefit from them. Who is responsible for Nigeria's tragic predicament? You ask this question and you get so many hands going up and the answers are very many indeed. Most answers however centre on the crisis of the leadership cadre that we have in the country. There are of course many other areas around which the debate is held, but Nigerians generally concede that the absence of genuine leadership accentuates the tensions that have been our trademark. Furthermore, as one tries to follow the debates, it is not difficult to see that they are again at time merely extensions of our genuine ignorance of ourselves, our history and culture or some age-old prejudices that just won't go away. Let us take the most common examples that we use to explain our inability to move ahead.

*Colonialism:* Here, the colonial administrators argue that their *civilising missions* did pay off and that if things are not working well in Nigeria, it is merely because the succeeding elite whom they groomed dropped the ball. After all, things are not so bad in other British colonial states, e.g. the United States, India, Egypt, Syria, Libya or Indonesia. Our successor elites, on the other hand, argue that the British did not send in their best bureaucrats to Nigeria as they did elsewhere, that they kept the master plan of this *civilisation* locked away in London. More importantly, their economic interests were far more important to them and as such, they were more enamoured with the conservative stratum of the colonial state that became Nigeria than the welfare of the whole populace.

*North-South Divide:* If one accepts the popular issue of the problems of colonialism, then the arguments move from there to the plausible plane of the artificiality of the component units that made up the

nation finally. The colonial administration perpetrated what has now come to be known as the North/South divide by its skewed policies of disproportionate administrative units.

*Religion:* Again almost as a corollary, it is always argued that the nature of the colonial attitudes to the two universal religions, Islam and Christianity in Nigeria did not help matters in any way. To this end, it is not strange that one hears the common refrain about the *religious problem* in our country today.

*Ethnicity:* There have been claims that it was the colonialists who politicised ethnicity, that in reality, various ethnic groups lived in relative peace and harmony, with occasional tensions which hardly went beyond their various boundaries with their neighbours. But whichever way we look at it, it is presently one of the sore areas of our national life.

The outpouring of emotions that we have had since the annulment of Presidential Elections held on the 12th June, 1993, have in themselves been further manifestations of the depth or lack of it of our understanding and appreciation of the complexities of the problems that dog the Nigerian state and the means to resolve them. My understanding is that this gathering is an attempt to wade through these murky waters. I wish to now attempt my own interpretations of the moral issues of leadership in our country vis-a-vis the general theme of this conference.

### Morality and the Leadership Crisis in Nigeria

A friend of mine who is in faith an agnostic and a social scientist, a very keen observer of the Nigerian social, political and historical scenes, once remarked that it was impossible for any one to try to rule Nigeria without *pretending* to be religious. The emphasis here is on the word, *pretending*. Further reflections have led me to believe that this problem is not peculiar to Nigeria. In fact, even the most so-called civilised, developed or democratic societies which we are constantly seeking to mimic, face the same problem. Despite claims to their secular status, the pervasive nature of religion has continued to dog many and every a state house. Consequently, in the United States or in the United Kingdom, no one can indeed aspire to high political office without the appearance of possessing a certain degree of moral luggage by religious affiliation. Therefore, this problem, contrary to popular myth, is not in any way peculiar to us in Nigeria alone. For

the purpose of our discourse, we need to ask: how has the issue of morality affected sectoral leadership?

To answer this question we need to situate it within the context of the Nigerian political scene. Thus, what obtained in the North, the East and the West varies from one area to the other as we shall briefly show. Obviously, the manifestation of the issue of morality in relation to the nature of the political behaviour of our leaders cannot be narrowed down to one political space. This is because a close study of this behaviour shows us a more complex arena. It is interesting to note that this political behaviour constantly changes in reaction to the new realities on the ground, be they political or cultural as we shall show here.

### Religion and Sectoral Leadership in Northern Nigeria

In my book *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, I illustrated the symbiotic relationship between these three components. This is by no means exhaustive nor is it exclusive in any way.

Many people tend to forget that northern Nigeria emerged from the throes of a theocratic state. People tend to assume rather glibly that the empire of Usman Dan Fodio (the Sokoto Caliphate) passed away with the conquest of the British forces in 1903. We must remember that in the theocracy, being Muslim was everything. There were no other ways of upward mobility outside the context. To the extent that his scions are still very much alive, living that legacy and holding on to those ideals remains a key component in every area of life. The values that have followed therefrom are values that are related to a stratified society in which the ruler and the ruled, the believers and non-believers all live in various worlds apart.

Thus, when Nigeria became independent and the talk of politics came in, political competition had to be situated along these lines. This is why Sokoto, and by extension, Islam, came to hold such a predominant position in the scheme of things. That explains the reason why various arms of government were baptised in Islamic idioms.

Three main points can be used to sum up the attempt to impose these values on the larger society: the cultural transformation of the landscape in terms of appearances of non-Muslims in Hausa/Fulani attire, the adoption of these names, the Conversion Campaigns of the Sardauna among his own followers, and the involvement of Islamic nations with financing the Islamisation of northern Nigeria. A wider interpretation of these events is important in understanding the mental attitudes of the various groups that make up the northern

states of Nigeria today. It is this imposition of Islamic ethos across the northern polity that made it impossible for non-Muslims to rise to the highest level of political life in northern Nigeria at least at that time. We shall come back to this question later on.

### Religion and Sectoral Leadership in Western Nigeria

It has been argued that for the Yoruba, ethnic loyalty overweighs religious loyalty. This has been used as a camouflage to explain away the seeming serene climate of religious tolerance in the politics of the area. It is evident that for a long time, this half truth was accepted. However, a closer examination of the issues relating to power in the area tells us a different story altogether. It will be recalled that to all intents and purposes, Yoruba Muslims have always seen themselves as being very much marginalised in the politics of their own area.

Their response to this perceived marginalisation has been interpreted in the context of the political realities of the area. For example, the late Chief Awolowo under whose aegis this gathering is organised, did say many times over that the demonstration of his commitment to religious equality could be seen in the fact that he sent his own sister on the Muslim pilgrimage and that he also took the unprecedented step of acquiring the first pilgrimage residence for Nigerian pilgrims in Mecca.

Commendable as this is, it can only be better appreciated within the context of other realities. This includes the struggle of the Muslims to form a Muslim Party to obviate their perceived marginalisation. So, in a way, it was a case of almost being holier than the Pope! But these were realities of the times. And if for nothing else, the move deserved commendation because, unlike his counterparts in the North, it showed great sensitivity to minority anxieties and fears, and it thus rendered the Muslim opposition redundant.

### Religion and Sectoral Leadership in Eastern Nigeria

Unlike the religious, social or ethnic formations that would later become political parties in the North and the West, the situation in the East was very different. The difference arises from the fact that the party which Dr. Azikiwe formed was made up of majority of those who struggled together for independence. It was therefore a pan-Nigerian party. But when later developments reduced its national outlook, it became an expression of the Igbo national agenda. Thus, the rather wide-ranging ecumenical worldview of the founder and

leader, enabled it to steer clear of religion at least up to a point. Later developments would find expressions in the political posturings of Catholics and Protestants.

Having briefly sketched these pictures, it is now necessary for us to look more closely at the factors, if any, that have warranted or facilitated any major changes in the religious expressions of leadership in Nigeria. It is evident that one of the major spurs for changes in the orientation of leadership in Nigeria has been the redefinition of the political space, namely the creation of more states and the local government areas. Each of these developments has contributed to changing the way the various nationalities perceive themselves and one another. What is more, the reality of political competition in a federal arrangement imposes its own logic, which is that the leader must be seen to be wearing the spiritual and cultural apparel of all the constituencies.

This is what explains the dramatic changes in political behaviour to some extent in the politics of the Second Republic and to a much greater extent in the aborted Third Republic. For example, Alhaji Shehu Shagari's success in many areas outside his immediate constituency can be explained by many reasons, not least of which is that he at least had a southerner and a Christian as a running mate in the 1979 elections. In 1984, the military duo of Buhari and Idiagbon (both Muslims and northerners) came to power. But whatever any one had against them, much of it had nothing to do with the fact that both of them were northerners and Muslims. In 1993, with Chief Abiola defying the common law of spiritual gravity, he still was ahead in the polls in many areas of non-Muslim influence in spite of the peculiarity of his choice. From here, we can draw a few conclusions for the sake of these brief remarks.

## Conclusion

First, the moral crisis is part of the crisis of our existence. It will be with us for as long as we live because it is part of our consciousness, purification and growing up as individuals and communities. The responsibility of the political leadership is not to set these standards by themselves. No, their responsibility is to help in creating a conducive environment for the growth of the various moral ideals.

Secondly, leadership comes in various shapes and forms. Political leadership is just one form. However, given its centrality, it behoves the leadership to ensure that their own conduct and behaviour do not

serve as a legitimation of evil. To do this, politicians must be able to strike a balance between political expediency and moral rectitude.

Third, the basis of leadership in every form is the attainment of justice. Justice is merely a human process for the enforcement and attainment of moral behaviour that can enhance the good of the greatest number.

Fourth, more often than not, human choices and God's choices do not always tally. We find examples even in such epic political decisions like the choice of King David. In the story, we learn that whereas both David's father and his brothers had their own ideas as to who qualified to become king, God, through Samuel felt otherwise. What became evident was the fact that God's choice had nothing to do with what is commonly called popular choice or acclaim, which is more often than not based on the things that we can see, feel and touch, indeed the things that influence the flesh.

In the same way, we also learn in the Bible that even once chosen, the leaders must constantly be aware of their human weaknesses and seek to discover and do God's will. And that is why King Solomon remains the quintessential man of wisdom because when God gave him the chance to ask for anything whatsoever that he needed in his life, he did only ask for wisdom. So once chosen, leaders must have the patience and commitment to the search for wisdom to do good and God's will as the example of Solomon shows. Weak leaders must have the courage to fall and get up as St. Peter did. He rose from the denial of Jesus out of fear to being the leader of the Church of God on earth.

Fifth, a leader does not have to have all the answers. He finds the answers by listening to the questions which his people are asking. What is evident is the fact that no matter what happens, human beings will always learn to live with the gap that exists between theory and practice, and this means that no one has all the answers. Leadership is about providing service to those over whom the leaders administer. And this can and will always remain very difficult because human need, fired by greed and the instinct for self-preservation will always want different things at different times and the wells of need will always remain unquenchable.

When the leader realises what his people's needs are and he does his best to meet them, the people will always be able to understand. It is when leaders fall prey to deceit, greed and pride that they start to look for escape routes and talk of ethnicity, religion or regionalism and so on.

Sixth, the people themselves must never come to see a leader as the one who merely gives the command. There is a sense in which

they have to and can set standards by doing their best and seeking to overcome the prejudices that exist in the various areas of their works. When this happens, the people, liberated by their own selfless commitment to the common good, can always call the wayward leader to the line when he seeks to introduce conflict as a means to legitimization and covering up his weakness.

In the final analysis, every section of society must make its own contribution for the greater good of the whole community. Leaders who work with a populace that knows what it wants will never fall for the bait that the weak or incompetent leaders set. It was Mahatma Gandhi who is quoted as having said: *There go my people, I must hurry, because I am their leader.*

This Dialogue is an acknowledgement of the great sacrifice which the great Chief Awolowo made for us. Most people keep making the mistake of thinking that the greatest tragedy is that the Chief never ruled Nigeria. Well, may be. I however have a slightly modified view. It is God who bestows leadership. The final judgement must be whether those who actually sat on the throne are now more remembered than Awolowo. Nigeria is definitely the better for the fact that he passed by.

## Discussion

Mr. Fijabi

I have listened to Dr. Ezeife's submission and conclusion that the military is guilty of poor leadership and indirectly exploiting the civilians, especially the politicians of which he is a key actor. My first hypothesis is this: whether military or civilian, the present crop of leadership in the country has failed us. We need a replacement leadership and a leaders' leader. There is no way by which the present, any member of the present ruling class or the past, can avoid condemnation. They are all going and they must go.

I find it difficult to absorb what a military man was telling me last night. He was separating himself from political life so as to remain sane. If any member of my generation is still sane in Nigeria today, it is because we are enjoying the special grace of God. You are sending us into a field of madness and we refuse to go mad, instead, we will send you packing by the special grace of God.

So, talking about leadership, the solution to the present leadership crisis in Nigeria is the emergence of a new crop of leaders and that means without you all.

**Pastor Ola Ojo**

I want to reflect on something. We all agree that Chief Awolowo was the best candidate and if he had become the President in 1979, Nigeria would not be like this. There are other people like Awolowo in Nigeria, even today. The issue has always been that the good people have not been opportuned to rule! Why is it that only the blind, the deaf, the dumb are the people ruling?

Those who are ruling us are having the spirit of the devil and so they are perpetrating evil. They are locusts. They invade us and what we are seeing in Nigeria is the devastating effect of locusts. And so, the solution does not lie with man. Man has the knowledge but man has no wisdom. We need the wisdom to get the right man and it is going to be by divine intervention.

We need to go back and pray. Inside us we can pray and say 'God, give us a good leader'. A good leader will produce good followers and I pray in Jesus name that we find a good leader.

**Mr. Ekem**

I share with Professor Akande in her pessimism that we may not return to civilian rule soon. At the same time I note that, according to Professor Clarke, the colonial interference in the culture of the people has caused a lot of mental damage, what some people would call 'mental rape' on the people's disposition. The consequence of such exploitation on the people is devastating. If Nigeria is eighty years as suggested previously, I would like to condemn the first crop of leaders along with the new generation or the present generation leaders because they added to the mental agony of the people due to imperialism. They succeeded in setting up the people against themselves when they had nothing to offer them. Today, they have destroyed Nigeria and they even destroyed their so-called lieutenants. The ideological crisis we have today and their positions in their so-called camps are because they have nothing to offer the people.

We really have to work on the leaders, the led and those who are aspiring to lead, to set up the environment that will promote leadership and to groom more people that will really be leaders in our socio-cultural context.

**Mr. Isola-Osobu**

Looking at the moral question raised by Rev. Kukah, the time has come for the so-called leaders to ask themselves whether they remember that there are also human beings in this country who are

poor. I don't think they know. I am talking of beggars and people who are employed but who are equally living like beggars. Be they military or civilian, do they know that people are very, very hungry in this country? Do they know they can learn from these poor people? The point I am making is that no leadership can come from anywhere where these poor people, deprived of their privilege, the down-trodden people, are ignored.

#### **Chief (Mrs.) Kuye**

The most important issue is that we need an enabling environment for good leadership in this country and the attributes that I consider are necessary for good leadership had been mentioned by Rev. Kukah and some of the speakers. We need godly leaders, we need faithful leaders, we need patriotic leaders and an enabling environment. Right now, do we have educated followership? Do we have faithful people following the leaders? How in this country are we bringing up our children in the family? Since these young children are going to be the leaders of tomorrow, the home is very, very important. Part of this enabling environment is to follow the rules of the game, to play the games in accordance with what is set down. We have not been playing the games properly. We have our constitution, we are not playing the games as laid down by the constitution. Let us follow all the things laid down in our constitution with the fear of God in our hearts. This is important. Let us have people-oriented programmes and whatever our leaders do must be fair to all, bring goodwill and be just. We must also have ethics in this country, ethics in all the facets of our lives because we presently don't have ethics. If we follow the ethics that are followed in other countries and follow all the rules in our constitution, we would not have found ourselves in this political impasse as Nigeria is today. Everything has been ruined; the educational system, etc.

We must move forward and the only way we can move forward is if we are just. Justice is very, very important. Let us be just, let our leaders be just to the people; let them be truthful to the people. I think if we do these we shall move forward.

#### **Chairman**

Ayatollah of Iran is the most important Iranian that has lived today. He never was a member of the government but he inspired the government. In the same way, before Chief Awolowo died, I had the same feeling that the man and his ideas will live on forever. When Awo was leaving government he said, although he was leaving government, he hoped that his ideas would live with the government.

I have worked with many military governments. The law is that each government has been worse than the preceding one. You may doubt it but try it empirically. You see, even when you apply to the civilians in the days of regional government and all that, you will find the thing that will strike you. If the Awolowo generation had continued to rule this country, the young man who says we should all be shot would have had a different country to live in.

I was with them, they used very little money and they produced results. I am here, I'm speaking to you as an Awo scholar. It was under Awolowo scholarship scheme that I went to Oxford. Before then, the Federal Government used to award four scholarships a year to study abroad. But when Awo came, over 200 were awarded by the Western Region, even the Eastern Region tried to follow. The Northern Region was first to follow. This was how state intervention in education on a large scale to produce the professional class set in.

When we talk about creation of states, it was also all due to Chief Awolowo. I can say so because I was part of the initial creation of states, the Mid-West State. In fact, I had the privilege of writing the speech he read. If Awolowo did not support the creation of the Mid-West State, there would be no state today, because Balewa said that the creation of any state in Nigeria would be over his dead body; because it would lead to disintegration if we start with any region. But Awolowo countered that it could start with the West, because he believed in whatever he preached. He believed that creation of states was good and it wouldn't matter if it started with the West, but what Awo wanted was creation of states based on the linguistic principle. It could have led to lopsidedness and all that, but the current debate would not have been on. Nigeria would have been a different country if it were all modelled on the linguistic principle.

**SESSION 4**



## SESSION 4

# Cultural and Geopolitical Considerations

**Chairman:** *Chief (Mrs) Fola Ighodalo*  
**Lead Speakers:** *Chief Wunmi Adegbonmire*  
*Dr. Bashir Ikara*

### Chairman

Ladies and gentlemen, I usually look forward to the Dialogue every year since we started. I normally like to sit quietly somewhere at the back, just listen to what others have to say about the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo. I belong to the Western Region, but much more significantly, I was an Awolowo scholar. I had the greatest privilege of serving as one of the core administrative officers he organised to make self-government first in the Western Region effective, because he said, "I, Obafemi Awolowo, only know politics and I am responsible for politics". For self-government to be effective we need our own people in the top echelon of the civil service. And he sent Chief Adebo out to go and look for, fish out prospective civil servants, and I was just finishing then, having had one year of Awolowo scholarship to finish my degree in Economics and I was one of the very first set of people recruited by Chief Adebo into the administrative service.

That is a story for another day. Today, we are discussing the problem of leadership and since we have eminent people here to do justice of this subject, this time let me sit back and listen to their professional and well-researched experience and papers. First I have the privilege of calling on Chief Wunmi Adegbonmire.

### Wunmi Adegbonmire (Lead Speaker)

It is implicit in the title of the topic under discussion that culture and geo-political considerations have a part to play in the cultivation of effective leadership of Nigeria. Malinowski has this to say about culture:

Culture is partly human, partly spiritual, and partly materialistic. In its humanistic aspect, culture consists of ideas, values, knowledge, philosophy, law, morals, and so on.

In its spiritual aspect, it consists of a system of beliefs and religious practices.

In its materialistic aspect, it consists of artifacts and consumer goods made by man, as opposed to things found in nature.

Culture is a distinguishing factor between man and man.

This quotation depicts that the human aspect highlights laws, customs and mores of the people as essential ingredients. A cultured man is synonymous with a gentleman. In the Yoruba culture, for instance, it means *Omo lua-bi*, that is, a man who is "urbane, refined in manners, versed in the traditional wisdom, considerate and mindful of other people's feelings".<sup>1</sup>

Each age grade in Yoruba has assigned to it appropriate tasks which allow for the interplay of wisdom that tasks the brain rather than the brawn (raw energy). At all material times, full regard and respect are given to collective interests of the society or community; therefore, unbridled and individualistic competition and acquisition is tempered with due consideration for the feelings of others. In fact, individual interests dovetail into, and complement, those of the community. This creates cohesion and togetherness, and promotes commonality of interests. Has Nigeria subscribed to or accepted this ethos?

The success of any enterprise, be it governmental, political, economic, religious, academic or administrative, is based on potent, disciplined and purposeful leadership. Those who are in the category of leaders must have the ability, including brains, rather than brawn, to lead. It is the duty of a leader to provide information or hints towards the solution of any gnawing problems or evidence that can lead to their resolution.

While a leader provides clues to the resolution of problems, a leader like a lodestar would, by example, encourage others to operate within basic moral principles. His moral fibre would certainly enable him to be credible enough not only to pull the people through difficulties but also be a route or a means of access to the promised land. A leader ought not to be part of the problem or should not be the problem. Above all, he should lead without becoming leaden.

It is usual for Nigerians to conjure the picture of our politicians each time leadership problems are discussed. This is because of the stranglehold of politics on all aspects of our life as a people. The late sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, once observed this and stated that: For

the avoidance of doubt and misunderstanding, we would like to stress that: 'Leader' includes 'politicians,' 'judges,' 'chairmen and members of commissions, boards, corporations and other government agencies,' and 'senior officers in all our public services, including the armed forces.'

We also find, in our approach to most of our national problems, similar confusion regarding how we perceive issues. We become slaves to the studied propaganda that bombards our airwaves as well as the rhetorics and sheer verbiage which are the hallmarks of public figures at official functions. Our psyche has been so assailed through endless repetitions of banalities that we too share the conviction of the functionaries in the efficacy of these clichés at the solution to the problem of lack of adequate leadership.

Over the years, we have been bludgeoned through sustained propaganda into believing that it is a mortal sin, for instance, for a Yoruba person to describe himself or herself as Yoruba. It would be pointed out that he or she should have described himself or herself as a Nigerian as if the two are mutually exclusive and not complementary. In practical terms, I cannot be a good Yoruba man if I am not a good Akure man, neither can I be a good Nigerian if I am not a good Yoruba. As long as we continue to delude ourselves into believing that to be good and patriotic Nigerians we must disown our basic roots, the grafting (or the chimera) will not flourish. Its growth will not only be stunted, it will die of political apoplexy.

We must come out of this deceit and channel the latent attributes of the various national groups into building a vibrant and virile nation. Fortunately, it is easy to pin-point the beginning of the decline of the quality of our leadership. We know when we got into the present situation. In the midst of abundance, the nation became saddled with picking its leaders from the bottom of the barrel and it became fashionable for leaders to lie with effortless ease. Irresponsibility became the distinguishing badge of leadership.

The years since 1985 have echoed the reality that new initiates into positions of leadership need not grow or be inducted into their new status and be made, through some period of tutelage, to appreciate the value of the rights and obligations of their new positions. The deafening cry was, 'this is the time of the youth.'

In the traditional society, the leader must attune himself to leading by example and if he erred, there were sanctions. They could be very severe. Things have changed more drastically especially during the last ten years. Nigerians have watched with debilitating amazement the complete abandonment of principles at all levels of leadership. The

label pinned on the emergent politics from the military mint is "new-breed" (some say it is new-greed). Of course it became a contemptible cliché as it became an avenue for aggressive and individualistic (at times bombastic) competition which is not likely to produce selfless leaders but instant millionaires with faith in the power of money. This was the beginning of the sharp decline in our effort to sustain the continuum which nurtured the growth of credible leadership between 1951 and 1983.

The past ten years have, indeed, been a circus show marked by the clumsy wearing of big agbada, heavily and expensively embroidered, paucity of ideas and lack of mass-oriented programmes. The period was noted for its imprecision, uncertainties and reactionary leadership which led to despondency. To complete the total destruction of selfless leadership, and to secure the acquiescence of the masses, we were told that old conflicts and structures were being dismantled or eliminated to give way to a new brand Nigeria whereas the victim of this destabilising and goal-less experiment was the leadership cadre.

Instilled into the political stream was the idea of "co-founders and co-joiners" of the government-fathered parties, a euphemism for what turned out to be disorder and indiscipline and which led to the attenuation of party politics. It was a charade from which decent people had to distance themselves. Through this process, the Nigerian society was recast in a mould that would be perpetually malleable for those who are intent on holding on to the political jugular vein of Nigeria.

Ordinarily, the leadership of the country ought to be earned and not awarded like a bursary. Some of the weapons used to confuse and diffuse efforts at sustaining respectable leadership were the rhetorics which obscured links and gaps in the chain of reasoning. "Hunches, impressions and assumptions were given parity with facts; minor changes were magnified into epic achievements, uncertain indications were sold to the public as certain proofs; evidence capable of multiple interpretations were treated as the gospel; sceptics and critics, with their dissentient voices, and who were no less patriotic, were labelled as extremists and pariahs and their genuine criticisms dismissed as the outcome of a psychological inability or unwillingness to acknowledge a profoundly changing society."

## **The Intelligentsia**

The raging plague did not spare the intelligentsia. It tossed and parted this class, and finally brought it into utter disrepute through cajolery and outright bribery. Strictly speaking, we cannot make a sustainable claim in Nigeria that we have a viable and reliable intelligentsia comparable to what obtains elsewhere. We are yet to have a 'compact, cohesive enclave of intellectuals, clearly demarcated from the rest of society, with their own traditions and their idioms.'

However, we have a broad spectrum of groups whose members try to act as the vectors of what the society's explicit ideas and values ought to be. These include journalists, academics, teachers, scientists, technologists, artists, lawyers, doctors, writers, religious leaders and students. It is begging the obvious to emphasise that these are critically important for the survival of any society, Nigeria not excepted, not because of their number but because of their unique role as 'sources of consciousness in society.'

The intelligentsia form the artisans of the formal culture of the society. Any leadership which does not enlist and cultivate their participation cannot make appreciable impact on the society. Intellectuals are the inevitable mediators of any major change in any civilised society. Therefore, in our search for national leadership, and to checkmate the current decadence, we must make a studied detour through the intelligentsia whose members are capable of sensitising the needed consciousness and awareness. In achieving our goal, we must recognise the enormity of the task ahead. A lot of our intellectuals today are dissolute and disillusioned — a situation which makes them susceptible to compromise on cherished principles. There is a very worrisome deep inertia and lack of commitment to fundamental change. Those who ought to be at the vanguard of change are being sucked into the stench that needs to be cleared.

There is also the difficult task of welding together heterogeneous and diffuse congeries of phratries, tribes and nationalities. It is idle speculation to expect a custom-made solution to the inherent problems of Nigeria's diversity. But we need tolerance, patience, understanding and respect for one another and, above all, genuine dialogue (certainly not a monologue) and create a conducive atmosphere for an enduring state craftsmanship.

National leadership will endure and be sustained on free ventilation of ideas and unfettered discussion of our problems. It is unhelpful and, indeed, counter-productive to rely on a leadership that lacks direction and operates a society with the feeblest flicker of

interest in public affairs.

Unfortunately, in order to advance narrow interests, some Nigerians engage in the nauseating and divisive philistinism of sheer mystification of destined roles for the various nationalities in the country. No doubt this is a self-serving objective of asking us all to accept this heresy with its mystique of deference to, and the worship of, ethnic hierarchy and superiority in commerce, political administration and technological wizardry.

There is need to marry the political structure of Nigeria to its ethnic contours and this is in no way antithetical to the organic unity of the country. Each ethnic unit is intimately and dialectically related to one another; but it would be injurious, and indeed myopic and unhelpful, not to accept that the vitality, growth and development of each nationality is a precondition, perhaps a priority, for the corporate and peaceful existence of Nigeria.

The autonomy being demanded in local affairs by each component group is not an attempt to create a myriad of 'reflection mirrors for the narcissism' of local, ambitious and prospective gubernatorial aspirants. It is on the other hand a bold attempt to give the nation an authentic vitality that links all the component parts in an enduring and sentimental sociogram. Thus, the autonomy of the component parts must be respected as that of the federation itself. This would engender greater enthusiasm to stay together. Any imposition, even by force of arms, would be shortlived and come to grief sooner than later. As Edmund Burke has reminded us, 'The use of force alone is but temporary, it may subdue for the moment but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again, and a nation is not governed which has to be perpetually conquered.' The lesson from this is that we must break with the existing repressive and oppressive culture.

### The Welfare of the People

Our search for an enduring and credible leadership with focus on the cultural and geo-political aspect, will be incomplete without consideration of the welfare of the people. With the active intervention of the IMF and the World Bank in the shaping of our economic policy, a lot of well-placed elites have become the mouth-piece of outright reaction and they see social welfare programmes as the bane of our economic predicament.

Every programme from which the weak benefits — education, health, employment, food and housing — is priced out of the reach of the poor. Misery, suffering and deprivation are today's common

features of Nigeria. The studied campaign against welfare programmes posits that it "inhibits economic growth; it discourages thrift and saving and diminishes family responsibility". There is the argument, however, that 'welfare has more to do with humanitarian values than economic efficiency; with the social and ethical texture of society; with the exercise of compassion and reason in social relations'.

The opponents of social welfare usually ignore the current harsh economic realities and the fact that economic growth and social growth are interdependent. For instance, any muddle-headed and unbalanced economic efficiency or growth will in future have a devastating social cost in form of physical and psychological handicap, destitution, deprived children, ill-educated workers who may be unable or unwilling to acquire new skills, or cope with technological development but become total liability on the society.

Based on Nigeria's cultural diversity and our geo-political situation, the nation must accept responsibility for the following, for a viable, informed and credible leader to emerge:

- (a) Education from the primary school to the university.
- (b) Medical care — preventive and curative.
- (c) Housing and rent policies.
- (d) Employment opportunity.
- (e) Special services in kind for the old, deprived children and handicapped classes.

When well-planned and executed, these policies are in effect redistributive. They redistribute resources in favour of the poor and members of the community with the greatest need.

In today's world, education is the most revolutionary and explosive force in both developing and developed countries. The earning power, life chances, achievement, position and class, including the level of pension in old age, depend on education and training. All these depend on the investment by the society of scarce resources on those who are educated and the total value of capital sunk on education which is, of necessity, always enormous. Ultimately, however, education confers the highest form of benefits which are both social and spiritual. An educated person enjoys (or fights for) more freedom and fuller life. Even as a purely commercial investment, the return on education, especially higher education, is larger than any other form of investment. In our quest for industrial and technological development we need more and more educated people to guarantee the fulfilment of our aspirations.

Nigeria must not allow the sulking international undertakers to stampede it into compartmentalising welfare programmes as an avoidable hindrance to economic growth. They are, in fact, and indeed, a measurement of social need inter-linked with the dynamics of change which is economic, technological, social and psychological. Well-thought-out policies that could benefit all citizens would reduce the pangs of the solidification of a permanent 'under class of deprived citizens, uneducated, unattached,' unemployed and unemployable alternating between apathetic resignation and frustrated violence.

For Nigeria to prosper under credible leadership with steadfast and loyal followership, it must also go for higher productivity for higher standard of living and for a more equal society and guaranteed right atmosphere for individual advancement, with an integrated community of self-respecting human beings who enjoy redistributive justice and social participation. The unity of Nigeria cannot be absolute in the abstract. It is conditional on justice, fairness, honesty and fellow-feeling.

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## Dr. Bashir Ahmed Ikara (Lead Speaker)

My proposition here is that Nigeria is not in search of leadership. On the contrary, there has always been a surfeit of credible men and women who would have provided this country with the most responsive and responsible leadership at all levels of government, but that some cultural and geopolitical considerations have hindered their emergence particularly at the highest level at the centre! Rather, like the Yoruba saying, why do you have to go to Sokoto to look for what is already in your *sokoto* (trousers)? Nigeria does not need to be in search of what it already has, but that ironically because of these cultural and geopolitical considerations, it has been suffering from scarcity in the midst of plenty in both political leadership and economic management.

These considerations of culture and geopolitics include, among others, some historical factors in the evolution of the political structure, the political process and the problems of constitutional development, the absence of a single or unified political culture, lack of national identity and patriotism, problems of linguistic differences issues of the national quota, power-sharing between cultural zones, problems of institutional development, stereotyping and hero-worshipping, crass materialism and lack of relevant cultural values and guiding principles as a philosophical foundation for the Nigerian nation-state.

## Definition of Culture

We need to begin with a definition of culture for us to see clearly the import and significance of the cultural and geopolitical considerations which have continued to hinder the emergence of a credible leadership in Nigeria. We should, of course, bear in mind that there are as many definitions of the term as there are people. It can be defined in simple terms, however, as the totality of a people's experience in a given place and at a given time. It thus includes, in my view, their science and technology, their arts and crafts, their languages and literature, their architecture and settlement patterns, their costumes and dress styles; their cooking and eating habits, their farming and agricultural practices, their topography and vegetation flora; the social organisation and political systems, their economic and accounting systems, their environmental diseases and medical practices, their folklore and superstition; their social honours and legal

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These considerations of culture and geopolitics include, among others, some historical factors in the evolution of the political structure, the political process and the problems of constitutional development, the absence of a single or unified political culture, lack of national identity and patriotism, problems of linguistic differences issues of the national quota, power-sharing between cultural zones, problems of institutional development, stereotyping and hero-worshipping, crass materialism and lack of relevant cultural values and guiding principles as a philosophical foundation for the Nigerian nation-state.

### Definition of Culture

We need to begin with a definition of culture for us to see clearly the import and significance of the cultural and geopolitical considerations which have continued to hinder the emergence of a credible leadership in Nigeria. We should, of course, bear in mind that there are as many definitions of the term as there are people. It can be defined in simple terms, however, as the totality of a people's experience in a given place and at a given time. It thus includes, in my view, their science and technology, their arts and crafts, their languages and literature, their architecture and settlement patterns, their costumes and dress styles; their cooking and eating habits, their farming and agricultural practices, their topography and vegetation flora; the social organisation and political systems, their economic and accounting systems, their environmental diseases and medical practices, their folklore and superstition; their social honours and legal

systems, their educational practices and institutional behaviours, their administrative and management practices, etc.<sup>1</sup>

All these factors interrelate and interpenetrate to produce the political behaviour and political traditions of a given people at a given place and time which in turn produce the type of leadership that embodies and typifies the political culture. What is important is that because culture is dynamic, the social forces and other factors at work at any time produce the kind of leadership a society deserves at that time in its history.

### Historical Factors Militating Against Leadership in Nigeria

From a historical standpoint there are a number of cultural and geopolitical considerations which have militated against the emergence of credible national leadership in Nigeria.

To begin with, the country had been an 'economic expression' of the Royal Niger Company and then became the 'political expression' of the British colonists whose main purpose was the economic exploitation of her natural resources for the benefit of their own government and industry. It was the end-product of an amalgamation of various independent empires, kingdoms, chiefdoms and city-states hitherto bound together only by common factors of trade, war and enslavement, migrations and culture-contacts.

It should be emphasised that unity, without which there could be no question of national leadership was not the concern of the British colonists. The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 was merely for administrative convenience in a situation of critical shortage of personnel and resources. There was never any conscious effort to forge a united Nigeria first as there was no concerted effort at all to evolve a national leadership for the country by the British colonists.

The reasons for that kind of situation are easily discernible. The British never intended to leave Nigeria at the time they did! Contrary to the expectations of the elite in the South who expected them to leave quite early, the British went ahead to establish territorial claims over a vast areas in the hinterland, especially following the discovery of the cure for malaria and 'tsetse fly':

But as events would have it, a number of factors dictated otherwise. After the Second World War, new waves of ideas of freedom and liberalism spread all over the world especially among the black peoples and the Labour Government in Britain was forced by the

United Nations to declare that she was preparing the colonies for independence. Secondly, Nigerians who fought along with the white men in Asia had discovered that after all they could do even better than the latter and claims of superiority vanished before their eyes. Thirdly, the enlightened freed slaves who had been exposed to the Western world, its education and attitudes could not stand white domination in their homeland and therefore constituted the biggest challenge to any attempt at perpetual colonial rule or white settlement such as in Kenya, Zimbabwe or South Africa. After all, the first two decades of 20th century had already witnessed the birth of a number of African organisations whose leaders were dedicated to achieving equal rights and increased educational opportunities for the black man.

There was the Pan-African Congress in 1900 in Trinidad, followed by the Niagra Movement in 1905 and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in 1910, both in the United States of America. The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in South Africa in 1910 and the National Congress of British West Africa convened in 1920. All these organisations comprised relatively well-educated and self-confident African and Afro-American professionals and businessmen.<sup>2</sup> They were encouraged by the emergence of communist Russia in 1917, its onslaught on capitalism and its support for African independence. Various national movements and political parties were also founded between 1920 and 1945 with a view to Africanising some of the posts in the public service held by white men culminating in the achievement of independence by India in 1947 and Ghana in 1957.

In Nigeria, the struggle for independence was spearheaded by the Action Group (AG) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) headed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Azikiwe respectively. Both had been student participants in freedom movements abroad. Under the banner of "independence now!", the struggle began in the closing years of the 1940s and was supported by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Youths, Women and the Trade Union Amalgamation in the quest for granting self-government to the West and East in 1957, the North in 1959 and Nigeria in 1960.

Two historic episodes should be noted as acts of manipulation in the process with dire consequences: In the heat of Pan-Africanism, the West African Movement was dismantled by the colonialists in order to forestall the unity of British West Africa. The West Africa Supreme Court was restricted and made national in each country, the same with

the West African Currency, the West African Marketing Board and similar institutions. The principal object was to sweep the power base of the leaders from under their feet, divert and relocate their attention to their home bases where they dashed to struggle for power and a local base.<sup>3</sup> The tragedy is that this same policy was applied later when the struggle for national independence heightened. The Richards Constitution, based on regionalism, was promulgated with the effect of localising power in the regions even though participation in decision making was advisory. It was, however, the series of constitutional reforms, especially from 1950-1954, which clearly diverted the attention of those who could have become national leaders back to their places of origin in search of a local power base. The review of the Constitution was done through the provincial system with participation right from the villages, through the districts with the provinces acting as electoral colleges for regional conferences after which regional memoranda were sent to the "All-Nigeria" Conferences at Ibadan with delegates attending from the regions. Each delegate saw himself not as coming to build a new Nigeria and to lead it but to fight for his own region.

### Constitutional Developments

The nature of the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates could be said to be the beginning of the interplay of geopolitics in Nigeria, which was seen by some of the colonialists themselves as a contact of contamination, as each protectorate had a different cultural background and had never been brought together before in that kind of political association. It is also important to note that in the Legislative Council which was established in 1922, even as an advisory body, the North was always represented by the Region up to 1946. Thus, real contact at the decision-making level was only possible for southerners and northerners from 1946. Unfortunately, too, even the legislative houses created by that Constitution were both in the regions and the one at the centre was merely advisory.

While the agitations for effective participation in decision making by local contenders for political power and privileges had the effect of sending the British overlords packing before they were ready, by the use of the so-called constitutional review as a gimmick, they were able to remain in charge for more than ten years than ever anticipated by the nationalist agitators. But worse, they were to entrench a system and a style of government completely alien to the Nigerian soil and climate and through that to perpetuate their dominance over Nigerian

affairs. The so-called constitutions — and there have been many — have become the main sources of contentions and leadership crisis in Nigeria since independence.

It is ironical that a country that had hitherto been ruled by soldiers, essentially British colonialists serving in the West African Frontier Force, and had, therefore, operated a unitary system, should be regionalised by the Richards Constitution on the grounds of differences in culture and traditions. But, as a prominent Lagos lawyer, Chief Bode Thomas, expounded it in a Lagos newspaper in 1948, some of the advantages of that arrangement would include the following:

- (i) It will give to the persons directly concerned an exclusive right to determine issues which are purely their local affairs.
- (ii) Leaders will be produced from each organisation who will join together to accept whatever political responsibilities might be granted Nigeria in the near future.
- (iii) The northerners who have already been suspicious of the southerners will at least be satisfied that there is no intention on the part of the southern *kafaris* (i.e. infidels) to dominate the North or to interfere in their domestic affairs.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the aims and objectives of the Northern People's Congress (NPC), for example, whose motto was "One North, One People", irrespective of religion, rank or tribe, clearly demonstrate the concern for the regions as the most dominant factor in Nigeria's political development:

To adopt and cultivate means that could foster better understanding and cooperation between the members of the Association and the northern community generally....

To study and strive to preserve the traditions which bound culture to the past while reforming these traditions to render them capable of meeting modern conditions.

To inculcate in the minds of the northerners a genuine love for the Northern Region and all that is northern and a respect for religion, law and order and the preservation of good customs and traditions and the feeling that the sorrow of one northerner is the sorrow of all and that the happiness of one is also the happiness of all.<sup>5</sup>

## The Political Structure

The series of Constitutional Conferences and reviews from 1949 to 1954 culminated in the emergence of a federal constitution in that year. Consequently, certain institutions such as the Judiciary, the Civil Service and the Marketing Board were regionalised.

Subsequent reviews of the Constitution which paved the way for the independence Constitution in 1960 did very little to alter the geopolitical bias of the regions. The transformation of the Nigerian political structure from regions to states and the demand for the creation of more states and more local governments is a clear indication of the interest of the people in their local affairs and in avoiding as much as possible any form of domination by one group over another. In most instances emphasis is placed squarely on cultural convenience, linguistic affinity, geographical contiguity and historical continuity as criteria for the creation of a state or local government. As a matter of fact, of the 1,087 memoranda received by the Constitutional Conference Commission (1994/1995) under the Abacha regime, only one recommended a unitary form of government. The Conference Committee on Political Structure and Framework of the Constitution also made submission against a unitary system.

Among the reasons why the Conference as a whole adopted a federal option, the following may be cited to illustrate the geopolitical consideration of balancing the component units:

- (i) Nigeria is a heterogeneous society and federalism would be the best system of government that could sustain and guarantee unity in diversity.
- (ii) The basic characteristic of a federation is that the central government is allocated powers under the constitution while the federating units are also allocated specific powers under the same Constitution. No level of government has its own powers subordinated to the other.
- (iii) It inspires economic and political development in each unit.
- (iv) Federalism protects the minority sections of the nation from domination by the majority since every section will have the constitutional authority and freedom to develop itself at its own pace, according to its own peculiarity.
- (v) It enhances unity without depriving federating units of their identities.
- (vi) It encourages healthy competition among the units.

## The Political Process

Among the obstacles to the emergence of leadership in Nigeria is the political process itself. Indeed, it constitutes the very arena in which the drama of the selection process of leadership normally takes place.

The formation of political parties in particular deserves special mention. Since the introduction of parliamentary democracy some of the political parties were culturally and regionally based especially with a solid ethnic majority base in the regions. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) was the transformation of the cultural organisation known as 'Jamiyyar Mataun Arewa' (an association for the people of the North) while the Action Group was a transformation of another cultural organisation in the West, The Egbe Omo Oduduwa (an Association for the sons of Oduduwa i.e. the Yoruba). Even the National Council for Nigerian Citizens, despite its early pan-African and nationalistic flavour, later withdrew to an ethnic base among the Igbo in the East. Three prominent nationalists, namely, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe respectively, became regional Premiers by 1954 and the bitter politics of regionalism reached its crescendo by 1959. Thus, Nigeria was already on the brink of collapse when it became independent in 1960! Indeed, the years 1960-65 were characterised by politics of violence culminating in a military coup in 1966

The British had earlier made sure that democracy on the basis of one man one vote was introduced, and not representational democracy. In practice, this had the effect of ensuring that the North, which was in population more than the West and East put together, would always win the federal elections in a grand style of 'winner-takes-all'. That could, of course, serve, for the English, the effect of punishing southern politicians who were a real menace to the colonialists in their agitation for early independence as opposed to the North which had requested for more time to prepare, which itself led to the 1953 constitutional crisis during which the northern delegates were booed in the Legislative House and at the railway station.

In any event, the empathy of the British colonial administrators for the North was quite visible and very well known. But the naivety of the politicians in the South in accepting that kind of arrangement could best be imagined. In any case their main concern was the power-base in their home regions and the centre could look after itself anyhow! It is instructive to observe also that even the leader of the party in power at the centre, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello preferred to remain in the North as Premier and to appoint his deputy, Alhaji Sir

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, as the Prime Minister.

For parties to secure any following, they had to engage in the politics of seeking to balkanise the other regions but to want to keep their own intact. This led to the AG alliance with the UMBC of the Middle Belt, to create a Middle-Belt region, the attempt by the NPC to create a COR state in the east (comprising Cross River, Ogoja and Rivers), and a Mid-West region in the West which materialised in the wake of the crisis in the Western House of Assembly, the split of the Action Group and the promulgation of a state of emergency by the Federal Government under the control of the NPC/NCNC alliance which seized the opportunity to create the region in 1963.

It may be stated on this score that primarily in order to take account of geopolitics and to ensure full representation and participation in the leadership of the country, the Constitution was changed in 1979 to the presidential system so that the country's leader does not emerge any more from a parliamentary caucus but should demonstrate geographical spread in his election throughout the country. Yet even so Alhaji Shehu Shagari barely became President by an arithmetic dispute in Court on the interpretation of  $12\frac{2}{3}$  out of nineteen states of Nigeria.

The Tiv riots in the Benue Province from 1960-1965 with the UMBC always in opposition to the NPC controlled by what was described as the 'Hausa-Fulani' and the use of the Army on the orders of the Federal Government to subdue the revolt, paved way for greater military incursion. The Tiv example was followed in 1964-65 in the Rivers Province by a revolt led by Isaac Boro. There was, of course, an earlier attempt by the AG to topple the Federal Government in a planned revolution in 1962, and the Biafran attempt to break away in 1967. Indeed, when Major General Ironsi took over power in January 1966, he gave as one justification for the military take-over the disorder in the Tiv area.

The emergence of the concept of the Middle-Belt has always had some religious connotation with consequences on the political leadership and political development of Nigeria to this day. As a 'sociocultural' rather than geographical expression, the Middle-Belt was conceived in the 1950s as a reaction to the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri and Nupe hegemonic empires, city-states and kingdoms which are predominantly muslim. As a result of Western education through the colonial missionaries and administrators, the large ethnic groups were made to believe that the slavery and slave trade which was a dominant feature in the economic activities of all the peoples and societies of Nigeria in the 19th century were inspired by Islam and was an attempt

to establish a muslim empire across the Nigerian area by the Jihadists. In this way, areas as far to the north as southern Kebbi and Borno states and to the south, including parts of Niger and Kaduna states, the whole of Benue, Plateau and Adamawa, Taraba and Yobe States which are mostly christian with minority animists have come to be regarded as Middle Belt. They compete for political power at the centre on the grounds of religion, culture and ethnicity. This extends not only to democratic civilian administrations but also (and, indeed, even more seriously) during military regimes with the use of their military might and power in the Nigerian Army.

Essentially, however, Islam had nothing to do with the kind of slavery that took place in Nigeria especially during the closing years as it was based on the sale of men in exchange for European goods of the 19th century.

If the Jihadists end up with a large empire of erstwhile Hausa city states it was because Fulani Islamic scholars went to the Shehu from different localities in the north to seek for authority to wage war against the decadent Hausa muslim rulers in their places. It was not a war of empire-building based on a step by step progress, province by province such as the British colonial empire that came to be established later.

The role of the British in imposing boundaries across ethnic groups and in seeking to merge the Middle Belt with the northern provinces and administer them along the same lines of indirect rule has to this day become part of the contention in various parts of the Middle Belt areas. This has included the imposition of local leaderships through warrant chiefs, or the institution of such rulership where none existed before, as well as the appointment of an outsider altogether. All these acts have tended to give the impression that it was the traditional rulership institution of the muslim Hausa and Fulani that was acting in concert with the colonial power to impose its own hegemony over others, but the failure to address the issue up to now is even worse.

The traditional rulership institution has also hindered the emergence of a truly democratic leadership which it has often treated with contempt and rivalry since independence. It sees itself in competition with the modern political elite for the perquisites of power even though it has been rendered helpless and toothless by the 1976 local government reforms which were based largely on the findings contained in a study 'Field Administration in the North-Central and Western States of Nigeria' (1972).<sup>8</sup>

The irony of it, however, is that because of the people's growing disenchantment with the failure of the democratic system to produce a credible leadership, even government quite often has to beg traditional rulers to intervene and ask 'their people' to come out and register or to come out and vote! And, by a new ingenious method of incorporation, the traditional rulership has recruited into its system virtually every major sector of society, through titles given to businessmen, professionals, serving and retired academics, civil servants and army generals! The alarming rate at which politicians also 'pay homage' to traditional rulers during electioneering campaigns seeking for support is yet another obstacle to the emergence of credible leadership in Nigeria.

The stereotypes which Nigerians have fashioned for each other and the resultant mutual contempt has had a lot to do with how Nigerians relate in the process of political participation. Until recently, up to the introduction of the National Youth Services Scheme and the advent of greater mobility and exposure to each other, the southerners generally have always regarded everybody from the North as 'Hausa-Fulani' and therefore muslim and, by implication, illiterate and backward. They disregard (or are ignorant of) the fact that of the various 400 or so ethnic groups in Nigeria, over three hundred of them are in the North, and except for the five major ones, they are either christians or animists, as well as the fact that for over 500 years before the Renaissance in Western Europe, the Kanem-Borno Empire in the Lake Chad Basin had been well aware of Greek learning and scholarship through the medium of Arabic and that the contributions of Islam to Western science and philosophy have been well acknowledged by Western scholars on that subject. On the other hand, northerners have always regarded southerners as 'educated' (in the Western sense) but without 'wisdom'! This in itself has had the effect of intolerance of any leadership emerging from either side.

The intense rivalry between the Yoruba early starters in education and the aggressive Igbo in pursuit of westernisation has been part of the leadership problem since independence. It was worsened by the arrival of northerners who are late in everything but who, through the sheer strength of numbers, take away political power and lord it over others.

The failure to evolve a durable power-sharing mechanism has hindered the emergence of responsible and acceptable leadership in Nigeria. Zoning, rotational presidency and a host of other possibilities have been advocated but have never been given the chance to be applied for some time, long enough for any mistakes to be corrected in

the process. The misuse and misapplication of the 'federal character principle' and the quota system of university admission, recruitment into the Armed Forces and the Police, etc, have not helped matters.

Finally, in this welter of endless obstacles to leadership, the issue of incessant military intervention constitutes the most formidable of all the obstacles to the emergence of a dedicated and credible leadership in Nigeria.

Clearly, there would never have been anything to worry about if military intervention in Nigeria had been for purposes of serving the people and giving the country a sense of direction and a national purpose. After all, great military leaders were once responsible for just doing that for their countries: Washington in the United States of America, Nasser in Egypt, Cromwell in England and Sukarno in Indonesia. This is why we proposed a Transition Political Programme of some ten years for the Babangida Administration before it was cut down to five years as announced in the President's Budget Speech in January 1986. Unfortunately, however, the leadership kept on crawling on the corridors of power for eight years until pressure was brought to bear on it for change.

## Political Culture

We refuse to accept that Nigeria is not a 'nation' but a multinational state. We appear to have been hindered by the linguistic scaffolding of writers like Coleman and others who made us believe immediately after independence that Nigeria was becoming a 'nation' which was defined as a people with a common boundary, language and culture, etc. But, as everybody knows, this is not so. All our nation-building efforts should have been directed at the recognition of our cultural pluralism and our attachment to our local cultures and institutions as typified even by the development of various unions or associations of our own people outside their homelands. Linguistic scaffolding such as 'nation; nation-building; unity-in-diversity', etc., have been mere illusions in the absence of a common political culture. Some lessons should be learned from the Eastern block as all the states built on the forced amalgamation of ethnic nationalities by one-party totalitarian regimes have now collapsed.

Moreover, as pointed out earlier, the British colonialists were not interested in forging unity in Nigeria but in divide-and-rule. The amalgamation of 1914 was not the same as unification. Also, the early founding fathers did not create the regions but had to work with what was given them *ab initio*. This partly explains why they did not have

any serious and well articulated economic, political and social programmes for the country while some of them had for their own respective regions. As for the country, their main interest was in the mirror of independence! For example, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, who was the leader of the ruling party at the centre, the NPC, had a well-articulated programme for the North but had virtually nothing for the country. His deputy, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was at the centre as Prime Minister and could only serve to hold the delicate balance of power through compromise and accommodation. His main interest was in holding the country together.

On the other hand, Chief Obafemi Awolowo worked through a formidable team of intellectuals to develop a meaningful and effective programme for each ministry in the Western Region and went ahead to prosecute them religiously. But when he came to contest the federal elections for the first time in 1959, as a campaign strategy, he had to resort to alliances with minority parties in the North and East, lending support to their bid for autonomous regions or states. He also had to rely on the attractions of the ideology of 'democratic socialism' to attract the youths, the women, the workers and the trade unions. It was only under the military regime of General Gowon, when he served as the Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council and Finance Minister, that his sterling qualities beamed nationwide. Through his policy inputs the government was able to prosecute the 30-month war without borrowing.

During the 1979 and 1983 presidential elections, he was said to have carried his solutions to the country's problems in his bag as his own trump card!<sup>10</sup> There is also no doubt that some of his policies in the old Western Region, such as the Free Primary Education, had national appeal and became national policies.

The leader of the NCNC, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, was steeped too deep in his Pan African concerns as the last of the generation of the Black Movement pioneered by Dr. W.E.B. Dubois and other black freedom fighters in the 1930s. He was principally a 'concept man' and not an activist engaged in combat and organisation. His party was certainly the most national in outlook (it had a stronger following in the West of men of high calibre than even in the East) but that was because its principal aim was the anti-colonial struggle for national independence, which he talked about with relish from his personal experience in the United States. He also shunned any ideological claims that denounced the Leftist Zikist Movement. It is also instructive that the manifesto of the NCNC during the 1959 elections

merely addressed mundane issues in the North and the West and had nothing for the East from where he came. It was, however, a remarkable act of statesmanship on the part of Dr. Azikiwe to have accepted to be the ceremonial president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and to leave the post of Prime Minister to Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa from the North in the interest of political balancing between the North and the South when the NPC failed to secure majority votes to form a government singly except through a coalition with the NCNC.

### **Patriotism**

A modern multi-national state that is not rooted in any strong philosophical foundation cannot avoid floundering. Nigerian citizens have failed to identify with an enduring philosophy and this is why they lack any sense of patriotism and why both the military and the civilian politicians could afford to loot the treasury with impunity. The leftist ideology has failed to make any impact and, with the collapse and disappearance of the Soviet Union, it has given way to crass materialism and capitalist tendencies.

At the leadership level, mediocrity and hero-worship hold sway. Similarly, there is no real anti-military sentiments among the civilian political class as long as they get contracts from them and as long as political opponents are likely to win! Yet, while Nigeria is yearning for anybody, a national leader, who will solve her problems, the right people who could do it, there are many who are capable and competent but are not allowed by the system to take over. The politics of 'money' by those who have nothing to offer also hinders the emergence of credible leadership from the civilian political class.

Given the scenario above, it is not surprising that all national institutions (economic, political, social, medical, educational, legal, commercial, etc) have collapsed. Nothing really works.<sup>11</sup> Yet everything that does not work in Nigeria works elsewhere! The example of Ghana (with a similar colonial background) under Rawlings today is quite instructive. The Ghanaian leadership and the system all work for the benefit of the people.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is important to fully appreciate the true position of Nigeria as a multi-national state and, in recognition of that, to create as many states and local governments as would reasonably and

adequately ensure ethnic harmony, balanced and even development across the country. There is also the need to recognise that democracy, as a foreign concept of government, must be adapted to suit our own cultural milieu. An indigenous philosophical foundation has to be established on which to anchor the well-being of society and its progress. 'Culturalism' as a development strategy of self-reliance on the cultural energies of the Nigerian people — human, material and non-material will be quite appropriate.

The economy has to be managed indigenously, starting from settling our debt immediately and at all costs so as to free ourselves from foreign creditors who are anxious to meddle in our political affairs and administration. The development of agriculture and the resolution of the foreign exchange problems should be top priority.

## Notes

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3. Dialogue with A. Afigbo, S. G. Ikoku N. Iwuagwu, P.I. Dema.
4. In: James O. Ojiako, *Nigeria: Yesterday, Today and ...* (Onitsha: Africana Educational Publishers Nig. Ltd., 1981) p.15.
5. *Ibid* p.17.
6. Labanji Bolaji, *Shagari: President by Mathematics*, (Ibadan: Automatic Printing Press Ltd.)
7. S.J. Miner, *Op. cit* p.92.
8. Bashir Ikara, 'The 1976 Local Government Reforms as an Aspect of Nigeria's Contemporary Political Culture in J.F. Ade-Ajayi and Bashir Ikara (eds.) *Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria* (Ibadan: University Press: Ltd.).
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10. Dialogue with Mr Nati, the Deputy Director of Organisation for the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN).
11. In: Bashir Ikara, "Culture and Development", lecture delivered at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) Kuru, Jos in 1989, serialised in *Today Newspaper*.

### Mrs Mary Kanu (Discussant)

Having listened to Chief Wunmi Adegbonmire and Dr. Bashir Ikara, I feel that there is nothing more for me to say especially in the area of analysing all the historical perspectives to the subject under discourse today.

In 1985, I wrote an article in *The Guardian* titled, "A fool at 24" where I talked about Nigeria as a country. In that article I remember I mentioned that having been to several conferences and hearing about the colonialists and the British masters, the imperialists, the Christians at the vanguard and Moslem imperialists from the North with all the harm they have done in this country, I came to the conclusion that rather than berate the imperialists, the colonialists and their neo-colonialist agents, we should look at those I called the military and their reactionary allies.

I want to go a little bit back to 1966. Let me just mention that all the problems that came with the Richard's Constitution in 1946 and 1947, all the arguments in the North, all the 'araba' demonstrations, all the disagreements with what the Constitution had to say and the regionalisation of the country as charted by the invasion of the military in 1966 and what Ironsi did, his unification Decree 34 of 1966 was to impose a military government in this country.

Gowon who took over from him was a northerner. I was in Bukuru in 1966 after Ironsi's declaration. I was a witness to the 'araba' demonstrations. "*Araba, araba, ba mu so miki soja*". Dr. Ikara should translate that. So Ironsi came and imposed military rule on the people. Government came and straightened that even though the northerners did not like it, he straightened that because it was necessary to prosecute the war without any diversions.

Secondly, taking a cue from Ironsi's unitarist imposition on the people, the Gowon regime and subsequent regimes since then have taken over the revenue of the people, they have decided to take what belongs to the people, to appropriate, to take for the central government what belongs to the people and that is the crux of the matter.

What do we want as a country? How do we allow credible leadership to evolve from a geopolitical area that does not exist in the first place? The army cannot be located in a geopolitical area, that is true but the army has taken over as a trade union and as a political party and what they have imposed on the people is a system whereby they use people, even the civilians who are asking them to go, to impose themselves in office.

What I am saying in essence is that the military government is the problem that has not allowed the different ethnic nationalities to groom leaders in their geopolitical areas. Let me give an example to clarify my point. If the regions had remained from 1966 without the military, may be what Awo was doing in the West would have been projected to the rest of Nigeria, maybe others would have seen that he developed his people. Maybe in the East, at the end of the day, people would have said, "Maybe Zik tried or Okpara tried or Ibiam tried. This is what they have been able to do for the people, therefore let us have them at the national level". The same thing would have happened in the North. But because the military came and made it impossible for us to have people who had proved themselves in their geographical areas to come up and now see what they could do at the centre, we would not have that kind of arrangement.

Secondly, when Gowon was prosecuting the civil war, he made it a point to collect all the revenue accruing to the regions and put them in the central purse. He made it a point that the people had no right to control their wealth. It was the central government which decided what to do with such regions' money. The second thing that then happened was that the people who lost control of their revenue became victims of the central government. Then again, with the central government in control of the funds, and a few of them there sitting looking at this huge money, they could always have their own share of it. After all, if I have 10 billion naira before me and I have 100 million people to cater for, I can decide to pocket 5 billion, then bring 5 billion and distribute amongst them. The money was just too much for a clique to control and that is what the problem is, talking about the military and what they have done.

Now what about those I call the reactionaries, their allies amongst the civilians? Yesterday and today we looked at the academics, the roles they have played in making it impossible for the military government in this country to die a natural death. The military will come, academics, professionals in our own right, we all go crawling, we all go applying, we all go there writing their speeches for them, we go there telling them what to do to the rest of the people and how these people do not matter. "Don't worry, I'm here to write your paper for you," they tell the soldiers. So these people with their vested interest in mind, have made it impossible for the military to die a natural death. Without the support of the civilians, the military government will not be where they are now. Look at the ministers that General Abacha has in his cabinet. Somebody called it the rainbow coalition. People whom you think would not have dreamt of it. In fact,

I vouched for some people when I heard their names on television. I said this one would not take it, that one will not take it. Two days later, I saw all of them on television, taking a photograph after the swearing-in ceremony. They were all there and what were they doing? They are the reactionary elements who are supporting the military to perpetuate the domination of the people.

Now let us look at geopolitical and cultural considerations. You remember the politicians, they are very good in talking about "their people". When they go asking for votes, they say, you know my people want this, they want that. My people, my people, my people! And then the people will now talk about our sons, our sons, our sons! I will not mention daughters here because they have not played any role at all. It is the sons of this country that have made it impossible for us to have a credible leadership.

The daughters, right from the days of the NCNC, the Margaret Ekpos, the Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, the Wuraola Esans, have been marginalised in the parties. They made life impossible for them to emerge even as leaders in their own geographical areas not to talk of coming up as national leaders, so it's the sons I am talking about this afternoon. And then our sons of course will have to be voted for, they play on sentiments, and we must mention what the colonialists did by making the people come together, forcing them, amalgamating this country to serve their own selfish interests. From the debacle in the Western House of Assembly resulting from the Action Group crisis, we must acknowledge that the introduction of ethnic politics, the debacle in the Eastern House of Assembly, how Eyo Ita was chased out of the place or felt marginalised and left, the objectives of the NPC as enunciated by Dr. Ikara, with all these things and with the introduction of ethnic politics in Nigeria, how do we expect a credible leadership to emerge from geopolitical areas so that people can use them as examples for the nation? It is not possible.

Then of course, the recent experience in politics is: "My people must vote for me", "We must vote for our son," etc. Then at the end of the day, the criteria for deciding what chieftaincy title this son deserves depends on how much money he was able to steal from the public purse. As I listened to Chief Isekhure this morning, talking about traditional institutions and all the things, the sanctions and rewards they have in the different cultures of our society, I asked myself, how many people had he given chieftaincy titles? Former politicians and military generals, how many of them had he given titles?

Politicians ride on the back of the people to be elected; soldiers ride on the back of the people to cling to power, but at the end of the

day, the people have nothing to show for it. The rulers make sure that the people reward them for work not done. For instance, I am told of a retired army general who has a swimming pool in his village. Yet, this village has no pipe-borne water. So what these hapless villagers do is wait outside his pool any day he is going to flush it so that they will get water!

That is the sort of leaders we have. These are people who rode on the back of their people, who used ethnic and geopolitical sentiments to get into office, who used such sentiments to sustain themselves, and who cannot provide a borehole for the villagers. Even if you provide a borehole and tell them to pay for it, I am sure they will gladly pay. But they don't feel bad that villagers wait with basins beside their swimming pool, waiting for the pool to be flushed; that is it.

When all is said and done, we know quite well that the problem really is the structure of this country. When you talk about the structure of this country, people think you want to secede, especially as a 'Biafran', people will say, has she come again? That is not what I am talking about. I am talking about the structure of the country, restructuring the country in such a way that people will develop at their own pace while still united. I am talking about unity in diversity, about development, of having a community whether it is 100 local governments or 44 state governments. The people want to be in charge of their own wealth, they want to be in control of their own development. This idea of even development for the unity of all is stultifying the pace of development of the people and making it impossible for them to forge ahead at their own pace and emerge as authentic leaders in their communities.

Central government does not make for initiative, it does not make for creativity, it does not help or aid development, it does not have respect for values and set goals of the people. It does not allow the people to breed their own leaders within their own geopolitical areas so that we may have something to show, so that if I go to my community and develop it, and my neighbours see what I have done, then tomorrow, I can go and say, please, I want your vote, I want to get to the legislature. If they say what have you done for us, I would say, I couldn't do anything for you but I was able to do something for my people, if you vote for me, I can replicate for you what I have done for my people. But these things are not considered by the military and their reactionary allies. I rest my case.

## Otunba Tade Ismail (Discussant)

No time is more appropriate than now for a dialogue on Nigeria's leadership problems when our country is in the throes of indecision and vacillation about which way we should proceed. This short contribution will focus on what I call "the Awolowo ideal" as a key to the problem of leadership in this country.

Chief Awolowo exemplified leadership to mean decisiveness, clarity of vision, honesty in the pursuit of goals and a rare ability to select men on the basis of merit for the execution of important national functions.

Mr. Allison Ayida and Mrs. Fola Ighodalo who spoke earlier stated that they were Awolowo scholars. I should like to state, with humility, that I was a beneficiary of the Awolowo Scholarship Scheme in Western Nigeria both at the secondary school and at the university. The opportunity made me appreciate at a very early stage the importance of the State and why men of honour and character must be sought at all times to run it.

What were the factors which motivated what could be called an Awolowo ideal? In my interaction with Chief Awolowo, I observed that he was a great believer in the possibilities for the 'human person'. He said, for instance, that "man is the main purposive factor in nature; all other factors are inert in comparison." I consider this to be a fundamental declaration of faith in man. The illustration of this faith is to be found in the political programme of the chief. Education is emphasised. In educating a man, his full potentials are released and he is in a position to reveal his leadership qualities. Similarly, health is treated with importance and finally, full employment is advocated. We could summarise simply by stating that leadership has only one responsibility — the promotion of the happiness of those who are led and the ability to steer them from danger.

So much has been said and written about the ethnic origins of leaders in Nigeria. This, of course, is not very relevant. A leader can come from anywhere if he is competent and honest. It is erroneous therefore for any group among the population in the country to claim leadership as of right. It is neither democratic nor logical. Events must continue to throw up leaders and they will be refined through controversies and disputes until we arrive at the correct station. What should not be tolerated is a condition in which an event throws up a leader and an individual decides by his own fiat to disregard the event and cancel the will of the majority. That is an invitation to anarchy and it is not an example in good leadership.

Mr. Adegbonmire in his paper declared that there was no contradiction in his being an Akure man first and a Nigerian next. I agree with this proposition. I have always seen myself in a hierarchical sense in the matter of my citizenship and I find a logical condition in the thought which has given me an enormous personal stability. I am first an Ijebu man, an Otunba, then a Yoruba man, which being an Ijebu is a later conversion and then finally a Nigerian. I believe that all of us Nigerians should subscribe to this hierarchy of being in order that our commitment to our nation, Nigeria, may be total.

Chief Awolowo worked for a nation which is different from what we can see today. Leadership in his time was duty and dedication. It did not include vanity and indolence. Certainly the unprecedented amount of corruption which characterises public life today was not as prevalent. It is therefore the challenge of leadership in our time to reform itself and earn the respect of those who are led. The present situation is one in which respect for leadership was dropped and government has been trivialised.

It is not possible for a citizen to produce from his best if he lives under a government that he does not respect and one from which he cannot find an inspiration. It seems that this responsibility has not struck those who desire leadership simply because of the glamour of the office. At any time, a leader must be sure of the support of the majority of the led in order that his leadership may make sense. Even in slavery the master understands that force alone is not an instrument for securing compliance.

African countries have been very unlucky in the sense that they have experienced all forms of indignities. They were enslaved and then colonised. When they were freed they were subjected to the iniquities of bad internal leadership. It is now necessary to break free from this syndrome of degradation.

### **Mr. Alfred Ilenre (Discussant)**

The desire to control the Nigerian polity and therefore the country's destiny has been the cause of mistrust and disaffection among the different nationalities since 1960.

Nigeria had only a brief period of twenty months of unfettered democratic rule between October 1, 1960 and May 25 1962, when federal legislators of the NPC/NCNC coalition government at the centre, defying all wise counsel, declared a state of emergency in Western Nigeria following an internal dispute within the Action

Group Government. This was a sad development which affronted the principle of federalism.

The judiciary, through the Privy Council, ruled the action of the NPC/NCNC coalition government illegal. Instead of obeying its own laws, the federal legislature resorted to passing infantile retroactive laws, nullifying the verdict of the Privy Council.

Archival reports actually showed that many reasonable persons, including some members of the British House of Commons wrote to advise Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, against interfering in the internal affairs of Western Nigeria. The Prime Minister ignored them, believing that with the instruments of power in his hands, the army, police and the bureaucracy behind him, he could always intimidate the people of Western Nigeria to submission.

## **Revolts**

As a result of that illegal act by the central government the ordinary people in the West revolted in defence of their ethnic pride. The central government, as expected, responded by sending armed men to quell the riots. By the time the military intervened in 1966, the crisis had engulfed the entire country, spreading to the other three regions. With the Tiv revolt against the NPC administration in the North, the Ijaw revolt led by Adaka Boro against the NCNC government of Eastern Nigeria and the Owegbe cult mass uprising against the Osadebay administration in the Midwest, it was clear that the Nigerian union had a shaky foundation from the outset.

## **Domination and the Nation State**

By 1966, the fear of ethnic domination by a section of the country had become an intimidating tumour in the hearts of most people. The army, made up of Nigerians, could not pretend to be indifferent. The soldiers took sides along their ethnic interests.

The question has often been asked: What makes the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Edo, Kanuri, Igala, Ibibio or Ogoni one people, apart from the colour of the skin? In other words, what makes the domination of one ethnic group by another in a nation state more tolerable than external colonialism?

The nation-state idea, where many nationalities are forced together under one centralised administration, has become controversial. The Nigerian union was built on wrong terms, on weak foundation. If it must survive, it needs restructuring and a lot of

questions to answer as a basis for moving forward. To many students of society, the nation-state, like slavery and colonialism, is out of fashion. Will Nigeria, for instance, remain one country in the next twenty-five or fifty years? Will it be morally right to extract and deplete the mineral resources in one part of the country only to dissolve the union twenty-five years from now? Will it be in the interest of all the ethnic groups concerned to insist on running a centralised federation without a common history, civilisation, culture and language?

### Models

One pertinent question at this point is a model for Nigeria. What countries can Nigeria look up to as its own model of federalism? Is it the United States of America? The United States is a country of immigrant settlers with a population of only three million indigenous people of Red Indian origin out of a population of 240 million. Is it the USSR? The Soviet Union has collapsed, killed by the worms of over-centralism. Is it Yugoslavia? Or is it the Federal Republic of Germany? Germany is a homogenous nation, with a common history and culture.

Let us consider India which is a multi-ethnic nation, generally referred to as the most robust and dynamic democracy in the Third World. India, by the last census, had 910 million people. Pakistan, now divided into Pakistan and Bangladesh, was separated from greater India at independence in 1947. There are twenty-five States in India, plus seven City States (union territories).

The country is composed of fifteen major ethnic groups and has over 800 languages and dialects. The States are carefully carved along ethno-cultural territories. Utter Pradesh, which is the largest State, has a population of 130 million people. The second largest is Bihar, with a population of 75 million. Thirteen States, including Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Manipur, Meghaleya, Mizoram and Nagaland, have populations of less than two million each. Lakshadweep group of Islands had a population of only 40,000, while Sikkim is inhabited by 316,000 people. All the States are self-governing. Kerala State for many years has been communist-ruled while the centre operates a mixed economy.

India has had a lot of political crises but the military, which is a frontier army, has never seen the need to take over power. By United Nation's accounts, the country has one of the largest industrial

infrastructure in the world and its collection of scientific skills is surpassed only by three countries.

The House of the People (Lok Sabha) consists of 545 members. The revenue sharing formula is based on derivation and no state pays more than 50 per cent of its resources to the federation account. Indeed, a state like Nangar pays only 30 per cent of its resources to the centre.

Another country worthy of consideration is Switzerland, populated by three million people of German, French and Italian origin. The country operates a rotational presidency and the centre's share of national revenue is below 10 per cent. If Nigeria is to run a genuine federal structure its present over-centralised load must be shed by as much as 95 per cent.

## Revenue Sharing

Of all the things done to distort the principle of federalism in Nigeria, the unilateral overturning of the revenue allocation formula has been the most painful, irrational and devastating to the Nigerian union. On the creation of the three regions in 1946, the question of how to share the resources among the East, West and the North came up. The Phillipson Commission recommended the principle of derivation which made each region keep its resources to itself only to pay a special percentage as tax for running the central administration. The formula came under severe criticism as the northern leaders wanted the revenue shared on the basis of need and population, the East wanted national interest while the West supported derivation.

The Hicks-Phillipson Commission, set up in 1951, later accommodated derivation, population, need and national interest in its report. It recommended 50 per cent for derivation, 35 per cent for the regions and 15 per cent for the federation. This arrangement found no popular acceptance in the three regions as the North wanted population emphasised. There was once again another Commission in 1953 — the Chick Commission. Chick recommended derivation in totality with 100 per cent of rent and royalties paid to the region of origin on the basis of derivation. The Commission, however, recommended that a special fund be set aside to assist any region in distress for no fault of its own. At this point, Nigeria produced tin in Jos and Coal in Enugu in addition to farm produce.

By 1958, two years before independence, there was another Commission, the Raismann Commission which shared the national revenue at 50 per cent on derivation, 30 per cent to the regions and 20

per cent to the federal government. The production of crude oil in commercial quantity once again raised the controversy of how to share the national revenue. Thus, the Binn Commission was set up in 1964. The Binn panel retained 50 per cent for derivation. Binn's reason was that the overall environmental devastation and health hazard caused by petroleum exploration demanded that the region of origin be given nothing less than 50 per cent. A European colonial administrator with human conscience, you would say. But Binn queried the Raismann Commission's rationale for giving 20 per cent to the federal government and thus removed 5 per cent from the centre to make the regions' share 35 per cent.

It must be said to the credit of Western Nigeria of 1964 that it stood solidly in support of the derivation formula at the Binn Commission, in spite of the fact that petroleum was available for export only in the East and Mid-western Nigeria and the Midwest which used to be part of the West had been carved out in 1963 — a big heart you would say. This formula was in force after the 12-State structure was created in 1967 until the end of the civil war in 1970.

### Decree 13 of 1970

Between 1946 and 1966 when the military first struck, there were five revenue-sharing commissions headed by Europeans. The rapid destruction of this orderly and comprehensive formula in a multi-ethnic union started with Decree 13 of 1970, promulgated by the Gowon regime. Through that decree the federal government gave to itself an unfair share of federally collected revenue by taking 5 per cent from derivation, and seized the entire offshore minerals from the States. Successive military regimes continued the ravage. The Obasanjo-Yar'Adua regime removed 20 per cent to the centre in 1977. The Shagari regime removed yet another 20 per cent in 1981, leaving behind only five per cent for derivation. General Buhari in 1984 removed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent leaving  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for derivation which was only increased to three per cent in 1992 by General Babangida's regime.

From this systematic dispossession of areas of revenue sources and the centralisation of control as if we were a unitary state, one can see the reason for the fatalistic struggle for power at the centre.

We should return to the derivation formula and the amount seized from the federating units by the central government since 1970 should be paid back with interest.

## **Oil Producing Areas**

It is no longer debatable that Nigeria's oil producing areas are the most distressed in terms of development in Nigeria. Now in the centre of destruction, health experts say more people are dying than are being born in communities like Ogoni. The life span is twelve years less than the Nigerian average of fifty-two. Inhabitants who had lived in the oil producing communities continually for ten years need special treatment as 98 per cent of the population have excessive mercury in their blood stream, according to health experts.

## **Essence of a National conference**

The Ethnic Minority Rights Organisation of Africa (EMIROAF) called for a national conference as far back as 1990, when it became clear that the Babangida regime had lost bearing and was striving after the wind. The constitutional conference promised by the Abacha regime is on board. The present conference is, however, outside what we advocated. The so called constitutional conference has already been hijacked and made a joke by the messengers of politics. The same recycled politicians since independence are playing games with Nigeria. Thus, we are now faced with the danger of an ethno-elite class using every trick to impose an ethno-elite colonialism on the Nigerian nation state. They will fail because they have no common ground, except the common interest and desire for primitive accumulation.

Nigeria has had ten heads of government since independence. Out of these, three were murdered, four toppled, two left office with no tangible results. The incumbent is yet to make up his mind on any agenda. The education, transport, health, railway system, the economy and the political structure have collapsed. What is required is a sovereign national conference that would restructure Nigeria. It is a conference to frame a covenant, discuss ethics, morality, guidelines, outlines and guideposts for the future leadership of the Nigerian union. It must not be a market place for political horse trading. Eighty per cent of delegates to such a conference should be made up of representatives of ethnic nations, professionals and human rights bodies and not recycled old politicians who have mismanaged Nigeria since independence.

## Discussion

### Prof. Ikime

I want to talk to ourselves here. I think we should stop deceiving ourselves into thinking the problem is not with us, but with some other group. In this matter of joke politics and culture, the problem is with us, each one of you in those chairs, and myself standing here. You see, we have created states, we have created local governments, and you have to confess that at all levels, what we complain about happening at the federal government is happening there, at this level, because there is something wrong with us. What is wrong with us? We have rejected the virtues of hardwork, merit, dedication and honesty. If you like, put all the Yorubas in one state, then they will know that there is Ekiti, there is Owo, there is Ondo, and so on, and the problems will remain unless the individual deprives himself of the vices which we have imbibed and accepted over the years.

The second point I want to make is that I am getting a bit tired of people saying "these foreign things". They say democracy is foreign; "we want something Nigerian". Part of our problem when we talk about culture is that we always mean going back. Culture is dynamic, it is changing. Democracy is not a British, American or Indian thing. It's a human thing. So, when are we going to accept it in Nigeria as something good and not start talking that it is foreign, and so hiding inadequacies. Let's get down to business of learning to the democratic.

### Mr. Olomola

I will be commenting on what Dr. Ikara said. Practically all the points he mentioned are those that seem to make it difficult for us to have good leaders. It is a fact that all the leaders we have got in Nigeria today, including the present one, and the last one, have not been able to address all those issues raised. They look at some of them and forget some of them.

### Speaker

I wish to talk about the contribution of two speakers, that is Otunba Tade Ismail and Mrs. Kanu. Tade Ismail gave the impression that one cannot be a Nigerian without first identifying with a tribal or ethnic grouping. I don't think that is quite accurate. He reminded me of what Malcolm X said in America, that a black man cannot identify with the whole of America without black solidarity. Martin Luther King

countered that by saying that, okay, we are all different people in a sense but we have to learn to live together and I think that perspective is appropriate to Nigeria also. We are people of different cultures, different languages, different everything, but there has to be a common ground. I think by working together, we can all reap the advantages this nation has for us.

Mrs Kanu said that the Action Group was responsible for what happened in the Western State House of Assembly. I don't think Action Group per se was responsible for it. With due respect, she should have been bold enough to mention the person who was the culprit. It was Chief Akintola. There was a convention that said that any leader defeated by a vote of no confidence must resign. The then governor of the Western Region asked Akintola to resign, because there was a petition signed by 66 members out of 124 members. Akintola refused to resign, and that was what caused the problem.

#### **Prof. Tyoden**

I have two points. The first one is just to correct Dr. Bashir Ikara. There were some factual inaccuracies he brought out in his discussion of the Middle Belt. He emphasised that the series of crisis in the Middle Belt were a reaction to Islam. That is factually wrong. I believe Bashir is aware that the crisis in Ileru in 1988 was not against Islam, and the crisis in Zango Kataf was not against Islam. They were as a result of political domination which has gone on historically since the early 40s, 50s, up to the present day. They are not against Islam.

My second point is on Chief Adegbonmire who said he is first an Akure man before being a Yoruba man and thirdly a Nigerian. I felt disturbed. I became more disturbed when Otunba Ismail repeated the same thing. If we are tribesmen first, before being ethnic people, and then Nigerians, then why are we searching for leadership? We might as well be local champions, tribalists. Why are we looking for a Nigerian leadership? We have to transcend ethnic, parochial levels, to aspire to national leadership; if not, we are wasting our time.

#### **Mr. Oniyian**

I want to address the issue of the fate of the minorities within the context of cultural and geopolitical considerations. Last year, a group that called itself 'Northern Peoples Forum' declared that their interest lied up to fifty miles of the southern coast and that they would deal with any person who jeopardised these interests. Not long after, Alhaji

Umaru Dikko declared that the North should never allow power to come to the South. A very respectable figure who most Nigerians love, in the person of Alhaji Maitama Sule, declared that God has ordained the northerners to rule this country. Not too long ago, Umaru Dikko declared that the Yorubas can discuss whatever they are planning to discuss, so long as they are not planning secession. He said he was prepared for war. Here now, Dr. Ikara's statements are an articulation of the leadership perspective of a particular cultural and geopolitical nationality. My question is, must this perspective be imposed on the multinational polity and geopolitical expression called Nigeria? What then is the fate of the minorities? Are they now consigned to irrelevance? If that is the case, then, of course, this portends danger for the corporate existence of Nigeria.

#### Dr. Ogunbambi

I would like to address my question to Otunba Ismail. My mind was a little bit challenged when, towards the tail end of his presentation, he said 'what can you do well without doing?' I expected he should provide some kind of logical answer to that. But what he did was to be rhetorical by saying, perhaps if the military had left the politicians alone for the 30 years that they have in fact invaded the political structure of Nigeria, perhaps they would have been able to get their acts together. I don't know who to blame for that fundamental mishap. Historically, it can be said that Nigerian politicians are suffering from what I have described as politically acquired immune deficiency syndrome. What exactly do I mean by that? When the basis of your action is deficient, it becomes easier for people to penetrate, and that is why the military has been able to penetrate the political structure of Nigeria and the solution is very simple. The politicians will have to get their acts together if we are to move forward.

#### Chairman

I should like to make this small point. Chief Awolowo was not just responsible for education and for political emancipation; he was concerned for the emancipation of the Nigerian womanhood. It was part of his programme. The National Council of Women's Society, which is a non-governmental organisation, was founded at the instigation of Pa Awolowo. He encouraged initiatives and treated women as full human beings. When we talk about Mama, for instance, she was able to do so much because Chief Awolowo was indeed very

involved in the development of the individual personality right from his own circle to the outside environment.

### Dr. Ikara

About democracy, I meant that we should domesticate it, use it, make it amenable to our own cultural environment. Why do you fight to be elected almost to the point of killing others? The day you are elected, you go the United States to begin to learn how to legislate. Why? Questions like that should be answered.

The Kafanchan crises are very fundamental. What I said is that there is the outsider problem. You remember where I said there are traditional rulers constituting a formidable problem in terms of leadership issues. In reference to that, I am aware in many parts of the North, particularly in the middle belt area, people from outside have been imposed as traditional rulers on others and that has been a formidable problem.

Then the issue of Umaru Dikko. Umaru Dikko is one out of so many northerners that have made so many careless statements. So also is Maitama Sule. But people should not take them seriously because when they say such things, they don't represent anybody whatsoever. So, why should they be the standard?

The essence of my paper is to say that there are certain structural impediments in the system which, until and unless you remove, will never allow a credible leadership to emerge. There are so many people who really have the integrity, the discipline, the education, the intellectual vigour. All these standards Chief Awolowo had but would they be allowed by the system to come forward and take over and do good? How far have we gone in this search? Those we are searching for are here amongst us and we are doing nothing to promote them and put them in the place they belong. That is the essence of the point I have been making.

On the question of communication, if there had not been communication between us in this kind of dialogue situation, a lot of misgivings and misinterpretations would have been perpetuated everywhere for so long and I think this is the most fantastic achievement about the dialogue. When I personally organised a seminar on the national question in 1987, that was the first time the issue of nationalities and minorities were put deliberately to the fore for analysis and it was a most unique, a really stimulating experience. But what happened? No implementation.



**SESSION 5**



## SESSION 5

# Comparative Perspectives and Lessons from other Countries

Chairman: *Ambassador Olujimi Jolaoso*

### Chairman

I do hope that starting two hours late has not dulled anybody's mind about what we are likely to find to be a very interesting afternoon. In the opening session of this Dialogue, yesterday, and throughout this morning, we had an insight into what kind of leadership some of us would want for this country and why we have failed to find it in spite of our best endeavours. We had a definition of the word leader and that of leadership. The leader is always defined in relation to the follower and though the qualifications for leadership and I believe, good leadership, were variously spelt out, we did not quite come away with what it takes to be a good follower. When therefore we undertake the examination of other countries in their search for, or in the choice of a leader, we must be sure of what kind of society we are dealing with and ascertain how they have succeeded or failed in other cases in throwing up from among their numbers, the kind of leadership which in our view makes them worthy of our study.

I hope we will look out for the things which the successful ones have and which we as a people lack. I hope we will admit these inadequacies in our case and draw the appropriate lessons if we can for I believe that it is at this point that we will come face to face with the truism that a people get the kind of leaders they deserve. A good leader, like a good harvest, can only come from a good and well-managed soil. The one depends variably on the other.

It is my hope that in our discussion, we will pay some attention to the qualities of the follower in those countries, identify their response to their leaders and draw the appropriate lessons for Nigeria. We very often make facile comparisons between ourselves and other countries in matters of good government, development and progress only in

terms of our expectations and potentials, ignoring what sacrifices they have made in order to achieve their own goals that are the hallmark of greatness. We seldom stop to consider the desirability of making serious sacrifices ourselves. I hope that at the end of this session, we would have been able to put together certain criteria that would lead some day and I repeat, some day, to the discovery of the real leader and in our country. Thank you. (Applause).

## Nigeria and Ghana

Lead Speaker: *Ambassador Olu Otunla*

I would like to thank the Trustees/Council and all involved with managing the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation for continuing the struggle to which Chief Awolowo gave much of his public life. I am also grateful for this opportunity to get into orbit with some of those who will and must accept responsibility for the present Nigerian condition.

I must admit ignorance of the course of the first two dialogues but I assume the Foundation has been led in the direction of micro analysis by some logic which recommends the general theme of leadership in Nigeria.

The deepening crisis and rapidly deteriorating condition of the Nigerian state however lead me to ask, could we for example by focusing on a study of prices or even the managerial class better fashion tools for transforming a primitive economy into a modern one or turn around a money losing firm without drastic restructuring? I am inclined to suggest that micro analysis can be fruitful or meaningful for fine-tuning or managing hitches, less so in deep crisis management. It could of course be that I am exaggerating or overdramatising the depth of the crisis besetting the Nigerian state today.

In 1985, General Obasanjo and I were returning from East Africa and I raised the need for organising a truly Nigerian national intelligentsia. I thought we could experiment with a study group similar to the Fabian society which prepared the left in Britain for power after the second world war. The African Leadership Forum (ALF) emerged soon afterwards. It is still active but I am in doubt if it has not narrowed itself out of focus at two levels. One, its limited focus cannot permit the root and branch action demanded by the crisis in

Nigeria. Here we must divide on the eternal debate on internationalism and country. Two, it would appear to have concentrated its meagre resources on trying to repair damaged icons and exhibit them in spite of the bruises and cracks obvious in them. This is not a critique of the ALF but I use it as justification for my limited enthusiasm for the focus of the 1994 Dialogue.

In deviating from the Foundation's focus, I would like to raise a number of concerns (exploiting the licence of the podium). The first is the efficacy of the Western intellectual tradition in non-Western societies, especially African societies where these traditions were slapped onto pre-literate intellectual modes. Second, I am a little suspicious of comparative analysis as a tool to understanding and solving problems. Third I must dismiss the leader as initiator or tool of change, arguing that personality typing or typology explains the past poorly and hardly assists in constructing the future. This is likely to hold until studies of the DNA become more advanced and do not tempt mankind in the direction of eliminating the weak and idiotic. Finally, I will endanger my right to another invitation by going down to the structure (sub and super) urging that more attention be paid to the character of the Nigerian colonial state in its historico-indigenous and successor (may I say caliphate) post-colonial dimensions.

Please allow me to use broad strokes on the canvas in regard to the impact of the Western intellectual tradition on African societies. Would I be wrong if I said that, contrary to Ali Mazrui, Africa is not a matrix of cultural confusion; more a melange of European, African and Arabian intellectual traditions. To my mind, what we have is an organ recipient in the throes of a rejection syndrome. African societies have effectively rejected without replacing, in our case, the Western intellectual tradition.

The melange, unfortunately, cannot provide the catalytic force for progressive, sustained, qualitative change. The Western intellectual tradition and process, the dynamo of European power, has failed in our societies to produce an intelligentsia with vibrancy, potency, creativity and innovative vision which can and should drive the ruling oligarchy, whatever its political colouring. In its place we make do with irrationality, the hollowness of received ideas and pseudo-religiosity. In the absence of an effective intelligentsia — oligarchies become unintelligent, anti-intellectual in the worst fascistic way possible. Criminality and banality take possession of society from the top down.

When there is no intelligentsia there can be no reverence for knowledge and ideas, no piety, no godliness, no upward aspiration,

no clergy, no religion, no mandarin — no progress. In its stead symptoms listed by the Foundation as significant considerations warranting a search for leadership become persistent. Pearls are pigs and pig-headedness embarks on a course of defiance with heaven and man's perfectibility.

My second concern is with the efficacy of comparative analysis. Comparative analysis as a tool of understanding the product of group minds (institutional and artifactual) has been exciting but hardly been elevated in the social sciences to the high level of seriousness our focus would like to endow it with. As a tool for problem solving it enjoys a post facto validity given credence by experiments with modernity — government systems, and structural technology etc. Yet it has always been our failure to work out peoples' systems that compels one to accept the limitations of comparative analysis.

My third concern is with leadership of the group and/or individual. Are we searching for a group, an oligarchy or The Leader? If the former, we should be beaming our light on the values and institutional structures that make a band of people dominant and dominating in their societies and beyond for generations. If the latter, the personality types which produce an Oduduwa, myth or man like Kurunmi/Ogedengbe/Dan Fodio, Iyalode Tinubu, Amina, Hitler, Churchill, Stalin, Nkrumah, Awolowo, Lee Kuan Yew, might help. My intellectual hobby-horse is the teaser that studies of all these great men and women show great similarities (tyrants and oppressors all). They only create and pursue different paths on the laps of history and the cultural milieu within which they must operate. They are judged on both results and history but they live little to enable us clone them.

I have not forgotten that I was invited to bring Ghanaian perspectives and lessons to enrich conceptualisation and analysis of the contribution of what has been described as the leadership problem to the "endemic crisis of nationhood since independence".

The similarities need no revealing. Both Nigeria and modern Ghana emerged from the West African region subject to similar pre-European contact, migratory and political development patterns. Responses to pre-colonial European contact are equally comparable.

The two also shared experience in subjugation to Britain colonialism; that phenomenon of expressed high-mindedness, tugging brutal reality. Competition between the dispossessed indigenous authorities and the Europeanised Africans for succession to power ensued. The Second World War and its impact on a new leadership ready to bring the masses or verandah boys to bear on the struggle for power

resolved the tussle in both places. Political independence; stylistic differences but essentially the same direction and content — a striking failure of aspiration and expectations for leadership and people.

From the early months of 1966 to now, the military and civilian political classes have been most successful in exhibiting their frustration and failure in dealing with the resistance of indigenous values to European virtues and vices. This is the basis for examining the impact of the Western intellectual traditions imposed on the indigenous state/nationalities in the two areas — modern Ghana and Nigeria — organ transplants, resulting in massive rejection by the recipient. In Ghana and Nigeria, an efficacious intellectual tradition is still to emerge, leaving irrationality and mimicry to dominate the public domain, and the fate of leaders and oligarchies. Until this gap is filled, leadership in Africa south of Sahara must remain largely visionless, corrupt and increasingly fascist.

From Nkrumah to Rawlings, designs and experimentation only demonstrate the destructive capacity of tissue rejection. Rawlings rejects any linkage with Nkrumah but the similarities are clear and both draw envy from many Nigerians who, when searching for leadership, often wonder why Nigeria's dynamic people have failed so far to throw up leaders capable of leading them or cleaning the stables. No study of the Ghanaian situation has satisfactorily explained the Ghanaian edge; so, we cannot take advantage and manufacture our leader(s). Both Nkrumah and Rawlings have tried to create an intelligentsia and, hopefully, an informed oligarchy. Both may have failed in the struggle against the barbarians. Ghana, like Nigeria, tumbles on against the rejection syndrome, as organ after organ is transplanted and the body politic sustains rejection. In the circumstance, both suffer from low oxygen supply to the national brain, leadership insecurity and endemic crisis of nationhood.

One must in the circumstance appeal to the Foundation and all gathered here to let us devote more resources to fundamentals. Let us examine the character and quality of the Nigerian state. I notice you still describe your subject, Nigeria, as a nation. Would it not be more honest and intellectually rewarding if we accepted that in Nigeria there exists twin colonial state structures and systems — conflicting and cooperating, to the distress of the nationalities in the Nigerian space?

Mrs. Lugard's geographical expression, the Nigerian Federal State, is the juggernaut and successor to the British colonial edifice. Beneath that is the layer of domestic colonialism which prevents the recognition and encourages the oppression of over 390 nationalities by

a handful of others. Presently, the Yoruba and Ogoni nations are in a state of high distress being mangled by the one, and no one knows many others by the other.

The Federal State and successor to the British creation upholds and encourages domestic colonialism and both deny room for the contribution, identity and energy of the nationalities within the Nigerian boundary. I am advised that there are 397 nationalities in Nigeria but the political classes would rather fuse these into two, a North/South polarisation. Given that there is no South in the political sense, they must fall back on the 'majority'/minorities dichotomy, again engaging in a false polarisation. Would the Foundation find the resources and vision to organise a conference of nationalities at which the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Fulani, Ogoni, Jaba, Jukun, Kataf, Koro, etc, will be represented by one delegate each. Shall we ever summon creativity and inventiveness to advocate the institution of an Upper House of Nationalities with powers over all constitutional matters, including the election of, or endorsement power on the presidency?

As it is, Federal state colonialism oppresses a number of the nationalities directly and domestic colonialism assisted by the former suppresses and acculturates the others.

In Ghana, Ewe/Ashanti, Dagonba and Kokonba; in Nigeria, Yoruba Hausa/Fulani, Hausa Fulani/Ogoni, Jaba/Fulani, Kataf and Hausa — the similarities are more pronounced than we care to acknowledge.

Western nationalist and statist concepts brewed in European casks herd us in the direction of sustaining colonial boundaries, often with force and violence instead of freedom and choice. Ethiopia, without Eritrea; twenty years later, thousands of lives lost, retardation of growth and development has found the capacity, true capacity for Ethiopian concepts and solutions. Sadly, the transplants continue. I am convinced they will remain rejected and hopefully the frustration will lead to a new vision.

When the system is in place and working, micro analysis will find its place and role. For now we are in deep crisis and broad spectrum, broad vision and strokes could be more meaningful.

## The South African Example

Lead Speaker: Mr. Sully Abu

Few events have stirred men's souls or seized the imagination of Nigerians as the triumph in May 1994 of Nelson Mandela and indeed the people of South Africa. His inauguration as the President of a free South Africa after twenty-seven years in prison, and during which the cause he represented sometimes seemed hopeless, brought joy to many hearts and tears to many eyes.

They were tears of joy but also sometimes of sorrow. For many Nigerians it was a clash of emotions: joy at the final triumph of a long and arduous struggle to which they had been so emotionally connected but sorrow also because that triumph only served to underline their own tragedy at home — the tragedy of annulled elections, of a loss of self-esteem and of faith in their own country, of hopelessness that had framed their landscape.

What further drove home the sense of tragedy and of shame and brought tears to the eyes of many a Nigerian either watching Mandela's inauguration via CNN or partaking of the celebrations at the foot of the Union Buildings in Pretoria was how insignificant their country had become and indeed how, by a cruel twist of fate, Nigeria was taking the place of South Africa as a pariah.

Further compounding the picture of unrelieved gloom was that there appeared no visible future that would be any different from the present or the past. In fact the undeluded prognosis was of worse to come. Never was a country so ripe for the taking. But where were the leaders? Juxtaposed against the South African story, of a triumph occasioned by leaders able to inspire their people and ready to suffer any pain, the sense of tragic self-pity of the Nigerian was complete last May. But self-pity soon gave way to a mood of anger and this re-energised the demand for June 12 and for the termination of this blight on our lives.

What were the ingredients which enabled South Africa to transform from a pariah to a lodestar and enabled its leaders to be recognised for their exemplary qualities? In South Africa, leaders of the liberation movement led by example. Whether it was the Defiance Campaign of 1952 or other succeeding strikes and mass protests, Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others led from the front — not calling for mass action and then retiring to the safety of their own houses. Even when they decided to embark on armed struggle in 1961, and formed the Umkhomto We Sizwe (M), Mandela himself

underwent military training and became its overall commander.

But leaders of course cannot lead unless they have a clear idea where they are leading people to. For the ANC leadership, this had been well articulated, at the birth of their organisation in 1912, in a document called the Freedom Charter. It outlined the kind of society they desired to build — an all-inclusive one, embracing black and white, Indian and coloured, Zulu, Xhosa and Sangaan, poor and rich, young and old. Set against the segregationist ideology of apartheid and its policies of hate, there was little doubt which was the superior ideology, the one with the greatest potential to inspire and endure. The Freedom Charter at once became the ideology of the liberation movement, a tool for mobilisation as well as helping to frame the strategies and tactics of the struggle.

It is important to emphasise from the onset that when Mandela and others joined the struggle decisively in the 50s and early 60s, it all seemed a truly hopeless task. For here they were armed with little else but conviction in the rightness of their cause and their belief in principle and themselves. Those they sought to lead were willing to be led. But as they beheld the power and organisation of the apartheid state, many surrendered to despair and took out their frustrations in the shebeens and on their wives. To challenge the status quo was treason. That status quo was held in place by an all-embracing organisation and infrastructure, taking the best which Nazi Germany and other fascist examples had to offer and honing this into a superb instrument of state terror and subjugation. Under those circumstances, despair seemed the most attractive option, confrontation foolhardy. Protagonists of a policy of challenge would have seemed in that hopeless landscape to be guilty of an excess of idealism and perhaps youthful exuberance.

The point bears repeating. Mandela and his comrades could never have been carried away by notions of victory as they embarked on their perilous course. What set them apart from other men was a willingness to bear any burden and make the necessary sacrifice so that their people could be free. Indeed during the Rivonia trial when the death penalty seemed a certain prospect, Mandela, on behalf of all the accused, under no illusions that the death penalty would not be involved, prepared a statement which they hoped would inspire their followers to continue the struggle. In the course of that trial he spoke the now famous words:

... The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy... It is a struggle of

the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live... I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Mandela was, in the event, sentenced to life imprisonment. The rest, as they say, is history. As he sat in his cold, lonely cell in Robben Island and later at Pollsmoor, one season flowing into the next, one decade succeeding the other, a dashing youthful figure slowly transforming into an unsteady old man and, outside, the apartheid state getting even more fearsome, visiting more and more depredations on his people, could Mandela have been truly certain that he would one day not only breathe the air of freedom but that he would be sitting in the majesty of Union Buildings as leader of a free South Africa?

Indeed the *toi-toi* and champagne popping at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg last May could not mask the air of unreality of it all. It was captured by one thoroughly liquefied soul who turned to me and said "you mean we have defeated the Boers!"

Some of the factors of leadership which made victory possible we have already isolated. Apart from a clear head, a clear vision and commitment to principle on the part of the leadership there must be an organisation — disciplined, well-structured — to use to attain the objectives of the struggle. Desired victory is not attained by hoping that a rotten structure will collapse of its own rottenness or by deafening the ears of the Almighty with cacophonous prayers and plaintive pleas for his intervention to save us from ourselves.

True leadership must be able to grasp the objective conditions and fashion out appropriate strategies and tactics. In the case of South Africa, the racist ideology was undermined the moment the opposition decided on the all-inclusive nature of the society it sought to build. It then became more difficult to set race against race, tribe against tribe. Thus South Africa started out with the advantage of a struggle open to all and conducted on the basis of universal principles. This is why the desperate attempts by the National Party to divide and rule through its Bantustan policy failed dismally. And this is why Mangosuthu Buthelezi has had limited success in his attempt to ethnicise the South African situation, coming across sometimes as a power-hungry megalomaniac. Apart from Zulus being in powerful positions in ANC, the organisation was in fact founded by a Zulu.

Here in Nigeria we were not so lucky. The brave attempts of the early nationalists to conduct a pan-Nigerian struggle succumbed to the insidious British policy of divide and rule and the limited horizons of some local potentates. Thus rather than emphasising the collectivity, a clear commitment to universal principles, the country recoiled into ethnically-based blocs of conflicting opinion and aspirations where local champions could bargain at the centre for a division of the spoils and in the name of federal character and equal development. Thanks to oil, easy money was there for the taking. Greed, conspiracies, backsliding, all manner of chicanery, military coups, irrational, discriminatory practices — factors which are antithetical to the use of true leadership held sway.

Without any serious commitment to clear ideas and universal ideals what we had for leaders were people who believed in sharing and sharing, not producing. And to do so successfully and without unduly rocking the boat, they made compromise a principle.

The South African experience teaches us to go back to rationality. Progress within the ranks of the ANC was not dependent on tribe but on clearly evident leadership qualities. Hence a Thabo Mbeki could rise about his forbears, a Cyril Ramaphosa become a strong factor in post-apartheid South Africa despite not being a formal member of the ANC until very late. And Chris Hani could become an icon to South African youth. Having set down clear goals, non-exclusionary, non-discriminatory, for the ANC, the question became how to achieve those goals and who best to achieve them.

With the building up of structures on the basis of rationality, of clear, logical and scientific principles, the liberation movement could not lose. It could resist the various blandishments of the apartheid authorities and the attempts to compromise their leadership either through 'settlement' or such stratagems as independent homelands, autonomous local councils etc. In effect, the leadership of the liberation movement refused to sell their people for a mess of pottage by not making compromise a principle. When the time came to compromise at CODESA, it was done in order to take everyone along to the rendezvous of victory.

We continue to lose in Nigeria because the country is structurally rigged against rationality, a situation perpetuated by those who put on the mask of ethnicity, drive us to war situations, settle their differences by appropriating our resources and then laud the beauty of compromise! So we end up producing mediocre leaders who beget other mediocre leaders.

To break the cycle, we must work for the emergence of leaders who are ready to swim against the seemingly popular local current and to break away from easy certainties and work for a brave new world. In South Africa, I have in mind the example of not just Frederik de Klerk but those who from very early on saw the serious limitations of the chosen course of apartheid and were prepared to put their lives on the line to change course; men who battered the ramparts of apartheid such as the Rev. Beyers Naude, a leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF) whose father was a founder of that bastion of Afrikanerdom, the Broederbond, and later the Frederick van Zyl Slabberts, the Alex Borraignes etc.

Finally, a word about leadership. Leadership is a lonely, hard, long and often winding road as the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo would have told you. It is not a dinner party, contrary to the impression conveyed by the behaviour of contemporary throw-ups in Nigeria who pass for leaders. Here I am talking about true leadership, not the species referred to by Alfred Tennyson as Lotus-eaters who wonder "why should life all but labour be?"

Mandela waged the war from certain struggle to liberate his people even though he could have had an easy life if he chose. He was one of the few black lawyers the country had produced. He was from a true royal family and could have become, if he wanted, a local potentate and taken on as many chieftaincy titles as existed or as could be invented.

Tall, athletic and handsome, he could have married many wives, kept a harem of concubines and truly "enjoyed" life. He forsook all that and in a letter from the underground in 1961 declared;

The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days.

Such clear-headed commitment. Such nobility of purpose. Are there no noble men in these shores?

## Leadership in America: Leaders, People and Power

Lead Speaker: Dr. Pearl-Alice Marsh

It is a privilege to speak at this conference on "Nigeria: In Search of Leadership." Nigeria is the powerhouse of Africa rivalled only by South Africa which dominates the southern region. Nigerian leadership not only will determine the place of its own people and economy in the twenty-first century, but will help to determine the place of Africa and the African diaspora in the post-technological and political future of the world.

I must first qualify the statement I will make today. First, I am not a Nigerian specialist. I have spent my academic, professional and activist life working on South Africa. My area of specialisation is South African labor. So, I am not in a position to compare Nigeria and the United States. What I will do is point out features of the American system that I think make it work. The weakness in this approach, of course, is that I will not spend much time talking about what does not work. But, as we say at home, take what you need and leave the rest. I hope my statement is useful to you all.

I have been asked to speak on "American leadership" in order to help us, as observers, establish a basis from which to compare Nigeria's leadership formation and that in other parts of the world. This is particularly a critical moment for us to contemplate this theme not only for Nigeria but for the United States.

The end of the cold war has forced Americans to look inwardly for a moment to persistent social and economic problems we have not resolved. Today, many Americans feel more divided along racial and ethnic lines than at any other post-Civil Rights period. Affirmative action, abortion and gay rights have polarised American communities and leaders in fundamental ways.

While our economy grows, too many young African-Americans, predominantly young men, are increasingly marginalised from economic life. The "anxious" American has replaced the self-confident American as the "X" generation looks increasingly to a less prosperous future than their parents enjoyed. We do not seem to be able to write crime laws and build prisons fast enough to keep up with the growing number of criminals.

The American electorate is described as "in a bad mood." Just a few weeks ago, the Republican Party, which had been the permanent minority party for many years, took control of both the House of

Representatives and the Senate and, they do not feel secure. In two years, they may find themselves back on the streets.

The Republicans have promised "new leadership" to solve all of our problems and to make us feel better. They pledged to make us all feel "American" again; to let us keep more of our hard earned money; make our streets safe for our families, and to keep America strong in the world.

I am not here to assert a partisan position, but only to suggest that crisis is a part of political life anywhere. Though the crisis in the United States does not match the magnitude of Nigeria's crisis, we too are searching for a renewal of leadership.

A society cannot exist without leadership. As President Harry Truman once said:

Men (and women) make history, not the other way around. In periods where there is no leadership, society stands still. Progress occurs when courageous, skilful leaders seize the opportunity to change things for the better. (emphasis added).

In this sense, my presentation today is normative. Regardless of culture, history, or intentions, *leadership is measured by national performance*. A country not doing well is a country in dire need of new leadership. I hope my comments today contribute to an on-going dialogue concerning the futures of Nigeria, Africa and Africa's diaspora.

Francis Fukuyama challenged the intellectual and political world with his "end of history?" thesis put forth in a 1989 article in *The National Interest* and later in his book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). In this text, Fukuyama asserts that with the fall of communist and authoritarian dictatorships, liberal democracy has prevailed. With this "triumph" has come the assertion of the twin principles of "liberty" and "equality" and the liberation of the individual from the confines of tyranny and despotism. I am not here to sell Fukuyama's thesis, compelling though it may be. However, for heuristic purposes, I think it provides a valuable description of where we find ourselves at the brink of the 21st century.

Liberal democracy has emerged triumphant at the same time that the world has shrunk in real time. Modern technology has linked the remotest places in the world with the most *avant garde* power centres; popular cultural artifacts — denim jeans, Coca Cola, Kenyan bags, Kente cloth — have linked today's generations like none before. Soon, the post-industrial world, based on information and technological innovation, will yield to the post-information and post-technological

worlds, leaving those unwilling or unable to catch up completely marginalised even beyond what we used to call "the periphery." This is the context, today, in which we discuss "Nigeria: In Search of Leadership."

Let me turn not to the topic of leadership in America. In this presentation, I have chosen not to talk so much about individual leaders/heroes or those moral and psychological factors that go into making "good leaders." Instead, I will speak briefly on the following points:

- the political and cultural context of American Leadership.
- the relationship between leaders and people
- the relationship between leaders and power

I will end with some concluding thoughts for Nigeria and for us as Americans.

### Political and Cultural Context

The context of my discussion on American leadership is, of course, our political system which is a highly stable democracy. A democracy is a vigorous, often-times chaotic system. However, we can look at democracy as a decision-making structure, a problem-solving system for society as a whole. The United States is a highly decentralised democratic state both within the formal political system and the formal and informal organisation of civil society.

Within the formal political framework, there are many opportunities for leaders to develop and evolve. From the local school board, the city council, the county supervisor, the state assembly, the governorship, the representative, the senate, to the presidency, Americans have a formal leadership route to follow to learn the issues and develop their political management skills. Within every political jurisdiction, there are innumerable advisory commissions, task forces and specialised boards with their own internal leadership structures.

In addition to a highly decentralised political system, we have a highly decentralised and vigorous social system, or civil society, based upon the principle of free association of those sharing common interests, values, causes and concerns. This system is self-organising in many ways. Organised, voluntary association dominates everyday life: whether it is a neighbourhood watch committee, windsurfing club, little league baseball, civic, religious or professional activity.

In the United States, there is a strong culture of leadership. Leadership is manifest in every walk of life: political, civil, religious and economic. Within these spheres, there is a socialisation process

that trains leadership from the cradle to the grave. Beginning at an early age, in school, in church, the Boy and Girl Scouts, and so forth, Americans are taught the principles and responsibilities of leadership. Most do not become leaders. But the knowledge of leadership makes for a nation of knowledgeable followers. Leadership in touch with the people is the essence of American political culture.

Because we live in a two-party political system, "adversarial leadership" tends to dominate American political life: Democrats vs Republicans (with a few extremely marginal parties on the fringe). The adversarial leadership model is based upon and sustained by the *authority* and *legitimacy* conferred upon the contending leaders through democratic elections. Thus, leaders in the United States do not vie for power. They must vie for the power to represent the people.

## The Dialectical Relationship Between Leaders and Followers

It is axiomatic in a democracy that rulers only rule by the consent of the people. There is no ascriptive authority, e.g. birth, race, ethnicity, gender, class and so on, that gives one ultimate authority over what the people want. And, no taking of authority outside the electoral process is legitimate. In democracy, a leader ousted by the people must go.

Within this delicate balance of authority and legitimacy between leaders and followers, or more accurately, the people, what wisdom must leaders follow? Lao-Tzu, the Chinese philosopher and founder of Taoism, stated: "to lead the people, walk behind him." This paradoxical relationship between "leaders" and "followers" resonates throughout philosophical, political, and popular wisdom. Benjamin Disraeli questions: "I must follow the people. Am I not their leader?" For those leaders who insist on being in front of the people, the American politician, Henry Gilmer warned, them to "look over your shoulder now and then to be sure someone is following you."

American politics is constituency-driven. That is, politicians have to establish and stay in touch with their political base, generally defined by interests. Democrats, historically have relied upon a coalition of:

- labour
- minorities, primarily African-Americans and Jews
- women
- liberal and progressive whites.

Republicans now have put together a coalition of:

- business
- suburban whites
- religious conservatives
- Cuban Americans
- blue collar ethnic whites
- the traditional elite

Presidential candidate Ross Perot organised the "angry Americans", mostly white men, as his political force.

Politicians carry their constituencies' wishes to Washington and bargain and compromise to gain concessions or other desires on their behalf. Once tailored and rationalised by political leaders, the collective demands constitute the national agenda.

Good government reflects the will of the people, carefully negotiated, and drawn from the interactions of interests in a democratic way. (Fukuyama: 1992)

But politics, government, leadership, all assume power. What about leadership and power?

### Leadership and power

The American people vest enormous power in their leaders. In the ideal, this power is used for the common good. However, James Madison, our fourth president warned, "All men having power ought to be distrusted to a certain degree." Alexander Hamilton cautioned, "Men love power. Give all the power to the many, they will oppress the few. Give all the power to the few, they will oppress the many."

Thus, the American system is designed to weaken natural power centres... the presidency, the Congress, even big business. Within the political system, the Congress and president have respective veto power over the other's will. The Bill of Rights is a check of governmental power over the people. All of the regulations governing commerce check the power of business and the commercial classes.

Good government and a strong society (the outcome of properly directed leadership) are a result of this system of checks and balances. When this democratic way is ignored, we get into trouble. So, within American democracy, there is a dialectical relationship between leaders and the people; between power and the restraint of power; and between the many and the few.

Power obviously can have its positive side and is a great thing when used in the right way. The imprisoned Nobel Prize-winning

poet and Burmese leader, Daw Aung Son Suu Kyi said: "It is not power that corrupts, but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it; and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those subjected to it."

Fear of losing power drove President Richard Nixon to the Watergate scandal and drove southern segregationists to oppose civil rights for African-Americans. On the other side, the absence of fear drove the Civil Rights Movement and its leaders to overcome segregation and injustice.

## Leaders and the Military

One of the key instruments of power in any nation is the military. Within the military are the means of martial control and suppression of civilian activity by force. The subordination of the military to civilian authority is a pre-condition for democratic order, peace and prosperity.

Recently, the right wing Republic Senator, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, suggested that President Bill Clinton was not fit to serve as the Commander-in-Chief and if he visited a military base in his home state, he would need a body guard. The mere utterance of this suggestion of military contempt for the president and civilian authority sent a chill through the country. Helms was roundly repudiated by leaders inside and outside his political party. The head of the Joint Chiefs of the military reaffirmed the *loyalty* and *subordination* of every enlisted woman and man in the services to the Commander-in-Chief, President Clinton. In 1993, a senior officer spoke against the president prior to his visit to Europe. The officer was promptly and permanently relieved of his duties.

The structure of the military-security apparatus in the United States is subject to constant oversight and control by civilian authority in the institutions of the President and the Congress. Congressional inquiry rooted out the mischief-making that created the Iran-Contra scandal. Marine Colonel Oliver North, a Republican candidate for the Senate, was soundly defeated by a tarnished, liberal democrat in spite of the massive Republican sweep to power. The Virginia electorate judged that his history as a military man of subverting Congressional will and then lying to Congress while under oath, made him unfit to represent them politically.

I have not the time to critique civil-military relations here. But, no country has accomplished a transition to democracy with the military in power. And, strip away the history, culture, and all the other factors

and you are left with one truth: A military that becomes a political class unto itself inevitably destroys a country.

In the future, perhaps we should examine civil-military relations in Latin America and their painful transitions to democracy as case studies for Nigeria.

### Implications for the Future

In spite of how formidable and oppressive a regime may be, enduring leadership still works best when it proceeds not from the top down but from the bottom up. Democracy is, after all, a matter of self-government. If people are capable of governing themselves free from turmoil and corruption in their villages, neighbourhoods, towns and cities, corporations, professional associations, schools and religious institutions, they are more likely to succeed in doing so at a national level.

There are two primary places citizens can look for leadership:

- (1) In political, social, business and cultural institutions; and
- (2) In the mirror.

What we expect of our leaders we must expect of ourselves. And what we expect of ourselves, we have a right to expect of our leaders. It does not matter *what* you do; it only matters *how* you do it. As Professor Claude Ake said yesterday, "assert the principles of leadership in your local space."

So, on the personal level, citizens must think of every act and achievement as an act of national pride. Whether in the role of formal or informal leadership, or simply in the capacity of every day life, act with honesty, transparency and quality. Without performance, national pride becomes national arrogance. National arrogance leads to foolish behaviour and foolish behaviour becomes national embarrassment.

Parents teach children the simple but powerful truth. My mother and father taught me that I could only be one of two things: either a credit to the race or a disgrace to the race. There is no middle ground. Everything we do makes us one or the other, whether as an individual, as a nation, or as a people.

On the political level: remember these words from the great African-American intellectual and activist, Frederick Douglas:

Power concedes nothing without a demand; it never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be

imposed upon them; and these will continue until they are resisted...

The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

## Nigeria and the World: Perspectives from the Third World

Lead Speaker: *Ambassador Olu Adesola*

I thank the organisers of this Dialogue for involving me in the search for leadership in our country, Nigeria. Such a search would not be necessary if the proper leadership was already in place.

I shall treat the topic from the perspectives that will reflect the prevailing practice in certain Third World countries which share a similar level of political development with Nigeria by highlighting some comparisons, first, between Nigeria and the new African nations, and thereafter the experience of an Asian nation — Indonesia — with which we have a lot in common, typifying problems that are peculiar to other Asian nations, such as The Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore in the quest for national leadership.

The management of the affairs of Nigeria for the first time ever by indigenous Nigerians can be said to have commenced on our attainment of national independence in 1960. The people of Nigeria at that time anticipated that their new leaders would give priority to securing the satisfaction of their reasonable yearnings and expectations. Thirty-four years later, however, much of their aspirations are yet to be realised. This is to be expected if we recall that those who worked and fought hardest for independence, and had definite programmes of action for the post-colonial Nigeria were not those to whom power was handed by our colonial masters in 1960.

Independent international observers made no secret of their bewilderment at the peculiarity of Nigeria's transition from colonial rule to independence exemplified by its departure from the conventional transfer of authority from the colonialists to the colonised who have been agitating for freedom. In our own instance, the immediate beneficiaries of the power transfer, more by design than by accident, were not the militant progressives who started the clamour as far back as 1953 for the attainment of self-rule by 1956. Rather, it was the conservative elements, who had exhibited contentment with the grant of independence "as soon as possible" at

the convenience of the colonial power that were, ironically, made to benefit from the fruits of the liberation struggle when they were eventually due for harvesting.

Nigeria's independence may therefore be aptly described as having been granted on a platter of silver. For this reason, our independence does not merit classification in the same category as what was won by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Mahatma Gandhi of India, Sukarno of Indonesia and, most recently, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, all of them nationalists whose heroic struggle while earning them long terms of imprisonment at the same time also won them popular support and leadership in their respective countries.

To this same category belong freedom fighters such as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique, Agostinho Neto and Angola and Sam Nujoma of Namibia. These are only a few of the African leaders whose nations were built on a sound foundation through revolutionary zeal during their struggle for freedom. They understood what the liberation struggle was all about, and were prepared to make the necessary sacrifice it demanded. They were armed with definite plans which were to be implemented for the improvement of their people's lot. In victory, they emerged as true national leaders in their respective nations.

I venture to visualise what the position would be today if in Zimbabwe, reactionaries such as Bishop Abel Muzorewa and The Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, in collaboration with Ian Smith and British government support, had completely swept away President Mugabe or if the Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia, which was backed by the racist South African regime at that time, had succeeded in displacing Sam Nujoma. On the other hand, what would Zaire be like today if Patrice Lumumba had not been shamefully eliminated thirty-four years ago to make way for the calibres of Joseph Kasuvubu, Moïse Tshombe and Joseph Mobutu?

The point I am trying to emphasise is that the process of evolution of any leader is a reflection of the calibre and quality of leadership that he would produce later in governance. When you have a leadership that has had a sense of mission and has, like silver, been tested by fire, and is further complimented by a followership that is fully disciplined and mobilised, the end-product would obviously be a compound combining the best ingredients.

Nigeria was belaboured right from its birth by the neo-colonial interests of our former colonial authorities who had planned ahead the type of leadership they envisaged for us and left no stone unturned to execute that design to the letter. The possible emergence of a

nationalist movement that would embrace a broad spectrum of the Nigerian people to govern Nigeria was unacceptable to the colonial power. What was sold to us in 1960 was no more than a convenient patchwork of coalitions and arrangements which survived for a short while through inducements and patronages, but disintegrated soon afterwards. Nigeria would be an entirely different and prosperous nation today if Chief Obafemi Awolowo, like his true world counterparts statesmen — Ghandi, Nkrumah and Mandela — had not been robbed of the opportunity to midwife and steer the affairs of this nation, at least from its birth.

The leadership that now prevails in the new African nations mentioned above has emerged through the creation of a dependable and dedicated followership. Leaders come forward in search of support but followers, who are truly dedicated and politically conscious are not easy to come by. The reliability and durability of our kind of followership is amply demonstrated from time to time by the speed with which they abandon their leaders in difficult times and cross over to any power snatcher without any thought as to the propriety or otherwise of the pretender's accession to power.

The long and short of it is that the step taken forward by Nigeria at independence in 1960, with or without the collaboration and conspiracy between our reactionary politicians and our former colonial authorities, has spelt our doom in so far as the choice of a proper leadership for this country is concerned, and will live with us for a long while to come. We have to pay very dearly for our rejection of a true nationalist leader who had a sense of purpose, in preference for political nitwits and sycophants who have ruined this country and have even not yet relented.

### **Indonesia's Experience**

This brings me to the Indonesian experience. Indonesia and Nigeria have a lot in common except that Indonesia went through more than three centuries of colonial rule under the Dutch. The military coup which swept President Sukarno from power in 1965 may have been ominous for Nigeria which, barely four months later, had its first taste of an army take-over. The corruption in Nigeria would be child's play when stood against Indonesia's record. President Sukarno, when he assumed leadership of his country, invited his military men to recall all their assets from abroad and to reinvest them in Indonesia for the development of the country's economy. No questions were asked but several inducements were offered during the 'amnesty'.

As is the common practice in South-East Asian nations, President Sukarno strengthened his control of the constitutional machinery in his country by packing the Parliament with one-third of its membership made up of his nominees, but parliament remains stabilised and is allowed to function nonetheless. Civilian technocrats are in all facets of government and are given a free hand to offer advice and direction to the nation. More often than not, they have their way. Virtually every Indonesian family has one of its members in the Armed Forces. There is therefore less of a military versus civilian confrontation in the real sense and more of a diarchy.

A striking formulation for the relationship between the civil society and the military forces was made by one of the most prominent leaders of the country, Foreign Minister and later Vice-President Adam Malik, in 1967:

*The military is the only credible political power in Indonesia, for the time being, which is capable of government. A government without the backing of the military would be eroded in no time ... There is a broad consensus, also subscribed to by the military, that political development should not move in the direction of a permanent military regime or military dictatorship."*

Thus, Indonesians admit a participatory role for the military in the governance of the nation but refuses to concede leadership to them.

What has sustained and continues to strengthen Indonesia is the people's faith in, and subscription to the principles of *Pancasila* which are incorporated in the Preamble to the Constitution.

- (i) belief in one God;
- (ii) human dignity;
- (iii) nationalism;
- (iv) democracy and
- (v) social justice.

No person or group of persons can aspire to the leadership of the country or hope to sustain a leadership role whose conduct defies, or is at variance with any of the five stated principles considered as the supreme laws of the land. *Pancasila* transcends and takes precedence over executive decisions, legislative acts and judicial judgements and overrules such acts and judgements to the extent that they disregard or are at variance with the five principles for which the nation shed so much blood in the armed liberation struggle that lasted more than three centuries. Any aspiring Indonesian leader must satisfy certain unwritten conditions which are designed solely for the upliftment of the honour and dignity of the ordinary Indonesian national under the

umbrella of the five principles. The qualities demanded include probity, integrity and dedication, and loyalty to the fatherland. Any leader who is unable to face public probe of his character in any of the aforementioned respects should not bother to present himself as a candidate for leadership of the nation.

### Implications for Nigeria

In view of the foregoing, I would say that since the golden opportunity to choose rightly had been missed at the conclusion of the nationalist struggle in 1960, the only solution is for the nation, like Nicodemus, to be born again. A free and fair national election preceded by a fair census making room for the emergence of a freely chosen popular nationalist leadership is the only answer. This would be as impossible for us as it would be for Nicodemus to re-enter his mother's womb.

In that event, the alternative course of action would be for us to embrace certain rules of conduct religiously which would regulate our lives and abuse of which would be sacrilegious. Such principles must be reflected in all our executive, judicial and legislative actions. The fundamental principles and objectives which constitute the preamble to our constitution is richer in contents than the Indonesian *Pancasila*, but our own are for decorative purposes only and are not reflected in our daily interrelationships.

### Discussion

Mr. Binik

As H.J. Morgenthau in his book, *Politics Among Nations*, asked in relation to national power: What makes a country a power? What makes a country a super power? For him, these include natural resources, human resources, agriculture, industrial capacity, population, foreign policies, national character and national morale, and military preparedness. Military preparedness encapsulates quality of military leadership, quality and quantity of the armed forces, raw materials and capacity for producing armaments. Most important of all, Morgenthau emphasised the element of leadership. This element is the only animate factor, since all the other factors, put together, cannot coordinate themselves.

Nevertheless, my question is this: right from when I started

attending this dialogue, we have just been talking about leadership. Is it only leadership that we lack in this country? What about group cohesion? A second question is this: Recently, our Head of State, I mean General Abacha, had been stating that the Nigerian Press is one of the freest in the world. I thought Dr. Olatunji Dare was going to debunk that claim when he spoke, but he didn't. Does that mean that it is incontestable?

#### Mr. Odio

I find the paper on South Africa very enlightening. However, I am not very sure whether Mandela as a leader of a democratic and free South Africa will not be too new and in fact too young in office to constitute a fundamental case study for us against the background of the strains and stresses that now confront Nigeria. Second, I am not even sure if the environment that produced Mandela is the same that produced the leaders that have failed us and are still failing us now. While referring to Mandela, I must quickly say that I do not want to deny the gentleman of his sterling qualities, his spartan discipline, organisational capability, selflessness, to mention a few.

I believe Nigeria can also parade a galaxy of leaders who made sacrifices in the past to ensure that Nigeria got independence. They are too many to name. Some of them are dead; some of them are still very much alive. The list includes elder statesman Mokwugo Okoye who is still with us and is a golden bridge between the present and the past. He made efforts along with others, including, of course, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. I believe what happened was that along the line, these peoples' efforts were sabotaged, their dreams got broken by predators and 'desperadoes'. Let it not be said, therefore, that we do not have heroes. Of course, we have heroes but what happened was that the revolutionary process set in motion by these people was derailed.

I want to return to Mandela and ask a straight-forward question. What are the prospects there in South Africa that Mandela will not go the way of his African brothers?

#### Ambassador Otunla

I assume that the question on group cohesion is in reference to the possibility for cooperation or non-cooperation from the mass of the people. I prefer to be situational in my attitude to mass action and reaction. For instance, what is it that makes it possible for 10,000 Romanians to be on the streets for four days and topple a dictator? On the other hand, why is it that a good 80% or more of the population in

southern Nigeria stay off the streets for several months and yet are unable to achieve their objectives? What makes it possible for someone like President Kerekou to starve his Republic, the Benin Republic, for fourteen months?

I like to be situational in my attitude to mass behaviour. There is no way you can replicate situations. The lesson of history in Nigeria is that there are two groups in this country without which you really cannot take on a government — the youth and the middle class of educated professionals. But what happens? All we do is to throw hoodlums at those in power. So long as only hoodlums confront those in power, and as long as it is difficult if not impossible to mobilise so-called respectable segments of the nation, it would equally be impossible to rid this country of authoritarian rule.

Group cohesion in Nigeria is weakened by ethnicity, timidity and fatalism. This is a peculiarly Nigerian problem. I remember that it was a strong coalition of middle class elements, including the Ghanaian Bar Association, which for two years battled with the Acheampong regime and worked for its downfall. Very young members of the Nigerian Bar Association have also in recent times publicly demonstrated their disenchantment with the situation in Nigeria but this is not enough. The poor average Nigerian is tired of dying on the streets so that I can become Minister, and that is the crux of the matter.

#### **Mr. Sully Abu**

On South Africa one would have to be a prophet to come out with any clear perspective of what that country is likely to be tomorrow, next year or whenever. The situation I compared really in talking about the leadership and the factors that make for leadership in Nigeria and South Africa stopped at the point of liberation in May last year. Mandela is still too young in office for us to know with any precision as to how he is going to go or how he is going to proceed. The South African situation is very complex. People say things are complex here and use that as an alibi or as an excuse for all our failings, but we must also remember that Indians are more complex than we are.

South Africa is very complex but you can already tell, from the way they are proceeding, that the leaders understand the complexities of that country. For the ANC to have retreated from its earlier position with regard to nationalising the commanding heights of the economy and purging of the civil service, the Police Force, Armed Forces and so on, of their white elements and to have accepted what is in fact power sharing, shows sufficient grasp of the situation as it is right now. That

situation is that the Africans, the black majority, are in far less powerful position than they would have liked. So, for now, they want to take control of the power and then proceed from there to build up structures which would accentuate the power of the dispossessed segments of the population.

Most of the strategic positions in government are held by serious people from the ANC and let us not forget that these leaders are people who have gone through the crucible of struggle. As Ambassador Adesola mentioned a while ago, one problem with this country is that the inheritors of power were not those who fought for power. People like Comrade Mokwugo Okoye and Chief Anthony Enahoro have really only been at the periphery of power; they really did not have the opportunity to bring to bear on political practice after independence the discipline, the ideas and ideals which they had in struggling against British colonialism. If you look at most other African countries which went through liberation struggles, there is no doubt that some got derailed. However, if you look at Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and so on, you find that there are attempts to do things much more rationally than we have in other parts, places where people have not really struggled for independence and therefore do not really appreciate what independence is all about.

So, in my summary, I would like to say that while we cannot tell what the future of South Africa is going to be, I think from the way they started, from the way they achieved their liberation, there is going to be a future far more different than what we have here.

#### **Mr. Akinterinwa**

Since we are in search of good leadership, I would like to crave the indulgence of the Chairman to allow me to predicate my own submission, not only the generally accepted point that our problem is basically leadership, but on the hypothesis that it is only leadership connected, leadership oriented. My hypothesis is that the crux of our problem for lack of effective, good leadership in Nigeria is related to power-sharing.

Power-sharing has been the main problem. A cursory look at the political history of the country right from the First Republic to the present time would point to this. In this particular case, I want to believe that the moment we are able to meaningfully and objectively address the problem of power-sharing, then all these theories of leadership would have been settled.

Second, I do not think that anyone can easily solve the problem of leadership. Why? Let us quickly look at what has been ignored up till now, the new word in our dictionary, whether we call it "Egunje" or 'settlement' or corruption. Now, we know there is an informal policy of 'egunje', of settlement. The implication of this is that those who are 'settled', for instance, are one way or another disloyal to the people and dishonest. Dishonesty has become part of our lives. They are neither honest with their government that settles them nor loyal to the people whose interests they may purport or claim to represent.

Now, what is happening is that everybody keeps quiet. We are all acquiescing to this type of phenomenon but the danger is that while we might have only two 'settled' persons today, tomorrow they become three, thereafter they become four. The danger then is when we are talking in terms of leadership, good leadership, then from where, from which constituency and how are we likely to bring about this when already on the one hand we are developing in a dishonest manner?

Finally, if the Awolowo Foundation really wants to bring about a meaningful, successful, honest, good leadership in Nigeria, there is only one option. First of all, there has already been some discussion on the principles of reward and sanction. There is the need to enlighten the public not individually but institutionally on the need for sanction and reward. That will be the motto, but the theory underlining the enlightenment should be ethics of leadership.

Without a general reappraisal, a general education, there is no way we can get out of this mess since we already have accomplices not only at the level of government but in society at large. So, the problem is not just government, it is not just the military. I now stop with a question. Why does anybody here want the military, for instance, to be democratic, to be conformist, to do all these things that are positive when we know quite well that the soldier is never trained to be democratic? The problem of leadership, therefore, cannot be separated from others or limited to a particular situation.

### Speaker

A few years ago I visited North Korea and I spent one month travelling through that country and seeing the exploits of the Titsu idea. In his presentation here on Indonesia, Ambassador Adesola gave the impression of being in support of this type of unifying, homogenising ideology, knowing that have we have a heterogeneous

society. To what extent would the theories that created the miracles in South East Asia for the 'Tigers' be appropriate for Nigeria?

### Ambassador Adesola

One fact we must accept. We must realise if we are true to ourselves that we shall not expect to wake up one morning and find that either through persuasions or by an act of oppression, we have displaced the military from power in this country. They have not only tasted it but they have tasted it for too long. As I indicated about Indonesia, it was in the process of fighting against Dutch rule for over three centuries that Indonesians fashioned a more homogenous polity for themselves, overlooking the various differences that separated them one from the others.

We should now at this stage formulate a process by which we will be able to put the military in their place. In the Indonesian case, they have created a parliament in which 66% of the seats are occupied by civilians and the military are accommodated in the party political process but only as a tiny minority. In such a situation, with time the military literally fizzles out.

### Mr. Osai

When we talk about leadership in Nigeria and the problems of Nigeria, we tend to narrow down these problems to that of leadership.

I will want to believe that what we face is not only a problem of leadership but also of followership. When we talk of leadership, we tend to focus on those at the apex of power and authority and position. However, everybody in a sense is a leader, and among leaders at one level are to be found followers at other levels.

Having been a local government chairman for some time, the point I am making is that we are really not tackling this issue of leadership. If you are looking at leadership as just Head of State or Governor, we are missing the point. We all have to resolve to move somewhere. But I must assume that leadership begets followership. Followership really does not in essence beget leadership. Having said that, a time will come in Nigeria when we really have to re-examine ourselves because the way we are talking, the way we are going, it is just a dream that the moment we install a democratic system of government, Nigeria will just change overnight. I dare say that that is a lie, it is unrealistic, it is an illusion because of the experience we have had.

Back to the Indonesian case. The Prime Minister was asked sometime — what is the miracle of your success? He said, "Well, you in the West talk about democracy but those of us in South East Asia, we talk about discipline and high moral standards". And what is really wrong with the military? Agreed that they impose their will on others, but we have also seen situations in countries where the military have served as the agent of rapid development, countries like Brazil, Korea, Turkey and now Ghana.

So, we have leaders. What is actually wrong is the character of the leadership. Looking at the degree to which everything has gone wrong in Nigeria, I think we might start to reconcile ourselves to a situation whereby we end up with a dictatorship of some sort, enlightened dictatorship that is development-oriented and let us do away with these fine things of democracy. We are in another Constitutional Conference to keep talking over and over. What was wrong with the old Constitution? Basically nothing, at least that is what my lawyer friends tell me, but who are the people also drawing up a new Constitution? A collection of those who at one time or the other have misled or misruled this country, and eventually when we return to democracy it is also from among these people that leadership will emerge.

So, I really don't have any solution but from the little experience I have had, I am of the sound opinion that even if you have a first class democracy with a vision, not illusion, with strong will, with determination, with democratic or constitutional authority, we must also have a followership supportive of such vision and determination. After all, is it the Head of State that removes railings from bridges in Lagos? Absolutely not. Is it the Governor or Commissioner who steals petrol in army drums?

It has gone too far, so we may have to go back to the drawing board and say, look, what do we really want? Is it democracy for the sake of democracy or good purposeful leadership so that we can move forward.

#### **Speaker**

Mr. Bola Akinterinwa's contribution in terms of his perception of the problem of leadership in this country has been simplistic and reductive. I don't think the problem has been power-sharing as such. The point has been made that our leaders are visionless, they are unpatriotic even though they have not defined patriotism, they are unpatriotic, they are inept and they are visionless. The problem is not

power-sharing but my main disagreement is with Ambassador Adesola.

In his presentation he read out names of great leaders, including Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Ghandi of India, Comrade Agostinho Neto of Angola and Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique. He said that these leaders established what he called firm and sound foundation for their countries. I think he is not quite correct. As we talk now, the ceasefire in Angola is not on. As we talk now, UNITA is still battling the Angolan government forces. In the circumstances, it is inconceivable to say that a foundation has been established in Angola or in Mozambique.

### Speaker

My contribution is on the impact of military rule. Military rule has been a disruptive force in Nigeria, ensuring that civilians have had neither the time nor the opportunity to govern effectively. Moreover, all over the world, military rule is generally undesirable and we should be more concerned now about how we can phase them out and remove them out of the country from external aggression and make sure that the territorial integrity of the country is not violated.

In my view, I see no reason why we should think that the military are the messiahs, it is a known fact that only one professional group, namely the military, is dominating the affairs of this country. We have other professional groups, we have intelligent people in other professional groups. Why should a single professional group exploit its access to guns to dominate the entire country? Should we say that if somebody is not a military personnel, he or she cannot aspire to the post of President of this country?

### Chairman

Thank you very much indeed. I think on that note I shall end the intervention from the floor. The subject will, of course, continue to agitate the minds of all right thinking Nigerians since perhaps if we had had good leadership we probably wouldn't be in the problems in which we are today.

It is possible that many people disagree with us on the singular role of good leadership in resolving our problems. I equally hold on to the view that the followership is equally important. This is a trite point to make, since in any event leaders are few and the result of the country are followers. If a follower has no concept of what it is to be for someone to be a leader, the leader is just wasting his time. The

leader is not the one who steals petrol from the petrol pump, he is not the one who cuts the railings on bridges, it is the ordinary man, it is the follower who does it but what leads the follower to this state of mind is something that we also should be thinking about in our dialogues in the future.



**SESSION 6**



## SESSION 6

# The Generational Debate

Chairman: *Professor Anya O. Anya*  
Lead Speakers: *Mr Sina Odugbemi*  
*Alhaji Ahmed Joda*

### Chairman

In proceeding with the generational debate, there are certain basic premises that we ought to identify. First, is that "the generation" in any society is the main conservator of the values, hopes and aspirations of the society, and it can only do this where the rules of the game are recognised and accepted by everyone. It means for example that two words are very important — continuity and succession, because it is through the various generations that there is continuity in the society in terms of its inputs, in terms of its goals, in terms of its aspirations.

At the heart of the problem of instability in leadership is the twin issue of how to ensure continuity and how to ensure orderly succession. Of course, you have not come here to listen to me, you have come to listen to the erudite scholars that are on this team. Without wasting too much time I would like to call on Sina Odugbemi to give us his presentation.

### Mr. Sina Odugbemi (Lead Speaker)

#### A. The Debaters

A generation has been authoritatively defined as "the ordinary time interval between the births of successive generations — usually reckoned at thirty or thirty-three years". Since our overriding concern here is an inquiry into the nature of the debate regarding leadership performance in Nigeria by different generations, we must begin by identifying the generations relevant to this enquiry: This means, in

essence, that we must segment the adult population in Nigeria by using the thirty-year rule as the principle of segmentation. Once we do that, three generations emerge:

1. **The First Generation:** The average age of members of this generation is ninety, give or take fifteen years. Hence Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe typifies this generation as would Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the late Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, were they still alive.
2. **The Second Generation:** The average age of members of this generation is sixty give or take fifteen years. This is the generation of Ernest Shonekan, Ibrahim Babangida, Sanni Abacha, Alison Ayida, Adamu Ciroma, Lateef Jakande, Pius Okigbo — to name but a few representative figures.
3. **The Third Generation:** The average age of members of this generation is thirty, give or take fifteen years. This is the generation of Pat Utomi, Atedo Peterside, Mohammed Haruna, Nduka Obaigbena, Odia Ofeimuny, Danladi Bako and Bayo Onanuga — to name but a few representative figures.

Thus, if there is a generational debate regarding leadership in Nigeria, it has to be one involving these three generations — first, second and third.

## B. The Debate

We must ask, is there really a generational debate regarding leadership in Nigeria? It is possible to doubt it, for there is very little evidence of a public debate between these generations, at least in the sense of the often bitter inter-ethnic debate in our culturally plural and federal society or the military versus civil society debate. These two debates are loud and insistent, but the inter-generational debate? Not as much. There is abundant evidence, however, of geysers of inter-generational resentments, of eddies of incendiary rage. And it is possible to argue that there is a generational debate behind all this.

Before describing this debate — if a debate it is — two preliminary qualifications are necessary. First, I propose to leave out the first generation. Whatever debate is going on between the generations today is going on between the still vigorous and active generations, that is, the second and third generations. Members of the first generation are nearly all dead now while those who are left are no longer awfully relevant. Secondly, of the two relevant generations — one has been in power for quite a while now and hence the weighting in the discussion that follows favours the case against this generation.

(Remember please that this generation impatiently shot its way into power in Nigeria in January 1966, an impatience which probably explains much of what followed). Finally, I propose we now describe these two generations as (a) the older generation and (b) the younger generation.

What the younger generation says of the older generation can be summarized thus:<sup>2</sup> The older generation was specifically and massively trained for leadership by the generation of the founding fathers and the departing colonial overlords. Educational opportunities were not only tremendously expanded for this generation within Nigeria, the brightest and the best within the generation were sent to some of the finest schools in the Western world to develop their abilities. Everything was prepared for this generation... training, jobs, cars, career-development, homes in exclusive neighbourhoods and so on. Yet what has the older generation to show for it?

According to the younger generation, they have nothing to show for it. They made an absolute hash of things. All they did was focus on becoming multi-millionaires,... in hard currency. Their bequest to this younger generation is one fine mess. Now the younger generation is stymied and unfulfilled. Yet this older generation is perpetually recycled. A generation that came into power in 1966 and is still in power in 1994 (incredibly 28 years later!). The old super-permanent secretaries and the generation of military officers they served are still very much around. They are the so-called eminent citizens who head boards and panels everywhere, take ministerial appointments and start political parties. This is apart from owning most of the assets in the private sector.

Naturally, the older generation sees things rather differently. Members of the generation typically refuse to accept responsibility for the evident devastation of Nigeria. The civilians say: "It is the soldiers — blame them". The soldiers say: "It is all those useless politicians — blame them". Others like Professor Wole Soyinka simply moan — "We are a wasted generation". In fact, in a recent interview, the esteemed professor mounted qualifier upon qualifier. He said: "Ours is a raped, violated and discarded generation, that is what I feel".<sup>3</sup>

Rather than accept blame for the prostrate state of the country, members of the older generation betray a clear sense of grievance. They claim that they served their own elders and parents well all their lives and are disturbed to find that they still have to serve the younger generation... their own children. They claim that their own children cannot fend for themselves even when they are fully trained

professionals and thus still dependent on mum and dad. Above all, they have no faith at all in the younger generation. They bemoan the collapse in standards they see everywhere. And they say 'This is not the country we built',<sup>4</sup> When you ask 'who built the country we now have then', all you get is buck-passing and evasion or a good ticking-off.

### C. The Evidence

The blasts and counter-blasts being exchanged by the generations do not necessarily have a connection with truth. For the exchanges are necessarily passionate and coloured to the extent that the passions are involved. We must look at the facts, then, and try to be fair on both sides. The question is this: whether in terms of past performance or potentialities, what can we say about the leadership qualities of the older and younger generations?

#### (i) The Older Generation

The evidence suggests that this is a generation that indeed began with vast possibilities. Listen to Professor Wole Soyinka on the point:

... I do remember certain periods since the inception of this country when we thought, if you like, we were the renaissance people that nothing was beyond us. We felt like mini-gods. By that, I mean creative people. And we looked at our colleagues in all the various fields of human endeavour and we said — we have a superhuman team and without so much as saying so, I know that our feeling, our internal drive was that we were going to astonish the world. I don't mean individually, I mean in terms of the society. Now we probably have become tired, old men, aged before our time.<sup>5</sup>

What went wrong along the way? In the interviews I conducted for this presentation, I discovered the following. The members of this generation broke up over the years into two groups. In the smaller group are those one might call the Nigerian *illuminati*... outstanding men and women of genuine accomplishment and character. Some were in academia, others in the public service and a few are in the private sector. These ones attempted to make a contribution in spite of the harsh realities of the post-colonial state of Nigeria — about which, more shortly — but at the end of the day, their efforts came to precious little. They are bloodied, humiliated, frustrated and, at the end, dumped. These are the men and women about which Soyinka's characterisation is true. They are the wasted generation.

Most members of the generation adapted to the environment cynically, however, and prospered materially as a result. About five years ago, a notable member of the generation — who shall remain unnamed because of his current travails — said this to a friend of mine (a member of my own generation): “Young man, I see you attend seminars a lot and are speaking up. Stop it, stop it I beg you. Grab your own first. When you have Grabbed your own, then start attending seminars and say: yes! we must do something about this country!!”

That is the philosophy of the *realists* of the older generation. It is what I have called in the past the philosophy of “self-settlement”. Thus, rather than worry about the collapse in the public education, find private schools for your children. Rather than worry about the collapse of health care, security, water supply, electricity and so on, just struggle to make enough money from the state in order to provide these things for you and your family. And the mechanism of choice is what an insightful student of Nigeria’s political economy, Terisa Turner, has called “The Diabolical Triangle”.<sup>6</sup> It results from the collusion between the foreign businessman, the local businessman and a high government official. It is how every big government project is put together and Nigeria usually ends up a victim. In fact, the proper tag to give most materially successful members of the older generation is this: Grand Masters of the Diabolical Triangle.

### (ii) The Younger Generation

This is my generation. In another context I have called us the *TIME-ESQUIRE-GQ* generation, referring to the American magazines which influenced us so very much. The best of us believe very much in cultivation; to be fully rounded was all the rage. And we looked forward to blazingly brilliant lives. Then things began to fall apart. The universities began to fail in our time. Job-scarcity for graduates began in our time. Dreams began to vanish in our time. Which is why we are bitter and angry. Yes, we are bitter but are we better? This is the question.

The Ibrahim Babangida era offered two vast arenas of opportunity for my generation. The first was in politics, through the philosophy of new-bredism. Many members of my generation were legislators at all levels, state commissioners, high party functionaries and so on. The second and even bigger arena of opportunity was in enterprise, especially finance. The boom in finance and banking consequent upon deregulation offered unbelievable opportunities for my generation.

Some of the brightest and best (what with their MBAs and training in the finest global consultancy firms) ran most of the banks and other financial institutions which grew like measles in the Babangida years. It was the age of the parvenu.

Two vast arenas of leadership, but what did we do with them? It is simple and it is sad. We blew it. In evidence everywhere was a total lack of character. In politics, we carried corruption to fresh depths of depravity. In finance, we engaged in cynical plunder. The elegant, computer-pounding yuppie was usually nothing but a thief. As a result most of the most wanted criminals who stole depositors' funds in banks and other financial institutions are members of my own generation.

#### D. The Core Questions

At the centre of the generational debate is really a fundamental and highly problematic question. It is this: what shapes leadership performance, no matter the generation? Are leaders passive victims of vast historical and socio-structural forces? Or are leaders moulders of the forms into which history pours its blood and fire? These are large questions but they have to be tackled before we can conclude our enquiry into the generational debate in Nigeria. And we begin by discussing the two answers one finds in the reflections on the subject before applying the findings to Nigeria.

##### (i) The Structural Perspective

According to this school of thought<sup>7</sup>, structural realities determine whether or not leaders can bring about social change in any given society. These conclusions have been drawn from studies of social revolutions, of transitions to modernity in different parts of the world: England, France, America, Germany, Japan, Russia, China and so on. Vast social and historical forces must cooperate before change can happen, these scholars argue.

On this view, it is possible for certain structural realities to impede the best efforts of a set of leaders. In Nigeria four such structural realities might be noted.

- (a) The autonomous logic of the colonial state which absorbed and digested the anti-colonial elite and their successors and has continued to grow without being transformed creatively.
- (b) The fact of multi-nationality and the absence of a pan-Nigerian consensus in favour of modernity. Rather as

Dr. Azikiwe once said, it was decided that Nigeria would travel to modernity on the principle of the maritime convoy i.e. at speed of slowest boat in the convoy. The current post-June 12 crisis shows that an operative consensus still does not exist in Nigeria.

- (c) The first two structural realities make democracy difficult and explain military rule but military rule in itself has contributed to a worsening of the structural realities, particularly the journey in thirty-four years from federalism to unitarism to the imperial presidency and now to sheer absolutism.
- (d) The misfortune of oil wealth. Oil money has helped to build the vast, centralised state and to worsen lack of accountability. For if government had had to depend on taxation the state would have been much smaller, concern for economic growth would have been greater and pressure for accountability from the citizenry would have been sharp and insistent.

The question is: given these structural realities, is it any wonder that leaders have failed to transform Nigeria? As far back as 1980, Professor Claude Ake, an outstanding student of Africa, spoke about the "logical necessity" of failure in such a structural context.

### (ii) The Inner Quality Perspective

Down the ages, many poets, mystics and philosophers have insisted on the moral autonomy of man. They have insisted that man is the architect of his own destiny, the shaper and moulder of his environment. The basis of this radical insistence is that man is spirit and as such capable of attaining the highest levels of self-cultivation and attainment. By the same token, the view is held that when there are enough men and women of intelligence and character in an environment — i.e. a critical mass — they will act as the transmuting potency for that environment. They will build it and consolidate the achievement.

Even Harvard University's eminent sociologist, Barrington Moore Jnr. in *The Social Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy* says:

... it is well to recollect that there is no evidence that the mass of the population anywhere has wanted an industrial society and plenty of evidence that they did not. At the bottom all forms of industrialisation so far have been revolutions from above, the work of a ruthless minority.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, there is no getting away from the fact that this "ruthless minority" of intelligent men and women of vision and commitment has not emerged in Nigeria... no matter the generation we examine. Rather, all this evidence points to the fact that leadership positions have been dominated in all generations by human beings of very, very low quality. The brilliant, disciplined and committed leaders who pulled off the economic miracles of east Asia are nowhere in evidence in Nigeria. Leaders in our country, no matter the generation, are mostly dominated by what Joseph Conrad in *Nostramo* calls "unintelligent greed". Thus while the structural perspective points to the challenges leadership must confront in Nigeria, the inner quality perspective insists on the capacity of leadership to rise to the occasion. I belong to the latter school.

## E. Conclusion

The generational debate is therefore wholly and entirely beside the point. It is a waste of time. No matter the generation the issue is, what manner of human beings are we? A critical mass of women and men of outstanding competence, character and commitment (please note those three C's) must emerge in Nigeria, seize it and transform it. It will result from an elite consensus that must be pan-Nigerian if Nigeria is to be saved. When that happens the generational debate will vanish and Nigeria will be run as a Family Business (a mum-and-pop store) in which cooperation between the generations rather than blasts and counterblasts will be the order of a glorious new day.

## Notes

1. *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (1993 Edition).
2. Many thanks to Mr. Lekan Shate for most of these views.
3. *The News* magazine, November 28, 1994, p.18.
4. A distinguished Sokoto prince actually said this to my hearing.
5. *The News*, 28 November, 1994, p.18.
6. Turner Terisa, "Multinational Corporations and the Instability of the Nigerian State", *Review of African Political Economy* 5 (1976).
7. Examples: Barrington Moore, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Penguin Books, 1966; Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Resolutions*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
8. Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa* (London: Longman, 1981).
9. Barrington Moore, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 506.

## Alhaji Ahmed Joda (Lead Speaker)

Our theme is on leadership and the Dialogue is being held under the distinguished name of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo who, whether we like it or not, is one of the founding fathers, leaders, and servants of the people of this country. The question is, if we do accept that Chief Awolowo and possibly some of his colleagues and even those of his opponents were leaders in their own right who provided leadership for not only the communities in which they wielded their interests, but also for the generality of Nigerians, I think we should begin by asking ourselves, how did these people become leaders?

I was around when Chief Awolowo was forming his political party in Ibadan. As a matter of fact, I visited him at home in connection with politics when I was in Ibadan on many occasions. At that time he was a practising lawyer taking tentative steps into politics. He did this, not by the use of money, not in any reckless manner, but by a systematic organisation of people. He was studying people, young men, young women, people of his age, people of like minds and getting them together, welding them into a group and forming a political party.

In the process, Chief Awolowo proved to be a leader because they found in him the qualities of leadership such as strength of character and integrity. All the elements that combine to make a man a leader were in him. He belonged to the group of great leaders and, if you like, Dr. Azikiwe, and probably the Sardauna of Sokoto also belonged. They had no challengers, they emerged as leaders, they built themselves, they built their organisations and they became leaders and they enjoyed the respect and admiration of their followers and, in due course, of the country. Whether or not people identified with their views, their politics, their tribe or their religion, they still gave them the greatest acceptance that they were men with whom the people must work.

I think that if you go round Nigeria, to the North, the East and the West and examine our structures, where we have developed, or not developed, you will find that the more solid structures, the well-laid foundations, were made in this country before 1966. That was when demonstrable progress was made. We had more roads built, more airports constructed, more universities put in place, more industries, and so on. To know how solid these foundations were, consider the University of Ife, Ahmadu Bello University, Lagos University, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and compare, not the number of students and lecturers in these universities, but the structures that

were put in place. In those days, it seems to me they had a purpose, they were building for generations. Compare those things that have been added in Ife, Ibadan, Nsukka, ABU and see the difference. The same thing applies to our hospitals.

At that time, we had no oil money thrown very carelessly into our hands for which we had no idea how it was extracted. We had cocoa, we had palm oil, we had rubber, we had tin, we had columbite, we had hides and skins, groundnuts and cotton. These were the instruments that were used to establish those infrastructures. The oil became available later and there was rapid and unsystematic development of all kinds of infrastructure. You may say that I am guilty in part. I may have something to explain about the failure of Primary Education Scheme and the expansion of all the educational infrastructures that we have established. But I am talking about Chief Awolowo; and please when I say Chief Awolowo take this to include his ministers, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Dr. Okpara etc. We had our crises then but people were talking, trying to solve these crises until one morning we woke up and there were strange voices and strange music and very soon, we heard the news on the radio about Head of State, about government, about members of the Supreme Military Council. I knew only three of these people — Ironsi, Ojukwu and Hassan. I had not known any of the others. I had not heard their names and, before January 15th, no Nigerian ever thought of Ironsi or Ojukwu or Hassan or Fajuyi or Ejoor as leaders. But, in that week beginning the 15th of January 1966, we were told that these had become Nigerian leaders!

I wish to narrate an incident here. Lt. Col. Hassan Usman Hattia as Governor of Northern Nigeria went to visit Ghamji when there was trouble in the country. He wanted to try and see if he could end some of the rioting. A crowd of people saw his motorcade and said "Look, let's disappear. They say these people wearing shorts, khaki shorts can do anything. We don't know what they are going to do". This was how people regarded them and I suppose this was the way things were. The point I am trying to make is that you cannot destroy a leadership today and create an acceptable and respected leadership the following day over radio and on the television and you expect that you will have the same quality of leadership, the same purposefulness, the same integrity and the same maturity to guide you and this vast country through certain periods of crisis.

The tragedy of January 15th did not stop here. We very soon had the tragedy of July 29th 1966 with all its attendant catastrophes which were inflicted on this country. It did not just end with the killing of

people in the streets but it led to a civil war. Up to that point in time, the people of Nigeria were sensible than those who were claiming to lead them. They knew what had happened systematically since 1966. People said that what happened in 1975 was a good thing, that is, the coming of Murtala. Quite frankly, I never thought so because no change of government by violence can be good. It just goes to confirm in the minds of the people that you can just put anybody there tomorrow and he can look after the affairs of people and it is that simple in the minds of some people. So, you could have a coup and introduce completely new ideas, throwing all the other ideas away after changing a government without going through well laid-out constitutional process.

To me, that is what the perception of the coup is. People ought to be taught to be patient to ensure that there is peaceful change, if necessary, by pressure. But what have we had? The military is supposed to be a disciplined force but have they brought discipline into our society? Have they eliminated or reduced corruption? You see, if a man is contesting election, even if he is corrupt, he is mindful of what he is doing because he will have to go back to the electorate at some point in time or the other. Never mind that the culture in the past five or six years shows that the electorate could be bought.

The lesson I have learnt and which is most unfortunate is that the people of this country, be they Yorubas, Ibos, Fulanis or Hausas etc. could be bought in the contests for local government or membership of the House of Assembly or that for becoming the President. Supporters would demand for all kinds of things — ranging from transport fares to settlement of hotel bills, etc. I believe nobody can go through this system and pretend that he is honest. And, among the people who promote these things are the priests, the Alfas, the so-called leaders of society. Let us assume that we elect a leader and we expect him to be clean, to be honest and insist that everybody working in government should be honest. First of all he has to find the people with whom to work. He will not find the right people because the police have been corrupted, the security services have been corrupted, the civil service has been destroyed!

Let us look at the Customs, for instance. To get anything into the country you have to pay more than the required custom duties. Take the issue of contracts — people are given contracts they cannot execute even at inflated costs. Those in power would allow some people to get the contracts even though they know they won't succeed. These are just few examples of what destroyed Nigeria. In the circumstances, what do we do?

I think we have a massive educational job to do. All of us. It is no use dwelling on the past or even the present without really addressing these problems of the minds of our people. People must decide before we go to the next election that we want good, purposeful, reasonably honest government. People cannot take such decisions without all of us trying to explain and educate them about the danger in which our country is and about the danger in which each community in Nigeria is. For me, it is no longer just a national problem. Suppose Nigeria is no longer Nigeria, that there is a Yoruba country, there is an Ibo country, there is an Hausa country, there is a Fulani country, there is a Tiv country, etc. with everybody having his own country. I can assure you that those problems will be transferred to these different sections, these new countries. Rwanda and Burundi are not as big as Ibeja or Victoria Island and Ikoyi put together. One needs to note what they are doing to themselves and we could be doing this in about four or five different places.

The problem we have in Nigeria is the same problem we have every where in Africa. They are fighting in Sudan, as elsewhere except that it is the moslems and the christians. I have not been to the Sudan but I am quite sure that the people who are fighting are not all moslems, not all christians, and I have tried to convince myself that the problems in the Sudan, the Chad, Eritrea, Zaire, Angola, etc. are those of poverty. We are still a little better than many of our African compatriots and we need to solve the leadership crisis which we have all over this continent since no good leader anywhere can be presiding over the death and destruction of the society which is what is happening in Africa. If we take the examples of Europe and America, they evolve leadership from the universities through a series of apprenticeship. By the time a person becomes a Parliamentary Secretary in Britain, his name is a household name. When they are looking for a leader, the man would have been very much evident for a long time or, at least, one or two or three people would have become fairly prominent as potential leaders. We must, in our own interest, try and be more patient, try and develop a systematic pattern of leadership. We cannot do it through military coups. I am sure for the next ten or fifteen years we will still be groping around unless we are lucky to have the proper atmosphere to conduct an election since we have no other basis for choosing leaders.

Certain institutions have a big and vital role to play. I think the first of them is the military. They can do us a great favour if they can get out and keep away from meddling into our politics and restrict themselves into a professional force which can defend us when our

interests are threatened. I know it is tempting to want to return. I also know that people outside government believe that it is simple to govern and to be in charge. Having worked with Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Generals Gowon, Murtala, Obasanjo and Chief Awolowo, and Dr. Azikiwe a little bit, I do know that every decision they took, or were forced to take, were dictated by circumstances and necessarily by the ideas they originally set out to do. They had to balance between various sections and make a choice and the process of making the choice was determined by the leadership quality they possessed. It is not read in books. It is acquired. Perhaps you have to have a bit of it in your genes, then you acquire a lot of it by experience. Working with experienced people, interacting with the left and the right, with the intellectuals and non-intellectuals, one gets the true picture of the challenges of leadership.

Furthermore, I think that the academia also has a role to play, a very great role. In the past the University of Ibadan had, for instance, played some useful roles. At the Extra-Mural Department, we were organising public enlightenment classes, getting people from Ibadan, from everywhere who had experience in politics, in economics and so on. I followed this up with extra-mural classes in Gashua, Barma, Bida, etc. This was the University of Ibadan's contribution to the understanding of politics, of economics and how to run a state. The programme was for everybody. Now, with the benefit of radio, television, newspapers and endless numbers of magazines, we should be able to do well with such programmes of educating the people. Today, we have thirty or thirty-two universities in this country. There are also polytechnics and colleges of education. I am sure they can make an impact in educating people about this country, about how they can develop leadership, about how they should exercise their rights of choice.

Now, to the issue of our economy, how do we deal with it? The oil would have been a blessing to Nigeria but it has been a curse. Oil revenues could have been invested in development. There should be development also through shared or decentralised responsibilities with the local government playing its part especially in the area of primary education, etc. There is the tendency to blame the Federal Government for everything even though states and local governments have a large share of the federally generated revenue to run these things. What do they do with the money? Today, we probably import about 40 per cent of our food requirements whereas every part of this country can feed itself and contribute something to those large states that cannot do so for themselves. But we are looking at these things

and we are neglecting them and are forever trying to shift responsibilities either from the local government to the state government, to the federal government, etc.

Now my generation is under attack. We are seen as having messed up the states, that the other generation after us are all those who have been struggling to correct all those things we have done. I have already told you that I have only been a humble civil servant, never really truly been part of the decision-making process. I have only confessed to having participated in trying to suggest solutions to problems, and, in suggesting various solutions and bringing analysis for solving problems, my masters have always taken decisions based on what they thought was good for the people.

Things took a turn for the worse thereafter, the next generation actually started to compound our problems — with contractors and civil servants and politicians negotiating "up front payments". It was not so before. I regard myself as part of this generation, whether you are forty, forty-five, fifty or sixty, I think we are in the same wretchedness, in the same generation. But let people who are fifty and below believe that they are angels, I do not believe so. We have seen banks and finance houses being floated by very highly educated young Nigerians who could fit anywhere in the world and discharge themselves very proudly. But what have they done with them? How many banks have they run down? This also happens within government establishments. They owe without paying. The government also bites more than it can chew. There is always a budget and there should be no way that anybody should overspend without such authority. There is a law which says that anybody who does that goes to prison. But how many people have been sent to prison?

I don't know how old General Abacha is but certainly the military administrators and others in the Provisional Ruling Council are not up to 60 years old. They should help to promote democracy and develop true leadership.

If we have an election and we contest and every time you lose or every time I lose, I say I don't agree, we will never have democracy. If somebody wins an election, we should let him go and govern and make sure you don't sabotage him and don't ask the military to come back because a civilian government is bad. Even if there is a military government in place, don't ask another set of military people to come and take over. We have to learn to play by the rules and we cannot learn them all in one day. There is much to learn from generation to generation.

### Mr. Ayo Olukotun (Discussant)

I will like to join those who have already congratulated the Foundation for the topicality of what we are discussing today and for its far-sightedness. I also congratulate the Foundation for having survived up to this point at a time of rapid institutional decay in our national life. I think for it to be able to put together something of this magnitude and with such efficiency, it deserves to be commended. (Applause).

My task is really very simple. It has been made simpler still by the nature of the earlier contributors. I have attended most of the sessions up till now. I can testify, I am a witness to the quality of discussions so far; their breadth and comprehensiveness despite the treacherous nature of the topic and the difficulties one has in really pinning it down. Leadership is one of those very broad, elusive topics.

For me as a journalist with background in the social sciences, leadership, as I said, is hard to catch. Political leadership is one form of leadership, but obviously as we heard yesterday, it is not the only form of leadership. Sectoral leadership was considered yesterday. The professions, for instance; community leadership; leadership at micro-levels. These are various levels, categories of leadership which one can consider. So, the topic tends to raise what we will call a level of analysis problems. Where do we focus the discussion and at what level are you analysing? Then the difference was drawn in one of the sessions that I listened to between headship and leadership — whether those who functionally occupy positions of authority in the nation are necessarily leaders. Are they exercising leadership? And if they are not, then do we still call them leaders? Things of that nature, I think, are areas that make the discussions, for me, a very interesting and challenging one.

But to zero in on this particular session which is about the generational debate. I think Odugbemi has done a good job by defining for us in broad terms what these generations are. I think one can go on to say, and here I will like to disagree with him slightly by saying that there is a generational debate. It may not be as salient as the other kinds of debate that he is referring to, but I think it is there in our national life. For instance, even in the mid 70s I remember as we were preparing to enter the 2nd Republic, there was much talk about the young people challenging the old in national politics and how they were going to give them a good fight, and things like that. And as he said, in the aborted Babangida transition period, there was much talk about newbreed politics. The entry of the youths into politics, it was

hoped, would make the difference. So, this debate is on, and as the Chairman said, we have had echoes of it even today in the different approaches of Sina and Ahmed Joda into the subject.

I think the debate has a very clear ancestry. There is always the feeling that the young ought to add a new dimension. For instance, if you look at the Bible, it talks about young men seeing visions, old men dreaming dreams. A vision is something that encompasses you, that possesses your whole life and charts it along a certain course. The young are regarded as dynamic, robust and full of vigour; and one recalls, for instance, in the American context, the era of Kennedy as a young person, full of charm, wit, diversity and one who was expected to bring a different touch, a different kind of politics to raise the level of American politics. So, in all society, there is this belief that the young can make a difference by applying their vigour to the way things are going on. One can see concrete evidence of this kind of belief, for instance, in the type of idealism that one sees in student politics, because they are relatively uncontaminated, they have not had to make compromises, they are more adventurous, therefore they can raise the kind of issues that their elders would fear perhaps, or for reasons of material constraints or whatever, would fear to raise.

So, I am saying that there is a logical generational debate even at the level of Nigerian politics. At this point I will want to re-echo something Odugbemi said which I think can help us to pin down the debate further, which is a profile of who these people who are aspiring to be leaders are. What do the young think about, what are their hopes? What do they read? What do they say? What do they want to be? I think these are the areas in which the Foundation can enrich the present literature in its field. I don't think we know enough about these things.

I recall some research done by one of my colleagues, a sociologist, when I was teaching in the university. She gave out questionnaires to her students and asked what they would like to become in five to ten years. What startled her was the kind of answers she got. The dreams were so fantastic, you know, and they were tied, of course, to material acquisitions.

So, I think we need to zero in more at this level on what the younger generation is thinking about, their hopes and aspirations, in order to understand whether they are capable of making different contributions to national politics, which is what I think we are essentially talking about. And here Odugbemi has shown the way by giving us an insightful profile, I would say, of the kinds of breezy, fast lane generation that seems to be on our hands; unhooked, if one might

say so, less restrained by violence, social violence or ethical considerations, on the make, aggressive. I think that is the type of picture that comes across in what he said, and I think he is right. And if that is so, then it is a frightening prospect.

I remember during the Second Republic, the UPN had just conceded victory to the NPN. Of course the stories were told of how that victory was snatched. But I remember Professor Aluko, I think it was, who said 'fine, we've lost the election but what are we going to do in the states which we have won the election? We are going to turn them into model states, to implement our programmes in these states in such a way that it will become a campaign platform for us at the subsequent elections. I was quite shocked. These were people who served under Chief Awolowo. They drank from his wisdom. And in listening to voices these days, there is a certain vacuity, there is a certain hollowness about it all. Those kind of inspiring, rooted, encouraging vision and programmes — one hears very little of them. What one tends to hear more about are the bickerings, creating more states, local governments and so on and this tends to buttress, in my opinion, what Odugbemi had to say about the young whether they really are serious about leadership. Because that is the essence of the theme, whether they are serious, whether they are consciously grooming themselves for leadership and if they are, how they are going about it.

Ahmed Joda said something earlier which I think Odugbemi also buttressed. This is grooming for leadership, generational succession. I think we are doing less and less of this. I do not see many people crowding around leaders and saying I want to learn from this person, I want to take over from this person. We are having fewer and fewer role models, people we can look up to, people we can emulate, people from whose wisdom you can drink, you can just sit at their feet and learn perspectives, insights, what have you. So, that's another frightening dimension of this debate. I do not see enough of generational succession going on. You can deepen that point by the state of educational services today which makes it even more frightening that little or no education is taking place for the young. Everybody knows the state of the universities at the moment. They are often more shut than open and everybody can guess how much learning is taking place in them. There is so much confusion. There is value crisis. People do not know what to hold on to, what to believe. There is anomie in society, and these are the kinds of things, in my opinion, to make the problem of leadership more challenging for the youths who, it would seem, are not preparing themselves enough. I

the first level that will design the solution with reference to the young and old debate.

Then second level as I said before is how can we create a system in which the potentials at the micro-level translates to a broader national canvass. That is a second challenge of a dialogue like this. These potentials we have seen at the grassroots level, community level, universal level. There have been some very good vice-chancellors. I had one. I studied at Ife, and I remember late Professor Hezekiah Oluwasanmi. He was a builder, a visionary, a pioneer; and if we have leaders like that in this country, I bet we would not have been in the doldrums. So, one challenge as we look at the young and old event is how are we going to make way for those who are genuinely committed for leadership?

How can we reverse the level of decay that at present exists in the society? The value crisis, the fact, as Odugbemi said, that the young are only dreaming of material acquisition; that they are so rapid, you talk to them and you don't see any clear focus, there is no gravity; they lack gravitas and you wonder. I am sorry, but you wonder whether this is the best preparation for leadership, leadership in the very challenging context that we are in.

## Discussion

### Chairman

This is one session I believe as much discussion from the floor as possible should be encouraged because if it is a debate, there must be viewpoints from across the generations than within the generations. Well, Sina Odugbemi has already defined some of the elements that should guide us. He talked about the structural perspective; he talked about the inner quality perspective and he particularly that character, competence and commitment were important. These, in my opinion, are values. In other words, there must be some values which form the framework on which the leader either will emerge or operate. But I would want to add two other perspectives. I would like to add what I call 'the social perspective'. The reason is this, the structure is not a structure in a vacuum, it is a structure that defines an entity and I am suggesting that the structure operates within a social context. The qualities that operate also operate by defining the individual in a context defined by the society, therefore the social perspective is also a

dimension we must reckon with if we are to understand the contributions. The emergence of leadership and freedom are also important because without them the character, the competence and the commitment, the interaction of which are to produce a stable and viable political economic system, will not be there. I think we ought to add that.

Finally, as a biologist, I would add the evolutionary perspective because evolution teaches us a lot. In the final analysis, running a government is about development, producing the condition that the best life is possible for the population and that is what evolution has produced and that is what has produced men. What are the qualities, the lessons evolution can teach us? Evolution teaches that step-by-step changes within conditions defined by the environment always produce new conditions that when stabilised, bring new opportunities and those who take advantage of these new opportunities now survive and take over the new environment that emerges. But the important thing is the step-by-step and gradual evolution. Sudden breakthroughs usually create instability and usually do not survive. That is the lesson of biology. Does that relate to our society? I suggest that it does.

While talking about evolutionary perspective, let me remind us, especially the young ones, of what Bola Ige reminded us of two days ago that in any society, those individuals who pay their dues are those who evolve and emerge as leaders. Indeed people did not know that even Ahmadu Bello had to pay his dues. Not many people know about his struggles in Sokoto. He even went to prison. It was only when he had paid his dues that he emerged because it defined his character and attributes. Azikiwe's story is better known; so also is Awolowo's. But the important point really is that in all these, what is the vision? What kind of Nigeria are we thinking of building? Because unless we define that, there is no context in which we can talk about leadership you are dreaming about. So, let us focus on our vision of Nigeria, given the possibilities.

#### **Mr. Abolarin**

I am in total support of what Odugbemi said and one should really emphasize the fact that people in my generation still have a lot to learn. We are too much in a hurry, that is true, and we have reasons for being so. When you have a father who was in the civil service, was dedicated, and with the situation right now, he cannot just feed his family, what do you do? Again, it is necessary to learn from the

am not even sure whether they have taken stock of the enormosity of the challenges they face.

Before we came in the morning, I was sharing with a friend, a senior colleague, what happened to one of my colleagues when armed robbers, to be sure, went to his house and shot his wife. They were asking him for dollars. He doesn't earn dollars; he works in this country. But because he could not produce dollars, he had to pay, his wife had to pay for it. They shot the wife at the knee and she is still in the hospital. These are cases that you can multiply. By the time you narrate your own misfortune, somebody else is saying it happened to me several months ago or it happened to my friend or to my wife or something like that. This is pervasive anomie, the fact that you don't know what to expect the next moment, the next day; the uncertainty. And it is in this kind of situation that one has to construct a viable leadership and I am saying that the first step will be to take stock of what we have on our hands.

The point has been made. But I tend to find some earlier discussants perhaps overly pessimistic. Caulked up with the trauma of the situation, one can get quite depressed and overwhelmed and when Wole Soyinka talks of the discarded generation, he was reacting verbally to the challenge of the situation. It comes around in aggressive metaphors, metaphors of despair, a wasteland, because you tend not to see anywhere at all in what looks like a comprehensive impasse.

But I am saying that beyond this, we must be able to hold out something of hope, something of vision. And I read it somewhere, I think it was an American Professor who said that leaders never talk of failure. So they talk of snacks, they talk of temporary setbacks and so on, but they never talk of failure. Which means there is something in them that keeps them going, that holds out a prospect even when everybody else has lost hope. And I am saying that I would like this particular session to come up with panaceas, to come up with more redemptive insight, with prospects, with opportunities that can be built into some kind of framework.

In this connection, I will like to recall something that was said at one of the sessions, that it seems as if we have leaders at micro-levels. If you look at micro-level society, community, church or mosque, maybe somewhere, you can identify sparkles, elements of leadership, courage and things like that. Take the media for example. Take the heroic struggle that the media have waged against dictatorship in this country. I feel challenged. Sina Odugbemi belongs to a newspaper that has been proscribed, you know, but he keeps going; and I am saying

that this kind of heroism is necessary, even the Nigerian people are resilient, the way they keep coming back. Look at how much we are paying for fuel. Look at how much trouble it must have taken for this Conference to be mounted, the way we keep going in the face of adversity. To me, they are challenging, and I am saying that at these levels there are opportunities, there are prospects for leadership that need to be explored.

I think the problems, as many speakers have also identified, is the fact that we have not been able to translate this vision to a national canvass because the people who showed the most promise have been denied, by virtue of the caulked character of federalism, the opportunity to become political leaders at the top levels. What we have now, since Babangida, is that the army is just sitting there, dug-in. Babangida has perfected that strategy of the army, subjecting us to what I call a long- distance running. It's like the army is saying — fatigue all the possible forces, expose them, fatigue them until the army becomes the only coherent and organised force that can rule society, that can manage society. So, that is part of the problem. At one level, the federation operates in such a way that it denies people who are competent, people who have the vision and capacity from getting to the top. Chief Awolowo faced that problem as is well known. He battled all his life with all his preparation and all that, it was only after he died that the nation began to reminiscence that we have lost a man of vision, but while he was alive he had to contend against the configuration, the character, the caulked character of the federation. Abiola was to face the problem many years later. Even after he won a free and fair election, he was denied and is still denied the opportunity to become Nigeria's president.

I am saying that we have to deal with that problem. I take it that we have to be candid about it. It is not a time to talk in parables and all that. So we have got to identify how it will be possible for men of vision, those who have the most prospect to ascend into national leadership. This includes, as I said, dealing with the army factor, an army that is digging in, not just digging in but creating conditions which will make it impossible for almost any other person to hold things together, to govern. You see everywhere the level of brutalisation of the people, the level of violence, even social violence in their personal lives. You see it everywhere, the insecurity. And these are the underpinning of dictatorship. Because what it boils down to is that law and order is breaking down, so it is only an army, only the military government that can hold the pieces together. Who else will dare want to hold these kinds of pieces. The level of banditry, that is

founding fathers of this Federation. Chief Obafemi Awolowo did well in the former Western Region. I was not around then but I read much about him. All the things that we now have in the former Western Region were left by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

The inner mind must also be totally developed. We need courageous men. In 1974, Awolowo said the census was rubbish because then it was rubbish. But we don't have men like that again. All our leaders are "settled" people. Look at the structures we have in Victoria Island. They are not functional. The educational system is in total disarray and you are talking about leadership and you have all these structures in Victoria Island. By God's grace, if not in our generation, all the houses will be converted.

#### **Mr. Adebajo**

I am going to appeal to people of my age to continue to re-educate the next generation. One of the things that Babaginda will be accounting for at the appropriate time will be that, besides destroying our economy, he destroyed our morality. The leadership that we were trained under is no longer in place. In my own constituency, talk to them about morality and they will say, "That was Awolowo's time". But until you come back to Awolowo's time, you will make no progress. Babangida did something which attracted the new generation. When he came into office he said, well, away with the old generation, I want the new breed. You did not know his tactics then, because he knew the old generation, he knew they had the experience to forestall him. The new generation hasn't got the experience, so he attracted them. If you are going to begin again and you are really serious about what my generation should do, please go back to Awolowo's time.

#### **Mr. Ojo**

The solution is the most important thing that we want. How can we get out of this? I want you to realise that we operate in two realms, the spiritual realm and the physical realm. We have been attacked in this country by the spiritual realm, by spiritual forces. We will not believe it but that is the truth. We have been attacked in this nation by the spiritual forces of evil. I am sure what we are having now is not what we prayed for. Anybody who is going to bring justice must be established on justice, not injustice. What I am saying is that we have

been invaded in this country by locusts and they come in succession. We can only improve this situation by turning to God.

If we give our hearts to God, God will bring the men. Somebody was talking about the traditional man. He was talking about Bini Empire, Oyo Empire, but they have collapsed. We cannot be glorifying things that no longer exist. America is less than 300 years and is ruling the whole world. I can assure you that in the affairs of men, God rules. We need God to take control of the affairs of this nation and bring about a man who will rule. It might even be a man from the bush. David was in the bush, he didn't even know what was going on in the woen, but God gave him the wisdom. When we are praying, let everybody go home and say: God, you are the creator of all things, you are the creator of heaven and earth, we need you to take control of this nation and destroy all the spiritual forces of evil that have taken over this nation and let them be destroyed. And I can assure you there is a solution already.

#### **Mr. Akinterinwa**

Odugbemi's paper has been very interesting. The intervention of the Chairman is fantastic too and the discussant too has brought in a new dimension in terms of the search for good leadership within the framework of this debate on generation gap. I think that there is need, procedurally speaking, to first of all disagree with the typology used by Sina Odugbemi. He has used age for classifying generation. I quite agree with him since it was convenient for his analysis but in terms of statistical strategic implementation, that typology has to be changed and I am proposing that we adopt something like a common idea as a basis. For instance, if we are able to bring together people who share the same ideals, people who have the same view of Nigeria, of the world, of our community, then we can all be in a position to talk about a generation of people of common ideas, that we will be able to make a headway. But, as we know, order and counter-order have always amounted to disorder.

The framework based on ideas will enable the first generation, as defined by Sina Odugbemi, to cooperate with the second and the first. The issue of knowledge, wisdom and competence are all elements that are not necessarily restricted to a particular generation. Wisdom is a gift of God and biblically speaking, it simply means fear of God as opposed to acquired knowledge. A young person can acquire knowledge, an old person can acquire knowledge but what everybody easily forgets is that Chief Awolowo had a philosophy but the leaders

of today, whether first, second, third or middle generation, we are yet to know about their philosophy. Leadership without philosophy cannot move anywhere.

Consequently, I am proposing that the Awolowo Foundation will have to go beyond just organising seminars to discuss leadership questions. The issue is that leadership has become a major problem for the country and this is where I will agree with Apostle Ojo that we have to be patient because God wants us to be patient. But during the time of patience we must also be hardworking. God will not directly come and choose anybody. I think that there is need for something like a centre, not necessarily an institute, a Centre for Leadership Studies where ethics of leadership will be taught. You see, everybody is groomed elsewhere in other countries. We are generally not groomed here. People just come in by circumstance. These are the obstacles which we have always ignored in this country and for us to go forward in order to build what Chief Awolowo has been preaching all over, we must agree on the philosophy of leadership.

#### **Chief (Mrs) Ighodalo**

I have listened to Odugbemi. He was sitting next to me yesterday and he told me when Justice Aguda was chairman that he was going to lambast us. So, I am not surprised that he has done it. You see, the quality of our leadership is that it will allow you to lambast us without our doing anything to you.

I belong to the older generation and I want to appeal to the younger generation that it is not enough to feel angry and to start complaining and to start murmuring. As Alhaji Ahmed Joda said, he belongs to my generation, it is not all of us that are corrupt, not all of us that become rich. There are people like Ahmed Joda at the federal level and with deep humility, a person like me at the state level. At the regional level, in the Western Region starting from Mushin to Asaba on River Niger, I will say that I have occupied very sensitive positions in this country. I am not saying this because I want your vote. I am saying it so that you know that there are examples of people who did not corrupt their positions, so that you can accept that it is possible to hold the highest and the most sensitive position and to corrupt yourself.

As somebody said here, whatever you find in the Western Region now; that is Ondo, Lagos, Ogun, Bendel and so on was put there physically by the Awolowo regime and even the expressway from Lagos to Ibadan was part of the Action Group programme. If you live

in Ibadan, you could come to Lagos and work, to get to Lagos will take 45 minutes but that is for another day.

If you keep on complaining about those who are corrupt, who become rich, you are never going to be able to do anything. I was in the Commission of Enquiry into students' unrest at the time of the 'Alli must go' thing. I took the student leadership up and said to them, what examples are you setting? You steal the union's money and abuse us. I told them 'what do you do for your students? You steal the union's money!'

As a member of the older generation, I was in the Settlement Committee for the Western Region during the crisis and I had a £100,000 vote, which I could have spent over my signature alone. It was not subject to audit. I did not take a kobo.

Finally, since I went on voluntary retirement in 1976, I have not gone to take government contracts. When I served in public offices after retirement, I did not corrupt myself in any position. I was a Director of Nigerian Airways, the Shell Company and Chairman of the Board of Directors of many companies in the Western Region and I never corrupted myself. And then, not only that, I don't offer anybody bribes, even now. I keep a small poultry and when I went to borrow money from the bank, the Cooperative Bank, and they were refusing, I just stepped into the banking hall and said "Come here manager, I wrote the memo for this your 'Cooperative Bank'. If I did not write it properly you won't be here and I didn't take any bribe from any of you. I want to do business, give me a loan and I will pay interest. Not only should you not take bribe, don't give bribe. You are too ready to give bribe because you are not ready to do your duty. You will rather bribe the customs men and the police instead of making your obligations to society.

#### **Dr. Ikara**

In 1985/86 as the then Permanent Secretary, Special Duties in Dodan Barracks, I initiated this talk about the generation gap and the need for a new breed. I have no regrets about it but my idea at that time was that because of the bastardisation of politics that we saw amply demonstrated by the Shagari Administration, it was time for a change — scrap everybody, anybody who participated in that, to hell with them, forget them. Let us have a newbreed of politicians, untarnished in whatever way, polished in every respect, disciplined, polished, hardworking, let them come in, it did not matter the age so long as they shared that common identity of ideas, let them be put forward.

Now, I want Odugbemi to accept that apart from the two alternatives he has given us, (i) the structural and (ii) the qualitative, there is my position which encompasses both, and that was amply demonstrated in my paper yesterday. You need the structural perspective as much as you do the qualitative perspective and I combined both in that analysis.

Thanks to God that we have now come back to our senses, that we are now returning to God and praying to God that He in His infinite mercy should forgive us and save us. The truth is those in the first generation, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the late Premier, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, you name them, these were religious people given to us at the right time, when Nigeria as a nation was being born. If they were not there, the whole story would have been different and today, when we refer to those things that we see as their permanent legacy, they are permanent because those who built them feared God. God is permanent and that is the truth. Let us now come back and reshape ourselves in that direction.

#### **Chairman**

The proposal you made in 86/87 should have been preceded by similar written proposal in 76/77 or that between 77 and 87, you would have put in a process for training these people you are talking about. Unfortunately, the state scraped everything which is why we have the situation because there was nobody trained to perform the function we expected. Besides anything one must say about Gowon, there is one crime that is ascribed to him today that I would like to correct. He did not take over the schools from the voluntary agencies. State governments, led by my friend, Ukpabi Asika did it. Maybe Gowon's crime was the fact that he called none of them to question and did not ask the question 'Is this really a public policy, a sensible policy or not? So, let's get that correct.

#### **Dr. Doyin Okupe**

There is no need to state the obvious that the nexus at every pillar, at every level in Nigeria there is leadership failure whether it is politics, military, professions, religious, traditional, at every level. So this is really the depth of the problem which we are in. It is also a fact that there is one which I call generational eclipse. I do not think there is a generational debate, there is a generational eclipse. People who are younger either have more opportunities and they are more charged to

make opportunities themselves, to put themselves in positions of leadership which is also peculiar to Nigeria. I was speaking to somebody there and he said that we should have role models. There are no real role models anymore.

For instance, if a young man wants to go into politics, who does he turn to? Will you go and sit around someone like Raji Rasaki who was governor of Lagos State? A man who became a governor of a state is a very important man in that state and, naturally, he should be somebody who can impart some knowledge and some depth of understanding but because we have had too much of military administration and just civilian intervention, sparsely put in-between, it has been difficult for us to have succession of political leadership. That is why it would have even been a miracle if Babangida's experiment had succeeded. In any case, Babangida himself spoilt it by bringing in the old breed who then destroyed the Third Republic, not the new breed.

It was when Jakande, Yar'Adua and others came to contest the presidential election that they ruined the whole things. I am glad that our father is here, Chief Okoye. He and others who are not here now fought for our independence under some nationalist banner. Then the challenges were different. We were fighting for independence from the parents.

Today, after thirty years or more, we need new nationalists, we need a new set of nationalists who are willing and prepared to fight for and defend a just Nigeria. It is not a Nigeria that Yorubas will want to take power to harass or revenge against the Northerners; it's not a Nigeria that the Northerners want to take power to hold on to so as to ensure their own personal survival. It is not a Nigeria that Ibos want power so they can maintain their own equilibrium within the country. We need a new set of nationalists and this has to be between the younger age group. The younger people in this country will or must decide on their own and take their destinies in their own hands.

### **Mr. Dike**

In trying to analyse the generational debate, we should not fall into fundamental traps of reductionism. I feel very strongly that using age as a typology for generational debate is fraught with empirical problems. First and foremost, there are all kinds of stratification in the age. So using age is part of the problem.

Also, using wisdom as the researcher from the Institute of International Affairs said, is fraught with even greater danger because

you cannot particularly say that people have particular minds which cannot be easily measured in terms of empirical classification. There are all kinds of external factors and all kinds of extraneous factors that must be considered in trying to do this sort of analysis.

First and foremost, the oil glut in mid 1980s had a lot of repercussions for what happened in our country and if you recall quite vividly, you will realise that when the money was no longer forthcoming, when the resources were becoming more scarce and their allocation criteria becoming more dim, it became very difficult for some of the resources to go round the entire population and this had repercussions for the sustainability of our polity.

Secondly, I would want to say that narrowing the whole question of generational debate to only the political class is not very informative for us, because there are other groups from within the polity in the community, those in the religious and the rest of them who are learning from their older masters cumulatively. So, we should not just think that once there is a generational gap, there is a tendency towards innate conflicts or a tendency towards debate. Some of the debates can be harmonious, some can be conflictual, but in this case, I think we should think about what will bring us closer together, realigned to a national objective. At the moment we do not have one objective, for which all generations can aspire to.

#### **Mr. Atimomo**

For twenty-six years I have been researching into authentic political and economic systems that are African in content. I have written two volumes, the third is going to be ready in a few months. This is because I believe that any given society that must succeed must have its own ideology particularly today, its own economic system and its own political system that are Afrocentric. My colleagues doubted this but the volumes are there for you to see. In this country where a number of tests have been put to our political scientists and politicians and they have failed, we need good political and economic systems that are integrative, that can reconcile the various five anomic agents; for instance, religion, military, political parties, race and ethnicity. If any economic system can encapsulate these five, then it means that the next stage in which you are moving politically will be integration and the contraries at the base of a society triangle will be neutralised and you will get too empirical moving upwards because today, mankind is in a movement towards God. It therefore means, if you look at the turmoil all over the world, that any future political and economic

system that is not integrative, that does not put into consideration the need for this movement towards God and therefore evolve systems that will move man towards this direction will fail. Let us discard capitalism and socialism because they are not African at all. The African spirit is an integrative one; the European is an individualist, he is selfish and he likes privatisation.

### **Mrs Yaro**

The newbreed has been disappointed by Babangida, for he failed to register the real association which he would have turned into parties which could have salvaged this country. He behaved in the manner of a person who owns parastatals by appointing board members and thereafter annulling the kind of elections we had on June 12. If we accepted those parastatals to be parties, then he had the right to dissolve the incumbent election. So, if those parties were in place, we couldn't have ended up the way we did, the newbreed wouldn't have disappointed the nation.

I want to say that the main problem in this country as I see it is lack of party discipline. In the 1st Republic, I was too small then but all the same I was aware of the fact that when our parents went out for campaign there was party discipline. Party discipline collapsed in the 2nd Republic when we saw decampings from one party to the other. Some governors misbehaved to their mentors. Rimi did it in Kano, Balarabe did it in Kaduna. There are several cases to that effect to establish that fact. Party discipline was lacking; therefore it was possible that in the supposed failed 3rd Republic, the lack of party discipline in both the NRC and SDP resulted into the emergence of mediocre candidates who joined the parties few months to the elections because they wanted to be President. You cannot join Ikoyi Club today and expect to be President after two or three years. We have to establish structures that can groom leadership and unless we get that done, we can never have a sustainable democracy.

### **Chairman**

Thank you very much. I think we must really draw the public contribution to a close. Let Odugbemi have a shot back and I would then try and summarise.

**Mr. Odugbemi**

I have enjoyed the stimulating discussion that followed the paper. I will just touch on one or two things that were mentioned and then I will round up.

I was particularly struck by what Alhaji Ahmed Joda said that for the next ten to fifteen years we will still be groping around and if you are being realistic about the state of Nigeria today, that is a very frank assessment of what is going to happen and the reason I am latching on to what he said is because of what I said earlier. But what manner of men and women are we in this environment? There is no core of fundamental values uniting us as Nigerians and until such a time when these values are important to all of us, there is going to be no progress. Look at the media. I am on the Editorial Board of *The Guardian*. We have been assaulted, people are sitting in Abuja and having a good time. They are stupid enough to think that that is the problem of those hot heads in *The Guardian*. You do not see the connection between a monarchy that you are setting up and your own liberty. It is backwardness, absolute mental backwardness that is our problem. People are sitting in Kano, Kaduna, saying that June 12 is a Yoruba problem; but if you entrench the military to do what they want they will grow more powerful.

Many people do not know that before the military took over again last year, they were very, very frightened. They didn't know what we do; so, what they did was to decapitate evil society by inviting many of the prominent members of the civil society into their fold and by going with government, they surrendered our liberties. Why would you do a thing like that but for serious mental backwardness? What kind of people are we?

At the moment, people are being assaulted. Chief Enahoro, a founder of Nigeria, is in jail. There are politicians, eminent persons, so-called, sitting in Abuja, hobnobbing with power. When that monarch you have set up comes to grab you one day, who will talk? *The Guardian* won't be there to write editorials. You know that old poem about Nazi Germany — when they came for this, I said I'm not like that, I kept quiet; when they came for this people, I said, I'm not; by the time they came for me there was nobody to talk. An environment in which people are so mentally backward, they cannot see the connection between these fundamental values. It is an environment that can only be taught by bitter experience and it is only bitter experience that will make us rise.

I end by talking to my own generation. We have to evolve what Doyin Okupe called being 'nationalists'. I agree entirely. We have got to be dead serious. In ten to fifteen years, this place is just going to keep going. It is our generation that must have the vision and the vigour to save the country and we had better get serious about it. It is not a joke. I am fed up with jokers. We had better be serious. This is a clarion call because there is not going to be a future for us to inherit unless we are ready to work hard to build one.

#### **Chairman**

I have beside me a part of Nigerian history and I think it is only right and proper that Mokwugo Okoye should say a few words.

#### **Mr. Mokwugo Okoye**

I wouldn't have come here if I had not been invited some minutes ago to come and stand in for Professor Jubril Aminu; but I know, of course, you cannot represent anybody in this world. He can only represent himself. But the point I really wanted to make is that from all I have heard, there is really no conflict between the elders and the youths. In our own traditional society, you had elders and they had their functions; you had the women, you had the youth. There was no conflict as such but there was coordination.

From what I have heard and I think Odugbemi implies it that the trouble with us in Nigeria or leaders is that we always like identifying with successful recourse, anybody who is on the winning side, we join him. I can give you an example of how we ordinary people can help to end things. About two or three years ago, the women of Gboko had problems with their staff who were supposed to sell fertiliser to them and they started hoarding the fertilisers. So what did they do? They got their mats and slept there. If you won't work for two or three days maybe government will ask, why haven't you worked? So ultimately, the officials had to come and sell the fertilisers to them to go. At one time in Onitsha when the traders went to place reports of stealing here and there, the police did nothing. So the women took over.

Well what happened in the 60s was 'operation watchout' between Lagos and Ibadan, they took over burying the thieves, the next stage was to put a stone on the thief, tie up and throw him into the sea. You might say they were taking the laws into their hands, but when the authorities do nothing about your grievances, what do you do? I was surprised we had about 300 people at Abuja meeting at a time when

the average man is dying of hunger. They have run out of original solutions. But they want a Central Council of Chiefs to advise us. They are already represented at the State Council. Not one man has moved a motion of emergency to make government recognise what is happening outside. Not one man has moved a motion about the rule of law which the same government will abuse. They messed up the courts but no one man will move the motion. They say they are making a Constitution for us but as you all know, the 1989 Constitution has not even been applied.

So, things will work if only we can help to enforce discipline on our leaders. Afterwards they say, 'leaders mind your integrity, mind your responsibility'. And the rest of us should be compulsory watchdogs. After all they say 'eterna: vigilance is the price of liberty'. If you time your hands, nothing will happen. Well sometimes I feel for some of these people in authority who do not know what is happening and even when they think they want to hear. Well, it is amazing. Some years ago, in Freetown and Cairo, they increased prices by just 2 or 3%. So the price of food went up; they rioted. But here, nothing happened when fuel prices were raised by 400 per cent. Government increase the prices of its services ten times, twenty times and they tell the private traders, 'please don't increase fares, don't do this'. Will anybody listen to them? Are they serious?

Let people, particularly young men and our intellectuals, show indignation at what is going wrong. Unfortunately, unlike other societies, we really have no people of conscience, no custodians of conscience right now. So, let us realise that the responsibility for the state of affairs rests with all of us, old and young, civilian and military. In no where that I know have soldiers socialised the people. Nobody trusts them. Professionalism is virtually dead in the army, even a retired army officer told us that.

No doubt policies are determined by what you inherit from the past and of course, consideration for posterity, but it doesn't lie with either the young men alone. There has been discontinuity, no kind of handing over and no training scheme. In America, they have a scheme now whereby young people from schools and colleges are attached to prominent office holders, Presidents, Court Judges, Congressmen and so on, to understudy them, maybe for two or three years. In Britain, they have it and that was why in those days, young people whether in Oxford or Cambridge, will come out and be the bigshots in the whole division, managing every department, hospitals and so on.

### Chairman

Now after all that has been said, it is my privilege to say a few words and I don't think I can do better than to say a few things I said in October in Abuja in a paper I called *Knowledge and Experience: Preserving the Human Heritage for Sustainable Development*. I concluded it as follows:

Looking ahead, despite all that has been said, Nigeria is still a country of immense possibilities and our present situation is not irredeemable. But any plan for reconstruction, a regeneration, must address the human factors responsible for the present sad situation. We need to restore confidence in ourselves, we need to review discipline and we need to infuse experience into the management of economy and polity. The present level of kleptocracy must be put in check. We need to put in place a programme that will enhance the productive use of resources. We need to foster a new entrepreneurial spirit and we need to engender the growth and consolidation of creative public institutions. Give them the requisite autonomy and insist on accountability. We can no longer rely on the outside world to be the critical source of ideas for our growth, development and training. We need a new coalition of leaders who have enough knowledge, enough experience, enough vision and will to chart a new course for our development which must be science-based and technology driven. Leaders who can create, nurture and inspire a new knowledge class of innovators with the introveneral drive to catalyse productive rather than consumptive values in the society.

The complexity of the problems that afflict us is such that we can no longer be indifferent to the dynamics of events through which our leaders emerge. The new knowledge class that will lead our new efforts and development must have the knowledge and the will to manage our natural resources on the basis of internally generated knowledge to develop the capacity to manage or take advantage of our tropical climate, our energy resources and our environment. We need to put in place a massive training programme for the training of our youth and the retraining of our work force. Our institutions for training and of knowledge, the universities, must be invigorated, reorganised and made relevant to African needs through a massive infusion of funds to generate the capability for scientific research that is nation-oriented and linked to the upgrading and local technologies through the infusion of new knowledge. This will afford us new capabilities to tackle tropical diseases and upgrade our agricultural production.

I know we must provide the opportunities for our youths to learn, grow and mature, before they are inducted into critical leadership positions. I know that the question of financial resources for these massive programmes for training would be raised. The massive resources taken out of African economies through the expatriation of funds by individual Africans to the financial centres of the world should be the food stock from which we can draw for these new productive and constructive developments. It has been estimated that over US\$100m in the banks of Western Europe and North America belong to Nigerians. We do not need to prosecute anyone, we cannot afford a legal tussle because we do not have time on our hands. The regeneration of African economies to enable Africa join the mainstream of the world history is a legitimate issue of international relations, security and law. It is not beyond the intellectual capacity of the world community to broker new schemes through which these funds, though technically belonging to private individuals and domiciled outside Africa, can be collateralised and become the source of new funds for vital and productive schemes of economic reconstruction and regeneration.

In all these, the place of youths is vital. Their training should equip them to work in the 21st century at the vanguard of the new knowledge class, with the knowledge, the vision and will to steer a re-entry into world history and as a foot-soldier to nurse our new productive endeavours. In the words of the distinguished Kenyan scientist, Odiambo, 'we need to educate the society as a whole to appreciate science, to have it incorporated as part of its culture, and to have the whole society, including the geopolitical community, have a minimum level of science literacy as a precondition for living in a 21st century world infused by science and dominated by technology'.

There is yet hope for Africa and for Nigeria. The people's panel estimates that the Nigerian economy is to grow at 6.5% for the rest of the century. This is achievable if we put the programme of retraining into place.

Talking about the Okigbo Panel, nobody has raised issues about the US\$12.0 billion reportedly misspent or unaccounted for. The size is so fantastic that I would be surprised if those who spent it and most of us know the magnitude of what it means in terms of how it could have affected the future of Nigeria. Let me tell you something, when that information was available to me, I got together a group of young, brilliant econometricians, Nigerians. I said you have all the data on the state of our economy at that point in time, whether it was inflation rate, interest rate, money supply, and the rest of it. You know all the

jargon that economists use. Can you now put a simulation model if you took half of that money, 6 billion U.S. dollars and put into Nigerian external reserves at that time, what difference would it have made to the Nigerian economy?

You know what this study showed? If that money at that point in time, half of it, not even all of it, was put into external reserves, in 15 months, according to the simulation study of the Nigerian economy they brought back, the naira would have stabilised at close to par with the U.S. dollar in 27 months, which could have been last month, November. And it would have been stabilising on par with the pound. Think of the consequences of exchange rate being on that level in terms of the productive activities we would have generated. Think of what the hopes that would have risen once more in the youth of Nigeria. Think of what the industrialists could have done? When you have finished all that, that is really the magnitude of the damage that has been done, because not only is there no hope for the present, but even in twenty-five years unless we face this problem. That is how serious it is.

It must therefore be our goal to ensure that this new leadership emerges and it would have to start from each of us in this hall, by asking ourselves the questions of the things we should do, and must do, and the things we must not tolerate. A prominent figure has said, 'let people rise and fight'. Well, that is anarchy, but I am sure there is something we can do. Let us stop pointing fingers at each other. Let us in the quietness of our souls, each of us, decide what we can do to stabilise this situation and to move Nigeria forward.

**Mr. Sambo**

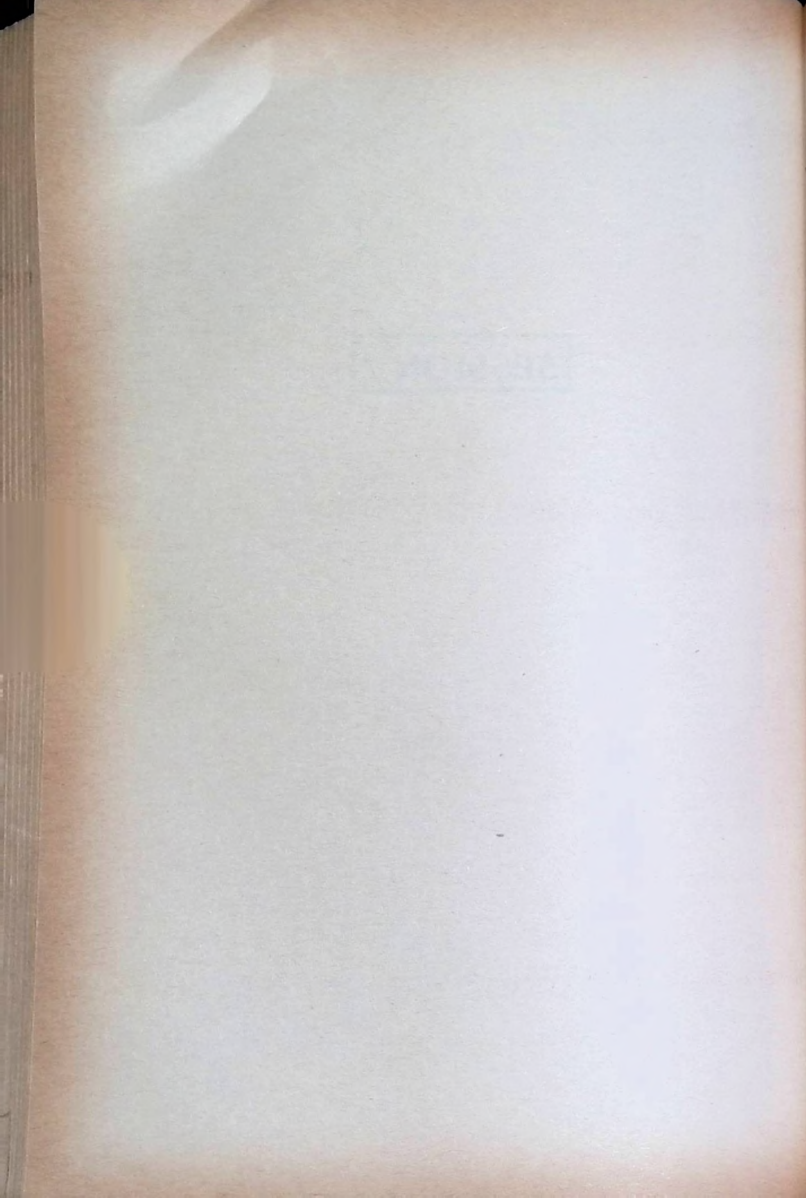
It is my honour and privilege to invite Dr. Awolowo-Dosumu to make an intervention on behalf of the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation.

**Dr. Awolowo-Dosumu**

I must say that having listened to all that has been said here this morning, it is quite obvious that what is being condemned here is not age, whether old age or youth, but bad leadership. And I think on that we can simply say that we have a consensus both between the young and the old as the chairman so aptly put it. What we are looking for is the leadership effort.



**SESSION 7**



## SESSION 7

### The Way Forward

Chairman: *Ambassador O. Fafowora*

#### Chairman

We have now come to the final working session which I believe is the most crucial session of the entire Dialogue. In the last three days we have had a very exhaustive discussion on the problems of leadership in Nigeria. Some consensus would appear to have emerged, and it is at this session that we hope that we will wrap up the excellent contributions from the podium and the floor. These past three days, I myself have the instinctive feeling that most of us know the source of the problems of leadership in Nigeria because we have a shining and ensuring example in the person of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

The other point I thought I should make in the course of this discussion is something that has become even clearer. I think Doyin Okupe said that before 1960 Nigeria had a good crop of outstanding leaders. Whether we talk of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, The Sardauna, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe or Chief Awolowo, there is no doubting the total dedication of these leaders and their anxiety to promote the national interest. When you go round Victoria Island today, I don't know if you point to property owned by any of these patriots. So, when we discuss leadership, we must accept that the problem started after 1960. It started with the military and speaker after speaker here has identified the military as the source of the problem.

Now, you have here a formidable list of very able speakers who will do justice to the subject and to what we are looking for as solutions. Our remit is "THE WAY FORWARD" from this lack of leadership that Nigeria have been experiencing for over three decades. From my personal knowledge of them, I have every confidence that our distinguished panelists will speak from their heart and also that they have the added advantage that all of them, without exception, are intellectuals.

## Professor Sonni Tyoden

A number of premises can be said to have informed the conceptualisation of the problematic before us: "Nigeria in Search of Leadership". To have a proper grasp of this problematic, understand it and thus transcend it by way of looking at how we shall move forward, we need to look at these underlying assumptions.

To say Nigeria is in Search of Leadership presupposes either

- (1) that there has been and there is a leadership vacuum in the country that needs to be filled or,
- (2) that there has been a leadership, but such leadership has not been accepted or recognised, or,
- (3) that the leadership is accepted and recognised, but has not been seen as legitimate.

To the extent that the apparatus of government have been and are currently occupied by people we can call leaders, there is no leadership vacuum in Nigeria. With respect to the second assumption, to the extent that we recognised and have related with the various heads of governments, the ministers, the governors, the local government chairmen and other such occupants of the apparatuses of government, to that extent we have recognised and accepted such existing leadership. However that we have been here for three days talking of the search for leadership in Nigeria, shows that whatever acceptance or recognition has been accorded, such leadership has been coerced or at best, such recognition or acceptance, has been involuntarily given and to that extent, the legitimacy of the leadership is questioned.

A government that emerges through the barrel of the gun, and whose claim to leadership is its monopoly over the instruments of violence rather than the mandate of the people freely given, cannot be legitimate. This applies to all military regimes. From this perspective we can question the leadership claim of all the military governments we have had in this country.

To say this is not to say that all civilian governments are legitimate. No! a civilian government which emerges as a result of rigging or other manipulations of the electoral process equally lacks legitimacy and should be treated as such. 'Operation wetie' in 1964/1965 and the violence unleashed in Ondo State in the wake of the 1983 elections, attest to the fact that civilian leadership could be seen as illegitimate and to that extent, its authority resisted by the people.

Thus our quest for leadership in Nigeria is for a leadership that is *legitimate*, a leadership whose claim to leadership is based on the free mandate of Nigerians. However when we had legitimate governments in the First Republic did some Nigerians not overthrow them in search of Nigerian leadership? When we had a legitimate government in the Second Republic did some Nigerians not overthrow it in search of Nigerian leadership? Similarly, the military regimes, illegitimate as they are, have been replacing themselves in a pathetic game of musical chairs all in the quest for a Nigerian leadership. What these changes of leadership have meant is that the existing leadership lacks credibility for one reason or the other. All we need to find is the basis for this lack of credibility is to look at the various coup speeches.

These speeches draw our attention to the fact that our leaders have not been fair in the conduct of the affairs of Nigeria; they have not been just; they have not been honest; and their policies and programmes have not been geared towards the betterment of the welfare of the ordinary Nigerian. These might have been rationalisations to provide a basis of legitimacy for the new government but the fact that they were offered as justifications confirmed their prevalence at the time the coups took place. This thus make *credibility* our second yard-stick for measurement of the leadership capability of a government.

To say that Nigeria is in search of leadership could mean that what we have had as leadership over the last years have not approximated to a national leadership in the sense that in their activities as leaders, they have refused to see the whole country as a political community with a common destiny. They have failed to see Nigeria as one family to be moved along collectively. True we have had leaders who by every measure of capability or competence are materials that could have moved this country forward, but they never succeeded in getting hold of national power because we Nigerians have politically remained fixated within our regional cultural cocoons. And the problem did not start today. The foundation to the problem was laid way back in the early 1940s and 1950s, and have become institutionalised over the years.

For instance, let us look at the political parties we had in the First Republic and their inspirational basis. First, the NPC. The NPC was the *Northern Peoples Congress*. Note, it says *Northern* not Nigerian. Its motto was: "One North, One people, one Destiny irrespective of race, creed or religion". Note, it says *One North* not One Nigeria. In other words, this party had no pretensions about being a national party. It aspired to national leadership, but could not even conceive the whole

nation as its political constituency and indeed, throughout the First Republic, the NPC never bothered to campaign for votes outside the North. However in its conduct of government business, the NPC was not true to its motto even in its northern enclave because its conception of One North was the Far North, its conception of the people with a common destiny, were the Hausa/Fulani and Kanuris. The Middlebelt nationalities were only part of the Northern destiny only in the quest for votes.

The other two parties however had pretensions to national inspiration. Their names were neither sectional nor regionalist and they saw Nigeria as their political constituencies in the real sense of the word as they went out to canvass for votes nationally in the 1959 elections. However, as I pointed out earlier the national postures were pretentious because these parties were basically sectional and regional parties. There is no doubt that the NCNC was the dominant party in the South before 1952. The cross-carpeting of Yoruba members of the NCNC to the Action Group in the Western House of the Assembly, an act which prevented Dr. Azikiwe from becoming the Premier of the Western Region was the beginning of its assumption of the image of an Ibo party. This process of the movement of the NCNC from a "National" to an Ibo party was further aided with the removal of Eyo Ita, a Minority man, and his replacement by Dr. Azikiwe as leader of government business in the East. I am not aware of any fundamental philosophical or policy differences that led to the exodus of Yoruba NCNC members to the Action Group in 1952. They were simply rejecting the likelihood of an Ibo man as their Premier.

But can you blame them when for Dr. Azikiwe, the NCNC leader, the Ibo race was the superior race on which the destiny of Nigeria, nay, of the black man lies, as he was reported to have said? In fact, Chief Awolowo is reported to have said that Dr. Azikiwe's *West African Pilot* manipulated the reporting of even football games to project the superiority of the Ibo. Be that as it may, the result of these political developments was that with the Action Group and the NCNC gradually taking on the image of Yoruba and Ibo parties respectively, politics in Nigeria also gradually become a mere contest between the dominant ethnic groups. The minority nationalities had no regional basis and thus became mere onlookers or appendages in this contest.

However, one thing that can be said for Chief Awolowo and the Action Group is that they genuinely believed in the struggle for self determination and the political emancipation of the minority nationalities and this was practically demonstrated in their support for the creation of the Calabar, Ogoja, Rivers and Middle Belt regions

from their respective regions. This was not a fortuitous development, but something that has roots in Chief Awolowo's belief that each linguistic group should be given the right to determine its political destiny within the Federation of Nigeria.

From the above it was no surprise therefore that we ended up in the First Republic with leadership that was sectionalist, regionally and even tribally based. It was to prevent this that the 1979 constitution went to great lengths to see that our national leadership — from the party to the government — was national in outlook. However, genuine as the intention was, the result has been the placement of round pegs in square holes and the enthronement of mediocrity.

Furthermore, national wealth is not seen as a pool of resources to be used for the welfare of all Nigerians but resources to be plundered for personal enrichment; the enrichment of a cotery of friends and former classmates; and when these are satisfied, then you may plunder some of such resources for your State! The conception of Nigeria as a single political organism, each part requiring equal attention, is not there.

In summary therefore, the search for a leadership in Nigeria is the search for a leadership that is *just, legitimate, credible* and *national*. How such a leadership shall emerge I cannot say and do not have to say, because I believe that each historical conjuncture throws up a leadership peculiar to its own circumstances. However, until such a leadership emerges we shall continue to wallow in stagnation, unable to move forward.

### Professor Tunde Adeniran (Discussant)

I am delighted that some of the discussions during this dialogue have cleared the usual definitional haze and conceptual confusion regarding leadership. It is, at least, clear at this point that leadership is not synonymous with rulership and the two should not be used interchangeably.

One factor which, however, seems to have been overlooked is the structural issue which remains a constant feature in the leadership problem. This should become apparent when we examine the search for leadership within the political, socio-cultural and economic contexts of national existence.

Leaders are certainly the prime movers of politics which serves as veritable instrument of change of decay — depending upon the quality of leadership. But this by itself is a function of many factors

which include the structure of the polity. We contend that Nigeria has been suffering from some structural deformity arising from the inability of our national frame to uphold or sustain our national body. We are supposed to be a federation. Within a federal framework, the federating units operate along lines prescribed by the Constitution as well as on the basis of choices made by those in authority whose policies, interactions and transactions condition mass political behaviour.

In Nigeria, we have a federation only in name and nothing else. Due largely to prolonged military rule, Nigeria has often been administered as a unitary state in which the centre determines what happens or does not happen in the various constituent parts. There is some regimentation which makes initiative on the part of the federating units impossible and also creates policy and operational problems for the federating units. This has been carried down to the local governments where the States, rather than allow the local governments some autonomy and degree of initiative, have been dictating to them the same way the Federal Government dictates to the States regarding what to do, when and how.

The general tendency to attribute the failure of our system, the inability of the Nigerian nation to emerge from the Nigerian territory and country, to the types of leadership we have been having does not address the central issue. Granted that the type of nature of leadership is crucial to the quality of performance of those in the leadership cadre or level in the polity; yet, the structure of the polity itself, the role relationships within and among the subsystems within the system and between the structures and superstructures actually delimit the choices available to any categories of leaders. These choices are, of course, invariably operationalised within a framework that is influenced by the quality of the leadership.

In essence, it is possible to have any of these generally accepted types of leadership:

- (a) A dictatorial leadership that defines, determines and decides policies from a perspective of personalised authority — be it exploitative and autocratic or benevolent.
- (b) A democratic leadership which operates on the principle of representative participation in the policies and decisions of common concern, thus promoting confidence and encouraging commitment and a tradition of popular consultation.
- (c) A *laissez-faire* or "free-rein" leadership that exercises no control over the system and its operators. The subordinates, in this case,

operate without much co-operation and uniform direction. It is not the output influenced by the inherent traits in these three categories (and any others that are identifiable) that determines whether a nation, particularly Nigeria, has got the right type of leadership.

With all the virtuosity imaginable, an impressive ability to inspire others, wealth of public experience, exceptional drive and dedication, excellent sense of judgement, initiative and vision, the extent to which such a leader could command acceptability, loyalty, cooperation and sustained followership, and hence be effective, would depend more on the structure of the system than the personal attributes. The structural imperative reduces individual attributes to near-nothingness in a socio-cultural setting, an economic system and political environment in which a part cannot be equated to a whole and the entire polity is a product of interlocking forces where one cause is a consequence of another.

Nigeria's political structure logically imposes a natural limit on the extent to which a leader could emerge. The Federal Republic of Nigeria is composed of many nationalities whose political past (historical landmarks and antecedents) is an embodiment of conflicting legacies. The contrasts which sharpened with the policies introduced by the colonialists required handling within a federal framework that, in practical terms, acknowledges local and regional peculiarities. This recognition would call for a political structure that reflects true federalism with the federating units exercising some degree of autonomy and initiative within the context of national development. The resultant social order would then have anchorage on mutual accommodation, equality of opportunities, relative freedom of choice, justice and equity.

The Nigerian federation has been structurally deformed by the successive policies and actions of rulers who exploit the structural weakness of the system and manipulate the conflicting perspectives of the various potential leaders thrown up by different communities or nationalities. Through these, and over time, wounds have been inflicted and, infected with the virus of distrust, it has not been possible to re-orientate and redirect the people away from the political perversions generated through the deformity of the political structure.

The search for leadership can therefore be meaningful within the context of an enabling environment — an appropriate political structure. That the country has been under continuous military rule is bad enough for the emergence of national leaders. What is worse is

that the political system may not guarantee the emergence of true national leaders even when representative government is in charge except there is structural political transformation resulting in a genuine federal set up. All arms of government and the various political institutions can then perform and realise much of the hopes placed in the system — including its capacity to produce national leaders.

The structural problem in Nigeria's socio-cultural setting is no less crucial in the search for leadership than the political. The belief or principle that "man is culture-bound" has done incalculable damage to Nigeria's search for leadership. One simple example is sufficient to illustrate this view. The involvement of traditional rulers in national affairs beyond their localities where they have relevance pollutes the socio-cultural environment and impairs the health of the nation. Those who, by virtue of ancestry, occupy the throne of their communities as obas, emirs, obis, etc compete with the state for sovereign powers and the minds of the people. By according them extended relevance in modern Nigeria on the premise that they had such in the pre-colonial autonomous communities, kingdoms, empires, the caliphate, etc, the emergence of true national leaders is being aborted since the credibility of local champions can neither be sustained at higher levels nor can the contradictions inherent in the functioning of primordial institutions permit of any nationalism in a leadership nurtured through them.

Lastly, the structure and superstructure of the economy are hostile and not conducive to the production of national leaders. Nigeria certainly does not belong in that category of industrially less developed countries that lack either competent and professionally trained personnel or sufficient natural resources. Yet we are far from achieving the necessary increase in the nation's productive capacity through which to increase the standard of living of Nigerians. Food shortages are a regular feature of our national life, and so are disruptions in price structure and a generally very slow growth in national development and deceleration that are fuelled by the inefficiency of public services resulting from a lack of the necessary leadership.

One easy answer that Nigerian rulers have found to the problems of the economy was either to indigenise in a questionable manner or privatise in ways that do not inspire confidence in the people or economic development itself! From recent experiences, by the time there is nothing to privatise in future, to further swell the economic empires of national parasites at the expense of the nation, future generations may well put Nigeria on sale.

To have true leaders in Nigeria who would turn things around, the economic structure and framework must be right. The environment must be conducive not only to meaningful conceptual thinking and mediation through decisions and actions informed by nationalistic policies, the factors which modulate the environment should be ideal for a dynamic propelling of change.

The solution to all these structural defects of our system is very simple. Education is the answer. Education as answer in search of leadership is in two respects. First, by educating all citizens (through free and compulsory education at least up to the secondary school level) we would be ensuring that:

- (i) mass illiteracy and ignorance is eradicated;
- (ii) citizens have equal opportunity to adequate means of livelihood; and
- (iii) an enabling environment is created for the realisation of the socio-political and economic goals of state.

Secondly, education should also be a permanent feature of the Nigerian polity. In this regard, apart from the opportunity for formal and compulsory education, social, economic and political education should be made available to the people through all channels of communication. At present, Nigeria is a confused concept definable only in terms of contradictions that do not permit of the emergence of a truly national leadership. The search for this must be of necessity be predicted on structural transformation.

### Mr. Odia Ofeimun (Discussant)

People who knowing not what to do simply say in our search for leadership, 'let's leave it to God'. It is like that servant in the Bible who buried his talent. God already gave us the will, let us use it. And I think it is not far-fetched to say that we have all it takes to be able to use the will that God has already given to us. And I believe that channelled properly, it is possible for us to solve most of the problems that plague this society. Maybe I have support for a certain messianic form of politics. All of us are messiahs to the next person. It simply depends on how well we value ourselves, because if you value yourself strongly and you know that it is your capacity to relate to others that make your life worth-while, you could give up something for the other person.

In considering leadership, a leader has to have imagination, he must be intelligent, he should be forbearing, he must be courageous,

he should always stand by the truth, he should avoid greed and fear. And, of course the management literatures will admonish you to acquire that helicopter which is the capacity to look over all the circumstances in a given environment in order to be able to take a decision.

Chief Awolowo in the *Peoples' Republic* simply reduced it to a question of objectivity through knowledge and this could be reduced to what he called mental magnitude. For those who are unable to acquire objectivity of a particular kind, he made suggestions as to ways in which you could discipline yourself so that, the deep calling to the deep, you could actually take the right decisions. So if you are somebody who has certain exuberant examples, simply eliminate them if you can. Avoid alcoholic beverages if they disrupt your capacity to be objective. And for God's sake, I mean, greed, which is a very Nigerian disease, is something that can be avoided by the application of one's mind in specific directions. Not all of us can acquire all these qualities.

Plato imagined that it was possible to produce a philosopher King and I think Chief Awolowo also assumed it. If you could not achieve it completely, the striving for it is what makes you a leader, the striving always to discipline those proclivities in your nature which prevent you from acquiring that objectivity. Objectivity simply means, as a leader that you don't have to like the adulterer or that religious bigot who plays football very well, but for the purpose of winning the match you will pick him. It also means that if you are a political leader, you would employ that contractor who would do the job well, not because he is your brother. In fact, you are required, because your brother is a contractor, to apply extreme objectivity. When we cannot do this we give room for the debasement of integrity of organisation, of values and of whatever makes it possible to have a good society.

When you have presented this approach, we also need to tell ourselves something that even if you have the right qualities, they do not always work the same way in different situations. The very qualities that are required to deal with the density of problems in a particular environment may not serve in another. So, a leader in one environment may not be a leader in another. But then what you have acquired, what you have learnt in one situation through dogged training can aid what you do in almost every other area of your life. People, of course, then reduce the matter to a different level altogether. Rather than consider how leaders are not acquiring the very qualities which will help them run societies, they blame the followers.

So, at this Dialogue, you have many people telling us the problem is also followership. The truth of the matter is that followership is

constituted by leadership. It is not possible to have a leader if he had not constituted the followership, and what makes you a leader is the fact that you give that followership all the qualities of decision-making, the power and the qualities of decision-making which you ascribe to yourself and attempt to exercise. The best leader is that who creates the conditions for his or her own complete irrelevance because you have given to your followership all those qualities that can make them run the system if you are not there. That is to say if it is education that gives you the power of leadership, you must give it to the followership, not to graft it. It is to reduce them to the level of mere ciphers. A followership that is not trained to perform like a leadership ceases to be a proper followership which is why when from *'Path to Nigerian Freedom to the Strategies and Tactics of the Peoples Republic and Problems of Africa'*, Chief Awolowo insisted that only those who have knowledge should be allowed to rule. He also insisted that every child born should be given education, because every child born has a right to claim leadership. If we wish to move away from the kind of standards we've always had, I think that is one point from which to take off and this has been said several times during this Dialogue but I think it is important that we press it home. If a people are not educated, if possible to the level of leadership, if a leadership does not educate its people even to the point of being better than the existing leadership, then that leader is on the road to failure. I suppose we all talk about Chief Awolowo because of the importance he gave to the necessity to give to every individual all those means that help to develop capacities for taking decisions as a leader.

If we need to change the patterns we already have in our society, I would like to suggest something — that considering leadership at the moment, we should always remember that the relationship between, for instance, the military leadership and the followership in this country at the moment is like the relationship between a ten year old child who enters a room full of adults and with his fingers on the trigger, orders all of them to lie on their bellies. When they lie on their faces, they cease to be creative and creative people cannot really be defined in terms of a leadership-followership relationship.

Nigeria is like a country in which a ten year old child has ordered all the adults to lie on their faces. If we must break away from that, all of us ought to study military strategy. Military strategy provided the basics for many of the business schools created in the world today. It has provided the basis for the enhancement of capacities in political organisations in general across the world. But I am not talking about military strategy because there are other ways of doing that. I want

simply to point to the fact that a good General is not just interested in fire power, the capability to shoot down the enemy. The good General knows that the gun can be taken away. What is important is not whether it is a spear, arrow, machine gun, armoured car, jet bomber that we use. What is important is how quickly we can reproduce it if the enemy destroyed it.

If you are a good leader in society, your first problem is to ask yourself what are those capacities that need to be developed in the society such that when that fire-power is removed, you can reproduce it quickly". It will require you to look at the educational system, the agriculture, because soldiers, they say, live on their stomachs. You need to be able to deal with all those occupational systems which will support the reproduction of that good. An uneducated society is necessarily a weak society. There is no way you can make that society fight a literate society and win because there is a sense in which it is only by, in fact, taking that weapon from the enemy that you too can win, that is to say if you come from an illiterate society and you must stand up to the literate ones, you too must acquire literacy. Without it, the memory of your people can be so debased that they cease to be themselves. They can start acting the world of the enemy while regarding it as their indigenous culture. It has happened to Africans and so we ought to know this language very well.

We also have a basic problem of creating a network between disparate cultures in our society. Chief Awolowo solved the problem for us but unfortunately the powers that seized the centre did not allow it to happen. If you need to develop a leadership culture in a society, the distinction usually being made between the ethnic leader and the national leader is irrelevant. There are certain basic qualities and certain programmatic steps that every leader must take in relation to his people. The pretence that it is because of ethnic leadership that we have not gone so far is untenable. The truth of the matter is that if you relate to your people and there have been culverts that are broken down, there must be ways in which people organise themselves to solve it. When the winds blow off the roofs of school buildings, there must be a way in which people relate to themselves in order to solve it. Leadership has also to pay for it. Leadership has also to be paid for. There are those who simply give it by a matter of capitalist financing, on the other hand, you can do it by subscription. If 5000 people donate 10k every week-end, you will probably be able to sustain a political movement that can stand-up to maybe one big man who has stolen money. But, I am saying, even leadership has to be paid for.

I am sorry Mr. Chairman, there is something I want to respond to very quickly. It is the problem of the AG peace coalition and the cross-carpeting in the Western Region. I will mention it very briefly. I want to start by saying I have responded to this in several places. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe did not win the election of 1951. He never won. He won all the 5 seats in Lagos and because Lagosians read only the newspaper that was the bible in Lagos, which was the *West African Pilot* and which was owned by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, they actually believed that Lagos was the whole of Western Region. But that was an election done on an electoral college basis. Most of the candidates, including Chief Awolowo himself, actually ran on the platform of certain community or organisation — the Ibadan Peoples Union, the Ondo Improvement League. In fact Olorunnimbe who was an NCNC candidate here belonged to an affiliate organisation of the NCNC in Lagos. It was Zik's refusal to let Olorunnimbe follow him to the House of Representatives that led to the major crisis which was fuelled by the NCNC in the Western House of Assembly. Olorunnimbe was not allowed to vote so the Lagos branch revolted and insisted they must put his name on the ballot and because he would not step down, all the five candidates from Lagos put their names on the ballot. The House of Assembly dominated by the Action Group was the Electoral College.

In 1941 Awolowo supported Ernest Ikoli; Zik supported the Odemo of Ishara who was from Awolowo's village virtually and yet the *West African Pilot* was able to turn that into a tribal issue. After you have faced that problem once you will know how to deal with such a leader. So, the Action Group refused to vote for Nnamdi Azikiwe to go to the House of Representatives. They voted for the other candidates. It may have been tribalism that led to it, but wait a minute! When the first results were out, the *West African Pilot* admitted that twenty-five candidates were independent candidates. Over time that has changed, and the story is made to look different. It so happened that what the two parties did (the Action Group and the NCNC) was to cannibalise the candidates won by the ethnic political organisations. None of them could lay claim to any of those candidates. At Ibadan, Akinloye, Adelabu and the four others actually got their papers from Kola Balogun to become members of the NCNC after the election took place. And the point of the matter is this. Before the House of Assembly met in January, all the tribal candidates had been cannibalised so that you could not tell who belonged to which party. There is more dogged way in which I argued this when I had to respond to the appearance of this same story in Chinua Achebe's *The*

*Trouble with Nigeria*'. All I want to say before I sit down is this — only four people crossed carpet on the floor of the Western House of Assembly in January 1952 when the House met, and the first carpet-crosser in history was Kessington Momoh. He was the Kukuruku member. He was not Yoruba, the other two were not Yoruba. They came from what is now the Delta.

The reason it is important to mention it is this — the Ibos and Yorubas have killed themselves, have refused to cooperate and have destroyed the basis for actual movement forward in Nigerian politics because of these lies that we are told. In 1959 the same problem was repeated. True, there was a faction of the Action Group that was negotiating with the NPC and that was not why the coalition did not take place. The Western faction of the Action Group threatened that if Zik had a coalition with the Action Group they would all boycott the NCNC and join the NPC, and what happened? Okotie Eboh had already gone to Kaduna to stay there. The others were going to Kaduna. Zik was frightened. But when he had to explain this to his followers, it was best to tell them in the language they would always understand — the language of mobilised prejudice which came from 1941 and 1951.

I think that if we want to move forward we must learn to disabuse our minds of the forces sold by our fathers. Those forces have imprisoned us. We must fight them.

### **Dr. Pat Utomi (Discussant)**

I am really going to talk about the way forward, and I am going to talk about it in concrete terms: what to do to have the leadership that we deserve.

I am going to deal with the issue of the individual as a potential leader and some of what he needs to do to himself to be able to really be effective as a leader. I am going to look at one or two of the systemic issues that contribute to people who aspire not being able to perform whenever they then get the opportunity. I am going to very quickly look at what leadership is. How they get the legitimacy and how this affects the limitless imagination of the human being. I am going to do all these in 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> minutes.

I think it is important to say why we do have this problem of leadership that we have identified. I am glad that Odia helped me deal with some of those issues in the last two minutes of his presentation.

But, the point really is that the problems we have of leadership at the national level in Nigeria that has often been attributed to ethnicity are not truly problems of ethnicity. I am one of those who have continuously argued that ethnicity is the myth that has been used to blindfold us from seeing our path very clearly. Now, in many rural societies where you have contending groups, where they really seem to be quarrelling, in some cases, where they really hit each other, what do they do? What they do is that they shout at each other as much as they can to convince these people under them that there is a quarrel really going on. And they meet at night and work things out and come out of the meeting saying that things will work.

This is essentially how elites lead societies. In our case, competitive communalism is really the issue where the self interests of elites is played out using the people as elements of mobilisation. I was going to cite Prof. Tyoden's discussion because, in fact, it helped. Essentially, most of what he said about those events explained how the individual interests of these people were responsible for the display of ethnicity that we are saying exists in Nigeria. That is all I will say about that before I move on.

Now, two issues will make us eventually have the leadership we deserve. The first is the demonstration effect of what is happening elsewhere. The whole world is moving on, nobody is waiting for Nigeria. When I drew the section of the social/political economy of the environment in business for the Lagos Business School, I have a graph that I show people. Let me tell you the story. It is a map from 1960 to 1993 of GDP per capita of four countries — Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Nigeria. We all started off at the same place and we were actually on top of most of them in 1960 — and then we go like this and by the end of it we go down this way. Now, the decline is such that we will get to a point very soon that you don't have to try to explain anything to anybody. The people will come after you because they have to learn from you anyway so that demonstration effect will make a great difference.

The second point is that we are dealing with elites who presently very narrowly define their self-interest and most of the time are actually shooting themselves in the leg. A simple example all the time is the Permanent Secretary, or Director-General of Federal Ministry of Works, who had a road contract and he used the profit to buy a Rolls Royce and that man comes from Eastern Nigeria. And this year he is going to show off his Rolls Royce. But on which roads will he drive his prized car? Now this narrow view of self interest will eventually come home to the consciousness of people. It is just that the problem will at

least take time. Do we have the patience to wait for all of these to happen in a world that is moving so fast? I suggest not and so here comes citizen action as a prospect of making a difference.

Citizens should not be active by talking about it and continuing in their ways. Citizens should actually do something about it. The starting point is the self. You see, you are not going to be able to hold the moral high ground if you are just a small Babangida in the small things that you do. So, let citizens begin, after they purge themselves of these things, to organise. I belong to a group called 'The Concerned Professionals'. We have broken ourselves into cells and we intend to function from that point. And I belong to a local government cell and soon we are going to be meeting our Chairman. Our strategy is very simple. We are going to tell him, 'Look we have amongst us road builders, engineers and all of them, people who are highly educated, we can read budgets. At the beginning of every year, we look at our budget, we come to you and say this is how much we have, this is how many miles of road it can tar. If it is not done like this, we will give you hell'. Citizens should get up and act.

One of the things we plan to do is to say — 'any number of things in the budget that are not done, we will not pay our rates and we take citizen action to go ahead in that manner. General citizen action of that nature is a very important instrument and I am not very happy how well we have used it in some sections. We have done a lot but we can do a lot more.

The media make a great difference, and it is not just so much what we write about what has been done wrong. It makes a difference to tell some good deeds in our society. When any man who gets rich through whatever means we can explain comes in and he gets on the front page of your newspaper, well, society will see that as what is right. So, the media has a moral obligation to begin to look at people who think they are people and say 'You are nobody' and you don't have to shout it at the person, you just ignore the person.

Now I come to the individual level. You as an individual, you are going to lead and all of that. What do you say to yourself to do the right kind of things? A gentleman called Steven R. Courier has written one of the most successful books of recent times called *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*. These are usually successful leaders. One thing he says is imagine yourself, just imagine you've gone to a funeral and there is this casket lying there and there are all those people filing past. Now, imagine what they are thinking, not what they are saying. You know people are very nice when somebody dies. Just imagine what they are really thinking of this man in this coffin, just as they go

past. Imagine it long, hard and deep and imagine that you are that man in that casket. What would you like people to think of you?

If you were to serve in public office and you were to wake up every morning and ask yourself that question, perhaps, just perhaps, you might be able to get your focus right. A reporter asked me during the break about why people accept public office and whether we are progressives or behave in certain ways. I told him the story of a really interesting book that I think many of us should read, written by a fellow called Janis and titled *Victims of Group Think*. This book was based on research on the Kennedy Administration which had the best and the brightest. These men gathered from everywhere to the Kennedy Administration. They behaved in certain ways in a group, in a crisis. If you look at the Cuban crisis and all of that, the suggestions from this book is that in a group, one or two people say that this is it and all of us just go like a herd of sheep, all of us say yeah, yeah, yeah.' Very intelligent people go along and somehow begin to see the problem as us versus them, and begin to defend this position that they have not clearly thought through. That is very damaging for a lot of people who have been put in positions and we need to develop antidotes to good things so we have means of getting information back that does not just come from your group. And people who take the lead must deal with that systemic problem.

Now, let me say what a leadership really is and how we should protect its legitimacy. When we talk about leadership, there are a few things, official attributes that a leader should really have and that makes him effective. Leaders must be able to engender trust. Do we trust the people who lead this environment? If we do not trust the people who lead, what can people who lead do to engender trust? One of the things that they must do is to have knowledge. We are dealing with a lot of leaders who don't have knowledge. Look at how everybody else is going. Look at India. India three years ago was at the point where their total foreign reserve was less than three weeks' trading. Desperate, India turned to opening up. Three years later the rupee is already convertible on current account, in fact, to capital account, just after a few years. It is projected that in the next fifteen to twenty years, India will be the fourth largest economy in the world after China, United States of America and Japan. That is the limitless possibility of the human imagination.

So, people, must have knowledge. If you're going to lead, you must have the capacity to translate a vision into concrete metaphors that ordinary people can relate to. Who is dreaming dreams and who has the communication skill to translate these dreams to concrete

metaphors that you and I can relate to? Tomorrow's leaders must be able to do this and all of us who have the leadership must learn to communicate. Because when we can communicate, we can sell ideas that seem on their own to be difficult but which are in the interest of the people to battle with.

A leader should learn to be humble actually. Humility is a very strong virtue. It helps you to realise that there is something that the other man might know that you do not know. One of the problems of this nation is that we arrogate so much to our own capacities and negate other people. A key attribute of leadership is that it must seek to renew itself. Leaders must develop leaders. And we have people who seem to just want to shut the door at everybody else so that others will be inferior to them. Well, if you are in management today and you do not create a mending organisation, an organisation that has capacity to mend itself, you are not going to be around for a long time and the same things applies to a country. Leadership is directly related to legitimacy because legitimacy is not just the fact that people have put something in the ballot box. Legitimacy is earned, it is earned by performance and performance is made clear by accountability. These are the issues that face us, these are the things that we must discuss and I am taking time and I must stop.

### **Dr. Festus Iyayi (Discussant)**

I must say that making this presentation is one of the most difficult assignments I have ever undertaken. The reason is that when we want to talk about the way forward, it appears very obvious what the way forward should be, everybody seems to know it and yet, nothing seems to happen. People meet in different places to discuss the way forward and yet nothing happens and we remain where we are.

So its not really that we don't know what the way forward is, it is not as if we don't know what the problem is, the thing is how to get action, how to actually get changes that are in favour of those things that you actually want or dream of. In fact, one of the basic problems that I also had was that, you see, sometime ago, Babangida made this very wonderful statement that he had done so many things to the country and he was surprised that the country was still surviving him, that the country had not crashed, the economy had not crashed although he had done a number of things and the question of course is, we were wondering what it was that Babangida actually did until the Okigbo report came out and said that Babangida was amongst those who could not account for 12.4 billion dollars, which is over ₦1

trillion. That's a lot of money. Two weeks ago, Babangida was in Enugu. The newspapers said he went to attend a wedding or a funeral and he made speeches there, still affecting the fortune and destiny of our country and you wonder, how is it possible that people who have committed both political and economic crimes against our country are walking free, secure in the knowledge that they committed crimes and they are getting away with those kinds of crimes.

Ojukwu, who I understand is in the Constitutional Conference and just got married, also said, when Chief Awolowo died, that Chief Awolowo was the best President Nigeria never had. That was a very powerful statement but again I wonder why we did not get the best President that we could have had? What stopped him from being the President of Nigeria so that we could have the best? Ojukwu was there, they also contributed towards that particular phenomenon that made it impossible for Awolowo to become the President of Nigeria. That is also a question that bothered me, and then finally, another question that bothers me is that Chief Enahoro who moved a motion for self government in 1953 is in detention and he has been there for so many months now.

We must understand why these things can happen and yet the country can go on. You need to understand why there is that leadership crisis because it is only by addressing that that you can actually move forward. If we do not know why the leadership crisis is there; why people who deserve to be President cannot be President, we will just be saying if you have integrity, you have knowledge, you have educated people, then you will know we will produce a leadership. But it does not happen because I know from July to August of this year people were in the streets; workers were on strike and nothing happened. The deaf, the dumb and even the blind, you know, those occupying our corridors of powers first pretended that nothing was happening, and nothing happened.

So, it is important that we must go to the root of the matter. Why is there this leadership crisis? To those who are in power the leadership crisis is there because it is not really a leadership crisis but a followership crisis, that is, it is not that there is no leadership, it is that there is no good followership. And, of course, there are several reasons. We see manifestations of that when Babangida, for example, made his Political Bureau report and then one of his recommendations was on ideology and then he said that Nigerians are not mature enough to pronounce ideology. That means that we are not mature enough as followers. When anything happens and people are opposed to government policies, you know what we usually hear is that it is the

work of extremists, unpatriotic elements, you know, subversives. All those things indicate that what those in power think about is that there is no leadership crisis, it is a followership crisis and their responses normally are either to shut down newspapers, shut down educational institutions, put people in detention, do all kinds of things which are degenerated acts against the people.

Another explanation of the crisis is that, you see, it is in the nature of Nigerians, Nigerians are bad, you know this Nigerian factor, no matter what you do, Nigerians won't make it work and so even if the leaders are good, in fact, it is impossible to produce good leadership because Nigerians are just bad; and, of course, religious leaders have elevated that to something that is making a lot of money because they go to church and they tell you — pray, because Nigerians have sinned and it is only by repenting that, you know, things are going to work out. Many of course know that no matter how many prayers are said, things have not changed, things are not getting better. The more prayers are said, the more things get worse.

Maybe the answer, like somebody says, is that we have not prayed enough but we know also that people will always seek to rationalise those aspects of their realities that do not fit their initial beliefs in order to achieve consistency. And so if we do not make it, we will say it is because we are not praying enough. But the fact of the matter is that it is not a question of prayer and the answer has to lie somewhere else. We have to locate those forces that make it impossible for our best to lead us, and the answer is that we can find that general answer within the structure of the Nigerian economy. The nature of the Nigerian political economy, in terms of the nature of what emerged after Independence, but that in itself also has to be modified because there are many countries whose economies, especially in South East Asia, have blossomed despite their similarities with our situation. Many of these places, many of them are now advanced countries. Why have we not made it in Nigeria?

I believe that a very important reason is provided by Enahoro who himself took part in the Independence struggle. He says that before 1960 the nationalists of old, including Mokwugo Okoye who is seated in front of us, fought in pursuit of three dreams; the dream of independence, the dream of nationhood and the dream of modern nationhood. However, as Anthony Enahoro says, the truth of the matter is that the nationalists who were prepared to work, to fight, to risk, to die if need be, so that a new and democratic nation might be born, lost control of the situation and were displaced or succeeded by those who remained untouched by the unified modernising flames of

the new nationalism. I think that is where the answer is. Those people who struggled for Independence were not those who inherited the fruits of Independence, therefore, they did not have a clear conception of what the dreams of Independence were.

In fact, what I am saying is that the process of independence was not completed because it was aborted; it was hijacked. Those who hijacked it substituted other goals for those dreams which fired the imagination and therefore the actions of those who fought for independence. And so from that time to this present period, which I call the long historical diversion, what has happened is that that same group that seized power has succeeded in its goal and the first goal, the most important goal is preserving the hold of that same group on power; political and economic power so as to reinforce their distortion of those dreams that informed the independence struggle. That is what we have been grappling with since 1960. So, if we do not deal with that factor, there is no way in which we can educate people on how we can have good leadership. It will not happen. So, what has happened is that a departing colonialism which was externally based was replaced by an internal one which had its own members within the country and we have to return to the basics, we have to fight the internal colonialism.

When we look at what has happened since 1960, we find that the goal of that class, the goal of the group which seized power in 1960 has been shaped in different terms, masked in such a way that it has been elevated to a national goal. And I have seen that goal is to retain the power of that group, to retain its hold on power both politically and economically and of course, it has a group, you know what we call the caliphate, it also includes military officers who are serving and have the same interests with that caliphate, and of course, have recruited other members from other ethnic groups to join with them and they are the ones who have made it impossible for us to evolve a good political leadership.

But you find that in terms of the functioning, we are told that the unity of the country is paramount and so that makes it possible for that same group to intervene decisively in international policies when it wants to protect its interest because it uses that as a basis for saying, 'look, we are protecting the unity of the country'. In actual fact, what it is doing is protecting its mode of power. In the same instance, the group talks about the stability of social and political order; and so we do not want chaos and so anything that threatens to bring about change which could have led to a Chief Awolowo's Presidency or an Abiola's Presidency is aborted. Because that would lead to chaos and

of course, coups are planned, counter-coups are planned. The July 1966 coup was planned against Nzeogwu's coup because people felt that the power equation was going to change and when people met and discussed about what they were going to do, in fact, Gowon and others planned secession but then when they were able to stage a successful coup, it no longer became necessary for them to secede because it was clear that they were going to determine what was going to happen and so, they were back in power.

If you want to find the way forward, you must answer the question 'forward to what?' Forward to what? An old Chinese proverb says, 'redoubling your efforts when your aim has been forgotten takes you twice as fast to the wrong destination! So if we do not know forward to what, then just as we have been doing we will be arriving at the wrong destination twice as fast, and I believe that we must return to those same dreams that inspired the independence struggle. It is not for nothing that Enahoro and Mokwugo Okoye, who should have been national icons, people that you consult, are out in the fields, working alongside with us the younger generation. It is not for nothing that they are around, it is because they themselves have to realise that the independence project has not been completed and so that is the challenge for leadership; that is what we need to undertake and of course, in trying to accomplish the task, the struggle for independence must come first because it is on the basis of true independence that we can talk of democracy and therefore true nationhood and in doing that, I believe that the same means that were employed by the nationalists of old must now be used internally. We have used some of them, we have used mass demonstration; we need to mobilise people, we need people to be involved. Those kinds of things must take place but we also know that given the reality of the present situation; because what tends to happen is that the internal colonialist settler tends to be much more vicious than the external one. The colonialist settler will not leave simply through demonstrations. Force must be applied. There is no way you can run away from that, because any time we stage demonstrations, our people are shot down on the streets. I know that in Benin in 1986, the military governor was the one who fired the first shot because our people do not have guns, they carry leaves; leaves cannot win in a situation in which the opponent is carrying guns and that is why it is also important that even those people within the Armed Forces who have this dream of independence, must also come out on the side of the people. It is very important. The independent process also means that we must also try to define the relations within the various ethnic groups, because we

cannot talk about independence from an internal colonialist power without talking about relations between the various ethnic groups. And in this, I want to indicate that what we have now, is a unitary form of government. We have States that are supposed to be federating but those states were created by the same power that wants to retake control and so the politics of State creation is the politics of retaining power for that same group and that is why the States are not strong. They cannot assert themselves, they do not make the rules. In a truly independent state, the States would determine the modes for their federation: how they relate with one another, that is a key question that must be determined. The states must have a say in whether they want to remain and whether they want to leave and when that question is not solved, we will continue to have tensions in our country. It has happened in various other countries where the rights of various nationality groups were not guaranteed in terms of saying, 'look, we either want to remain or leave the union or under whatever structure it is organised'.

The revolution has started truly. There are a few dreams we must try to accomplish or realise. The first is independence, the second is that of democracy, because democracy for the oppressor means his right to remain in power to oppress you for all time and so, that also needs to be challenged and of course, the immediate task right now. Because we are saying, the way forward in a democratic setting, to win an election will not be a crime, to win an election will not condemn you to prison sentence, to win an election will not condemn you for trial for treason and that is why the democratic agenda must have both a short term and long term programme.

I have argued in different places that the military regime, not only in Nigeria but in many other countries must be isolated. That the staging of a coup must be treated in the same way that hard drugs are treated. If you stage a coup it must be a crime in International Law, in international relations, and so it must be isolated. We should struggle for that. And then, in the case of the long-term democratic objectives, we need to broaden the meaning of democracy and extend it, not only to the area of politics but also of the area of work. We must build into the work-place the right of the people to speak, to participate in what happens in these organisations and then, of course, in terms of changing, of evolving the modern nation-state; it is also important that we much check all unjust economic relations that currently exist. We must go back to the question of the derivation principle because if you say that it does not just matter that you have resources wherever you are, because it was placed there by God, it then means that the

intelligence that was given to you naturally is something that the State ought to try to extract from you and share with others.

### **Professor Itse Sagay (Discussant)**

I am afraid I am going to bring down the tone of this discussion a little bit. Nobody can keep the level that Festus Iyayi has reached, but I would like to just add a little bit to what he has said because he made reference, in the very last part of his presentation, to the status of coups, that they should all be regarded as illegitimate. The previous status in International Law was they were legitimate. Once a coup is physically successful and the people in that country have accepted it or have acquiesced in it, that government becomes legitimate. Now, we have seen though, that with deleterious effect of military governments all over the world, coups against democracy and with the recent march of democracy arising from the termination of the cold war there is a change that has become discernible in the international community and this change that has been reflected also in the United Nations and also lately in International Law.

We are all aware of the recent development in Haiti, that it was the military government that came to power by coup and everything was domestic, but for the first time in the history of International Law, the United Nations Security Council resolved that the domestic Haitian situation was a threat to the peace of the American hemisphere as a whole and also a breach of established international norms. Based on that, they then authorised the international community to establish a multi-national force in order to do whatever they thought necessary; even to use force to restore democracy in Haiti. And so today, we have the democratically legitimately elected government back in power in Haiti.

All I am trying to say is that there has been a shift away from the rule that what happens in the domestic domain of a state is exclusively that state's affair. There has definitely been a shift in it and international law and the international community have now resolved that with regard to the question of a coup, where a military dictatorship overthrows an elected democratic government, that situation is now an international situation because it is a threat to international peace and security.

Now, the problem of the causes of bad leadership are well known. I will not repeat them. They have been said here over and over again. Lack of leadership, the fact that our leaders are self-seeking, people see government as a source of fortune, making rather than serving the

people, lack of accountability, using public funds to enrich themselves and of course, lack of vision and sense of history.

I think it was Dr. Utomi who made a very relevant statement that in other parts of the world, one of the index of good leadership is that a leader comes into office and envisages how the world is going to think of him and how the population is going to think of him after he has left office. That is a motivation for good government and good leadership. We do not have it in this country. They do not care what the population wants. In fact, the belief is that the Nigerian population has a short memory, so, you can blunder and destroy and do whatever you like and in a year or two you become a hero even though you are a villain and you were kicked out. So, that is one other problem we have.

However, I believe that the major problem we have now as a nation is the question of military rule and absence of democracy. I say that not because civilians are better, because after all, the soldiers are Nigerians too, Nigerians in uniform. But all our worst characteristics as a nation are compounded by the fact that the military clothe themselves with certain powers that cannot be challenged and they remove certain structures that allow us to monitor a government and ensure that they keep to certain basic rules and principles. For example, our courts as we know have virtually collapsed. Only recently, the Court of Appeal in Kaduna granted Chief M.K.O Abiola bail unconditionally and two weeks later they started creating conditions and then saying totally different things from what they said before and this collapse of the judicial system has been on for over five years.

The military do not accept criticism; they close down newspapers. You do not have official opposition which you have in other places, you do not have parties which are established with their own ideologies and their programmes which can, on that basis, develop an articulate criticism of the existing government. In other words, all the structures that make up for good government cannot exist when there is a military government and so, that is why I said a military government compounds all the problems of that leadership because you cannot even mitigate that bad leadership. Let me give some examples of how democracy could improve a society — some examples that we are witnessing right now.

Only a month ago or so, some newspapers published a story about two British ministers who had some contract with the owner of Harrods who is an Egyptian. They said the Harrods man told the two junior ministers to ask some questions in Parliament which would be

favourable to him. This leaked. Although the ministers denied that there was any such deal, they nevertheless resigned. Now, that is how democracy helps to monitor and control the conduct of people in power and there are also many other examples. Only yesterday the British government was going to increase tax on fuel. You know we had our own increase, 400% or 500% and nothing happened. Everybody went about as if it was normal. Now, all the money I have is just used for fuel, that's all and we think this is normal. In England, I think they wanted to introduce, I don't know, is it 10%? I don't know, much lower than 10%, small amount of increase on fuel price. This was debated in Parliament. The government was defeated and so the government has withdrawn that particular proposal. Can you imagine any government in Britain saying it would increase the cost of any commodity by 500%? That will be the end of that government for the rest of the century.

Let us come back to Africa. Let us go to Zimbabwe. The ministers there were accused of corruption in newspapers. Allegations were made. They all resigned. In Zambia, which just had democracy three years ago, ministers have been resigning on the basis of allegation of corruption. The effect of all this is that government is becoming cleaner, more accountable, more in line with the expectations of the people.

In this country there is an allegation that a group of people made away with \$12.5 billion and they are walking the streets free. Nobody can do anything, we are all looking on and we know that if we had that \$12.5b all economic problems of this country will be solved. I can assure you that if we now call our international creditors together and say 'Please, gentlemen, all we have for you is \$5b, take it or leave it, they will take it and forego the rest of the debt. We have a situation today in which people are no longer able to feed their families, in which children are dying. I know somebody who was ill recently. It was just a normal illness; he had malaria or typhoid. Nobody knows now because he didn't receive medical attention. He was a government employee, a junior government employee. Unfortunately the Lagos University Teaching Hospital was on strike. He could not go to state hospitals, he could not afford the price of private medical hospitals, so he stayed at home and was using mentholatum and he died. That is somebody that I knew and all that killed that man was that he did not have medical attention. Those who stole our \$12.5b actually killed him and the state killed the thousands others like him who are dying like that. Our children are dying. You just hear of people dying, people living below the poverty line, people collapsing,

people riding in buses and before the end of the journey, you find somebody is dead beside you. These are not due to any new illness, they are due to the fact that there is malnutrition, there is poverty, the whole state has been subverted and the reason for that is that there is no democracy. It is the absence of democracy in this country.

So in my view, the primary thing that we should strive for is the achievement of democracy. We must get back to democratic government as soon as possible so that we have a chance of fulfilling our roles as the leader of Africa and as the major black nation. At the moment, I just laugh when I hear my friend Ibrahim Gambari proposing that Nigeria be made a member of primary tenure, yes, that we be given a permanent seat in the Security Council. That is the most ridiculous and laughable idea in the world right now because Nigeria is an international pariah. Nobody wants to know about this country, we have been abandoned and I feel sorry for him because, of course, he was acting on instructions. I don't see how he could really have had the cheek to make that proposal to the United Nations. Rather, South Africa or Egypt will be given that post.

So, that is the major thing. There are other structural things which need to be done. For example, for any leadership even to survive, to succeed, certain basic minimum conditions must exist, for example, now, in line of what Festus said, a lot of our money has been stolen by leaders. We know them but we do not know the details of how much they have stolen or where they are banked but I know that the Philippines has succeeded in tracing all the money stolen by Marcos; I believe that Ethiopia tried the same thing earlier on with regard to the money kept away by Emperor Haile Selassie and we also know that the western powers know the details of the bank accounts of all our leaders who have stolen our money, they know these details. We make it a priority, if we are going to have a leadership that will succeed to recover all our stolen money and get all the people who stole them to account for them and we should punish them because if we don't, we are encouraging others in the future to carry on in this tradition.

Now, why Chief Awolowo could not become President is not so much that he was Yoruba, people were frightened of him. He was going to introduce discipline into the country to ensure that there was accountability, you cannot steal as much as you like, there has to be merit, you have to be worthy of your hire to get on. These are the things that frighten people, a few of us in our little, little sectors in the country have gone through this. I experienced it in the University of Benin, all the people who wanted excellence in that University were squashed down, we were all thrown out. Now they are scattered all

over the world, accepted in America, in Canada, everywhere, contributing to those countries and we have lost. So that is another thing. Nigerians particularly the elite, are afraid of excellence. They feel threatened if somebody is good and determined to implement his ideas and follow principles, they want people who accept to be "settled".

We have different cultures, we have our languages, we have our different approaches, I don't think we should be split into 400, that is impossible but there should be a recognition of this. That is why the federal system of government was adopted. Now since the military came into power in 1966 it has been exposed. Those of you who are old enough will remember the pre-1966 government of the three regions. You will remember what happened? There was competition because they were really federal. They were autonomous. They were strong and each government tried to introduce policies which would promote the welfare and progress of its people. The West took leadership in this respect, if you will remember free education, minimum wages for labour, free medical treatment, Liberty Stadium — the best in Africa at the time; Television — everything was coming from the West. And what happened? All the others too saw that they were doing their best and they decided to follow suit and tried to excel. So because of this competition, this country started developing fast.

Now what do we have? All the autonomy of the states has been crushed, the states are not better than local governments. We have one central authority, controlling all the power. If you look at some of these decrees, they are frightening. A recent one, Decree No. 12 really frightens. It says the Federal Military Government is the supreme, with "absolute powers". Even if you are going to do a thing like that, why do you say it? Its vulgar, its the most vulgar thing I have ever seen. This is a federation, and a group of people say they are supreme and they have absolute powers and it is not even a Federal Government. It is just a group of military officers, one or two or three people and a few supporters.

Now, with that, they are controlling all our resources, all our oil goes there and with all the oil going there, states drained of autonomy, drained of funds, they are dead, they are paralysed and so there is no urge to compete, no urge to struggle for excellence. So every thing is now dependent on the federal government and when we have a federal government of mediocre people, Nigeria's fifth-eleven, to use Achebe's term, now ruling the country, you see free oil, free money for which they didn't work, they wallow in it, spend it anyhow and let the

rest of the country die, this country will never move forward.

So it is important that true federation should be restored, with proper allocation of resources. Let the states compete among themselves and try to improve and we will see that in a few years, we will begin to be like Singapore, Indonesia and South Korea which have advanced so much and it is the spirit of competition, the spirit of free enterprise. Right now in Nigeria, all this has been stopped and the states are being choked for lack of funds and all our money is being controlled by a few people. It is really frightening. One man can say 'okay, take 500 million dollars from the bank and put it into that account'. One man! No control, nothing and the rest of the nation is wallowing in starvation and suffering. That situation is totally unacceptable. So, these are some of the things we must face if we are going to have a good way forward. Thank you very much.

### **Dr. Olatunji Dare (Discussant)**

We have been speaking about the qualities and about the course of leadership. In my presentation, I would like to dwell on the responsibilities and duties of followership. I do this in the belief that followership can frustrate or checkmate bad leadership. That is why I think it is important to look at the duties of followership, for a change.

I think followers must begin, first of all, by acquainting themselves with the duties and responsibilities of the leadership and to hold them to these responsibilities instead of making excuses for them. I recall an incidence in 1982 when the mother of a state governor died. That governor is not one of the ministers in General Abacha's cabinet. His mother died and there were reports that he had spent ₦2 million of states resources to bury his mother and there were all kinds of criticisms, but there were also people who came up in defence of him and they said, "well, we should be grateful that he spent only ₦2 million of the state resources. What if he had spent ₦10 million. What can you do about it? What would you have done about it? So let us be grateful that he spent only ₦2 million." This kind of attitude cannot point the way forward.

When somebody is in trouble, somebody who has obviously fallen foul of the law or has broken the ethics of leadership, and there is pressure on him to go, there are all kinds of appeal to religion and ethnicity, and many of us fall for this appeal. We do not see it straight-forwardly as a matter of impropriety or as a matter of breach of the public trust. We see him now as somebody from our ethnic group and those people from other ethnic groups want him out so that

they can put their own man there. In this way, we lose sight of the central issue on the matter. I think the followership has a duty to refuse to be diverted by this appeal to religion and ethnicity, opportunism and what have you.

Another duty of the followership is to know their rights and to insist upon them, to behave as citizens who have rights that they can demand rather than behave as subjects who can only appeal and plead for concessions from the authorities. When the newspaper I work for, *The Guardian*, was banned, I had a discussion, an accidental discussion, with a man who was a Presidential aspirant and somehow I expected some sympathy from him but he said, "Well, you know, you people did what you had to do, you fought Abacha with the weapons at your disposal and he has used the weapons at his disposal to silence you. Fair is fair." He did not see that a ban on a public newspaper is not just a ban on the proprietor or the journalists who publish that newspaper but an assault on the entire society. Yes, he did not see in that light and I think this is one area again in which the followership must be more active, to know their rights and insist on them and behave as citizens who have rights.

The followership must show some fellow feeling in the belief, in the knowledge that what threatens one, threatens all and that what humiliates one person can humiliate others as well. As we are here now, the delegates to the Constitutional Conference are meeting in Abuja, planning yet another attempt at democracy. The man who won a democratic election is in jail less than 10 kilometres from where they are, he is ill, he is in need of medical treatment, nobody is paying any attention to him. Chief Anthony Enahoro, the man who moved the motion for self-government in 1953 is pinning away in jail somewhere. Habeas Corpus, like the election of June 1993, has been annulled and all discretionary acts of the judiciary have also been annulled and yet, these people are meeting, they are talking about a new constitution, about democracy and all that. How do they know that the next election, whenever it is held, will not be annulled? How do they know that what has happened to Abiola, to Enahoro and many others will not happen to them? And yet they are going on, regardless.

Until Ken Saro-Wiwa brought the Ogoni issue to the fore and raised issues about the deprivation of the oil-producing areas, many of us did not know anything about it. Even now, I do not know how many of us are touched passionately by it. "Oh, it is the business of the people of the oil-producing areas, too bad if their resources have destroyed, their fresh waters polluted and they have to live with gas flares." We do have to have fellow feeling, we do not believe that

whatever touches one, touches all. There is too much apathy, too much indifference among us. We concede too much, we put up with too much. The people of 12th century Spain could say to the Grand Inquisitor, "Make us your slaves but feed us." Here, they are not even feeding us and yet we are content to behave like slaves, to follow without asking questions. I think, good followership demands much more than this. Everybody is waiting for somebody else to act and in the process of course, nothing gets done. When Festus Iyayi was calling for vigorous action, there was a lot of clapping and support from the audience and I said to myself, if Festus were to say next those who are ready for action, please follow me, let us go out, 90 percent of the people who were applauding would not have followed.

We must be ready to follow good leadership, not to make any excuses for them. We must take our destiny in our own hands. We have to organise, we have to act, we don't have to wait for everybody else to act for us. The most successful leaders — and I will just make an addendum to all the good things that have been said about leadership — the most successful leaders tend to be those who combine ability with authority. Leadership based entirely on authority soon degenerates into force. The exercise of force produces tyranny. So, we must insist that our leaders show ability. That those who find themselves in positions of leadership are those who have acquired some significant degree of ability.

In his other presentation in the morning, Sina Odugbemi made some reference to a poem that was found in a German concentration camp. I would just like to end on that note by making some reference to it again. The author wrote, first, the Nazis came for the communists, but since I'm not a communist, I didn't bother. Next, they came for the catholic, I'm a protestant; and so it was none of my business. Then they came for the trade unionists but I'm not a union man; so, none of my headache and on and on. In the end, they came for me because there was nobody else. I think this is one excellent reason why we should develop fellow-feeling. We should realise that what touches one touches all and we should all stand together or the future is doomed. Thank you very much.

## Discussion

### Mr. Babatola

I thank you Mr. Chairman for giving me this opportunity. I want to correct what the first speaker (Sonny Tyoden) said because it touches me personally. Babatola is my name. The election of 1951 was fought on the electoral college basis. I was to represent Ekiti Central and I was chosen by Ekiti Progressive Union as Assistant Secretary at that time. Chief Awolowo heard about it that I refused. Then he called me and said 'Why don't you go and contest this election?'. Then I told him that I left the army just four years before then and I wanted to obtain a degree like him. I said I had just passed school certificate. I said I had a friend who had just left Fourah Bay and that was why I supported late Osuntokun and my other uncle at that time to contest on the platform of the Ekiti Progressive Union.

If you read some recent articles written by Honourable Akinloye, he made the point clearly. He said the election was never contested on party basis. This matter has caused a breach between the Ibos and Yorubas for a long time, not the whole of the Ibos and Yorubas but the uninformed ones and that is why they are calling Chief Awolowo a tribalist. He has never been a tribalist. Thank you.

### Mr. Ezedor

I will address myself to Prof. Tyoden. He made a statement that Zik said that "the Destiny of Africa was in the hands of Ibo race". Although this is a conference for Obafemi Awolowo but I don't think it will be too much of a diversion to correct an impression, to correct a smear on Zik. We are all educated enough and I believe we all have enough logic to know that this statement is not synonymous with telling the non-Ibo members of the NCNC that Zik had no regards for them. I think that is the way Prof. Tyoden has expressed this and I am very angry about this. I appreciate the fact that everybody has a right to an opinion but I don't think this is a very good opinion especially for the generations yet unborn.

Zik is never a tribalist. He is a nationalist as far as I am concerned and as far as everybody knows. Zik and Obafemi Awolowo are two people I admire most. I love their qualities and I would have loved for each and everyone of them to have a try at salvaging this nation. The reason Zik made the statement he made was that he was trying to second a statement or rather an observation made by Lord Carlton in a

British newspaper in which he spoke of a certain tribe in Africa, precisely in the Eastern part of Nigeria, where the Ibos, even the most uneducated villagers, know a word of English! I think this is the point Zik was trying to make. I don't think he was trying to make other nations count for less. He is a nationalist. Thank you very much.

### **Chief Olumilua**

When Chief Awolowo died, we all went in sympathy and I was looking through the register and someone said "Here was a great leader, when will we have another"? It struck me and I deliberated over it for a long time. So, leaders do not come often. You see, when you have a situation or circumstance that produced Bismark in Germany, Garibaldi in Italy and all those great men whose names echoed in our time, and when you discuss about leadership here and we have had leaders in Africa or indeed Nigeria, but we have had bad ones. We have had all sorts of leaders but when do we have excellent leaders? When are we going to? I think this is the subject of this particular forum and I want to say that it will appear to me, as the Chairman was trying to make jest of, that there is a divinely ordained autonomy of time situations for leaders to emerge. Anybody can call himself a leader but leaders who are imitable, leaders who go into history as landmark in the development of mankind, names which we will never forget, they don't come too often. And I just want to regard our journey into a big level of development and refinement, as the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan. They got beaten, they faced wars, they faced all sorts of situations and circumstances. Their leaders were appointed and ordained for them by God and so it was possible for them to have overcome their problems.

With the amount of knowledge in this country, the knowledge here seated upon this table, the quantum of knowledge sitting here is enough to make any country great. But you will require more than knowledge, you will require more than just goodwill. In fact, more than all the factors that have been enumerated here today to make good leaders, I believe God in His own chosen time will choose good leaders for us. What we will now do is to wait and prepare. Thank you very much.

**Mr. Craig**

I am a student of the University of Benin. Yesterday, when we were in the conference room, I asked a very simple question and the Chairman Ambassador Jolaosho said he would rather take the question as a rhetorical question because he did not want to answer it.

The question is, in recent times General Abacha has been claiming that the Nigerian Press is the freest in the world. Though, I took it, politically we call it a rhetorical addendum, that is, it is an absurd argument but I just say let Dr. Olatunji Dare and Dr. Pat Utomi, if you know anything debunking that claim. Assuming I travel abroad and I'm confronted with such a question, what do I say? The purpose of this dialogue is to educate, to enlighten, to impart knowledge on us, but in fact, they didn't say anything. It may be wrong, it may be right. I just want to know whether it is true or not. Thank you. I mean if we know it is not true, we should try and ascertain an authenticity vis-a-vis that postulation, that is just it. Thank you.

**Col. Yohanna Madaki**

We always castigate the military and heap all the blame on them. It is true. Yesterday I said that the January 15th coup was the one that destroyed military discipline, otherwise, the Nigerian military was a profession. But I was in Ibadan too when there was the crisis of the Vice-Chancellor of University of Ibadan. I think it was UCI then, had it become UI? When Dike was there. I was there in the Barracks when people came to the University to remove Prof. Dike and they were appealing to the army. At every stage people, well-meaning, educated, politicians, well-polished, had come to the Barracks in the night, urging the military to come in.

As we try to eliminate ourselves in the political game, we look for somebody carrying the gun to come and do the rest, and put us back there. Yet, some people do not even know that the military is so scared. They are always very scared about coup-making. When they make the broadcast where do you think they get the information from? The information that is announced on the radio, which we grab, where do they have it from? It is from the politicians. When somebody loses the elections he must invite the army. And I want to say that I do not support military coups but we should try to see our own faults and then we answer the questions. What will happen when that anarchy goes to the extent to which people are cutting each others' heads because they are helpless. What happens? I always have said

that the military should come in if we can go out. Thank you.

### **Professor Babalola**

I just wanted to make two points. The first is based on what we have said before and Dr. Iyayi's idea of true federalism. I said that I don't know why people have thought that when you advocate homogenous wall units, you are at the same time anti-unity and I don't think so. I believe that true federalism should be made, should be based on homogenous units. This is because it is only a homogenous unit that makes it possible to impose sanctions, we understand ourselves too well. In my own area, there used to be some festival times, a means of discipline, or interactions and therefore punishing people who have stolen during the year. They will go round with their branches and trees and so on, sing that such and such a person stole such and such a thing; such and such person did this during this time and they go and deposit all these trees and so on there. Usually, they will run away, the people will run away. I am not advocating such a rude method, but it is only a homogenous unit that can sanction it. Without sanctions, human beings are too difficult. You cannot mend them, you cannot really beat them into shape without a pleasure, that is the followership. You cannot, but if you need to, beat them into shape somehow.

There is the need of sanctions and of course, there must also be reward. On a long term basis, I turn to what was said yesterday, that is the transfer of, shall we say, experience or wisdom, from one generation gap like ours, the older generation to the younger ones. There is need for that and in this place, this is where the professionals can contribute very much. I believe that there are experienced top people; I don't know the means by which they can do this really, where they can be sponsored and so on like that. There are some of us that have some kinds of view but we don't have the means. There must be some kind of means by which we just need a few experienced people and so on, talk and so on, not in a large group like this, whereby you communicate with the on-going generations. You pass on to them.

Late Simeon Adebayo on this very chair, he was chairman when T.M. Aluko launched his book and that was his last outing. He was here, he stood here and said that when they came in, he was invited by Chief Awolowo to be Secretary to the Government and Head of Service, then he got a group of people together and they said they

were dedicated to building a public service to make the blackman proud. This they achieved because they had some kind of vision.

#### **Mr. Atimomo**

Africa is a seat of knowledge. The knowledge that we know today in the whole world emanated from Africa. The first person to initiate the idea of worshipping God was an African in 1350BC and that was the basis of Christian religion in Egypt before Christ came. In other words, the Church today in the entire world areas emanated from Africa. Mathematics and philosophy all emanated from Africa. People like Aristotle, Socrates and Plato, all went to Egypt to learn. In fact Socrates had to take poison when it was time. The thing I want you to know, the world we are in today is African in knowledge but at a certain point it was hijacked and a conflict system came in and that is why all through the centuries we have had so many series of wars in the entire world.

#### **Mr. Okoro**

So much blame has been heaped on the military that I want to say this about the political class. You see the political class, over the years has been lacking one thing and that is organisation. You see, the political class has to develop this spirit of sportsmanship, the spirit of give and take. When you go for elections, go for that election according to the rules and regulations. If you lose out, wait for the next time. I did my MBA thesis on Nigerian-Jamaican relations and I discovered one thing as regards the relative political stability of Jamaica.

The founding fathers, that is Norman-Williams and Alexander Bustamante, though they were related somehow (they were cousins) they had one thing, the spirit of sportsmanship. Whenever they went for an election, if one won he ruled with an open hand, while the other one waited for his next turn. So this the political class has to learn and imbibe.

#### **Mr. Oyelami**

What worries me most, from all our discussions is that the military have created their own elite within the 28 years they have been in governance of this country. The way we sat down here discussing, so many characters from yesterday have been coopted by the military to join them and secondly, most of these people are already in Abuja now asking for contracts here and there. They are the people Col. Madaki referred to as the ones that go to the barracks to invite them and we

stay here discussing and talking grammar and leaving these people all alone. That is one question.

Now the other. Dr. Tyoden said that, to be identified as Nigerians you must start from being a Nigerian. If you look at the last election, where the option A4 was introduced and looking at the Nigerian structure, without being recognised from your town or your village to your local government council, how can you rise to be a national leader? And this morning, Dr Pearl Alice Marsh told us that no country has accomplished a transition to democracy with the military in power. This is just a warning for those of you preparing against next year, 1996 that you are just wasting your time. We have to resolve the last election before anything can be done.

### **Dr. Ejike**

I feel that one of the conditions for addressing this whole question of leadership is attacking the question of poverty. Poverty is so pervasive in the system that our followership is easily compromised. In fact, when I was contesting for the Senate in Delta Central, the level of compromise I found among the people was such that some of them could even sell their parents because of the material incentive you give to them. Apart from that, we give the impression that leadership is just acting fortuitously, accidentally, No! These guys (in the military) are really organised, they are very systematic and consistent in what they are doing. They came in there and disrupt any slight potential for resistance against them. The student union is disorganised, labour is disorganised, universities are shut. These are all potential areas of opposition to them. So, they are very well organised. Not only that, there is some sort of circulation among their own rank. When they are retired, they are even recycled back into the system in the form of Board appointments and the rest of it. So, when we are thinking that these guys are not organised, they are very well organised. We cannot match their level of organisation.

If today, some people have argued over the last three days that there is some form of excellent leadership at the grassroots level, yes, they are very well organised. But when you want to coordinate and realign that into the national level, it doesn't work because the people are going to ask you what do they get from it? So, the resources are not there and we cannot really weld all these small, small factors into one large whole to be able to have any impact on these well-organised and very consistent leadership that are geared up vividly over the years.

**Chairman**

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I'm sorry it is not possible to take any more questions from the floor. The panelists have kindly agreed on not insisting on their rights to reply and they have delegated limited responsibility to one of themselves, Mr. Ofeimun, who has agreed to speak for two minutes in response to the variety of questions that have been asked and all the comments made.

**Mr. Ofeimun**

I just want to say something. The other side is organised, they have the resources, there is only one thing that is required of those on the side of the people — they should learn to build linkages. Without linkages with few people of like minds, you cannot win, and that is all that the future search for leadership or the production of leadership is all about. It is how to build linkages between people in disparate parts of the country and people of disparate views. If that can be done, the basis for serious organisation can begin. We need interlinkers, we should be calling them interlinkers for now because that is the basis for action.

I want to do something here. I want to dedicate a poem to Ken Saro-Wiwa who is in detention. If anybody has contributed to emboldening the charge against those who use ethnicity to mess up the national ethics, Saro Wiwa must be regarded as somebody in the forefront. I will read this poem for you. Incidentally I am a poet. It is a poem for Soyinka but today I am dedicating it to Ken Saro-Wiwa.

**LET THE STONES SPEAK FOR US**

If it is only stones that can speak in the city of God,  
 Let us become stones and our words returning to the  
 Rhythm of blood beating in unison with the heart;  
 Let them become the unspoken that is forever retold.  
 Let us become stones well beyond hearsay;  
 Against glass windows and earthen ware pots;  
 Against China and the Calabash in banquet;  
 Let us become stones and become the speech of sand  
 In the dialect of Staples;  
 The grains that will resolve councils of states in  
 the northern tongue of pebbles.  
 Let us become stones until everything's ready to fry;  
 Every tuber pounded for morning day;

Every funeral and coming of age remember the debt we owe  
To the west locked away by rule decrees;  
If it is only stones that can speak in our brave garrison;  
Let the stones speak for us.

**Chairman**

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that is a happy note to bring these proceedings to a conclusion.

## Concluding Remarks

**Dr. (Mrs.) O. Awolowo-Dosumu**

Mr. Chairman, Mama, distinguished speakers, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. I would first of all like to thank Mama for staying with us for so long. She was seventy-nine last week, so it's not physically easy for her to stay that long, but I can assure you that anywhere her husband's memory is being celebrated, she can stay there for as long as possible. Thank you Mama.

We at the Foundation feel completely satisfied with the conduct of this Dialogue and its outcome. I did say at the beginning, in my welcome address, that from all indications we were fairly certain that this Third Dialogue would turn out to be the best yet and I think you will all agree with me that that prediction has come to pass. In terms of attendance, in terms of calibre of the audience and participants, in terms of the quality of papers presented and in terms of the quality of the interventions from the floor. We are particularly pleased that we have achieved in a large measure what we set out to achieve, and that is to affirm that a non-governmental organisation or a Foundation like ours does have a role to play in sensitising the populace and providing a credible platform where all Nigerians can come together and discuss important critical issues frankly, forthrightly, and with a view to finding solutions. And I do believe that we have done this at this Dialogue.

I am sure you have all noticed Dr. Bashiru Ikara who has been with us. He is a very bold man for coming here and putting across his own point of view. What some of us may not know is that he is the Director of Arewa House, or he was. He is a member of the think-tank up there and he has had the opportunity to come to this Dialogue and to listen to "the other side". This indeed is the essence of dialogue and the only way by which we can move forward. To use that over-used Nigerian expression "we have to listen to one another and to take into consideration each other's feelings." I think if this dialogue has done nothing at all, it has highlighted the important point that if we are to have a true federation, we must accept one another's views and sensitivities.

A federation that does not take into consideration the needs, the feelings, the opinions of all sections is doomed to fail. Even if we have diametrically-opposed views on important issues, we must discuss them with candour. We must be willing to listen to one another in order to be able to find a common ground. The idea that everyone who has an opposing view is a misguided, disgruntled element, I think has

to be done away with, for if we sweep these frustrations under the carpet, one day, sometime in future, maybe in the not so distant future we will have a terrible eruption and we hope this does not happen.

So, the Foundation has done its own bit. Invited participants have also played their part. They have given us their well-considered views, known and respected in their various fields as scholars. They are all very well known in their individual rights as commentators, concerned professionals, politicians, and social critics. The ball is now in the court of the nation. This Dialogue is speaking to the entire country. It is not a policy issue like the first two dialogues where we sent the recommendations to government and to the appropriate societies. This is an exercise whose outcome affects every Nigerian because it has to do with both leadership and followership. So, to that extent, every single Nigerian should be concerned with the outcome of this Dialogue and I hope that followership will rise up to the occasion; so that they themselves can take their destinies in their own hands, determine the limits of their own tolerance and decide when to say No.

I would now like to thank everyone who has taken part in this conference, in particular the Chairmen of sessions, Speakers and Discussants, because they have made themselves both in time and talent available to the Foundation. We are especially delighted that this dialogue has been conducted in the same way Chief Awolowo would approach the kind of situation we have in our hands in today's Nigeria. He would highlight every problem, confront every truth no matter how ugly, no matter how uncomfortable. But he would not stop there. He would proffer solutions. He would be critical in a constructive manner because it was his view that prevention is always better than cure. And the way to prevent a really ugly situation is to highlight it, confront it and endeavour to solve it in good time. And I believe this is what this dialogue seeks to do for our nation. I would further like to thank the entire audience and say how pleased and proud we are at the Foundation that we called you, and you heeded our call. It is not given to many organisations to parade such an array of stars and engage their attention continuously for the better part of three days.

One great lesson from this exercise is that all is not lost for our dear country. Well-meaning Nigerians, and there are many, are still ready and willing to take such pains as we have done in the last three days to find a way to salvage the situation. We are indeed proud to have started something that all of us can together follow through so that this country can be truly great, the way we all know it deserves to be. Once again, thank you all very much.

## COMMUNIQUE

The Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue was held at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) Victoria Island, Lagos, from 5th December to 7th December, 1994. The central theme of the Dialogue which was well attended by both Nigerians and foreign participants as well as leaders from both the public and private sectors of Nigeria was "NIGERIA: In Search of Leadership".

The focus is a reflection of the Foundation's deep concern about the problems and crisis of leadership which has failed to address the urgent political and economic problems of the country. The inadequacies of the Nigerian leadership have become increasingly glaring in recent years as the nation lurched from one grave crisis to another. In the course of the Dialogue, the following major sub-themes regarding the nature and character of leadership in Nigeria were closely examined and exhaustively discussed by the participants.

- i) Theories, definitions and conceptions of leadership, with particular reference to the evolution of leadership in Nigeria.
- ii) Problems and prospects of leadership at various levels in Nigeria.
- iii) Cultural and geographical factors affecting leadership in Nigeria.
- iv) Comparative perspectives and lessons from other countries.
- v) Generational differences of leadership role and perceptions; and
- vi) The way forward.

### **The Theories, Definitions and Conceptions of Leadership**

The evolution, conceptions and the role of leadership in Nigeria was viewed against the background of the emergence of Nigeria, first as a colony and later as a nation-state. The various territories which now constitute Nigeria were acquired as a colony by Britain between 1861 and 1900. The territories were first administered separately until 1914 when, under Lord Lugard, the British Colonial administration amalgamated the separately administered units. Even then, the so-called amalgamation did not lead to the creation of a central administration for the entire colony. Under both the Richards and Macpherson constitutions, regional differences not only persisted, but were actively promoted by the colonial administration, with the result that leadership that emerged in the colonial period was inevitably regional in outlook. Attempts to develop a central and pan-Nigerian

leadership foundered on the rock of the regional differences which under colonial rule had grown even stronger.

The entire process of decolonisation including the nationalist struggle, was profoundly affected by this development. While leadership in the regions was strong and effective, there was virtually no leadership at the centre in the period leading up to independence in 1960. At independence, Nigerian leaders for the most part did not share common values or a vision of the political future of the country. The period since 1960 has been characterised by incessant political crisis and the entrenchment of ethnic divisions, which have been brought into sharp relief by the worsening economic conditions in the country in recent times.

In the light of these profound differences in outlook among Nigerian leaders, it is hardly surprising that there is no national consensus on the values, goals, and the role of leadership in resolving the country's problems. The incursion of the Nigerian military into the political arena has not only undermined the democratic process, but has vitiated the emergence of a national consensus on the values, traditions and goals of the country. The military in Nigeria have not served as a unifying force.

### **Sectoral Leadership Problems and Prospects**

The Dialogue examined leadership in the various sectors including business and the professions and came to the conclusion that with a few exceptions, it has not served Nigeria well. Even in cases where some leaders have shown the potential and the capacity to make a difference, the political environment has made it impossible for the full potential of such leaders to be actualised in the national interest. It is characterised by ethnic divisions, weakness, formlessness, greed for public office, avarice, and a lack of commitment to the promotion of the national interest. It is not able to influence public policy in a positive way, as it is concerned mainly with promoting its own short-term personal interests. Because of its own shortcomings and inadequacies, public cynicism regarding the role of this leadership has developed. Except in a few cases, the young generation now faced with few or no future prospects has directly challenged the older generation but without itself advancing any new positive values to replace the old ones.

With regard to the traditional rulers, the direct involvement of this class in partisan politics has tended, on the whole, to be damaging to

the democratic process and society. The class has been subjected in recent years to much political abuse by both civilians and military authorities. Because of their political partisanship, many of the traditional rulers no longer enjoy the loyalty and support of the populace, and are now clearly held in contempt by the people. Plainly, it is not in the interest of the traditional rulers to be involved in partisan politics. Their support for military rule undermines the democratic society.

### **Cultural and Geopolitical Consideration**

The quality of leadership has been negatively affected by the dominance of ethnic differences and the cynical manipulation of these differences by the political class, particularly the military, for political advantage. Our cultural diversity which could be our source of strength is now our major source of weakness. Recruitment and training for leadership are being subjected to ethnic considerations, which have become more endemic in the political system. National interest can only be served through the harmonisation of the vital interests of the various multinational groups. This disregard for the need to reconcile and accommodate the competing and divergent interests of the various multinational groups is being exemplified at the current Constitutional Conference which has further polarised the country along ethnic lines.

There is little or no fresh recruitment into leadership as the old political class which has failed the country continues to re-cycle itself. Despite the woeful performance of the old political class and the abundance of talent in the country, the younger generation is being frustrated by the refusal of the old class to give way. The turnstile strategy of the old class to ward off the challenge of the younger generation is self-serving and can only impede the political and economic development of the nation.

### **Comparative Perspective and Lessons from other Countries**

The Dialogue examined the traditions of leadership in other countries where such leadership has succeeded in welding the country together on the basis of shared values, goals and traditions. First, in those countries, the political elite regardless of their cultural differences, promote economic growth as the major goal of the society. All

resources are mobilised to achieve this goal by a truly modernising elite. Secondly, qualifications for entry into positions of leadership are clearly defined in terms of public probity, accountability, professional and other educational qualifications, and a strict adherence to the ground rules of political activities. In Nigeria, there are no such definitions or qualifications for entry into positions of leadership. Public responsibility is often entrusted to those least qualified to fulfil it.

In addition, unlike in Nigeria, the political class in the countries considered have a tradition of fierce nation-wide opposition to foreign rule, and a radical nationalist movement which helped the leadership in forging a common national destiny and purpose. Consequently, leadership in Nigeria has continued to exhibit the following negative features:

- (a) Lack of commitment to the democratic way of life and to constitutional government according to the rule of law.
- (b) Lack of public probity and accountability.
- (c) Lack of social justice and a sense of fair play.
- (d) Lack of commitment to national unity.
- (e) A cynical manipulation of cultural differences and ethnic interests.

It is these inadequacies that have made possible military incursion into politics and their refusal to give way to civilian rule. The failure of the political class and its total lack of political scruples have prompted the military to assault the freedom of the Press and other basic human freedoms. Today, many national newspapers stand proscribed by the military government and many pro-democracy activists continue to be held in detention for declaring their opposition to military dictatorship.

## The Way Forward

The Dialogue identified leadership as a most crucial factor in national development. In its search for a positive leadership for Nigeria, it came to the following conclusions and recommendations. Nigeria's leadership crisis is deep-seated and requires a concerted and sustained effort to resolve it. This will include:-

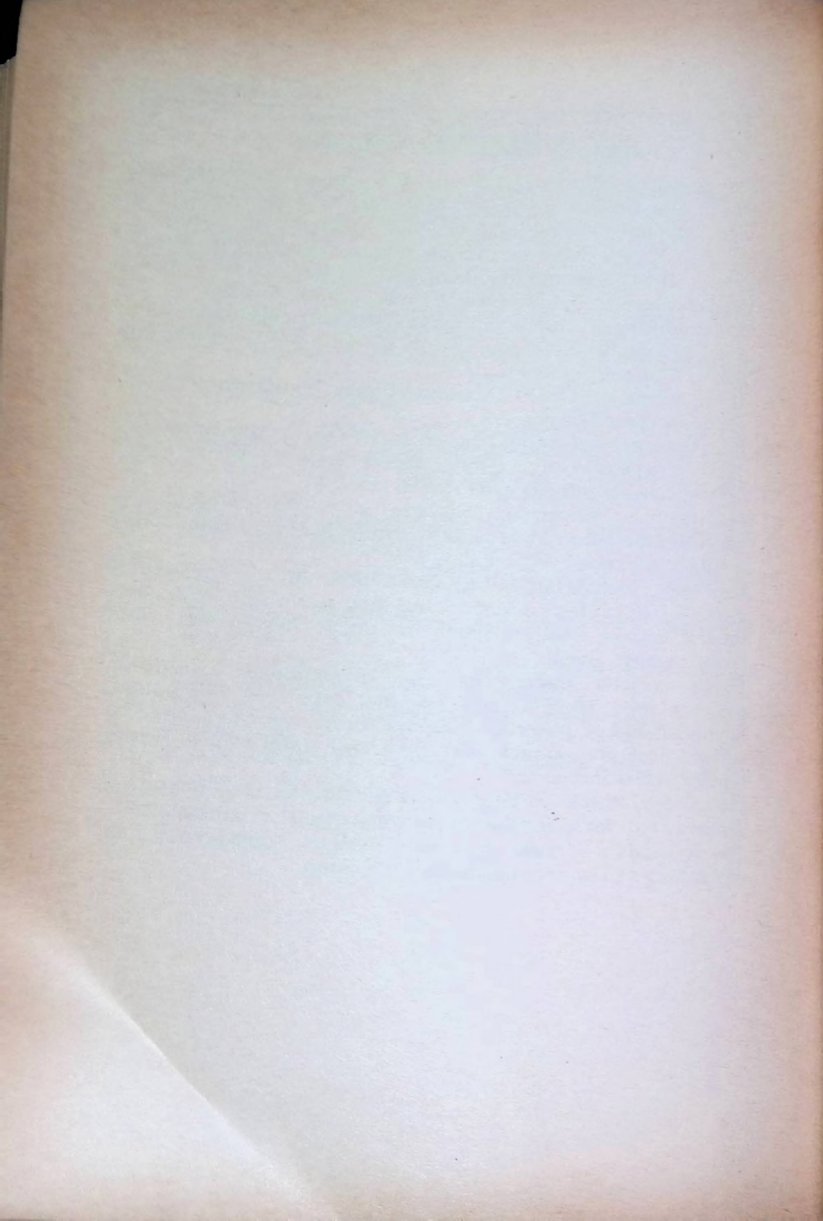
- (i) immediate return to civilian rule in a democratic setting, and an end to military dictatorship that has constantly reflected and elevated traits of bad leadership of the status of national norms; and whose constant incursion into the political process has

- served to deprive the Nigerian political class of the use of leadership apprentice system which a durable democracy provides.
- (ii) Respect for the rule of law, for constitutional government, and for the code of conduct in public offices.
  - (iii) Respect for fundamental human rights.
  - (iv) Respect for people's expressions through trade unions, student bodies, professional associations, human right groups, market associations, unions of journalists etc. which should exist as of right to checkmate the abuse of power by any government.
  - (v) Due regard to true federalism through decentralisation of power that gives full recognition to the right of all nationalities, especially the minorities.
  - (vi) Greater investment in public education and enlightenment so as to strengthen civil society and throw up a leadership that is able, visionary, selfless, just, humane, morally upright and God-fearing.
  - (vii) Greater transparency and public accountability in the management of the affairs of the nation.
  - (viii) Economic and financial policies that will revitalise the nation's economy.
  - (ix) Urgent rehabilitation of the social and economic infrastructure of the nation.
  - (x) Return of true federalism by curbing or reducing the powers and responsibilities of the federal government.
  - (xi) Restraining the military from further intervention in the policies of the nation.
  - (xii) Establishment of a Centre for Leadership Studies by the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

With the advantage of interdisciplinary and professional perspectives brought to bear on this important dialogue, an exploration of the historical, cultural, socio-economic and geopolitical aspects of leadership in Nigeria has revealed an urgent necessity for a set of imperatives. The collective judgement and corporate sensitivities of the Nigerian experience have informed these recommendations:

1. Re-introducing or strengthening the civics curriculum in primary and secondary schools, emphasising good citizenship, followership and leadership.
2. Strengthening the Code of Conduct Bureau to enforce the Code of Conduct for office holders.
3. Declaration of assets should not be done in secret; the declaration must be open to the public, or at least those who can demonstrate a legitimate need to have access.
4. Leadership and citizenship training courses which were run by the government in colonial and the immediate post-colonial era should be reinstated and expanded.
5. Movements such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides etc. used to provide valuable training for leadership, but they are in serious decline. Interest should be revived in such movements, and encouragement given.
6. Young persons under the age of eighteen constitute, conservatively, 65 per cent of the country's population. Programmes to prepare this group for leadership will have to be devised. Such programmes will emphasise moral values, ethical conduct, self-reliance, etc.
7. The Obafemi Awolowo Foundation should consider instituting annual awards for leadership in various aspects of national life.
8. The Foundation should also give serious consideration to establishing a Centre for Leadership Training.



# Appendix 1

## List of Participants

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
A	
Abdulakeem, Olabiyi	<i>Student</i>
Abdulkadir, T.A.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Abdullahi, A.B.	<i>Journalist</i>
Abe, M.A.	<i>Technician</i>
Abegun, I.S.	<i>Project Manager</i>
Abijire, S.A.B.	<i>Student</i>
Abiodun, J.O. (Prof)	<i>Lecturer</i>
Abolarin, Dokun	<i>Lawyer</i>
Aboyinde, S.A.B.	<i>Student</i>
Abu, Sully	<i>Journalist</i>
Abubakar, B.A.	<i>Journalist</i>
Abui, Shehu A.	<i>Journalist</i>
Ade, Femi	<i>Journalist</i>
Adebambo, Lekan	<i>Student</i>
Adebanji, Bolaji	<i>Journalist</i>
Adebanjo, Ayo (Chief)	<i>Lawyer</i>
Adebanjo, I.A.	<i>Solicitor</i>
Adebanjo, G.Y.	<i>Business</i>
Adebanjo, Lekan	<i>Student</i>
Adebanjo, Olorogun	<i>Politician</i>
Adebanjo, T. Olu (Chief)	<i>Journalist</i>
Adebayo, Gbola	<i>Journalist</i>
Adebayo, Iyilade	<i>Graphic Artist</i>
Adebayo, Shola	<i>Administrator</i>
Adebiyi, Bolaji	<i>Journalist</i>
Adebote, Olusegun	<i>Surveyor</i>
Adedoyin, Ademola	<i>Journalist</i>
Adefaye, Gbenga	<i>Journalist</i>
Adefuye, Tony (Chief)	<i>Engineer</i>
Adegbola, Gbenro	<i>Publisher</i>
Adegbonmire, Niyi	<i>Lawyer</i>
Adegbonmire, Wunmi (Chief)	<i>Bookseller</i>
Adegboyega, R.O.	<i>Industrialist</i>
Adegunle, Tomisi	<i>Diplomat</i>
Adegunle, Tomisi	<i>Student</i>
Adekanye, L.O.	<i>Shipper</i>
Ademola, Oyewunmi	<i>Lawyer</i>
Ademulegun, J.A.	<i>Insurer</i>
Adeniyi, A.A.	<i>Hotelier</i>

Adeniyi, Jide	Photographer
Adeniyi, Topo	Evangelist
Ade-Ogontiba, Femi	Journalist
Adeniyi, Adeoyo (Prof) & Mrs	Physician
Adepoju, Gbenga	
Aderibigbe, Segun	Industrialist
Adesanya, Adeola	Contractor
Adesina, O (Mrs)	Civil Servant
Adesina, Yemisi	Student
Adesina, Wole	Student
Adesoji, Shola	Lawyer
Adesola, Akin (Prof)	Physician
Adesola, O (Amb)	Diplomat
Adewale, J.	Journalist
Adewunmi-Jones, A	Journalist
Adeyemi, Oyewunmi	Researcher
Adeyemo, Wole	Journalist
Adisa, Shina	Public Relations
Adubi, J.A.	Police Officer
Adubians, O.S	Chief Executive
Adebifa, E.O.	Hydrometrologist
Adubifa, Sola	Educationist
Agboola, F.O.	Banker
Agboola, Ramoni	Civil Servant
Agbu, Osita	Researcher
Aguda, Bolanle	Lawyer
Aguda, Akinola (Dr)	Lawyer
Agomoh, A.E.	Engineer
Agusiobo, B.C.	Researcher
Ahmed, Abdullahi	Technician
Ahmed, Kola	Lawyer
Ailemen, Anthony	Journalist
Ajala, J.K.	Accountant
Ajani, S.A.	Engineer
Ajayi, G.O.K. (SAN)	Lawyer
Ajayi, Olaniwun (Chief)	Lawyer
Ajayi, Remi	Evangelist
Ajayi, Simon	Journalist
Ajibade, R.O.	Director
Ajibolade, Olukemi	Student
Ajibuah, Yomi	Publisher
Ajimuda, Babatunde	Administrator
Ajomo, Ayo (Prof)	Director, NIALS
Ajose, Abimbola	Reporter
Akamotajo	Trade Unionist
Akande, Jadesola (Prof)	Lecturer

Ake, Claude (Prof)	Consultant
Akeem, Ali Ganiu	Politician
Akin-Aina, F.E. (Mrs)	Lecturer
Akin-Olugbade, Bolu (Dr)	Lawyer
Akinbo, O.O.	Student
Akinboye, S.O. (Dr)	Lecturer
Akinfeleye, R.A. (Prof)	
Akinkugbe, O.O. (Prof)	Physician
Akinnilola, Toye	Journalist
Akinterinwa, Bola (Dr)	Researcher
Akinyemi, Bayo	Teacher
Akoni, Stephen	Financial Consultant
Akpan, Donald	Student
Alabi, J.A.	Police Officer
Alabi, M.A.	Chemical Engineer
Alabi, Frank	Journalist
Alabi, Peter	Reporter
Alalade, F.O.	Lecturer
Alalade, J.O.	Lawyer
Alalade, Tom	Lawyer
Alausa, O.K. (Prof)	Physician
Alegun, Olufunsho	Entrepreneur
Ali, Yusuf	Photographer
Alia, Ifeanyi	Student
Aloba, Tunde	Journalist
Amedo, Nnamdi	Student
Amu, G.I. (Rev)	Evangelist
Amu, M.O. (Rev) Mrs	OAF Member
Amuda, Lekan	Journalist
Amun, Tina	Secretary
Ananoghe, E.C.	Student
Anene, J.O.	Journalist
Ananyi, Nze	Director
Animashaun, Babatunde (Chief)	Educationist
Anthony, O	Lawyer
Anumonye, F.O.	Researcher
Anyanwu, C.C. (Rev. Fr)	Lecturer
Apara, A Olakunle (Chief)	Clergy
Apooyin, Biodun	Industrialist
Aranmolate, Segun (Dr)	Journalist
Asamba, Peter	OAF Member
Atimomo, E. (Dr)	Unionist
ATTE, Solomon	Researcher
AUSTIN, Uwandulu	
Auta, I.S. (Engr)	Administrator
	Teacher

Awobodu, B.O. (Rev)	<i>Priest/Farmer</i>
Awolowo, H.I.D. (Chief)	<i>Chairman, OAF</i>
Awolowo, Oluwole, (Chief)	<i>Publisher</i>
Awolowo, Segun	<i>Lawyer</i>
Awolowo-Dosumu O.A. (Dr.)	<i>Exec. Secretary OAF</i>
Awosika, Keziah (Dr)	<i>Researcher</i>
Ayenumelo, Frank	<i>Manufacturer</i>
Ayida, A.A.	<i>Economist</i>
Ayodeji, Ayetola	<i>Lawyer</i>
Ayodele, Azeez	<i>Lithographer</i>
Ayodele, Sunday	<i>Staff writer</i>
Ayotunde, M.O. (Major)	<i>Soldier</i>

## B

Babalola, B.A. (Dr)	<i>Psychologist</i>
Babarinsa, Dare	<i>Journalist</i>
Babatola C.G.O.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Bakare, (Mr & Mrs)	<i>Business</i>
Bambo, Lekan	<i>Student</i>
Bali, D.Y. (Gen)	<i>RTD</i>
Balogun, Abiodun	<i>Printer</i>
Balogun, O.A.	<i>Self-employed</i>
Balogun O.S.	<i>Student</i>
Balogun, Yusuf	<i>Photo-journalist</i>
Bankole-Hameed, Shehu	<i>Entrepreneur</i>
Banjo, A.A.	<i>Student</i>
Banjo, Gboyega	<i>Director</i>
Basse, Udo	<i>Journalist</i>
Belomu, Jane	<i>Student</i>
Berkhout, Joop	<i>Publisher</i>
Bolarinwa, Lawal	<i>Student</i>
Braimah, Samuel	<i>Youth Corper</i>
Braimah, Maria Y, (Mrs)	<i>Politician</i>
Briggs, G.	<i>Engineer</i>
Bruce, J.M.	<i>Business</i>

## C

Chidima, A.I.	<i>Journalist</i>
Chizea, B.I.	<i>Banker</i>
Clark, Ebun (Mrs)	<i>Management</i>
Coker, Kolawole	<i>Teacher</i>
Cookey-Gam, J.W. (Dr)	<i>Physician</i>

## D

Dada, B	<i>Scientist</i>
Dada, M.A.	<i>Bookseller</i>

Dada, Oluyide	Manager
Dada, Sola (Chief)	Banker
Dan-Ali, M.	Journalist
Dara G.G. (Dr)	Journalist
Daramola, J.D.	Businessman
Dare, Olatunji (Dr)	Journalist
Dawodu, G.O.	Business
Denzer, Laray	Lecturer
Derby, Jide	Chem. Engineer
Dina, Esther	Auditor
Docemo, Abiola (Erelu)	Business Executive
Dosumu, Dodo	Farmer
Dosumu, Gbolahan (Dr)	Physician
Dualer, Uduama	Engineer
Dueka, Uchenna	Engineer
Durojaiye, Otunba Olabiyi	Lawyer
Durojaiye, Ayo	Banker

## E

Ebituen, E.	Estate Agent
Efesaroro, A. Fedrick	Sales Manager
Efuntayo E.I.	Estate Surveyor
Egomo, M.A.	Teacher
Esiemokhai, E.O. (Dr) & Mrs	Business
Ekanem, Christian	Student
Ekenma, Gladys	Student
Ekens, Ego	Physiologist
Ekpenyong, Blessed	Journalist
Ehenne, Rose	Student
Elias, Gbenga	Student
Emmanuel, Eziemokhai	Journalist
Ekpe, Iko	Lawyer
Enemuo, Frank (Dr)	Lecturer
Enwo, C.N.	Civil Servant
Emoruke, Christy	Secretary
Erhiawarie, Isaiah	Journalist
Eso, Kayode Hon. Justice	Justice of Supreme Court
Etuk, Kennedy	Engineer
Eyinfraunjo, B.O.	Management
Ezeife, C.P. (Dr)	Business
Ezeofor, S.O.	Researcher
Ezemo, M.E.	Teacher
Ezulike, Moses	Journalist
Euler-Ajayi, Omolara (Mrs)	Educationist

## F

Fadahunsi, Akin (Prof)	<i>Diplomat</i>
Fafowora, O.O. (Amb)	<i>Lawyer</i>
Fajobi	<i>Consultant</i>
Falegan, S.B.	<i>Journalist</i>
Falobi, Omololu	<i>Engineer</i>
Falode, Wole	<i>Administrator</i>
Fashoyin, Adebisi	<i>Banker</i>
Fasusi, Adebayo	<i>Publisher</i>
Fetuga, Ronke (Mrs)	<i>OAF Member</i>
Fetuga, Tunde (Chief)	
Folayan, M	
Fowler (Chief)	<i>Lawyer</i>

## G

Gana, Adam Ali	<i>Consultant</i>
Gbadamosi, T.A.	<i>Student</i>
Gboyinde, S.A.B.	
George-Taylor, Mrs	
Giwa F.B. (Chief)	<i>Administrator</i>

## H

Hameen, S.A. (Alhaji)	<i>Director</i>
Hammed, Kolawole	<i>Lawyer</i>
Hamilton, A.	<i>Rtd. Major</i>
Hamza, Tunde	<i>Student</i>
Holloway, Y. (Mrs)	<i>Educationist</i>
Hull, N. Thomas	<i>Diplomat</i>

## I

Ibeh, C.N.	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Ibiam, Margaret	<i>Youth Corper</i>
Ibiam, Ude	<i>Educationist</i>
Ibirogbu, T.K. (Dr)	<i>O.A.F. Member</i>
Idiodi Kenneth	<i>O.A.F. Member</i>
Ifediora, O.	<i>Lecturer</i>
Igbako, Bright E.	<i>Administrator</i>
Igboekwe, Tony	<i>Publisher</i>
Ige, Bola	<i>Lawyer</i>
Ighodalo, A.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Ighodalo, A..	<i>O.A.F.</i>
Ighodaro, A.O.	<i>Management Scientist</i>
Ijabiyi, Demola	<i>Publisher</i>
Ikara, Bashir (Dr)	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Ikegbu, C.A. (Mrs)	<i>Journalist</i>

Ikime, Obaro (Prof)	Historian
Ikime, M.O.	Solicitor
Ilaka, F. Aderemi (Mrs)	Contractor
Ilenre, Alfred	Journalist
Inagbese, Haastrup	Accountant
Inagbese, Mike	Accountant
Inyang, I.M.	Accountant
Iroara, S.U.	Head Operations
Isamah, Austin (Dr)	Lecturer
Isekhure, Nosakhare	Traditional Ruler
Ishola, Kolawole	Journalist
Ishola-Salman, K.	Student
Isidore, I. Nwokeji	Student
Ismail, Tade (Otunba)	Surveyor
Iwara, Sylvester	Student
Iweka, Tony	Journalist
Iwuagwu, Obi	Researcher
Iyamu, Tenet	Journalist
Iyayi, Festus	Writer
Iyayi, Simon	Journalist

## J

Jenrola, K.O.	Student
Jike, V.I. (Dr)	Consultant
Jimoh, Adekunle	Student
Jimoh, Sunday	Journalist
Joda, Ahmed	Company Director
John, Segun	Journalist
Johnson, Gboyega	Chemist
Jolaoso, O. (Amb)	Diplomat

## K

Kanu, K.A.	Geophysicist
Kanu, Mary	Journalist
Kassim, Olalekan	Insurance
Kassim, S.A.	Trader
Kassim, T.K. (Alhaji)	Contractor
Kenti, Isaac C.	Diplomat
Kinyomi, S.A. (Chief)	Engineer
Kolawole, Hammed	
Komolafe, Aaron Olusola (Chief)	
Koyejo, Kayode	Journalist
Kuye, Priscilla (Chief)	Lawyer

## L

Lanade, B.	<i>Librarian</i>
Lawal, Imam	<i>Consultant</i>
Luke, Kolawole	<i>Lawyer</i>
Lopez, Ambrocio (Dr)	<i>Diplomat</i>

## M

Machi, Liya	
Madaki, Y.A. (Rtd Col.)	<i>Lawyer</i>
Makinde, J.T.	<i>Lecturer</i>
Makinde, M.A. (Prof) Mrs	<i>Lecturer</i>
Marsh, Pearl-Alice	<i>Lecturer</i>
Mbagwu, Chin	<i>Clergy</i>
McLean, F.	
McLean, Vera	
McLean, W.G.	
Micker, R.B.	<i>Journalist</i>
Mohammed, Abdul Dewale	
Muhammed, El-Murtala	<i>Diplomat</i>
Muhammed, M	<i>Journalist</i>
Mojidi, G.O.	<i>Business</i>
Motayo, A	<i>Trade Unionist</i>
Muse, I.O. (Mrs)	<i>Journalist</i>

## N

Nafiu, A. Isha	<i>Accountant</i>
Nebedum, A	<i>Technologist</i>
Njoku, Loretta	<i>Administrator</i>
Nkwocha, John	<i>Journalist</i>
Nnamdi, A	<i>Student</i>
Nwabuzo, R.M.	<i>Consultant</i>
Nwakor, Pearl	<i>Journalist</i>
Nwaolu, E.C.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Nwachukwu, Charles	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Nwanuba, Prince C.	<i>Journalist</i>
Nwoha, S.U.	<i>Student</i>
Nwokedi, Uzo	<i>Lawyer</i>
Nwokeji, I.I	<i>Student</i>
Nwosu, C. Malachy	

## O

Obaro, G.P.A.	<i>Farmer</i>
Obba, Obiechina	<i>Journalist</i>
Obi, G.	<i>Journalist</i>
Obi, C.I. (Dr)	<i>Researcher</i>

Obianwu, Chike	Student
Obilade, A.O.	Lawyer
Odebowale, Oladele	Journalist
Odedina, Bosun	Journalist
Ododo, Richard	Insurance Broker
Odu, Nze Mark	Estate Surveyor
Odu, Muyiwa	Journalist
Odugbemi, Sina	Journalist
Oduh, P.	Secretary
Odukomaiya, Henry	Consultant
Odukoya, Anthony	O.A.F
Odukoya, Dayo (Dr)	Psychologist
Oduwole, Biodun	Journalist
Ofeimun, Odia	Writer
Ogbidi, Williams	Public Relations
Ogbon, E. (Amb)	Diplomat
Ogbonna Odoemene	Student
Ogienagbon, Lawal	Journalist
Ogoziomarah, Igbonekwu	Consultant
Ogun, Femi. J.	Student
Ogun, O.A. (Mrs)	Business
Ogunbambi, R.O.	O.A.F. Member
Ogunbodede, Tope (Dr)	Political Scientist
Ogundana, F.S.	Lawyer
Ogundana, Sina	Engineer
Ogundipe, Olufemi	OAF
Ogunbowale, Kola (Dr)	Lecturer
Ogunfowokan, Chief	Administrator
Ogungbe, Sola	Journalist
Ogunmola, B.	Journalist
Ogunsola, Sina	Engineer
Oguntimehin, S.O. Chief	Chartered Accountant
Oguntoye, E.A.	Advert Consultant
Ojeh, Tony	Lawyer
Ojehomon, Chief (Mrs)	Publisher
Oji, C.E.	Administrator
Oji-Okoro, Meg	Agronomist
Ojo, Banji	Librarian
Ojo, J.O. (Col. Rtd)	Writer
Ojo, Kolawole	Chemist
Ojo, M.O.	Student
Okafor, Okay	Lawyer
Oke, M.O.	Teacher
Okechukwu, Cornell	Student
Okeleketete Francis	Photo Journalist
Okonkwo, Chris	Accountant

Okoro, Kenneth	Student
Okoro Olelaonu	Deputy Registrar
Okoya, M.O.	Journalist
Okoye Mokwugo	Writer
Okupe, Doyin (Dr)	Physician
Okusanya, Mrs	Matron
Okwuchi, D. (Dr)	Researcher
Ola, Dolfie	Journalist
Olabode, Allan O.	Advert Practitioner
Oladega, M.B.A.	Teacher
Oladapo, O.	Business
Oladipo, Wole	Journalist
Olafioye, A.O.	Librarian O.A.F.
Olakanpo, F. (Mrs)	Writer
Olalekan, Amuda	Journalist
Olaleye, Bode	Clergy
Olaleye, Y.	Sales Rep.
Olamiti, Folu	Journalist
Olani, Tunji	Journalist
Olaniyonu, Yusuf	Journalist
Olaajo, B.O. (Apostle)	Clergy
Olaoye, Geneve	Lawyer
Olaosebikan, Dapo	Journalist
Olashore, Oladele	Banker
Olasunkanmi, Oloyede	Accountant
Olatosi, J.O.	Banker
Olawepo, M.N.	Student
Olawunmi, Tunji	Journalist
Olayemi, Adenike	Journalist
Olayinka, Haruna	Journalist
Olayode, M.O.	Administrator
Olaeghe, E.A.	Business
Olekanma, J.	Journalist
Olomola, Femi (Dr)	Town Planner
Olowe, B.A.A. (Prof)	Consultant
Oloyede, O.M. (Dr)	Medical Consultant
Olufemi, Deji Ojo	Shipping
Olujimi, Yinka	Journalist
Olukotun, Ayo	Journalist
Olumide, Kunle	Administrator
Olumilua, B.I.	Farmer
Oluwajuyitan, Jide	Journalist
Oluwoye, Jill	Lawyer
Omidiora, Lawrence	Publisher
Omololu, Falobi	Journalist
Omonitoju Surajudeen	OAF

Omotunde-Young, Kola	<i>Computer Engineer</i>
Onajobi, Deji	<i>Journalist</i>
Onasanya, G.A.	<i>Business</i>
Onifade, K.S.	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Oniobo, Israel	<i>Industrialist</i>
Onipede, Akin	<i>Journalist</i>
Onoge, O.F. (Prof)	<i>Lecturer</i>
Onyegbala, Ngozi	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Onyegbula, Ngoo	<i>Student</i>
Onyenekwe Adesua	<i>Journalist</i>
Onwuaanaoke, Kingsley	<i>Journalist</i>
Opeola, A.	<i>Banker</i>
Oputa, C.A. Hon. Justice	<i>Justice of Supreme Court</i>
Orepitan, A.O.	<i>Surveyor</i>
Oroh, Abdul	<i>Journalist</i>
Osarenren, Victor	<i>Local Govt. Chairman</i>
Oshin, M.O.	<i>Dietician</i>
Oshin, Olawole	<i>Industrialist</i>
Oshin, Oyin	<i>Student</i>
Oshota, O.D.	<i>Architect</i>
Osibajo, Bisi (Mrs)	<i>Educationist</i>
Osibajo, Dolapo	<i>Lawyer</i>
Osinbajo, Opelu (Chief)	<i>Industrialist</i>
Osibajo, Yemi	<i>Solicitor</i>
Osibajo, Tunde	<i>Architect</i>
Osiberu, Z.O. (Chief)	<i>Accountant</i>
Osifeso, Bimbo	<i>Policy Analyst</i>
Osikanlu, Y.O.K. (Dr)	<i>Agric. Researcher</i>
Oshobu, Ishola	<i>Lawyer</i>
Osunde, Lasisi (Dr)	<i>Consultant</i>
Otegbeye, Biodun	<i>Engineer</i>
Otegbeye, Wale	<i>Student</i>
Otegbeye, Tunji (Dr)	<i>Medical Practitioner</i>
Otunla, Olu (Amb)	<i>Diplomat</i>
Owete, B.I.	<i>Consultant</i>
Owodunni, Anita	<i>Designer</i>
Owoseni, F.O.	
Owoyeye, Bode	<i>Insurance</i>
Oyeaso, Obiora	<i>Student</i>
Oyebanjo, Layiwola	<i>Accountant</i>
Oyebanjo, F.O.	<i>Accountant</i>
Oyebiyi, Niyi	<i>Journalist</i>
Oyebode, Akin	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyebode, Gbenga	<i>Advertiser</i>
Oyedemi, Niyi	<i>Student</i>
Oyediran, Omotola (Rev)	

Oyefeso-Odusanmi, A	<i>General Manager</i>
Oyelami N.O.	<i>Journalist</i>
Oyelami, Tunji	<i>Chief Executive</i>
Oyenyin, Ishola (Chief)	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyero, Otunba Kunle	<i>Lecturer</i>
Oyesoro, A	<i>Journalist</i>
Oyetunji, Oye	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyewole, Oyewunmi	<i>Accountant</i>
Oyewole, R.S.	<i>Researcher</i>
Oyewumi, Aderemi (Dr)	<i>Student</i>
Oyinda, Okeowo	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyewumi, Ademola	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyewumi, Oyewole	<i>Lawyer</i>
Oyinola, Ademola	

## P

Peter-Okeye, Geneeve	<i>Lawyer</i>
Peters, C.A. (Dr Mrs)	<i>Consultant</i>
Pinnick, A.M.	<i>Student</i>

## R

Rodipe, G. Bisi (Chief)	<i>Industrialist</i>
Rufai, G.A.	<i>Lawyer</i>

## S

Sadiku, G.B.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Sagay, I.E.	<i>Lawyer</i>
Sagoe, Peter	<i>Banker</i>
Saleh, Ahmed Tijani	<i>Diplomat</i>
Salman, Kola	<i>Student</i>
Sambo, Adesina (Dr)	<i>Public Servant</i>
Samson, Y.O.	<i>Student</i>
Samuel, Idowu	<i>Journalist</i>
Samuel, Kayode	<i>Public Servant</i>
Samuel, O.E.	<i>Public Servant</i>
Samuel, Ronke (Mrs)	<i>Public Servant</i>
Sanusi, M.A.	<i>Engineer</i>
Shina, A.	<i>Public Servant</i>
Shittu, Adisa	<i>Business</i>
Shittu, M.A.	<i>Teacher</i>
Shofuwa, Olusegun	<i>Accountant</i>
Shonubi, A.O. (Chief)	<i>Accountant</i>
Sokenu, Maria (Mrs)	<i>Banker</i>
Somoroza, Sylvester	<i>Journalist</i>
Sonubi, I.O.	<i>Public Servant</i>
Sonuga, Oludayo	<i>Lawyer</i>

Soyode, Ayodele (Otunba)	<i>Lawyer</i>
Stevenson, Kunle	<i>Journalist</i>
Subair, Ayodele	<i>Accountant</i>
<b>T</b>	
Tijani, Bayo	<i>Technician</i>
Tijani, Kyari (Prof)	<i>Lecturer</i>
Tyoden, S.G. (Prof)	<i>Lecturer</i>
<b>U</b>	
Uche, Pearl	<i>Lawyer</i>
Uchendu, Josy	<i>Consultant</i>
Udeagwu, Okechukwu	<i>Student</i>
Ugbechie, Kenneth	<i>Journalist</i>
Ugbakpoteni, Pius	<i>Journalist</i>
Ugwa, G.N.	<i>General Manager</i>
Ugokwe, Francis	<i>Journalist</i>
Uhegbu, Chidi	<i>Journalist</i>
Ukwu, O. Moses	<i>Civil Servant</i>
Usman, Bala Yusuf (Dr)	<i>Lecturer</i>
Usman, Emma	<i>Publisher</i>
Utomi, Pat (Dr)	<i>Manager</i>
Uwagbofor, F.	<i>Journalist</i>
Uwagu, Felix	<i>Journalist</i>
Uwandulu, A.U.	<i>Administrator</i>
Udemba, Amaechi	<i>Journalist</i>
Uwaga John	<i>Journalist</i>
<b>V</b>	
Vincent, O. Ola (CFR)	<i>Rtd Banker</i>
<b>W</b>	
Wey, Geraldine	<i>Lawyer</i>
Williams, Dayo	<i>Journalist</i>
<b>Y</b>	
Yaro, A. Gaius	<i>OAF Member</i>
Yusufu, Adenike (Mrs)	<i>Educationist</i>
Yakubu, Joseph	<i>Journalist</i>
<b>Z</b>	
Zormelo, Randy	<i>Journalist</i>

## Appendix 2

### The Foundation's Principal Agencies

#### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- Chief (Mrs.) H.I.D. Awolowo  
 — Chairman of the Foundation  
 — *Founding Member*  
 Dr. (Mrs.) O. Awolowo-Dosumu  
 — *Founding Member*  
 Mrs. M.O. Amu  
 Dr. Segun Aranmolate  
 Dr. T.K. Ibiroga  
 Mr. R.A.B. Soluade  
 Mrs. Olu Odukoya  
 Mr. A.G. Yaro  
 Mr. Buhari Bello  
 Mr. Kenneth Idiodi  
 Chief Tunde Fetuga  
 Chief L. Okwarra

#### THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

- Chief (Mrs.) H.I.D. Awolowo  
 — *Chairman*  
 Chief F.R.A. Williams SAN  
 Chief A.Y. Eke  
 Mr. Oludayo Sonuga  
 Professor O.O. Akinkugbe  
 Chief J.O. Irukwo  
 Mrs. M.O. Amu  
 Dr. Lai Ogunbambi  
 Dr. W.A. Sambo  
 Dr. (Mrs.) O. Awolowo-Dosumu  
 — *Executive Secretary*

#### THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

- General Yakubu Gowon  
 — *Chairman*  
 Chief (Mrs.) H.I.D. Awolowo  
 Mr. Alfred Rewane  
 Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule  
 Chief F.R.A. Williams SAN  
 Alhaji Yahaya Gusau  
 Chief M.K.O. Abiola  
 Professor O.O. Akinkugbe  
 Chief Bola Ige  
 Chief Arthur C.I. Mbanefo  
 Chief A.Y. Eke  
 Alhaji Shehu Musa  
 Chief Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu  
 Mr. Oludayo Sonuga  
 Prof. Ben Nwabueze SAN  
 Dr. Ime Umanah  
 Otunba Adekunle Ojora  
 Chief Wahab Yinka Folawiyi  
 Chief J.O. Irukwo  
 Chief G.O.K. Ajayi SAN  
 Professor Saburi Biobaku  
 Professor Jibril Aminu  
 Chief (Mrs.) Fola Ighodalo  
 Mrs. Tejumade Alakija  
 Mr. K. Saro-Wiwa  
 Dr. (Mrs.) O. Awolowo-Dosumu

#### *Honorary Grand Patron*

- His Royal Highness, Oba Okunade Sijuade, Olubuse II, Ooni of Ife

#### *Honorary Patrons*

- His Royal Highness, Ofala Okagbue, Obi of Onitsha  
 — His Royal Highness, Alhaji Ado Bayero, Emir of Kano

# Index

- Abacha, General Sani, 36-37, 65, 96, 98,  
101-102, 208, 248, 260, 272, 325-326  
Abacha regime, 198, 217  
Abdullah, Raji, 83  
Abdullahi, 98  
Abiodun, Alaafin, 100  
Abolarin, 279  
Abu, Sully, 231, 249  
Abuja National Constitutional Conference,  
67  
Accountancy Profession/Economists, 146  
Achebe, Chinua, 135, 149, 309  
Action Group (AG), 87, 100, 102, 134, 195,  
199-200, 213, 219, 300, 309-310  
AG crisis, 209  
AG programme, 282  
Ade-Ajayi, Professor J.F., 4  
Adebanjo, 280  
Adebo, Chief S.O., 122, 132, 185, 331  
Adebola, H.P., 89, 128  
Adedoyin, Adeleke, 87  
Adegbenro, Alhaji, 87  
Adegbonmire, Chief Wunmi, 185, 207,  
212, 219  
Adekunle, Benjamin, 89  
Ademoyega, 30  
Adeniran, Professor Tunde, 301  
Adesina, Olujuwon, 6  
Adesola, Ambassador Olu, 243, 250-253  
Adeyemi, Canon, 88  
Adubifa, 65  
Adversarial leadership, 239  
African American Labour Centre (AALC),  
129  
African Leadership, 49  
African Leadership Forum (ALF), 226-227  
African National Congress (ANC), 195  
African Trade Union Conference, 127  
African Trade Unions, 130  
African writers, 148  
Aguda, Justice Dr. Akinola, 6, 21, 63, 65,  
83, 97, 99, 101, 282  
Aguiyi-Ironsi, Major General J.T.U., 30-31,  
103, 200, 207, 268  
Air Force Act 1964, 157  
Ajasa, Sir Kitoyi, 24  
Akande, Professor Jadesola, 143, 180  
Ake, Professor Claude, 3, 5, 43, 69, 72, 242,  
265  
Akinrinade, Alani, 90  
Akinsanya, Samuel, 122  
Akinterinwa Bola, 73, 250, 253, 281  
Akinyele, Bishop, 87  
Ali, Dutse Mohammed, 132  
All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation (ANTUF),  
124  
Alliance of Progressive Trade Unionists,  
131  
Aluko, Professor T.M., 146, 275, 331  
Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria  
African Workers Union, 126  
American  
— democracy, 240  
— Leadership, 236, 238  
— political culture, 239  
— political life, 239  
— politics, 274  
Amin, Idi, 74  
Amina, Queen, 87, 92  
Aminu, Professor Jubril, 289  
ANC Leadership, 232  
Aniwura, Efunsetan, 86, 92  
ANTUF, 126-127  
Anya, Professor Anya O, 259  
Anyanwu, 180  
Apara, Akin, 168  
Aristotle, 12-13, 118, 332  
Arts and Culture, 147-151  
Arusha Declaration, 57  
Asika, Ukpabi, 284  
Association of Local Government Employees,  
124  
Association of Nigerian Railway Civil  
Servants, 122  
Atimomo, 70, 286, 332  
Atkeson, Mary Meek, 9  
Authoritarian dictatorship, 237  
Awolowo, Chief Obafemi, 24, 28, 30-31,  
53, 67, 69-70, 76, 81-82, 90-93, 100-101,  
107-108, 122, 132, 142, 151, 153-154, 176,

- 179-182, 185-186, 195, 199, 204, 208, 211-212, 220-221, 226-227, 235, 245, 248, 260, 267-268, 271, 275, 277, 279-282, 284, 297, 300-301, 306-309, 315, 317, 323, 328, 332, 337
- Awolowo Scholarship Scheme, 211
- Awolowo-Dosumu, Dr. (Mrs) O, 293, 336
- Awolowo, Mrs. 87
- Ayida, Allison, 107, 211, 260
- AziKiwe, Dr. Nnamdi, 28, 30, 81, 90, 93, 110, 132, 176, 195, 199, 204-205, 208, 260, 265, 267, 271, 279, 297, 300, 309-310, 329
- Babalola, Professor, 63, 77, 331
- Babangida era/regime/years, 35-36, 88, 92, 216-217
- Babangida, General Ibrahim, 25, 35, 54, 65, 77, 84, 89, 93, 102-103, 135, 145, 162, 164-165, 260, 263, 71, 280, 285, 287, 312, 314-315
- Babatola, 328
- Bako, Danladi, 260
- Balarabe, 287
- Balewa / Akintola / Sardauna clique, 29
- Balewa, Sir Ahubakar Tafawa, 24, 90, 93, 182, 200, 204-205, 213, 268, 271, 284, 297
- Ballot rigging, 45
- Balogun, Mrs. Harriat, 115
- Banda, Kamuzu, 27
- Banking Profession, 146-147
- Bassey, S.U., 89, 129, 132
- Bello, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu, 24, 28, 30, 90, 92-93, 199, 204, 260, 267, 279
- Benin dynasty, 86
- Bida, Makaman, 33
- Bill of Rights, 165, 240
- Binik, 247
- Binn Commission, 216
- Borgadus, 26
- Boro, Isaac, 150, 200
- British Colonialism, 91, 228, 250
- Buhari coup, 69
- Buhari, General Mohammed, 34-35, 103, 177, 216
- Bureaucracy or Service Power, 10
- Burke, Edmund, 12, 190
- Carr, Henry, 24
- Census Commission, 29
- Central Trade Unions, 128
- Centre for Leadership Studies, 282, 342-343
- Chick Commission, 215
- Civil-Military Relations, 158, 160, 242
- Civil Rights Movement, 241
- Civilian Interregnum, 33
- Civilian intervention, 275
- Civilian Leadership, 27
- Ciroma, Adamu, 260
- Citizenship rights, 136
- Clark, Ebun, 147, 149-151, 180
- Clinton, President Bill, 241
- Codes of ethics, 62
- Coker, Increase, 133
- Colonial interference, 180
- Colonialism, 173
- Commerce and Industry, 168-172
- Community leadership, 273
- Company Law 1968, 170
- Comparative analysis, 228
- Concept of Leadership, 25-27
- Concerned Professionals, 312
- Constitution, 1979, 11, 301
- Constitution, 1989, 118, 90
- Constitutional Conference, 22, 110, 118, 124, 144-145, 198, 217, 253, 315, 326, 340
- Commission, 198
- Delegates, 94
- Constitutional
- Democracy, 103
- Developments, 196-197
- Interpretation, 113
- Contingency Theories, 51
- Cost of Living Allowance (C.O.L.A.), 122-123
- Craig, Alajo, 330
- Criminal Law, 109
- Cultural
- differences, 75
- environment, 221
- nationalism, 149
- organisation, 199
- pluralism, 203
- Cynicism, 62, 64
- Dan Fodio, Usman, 85-86, 98, 175
- Dare, Dr. Olatunji, 132, 144, 248, 325, 330
- de Klerk, Frederick, 235
- Debt problem, 18-19
- Decree 13 of 1970, 216
- Dehumanisation, 91
- Democratic
- leadership, 51, 201, 302
- socialism, 204
- system, 202
- Diabolical Triangle, 263
- Dictatorial leadership, 302
- Dike, Professor, 285, 330

- Dikko, Alhaji Umaru, 220-221  
 Dikko, Dr. R.A.B., 87  
 Discipline and Integrity, 108  
 Distributive justice, 13  
 Domestic colonialism, 229-230  
 Dubois, Dr. W.E.B., 204
- Economic**  
 — and political power, 16  
 — expression, 194  
 — justice, 70  
 — management, 193
- ECOWAS — Economic Community of West African States, 170
- Educational**  
 — imbalance, 75  
 — policies, 65  
 — system, 153, 181, 280, 308
- Egbe Omo Oduduwa, 100, 199  
 Egwu, Dr. E.U., 50  
 Ejike, Dr. 333  
 Ejiofor, Sylvester, 89  
 Ekem, 180  
 Ekpo, Mrs. Margaret, 86, 209  
 Election campaigns, 19  
 Electoral Commission, 29  
 Eleso v. Government of Ogun State, 115  
 Elias, Hon. Justice Taslim Olawale, 32, 122  
 Elite Theories, 46  
 Emejulu, Luke, 89  
 Emotan, 86  
 Emotional paralysis, 9  
 Enahoro, Anthony, 24, 83, 132, 134, 250, 288, 315-316, 318, 326  
 Engineering Profession, 145-146  
 English writers, 149  
 Enlightenment philosophy, 47  
 Erickson, Eric, 52  
 Esan, Wuraola, 209  
 Esemokhai, 62  
 Eso, Justice Kayode, 109, 115, 144  
 Esua, E.E., 89
- Ethnic**  
 — diversity, 53  
 — domination, 213  
 — Minority Rights Organisation of Africa (EMIROAF), 217  
 — nationalism, 142  
 — politics, 209
- Ethnicity, 174**  
**Ethno-elite colonialism, 217**  
**Examination of Conscience, 11**  
**Ezedor, 328**  
**Ezeife, Dr. Chukwuemeka, 151, 179**
- Ezera, Kalu, 132
- Factory Ordinance, 125  
 Fadahunsi, 66  
 Fafowora, Ambassador O, 74, 77, 297  
 Family Support Programme, 96  
 Fatogun, Dapo, 89  
 Favoured groups, 20  
 FEDECO, 96  
 Federal character principle, 203  
 Federal Constitution, 1979, 165  
 Federalism, 198, 214-215, 265, 277, 303, 331, 342  
 Fijabi, 179  
 First Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue, 3  
 Free Education, 65-66  
 Free Primary Education, 204  
 Free-rein leadership, 302  
 Freedom, 12  
 — as a moral power, 12  
 Freedom, Equality and Justice, 11  
 French Revolution, 10  
 Fukuyama, Francis, 237  
 Fundamental human rights, 17, 82, 342
- Galileo, Galilei, 6  
 Gambari, Ibrahim, 323  
 Geographical differences, 75  
 Ghanaian Leadership, 205  
 Ghandi, Mahatma, 8, 75, 179, 244-245, 254  
 Global structural injustice, 15, 18-19  
 Golding, Peter, 133  
 Goodluck, Wahab, 89, 129, 132  
 Gwon, General, 31, 91, 164, 204, 207-208, 271, 284, 318  
 Group leadership, 73  
 Guided democracy, 111
- Haggard, Sir Henry Rider, 111  
 Handbury Arbitration Award, 127  
 Haruna, Mohammed, 260  
 Hassan, 268  
 Helms, Jesse, 24  
 Hereditary rights, 100  
 Hicks-Phillipson Commission, 215  
 History of Education, 88  
 History of Leadership in Nigeria, 93  
 Hoffer, Eric, 52  
 Human rights, 110-111, 120, 122  
 — violation, 136
- Ibadan Peoples Union, 309  
 Ibiom, 208

- Ideas Power (the News Media), 10  
 Idiagbon, Gen. Tunde, 35, 177  
 Ige, Chief Bola, 81, 83, 93, 97-98, 100, 143, 148, 279  
 Ighodalo, Chief (Mrs.) Fola, 185, 211, 282  
 Ikara, Dr. Bashir, 185, 193, 207, 209, 218-221, 283, 336  
 Ikime, Professor Obaro, 93, 143-144, 150, 218  
 Ikoli, Ernest, 132, 309  
 Illepre, Alfred, 67, 212  
 Imodu, Michael, 89, 122-124, 127-128, 132  
 Indigenisation Decree, 170  
 Indirect rule, 22  
 Individual justice, 13-14  
 Industrial Revolution, 101  
 Internal structural injustice, 15  
 International community, 116, 320  
 International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU), 124, 127-130  
 International Federation of Christian Trade Union (IFCTU), 129  
 International Labour Conference, 130  
 International labour movement, 124  
 International Labour Organisation (ILO), 130  
 International Law, 319-320  
 International politics, 110  
 International relations, 123, 319  
 International Trade Union Organisations, 128  
 Interpretative jurisdiction, 112  
 IONIAN group of schools, 87  
 Isekhure, Chief Nosakhare, 139, 144, 209  
 Ishola, A. A., 129  
 Ishola-Osobu, 180  
 Ismail, Otunba Tade, 211, 218-220  
 Ita, Eyo, 209, 300  
 Italian Sociologists, 48  
 Iyayi, Dr. Festus, 314, 320, 327, 331  
 Tyoden, Professor, 219  
 Izon State, 150
- Jackson, John Payne, 23  
 Jakande, Lateef, 260  
 Jamiyyar Mataun Arewa, 199  
 Jihadists, 201  
 Joda, Alhaji Ahmed, 259, 267, 274-275, 282, 288  
 Jolaoso, Ambassador Olujimi, 225, 330  
 Joseph, Richard, 135  
 Judicial Leadership, 119  
 Justice Duro Adebisi Tribunal of Inquiry, 129
- Kalu, Idika, 73  
 Kanu, Mrs. Mary, 297, 218-219  
 Kasavubu, Joseph, 244  
 Kaunda, Kenneth, 27  
 Kennedy, 274  
 — Administration, 313  
 Kenyatta, Jomo, 27  
 Kerekou, President, 249  
 Khama, Seretse, 27  
 King, Martin Luther, 218  
 Kinship and gerontocratic principles, 49  
 Kiriji War, 86  
 Kolade, Christopher, 88  
 Kukah, Rev. Fr. M. 173, 180-181  
 Kuye, Chief (Mrs.), 181  
 Kuye, Rev. W.R.B. 88
- Labour and the Military, 121  
 Labour  
 — leaders, 89  
 — movement, 88-89, 121, 125, 130-132  
 Labour Unity Front (LUF), 129  
 Labour Workers Union, 89  
 Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industries, 169-170  
 Lagos Constabulary, 156  
 Leadership  
 — Activities, 45  
 — code, 57-58  
 — control, 141  
 — crisis, 99, 315-316, 341  
 — culture, 308  
 — education, 57  
 Leadership, Government and Liberty, 14  
 Leadership, Law and The Social Order, 11  
 Leadership, Liberty and Freedom, 12  
 Leadership, Social and Political Justice, 16  
 Leadership vacuum, 298  
 Leadership and Followership, 37  
 Leadership and Justice, 12  
 Leadership and Neo-Colonialism, 14  
 Leadership and Power, 240-241  
 Leadership and Prevailing Poverty, 18  
 Leadership and Structural Injustice, 15  
 Leadership in America, 236  
 Leadership in Organisational Studies, 50  
 Legal history, 117  
 Legal profession, 144-145  
 Legalised disorder, 12  
 Legislative Council, 110, 196  
 Liberal democracy, 237  
 Liberation movement, 231-232, 234  
 Liberation struggle, 244  
 Lippmann, Walter, 137

- Local Government Reforms, 201  
 Lugard, Lord, 21-22, 148, 338  
 Lugard, Mrs., 229  
 Lumumba, Patrice, 244  
 Luther, Martin, 52  
 Lyman, Princeton, 5
- Macaulay, Herbert, 23, 28, 132  
 Macgregor, 72  
 Macpherson Constitution, 338  
 Madaki, Col. Yohanna, 155, 330, 333  
 Madison, James, 240  
 Mainasara, A.M., 30  
 Malinowski, 185  
 Mandela, Nelson, 27, 57, 142, 231-233, 235,  
 244-245, 248-249, 254  
 Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, 169  
 Mao Tse Tung, 55  
 Marginalised groups, 20  
 Marsh, Dr. Pearl-Alice, 236, 333  
 Marx, 47, 61  
 Mazrui, Ali, 227  
 Maslow, Abraham, 52  
 Mass education, 56  
 Mazini, 8  
 Mbanefo, Arthur, 88  
 Mbeki, Govan, 231  
 Medical Profession, 145  
 Medieval cosmology, 47  
 Merchant Mavy, 157  
 Military  
 — administration, 35, 285  
 — coup/coups, 45, 56, 199, 234, 245,  
 270, 330  
 — democracy, 111  
 — dictatorship, 34, 56, 67, 153, 320  
 — discipline, 164, 330  
 — government, 115-116, 121, 134, 182,  
 207-208, 272, 277, 298, 320-321, 341  
 — interruption in partisan politics, 164  
 — intervention, 34, 203  
 — leadership, 89, 162-165, 247, 307  
 — politicians, 86  
 — profession, 160-161  
 — rule, 35, 54, 81, 95, 101, 103, 112, 254,  
 265, 302-303, 321-340  
 — training, 91, 232
- Miller, Dr. Walter, 87  
 Mobutu, Joseph, 244  
 Mohammed, Aliko, 88  
 Mohammed, General Murtala, 32, 164  
 Momoh, Kessington, 310  
 Money Market Association of Nigeria, 169  
 Money Power, 10, 16, 18
- Montesquieu, 118  
 Moral  
 — behaviour, 178  
 — crisis, 186  
 — principles, 186  
 — rectitude, 178  
 Morality and leadership crisis, 174-175  
 Moremi, 86  
 Moremi Ajasoro, 92  
 Morgenthau, H.J. 247  
 Mugabe, President Robert, 27, 244  
 Muzorewa, Bishop Abel, 244
- Napoleonic wars, 156  
 National Anthem, 11  
 National Association for the Advancement  
 for Coloured People (NAACP), 195  
 National Association of Chambers of  
 Commerce, Industries, Mines and  
 Agriculture (NACCIMA), 169-170  
 National Congress of British West Africa,  
 195  
 National Council of Nigeria and the  
 Cameroons (NCNC), 27-28, 89, 91, 199,  
 204-205, 212-213, 300, 309-310, 328  
 National Council of Women's Society, 220  
 National Interest, 35  
 National question debate, 44  
 National security, 141  
 National Youth Service Scheme, 202  
 Naude, Rev. Beyers, 235  
 Navy Act, 157  
 Neo-Colonialism, 14  
 Neto, Comrade Agostinho, 254  
 Niagra Movement, 195  
 Nicholas, Rev. S.R.S., 88  
 Nigeria and Ghana, 226-230  
 Nigeria: The Failure of Leadership, 53  
 Nigeria Trade Union Federation (NTUF), 129  
 Nigerian African Mine Workers Union, 126  
 Nigerian Air Force, 157  
 Nigerian Armed Forces, 157  
 Nigerian Army Act, 1960, 156  
 Nigerian Association of Women in  
 Business, 169  
 Nigerian Bar Association, 144  
 Nigerian educational system, 4  
 Nigerian Factor, 44  
 Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), 121,  
 123, 129-130  
 Nigerian Medical Association, 145  
 Nigerian Military School, 163  
 Nigerian Motor Transport Union, 122  
 Nigerian National Federation of Labour

- (NNFL), 123  
 Nigerian National Merit Award Winners Lecture, 25  
 Nigerian Navy, 157  
 Nigerian politics, 53, 95, 274, 310  
 Nigerian Railway African Staff Union, 122  
 Nigerian Regiments, 156  
 Nigerian self-government motion, 24  
 Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC), 128-129  
 Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (Federated), 122  
 Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT), 89, 123-124, 132  
 Nigerian Workers' Council (NWC), 129  
 Nixon, President Richard, 241  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 27, 49, 229, 244-245  
 Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs), 156  
 Non-political sectoral elite, 5  
 Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), 195  
 Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), 28, 101-102, 197, 199, 204-205, 209, 212-213, 299-300, 310  
 Northern Peoples Forum, 219  
 NPN, 275  
 NRC, 287  
 Nujoma, Sam, 244  
 NUNCS Conference, 69  
 NUPENG, 121  
 Nwando, 64  
 Nyerere, Julius, 8, 27, 49, 55, 58, 75  
 Nzeogwu's coup, 318  
 Nzeribe, Arthur, 36  
 Nzeribe, Gogo Chu, 125, 129
- Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, 3, 5, 7, 83, 142-143, 147, 226, 293, 342-343  
 — Constitution, 4  
 Obaigbena, Nduka, 260  
 Obasanjo, General Olusegun, 32, 89, 271, 276  
 Obasanjo-Yar'Adua regime, 216  
 Odio, 248  
 Oduduwa, 86  
 Odugbemi, Sina, 259, 273-276, 278-279, 281-282, 284, 287-289, 327  
 Odotola, Adola, 88  
 Ofeimun, Odia, 260, 305, 334  
 Ogedengbe Gbogunbobo, 86  
 Ogunbambi, Dr., 220  
 Oil Producing Areas, 217  
 Oil revenues, 271  
 Ojo, 280, 282  
 Ojo, Pastor Ola, 180
- Ojukwu, Odumegwu, 88, 268, 315  
 Okara, Gabriel, 150  
 Okei-Achamba, C., 126  
 Okigbo Panel, 292  
 Okigbo, Pius, 149, 260  
 Okoro, 332  
 Okotie-Eboh, Chief Festus, 107, 310  
 Okoye, Mokwugo, 81-83, 86, 92, 98, 132, 248, 250, 285, 289  
 Okpara, 208  
 Okupe, Doyin, 284, 289, 297  
 Olomola, 218  
 Olukotun, Ayo, 68, 273  
 Oluleye, Major General James, 26-27, 30-32  
 Olumilua, Chief, 329  
 Oluwasanmi, Professor Hezekiah, 278  
 Omu, Fred, 133-134  
 Onagoruwa, Olu, 73  
 Onanuga, Bayo, 260  
 Ondo Improvement League, 309  
 Onimole, Dr. 87  
 Oniyian, 219  
 Onoge, Professor Omafume, 43  
 Onosode, Gamaliel, 88  
 Oputa, Justice, 6, 8, 65  
 Oranmiyan, 86  
 Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), 130  
 Osai, 252  
 Osunde, Dr. Lasisi, 120, 144  
 Otto Von Bismark, 8  
 Otunla, Ambassador Olu, 226, 248  
 Oyelami, 332
- Pan-African Congress, 195  
 Pan-African Trade Unions, 128  
 Pan-Africanism, 195  
 Pan-Nigerian party, 176  
 Parliamentary democracy, 199  
 Patriotism, 205  
 Party discipline, 287  
 Party politics, 133  
 PENGASSAN, 121  
 Peoples Union, 23  
 Peterside, Atedo, 260  
 Phillipson Commission, 215  
 Philosophical anthropology, 56  
 Plato, 57, 61, 306, 332  
 Plato's theory, 46  
 Political  
 — authority, 17-18, 140  
 — balancing, 205  
 — behaviour, 175, 177, 194, 302  
 — Bureau report, 315

- class/classes, 23, 172, 205, 229-230, 242, 286, 332, 340-342
  - community, 46-49, 57, 299
  - competition, 175, 177
  - constituency, 300
  - crime, 135
  - crisis/crises, 44, 214, 339
  - culture, 193-194, 203-205
  - decadence, 96
  - development, 160, 197-198, 200, 243, 300
    - patterns, 228
  - domination, 219
  - economic systems, 70, 279
  - economy, 49, 54, 263, 316
  - education, 305
  - emancipation, 220, 300
  - environment 139, 141, 303, 339
  - history, 140, 150, 250
  - independence, 121, 229
  - injustice, 17-18
  - institutions, 304
  - leaders, 23, 25, 31, 33, 37, 53, 87-88, 91-92, 153, 277, 306
  - leadership, 30-31, 33-36, 44, 46-50, 53, 95, 98, 151-155, 193, 200, 273, 285, 317
  - participation, 48, 50, 202
  - parties/party, 27, 48, 70, 102-103, 109, 119, 124, 133-134, 170, 176, 207, 241, 261, 267, 286, 299
  - partisanship, 340
  - power, 10, 16, 18, 46-47, 152, 196, 201-202
  - process, 47-48, 193, 199, 252, 341
  - space, 175, 177
  - structure, 190, 193, 198, 217, 220, 303
  - systems, 70, 100, 193, 238-240, 286, 304, 340
- Powell, V.B.V., 88
- Power-sharing, 250, 253
- Preventive Detention Act, 134
- Primary Education Scheme, 268
- Pro-People Theories, 48-50
- Professional ethics, 160
- Professionalism, 290
  - and military, 158
  - expertise, 159
  - responsibility, 159-160
- Provisional Ruling Council, 272
- Prussian government, 155
- Pyramids of Power, 10, 16
- Railway strike, 121
- Railway Workers' Union, 122
- Raismann Commission, 215-216
- Randle, J.K., 23
- Ransome-Kuti, Funmilayo, 86, 92, 209
- Ransomi-Kuti, Rev. I.O., 87, 132
- Rasaki, Raji, 285
- Rawlings, 205, 279
- Religion, 173-174
- Religion and Sectoral Leadership in Eastern Nigeria, 176-177
  - in Northern Nigeria, 175-176
  - in Western Nigeria, 176
- Religious Power 10
- Renaissance Literature, 148
- Republican Party, 236
- Revenue Sharing, 215-216
- Revolts, 213
- Richards Constitution, 27, 196-197, 207, 338
- Rimi, 287
- Rosiji, Ayo, 28, 30
- Royal Frontier Force, 156
- Royal Military College, 163
- Royal Naval College, 163
- Royal Niger Company, 194
- Royal West African Frontier Force, 163
- Rule of Law, 111-113, 115-117, 120, 144, 290, 342
- Sagay, Professor Itse, 320
- Sambo, 293
- Saro-Wiwa, Ken, 150, 326, 334
- Sawaba, Gambo, 86
- School System, 4
  - crisis of, 4
- SDP, 287
- Secondary Education, 7
- Secret ballot, 110
- Sectoral leadership, 273
  - problems and prospects, 339
- Secularism, 20
- Seiznick, Philip, 45
- Selassie, Emperor Haile, 323
- Self-governance, 109
- Self-government, 101, 133, 135, 185, 195, 242, 315, 326.
- Shagari, Alhaji Shehu, 33-34, 36, 107, 113, 115, 118, 177, 200
- Shonekan, Ernest, 55, 260
- Sisulu, Walter, 231
- Sithole, Rev. Ndabaningi, 244
- Sklar, Richard L, 23
- Slave trade, 100
- Smith, Ian, 244

- Social and political justice, 18
- Social
- environment, 48
  - justice, 13-14, 17, 82
  - perspective, 278
  - philosophy, 47
  - welfare programmes, 190
- Socio-political life, 19
- Socrates, 332
- Solarin, Dr. Tai, 6-7
- Soyinka, Professor Wole, 77, 149, 261-262, 276, 334
- Stratified injustice, 12
- Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), 53
- Structural Injustices, 15-16
- Student leadership, 283
- Student politics, 274
- Style Theories, 51
- Sukarno, 244-246
- Sule, Alhaji Maitama, 220-221
- Sunmonu, Comrade Hassan, 89, 130
- Thatcher Margaret, 63
- Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation, 3
- Dialogue, 4, 7, 8, 20, 338
- Thomas, Chief Bode, 197
- Tijani, K., 60, 65, 75
- Trade associations, 169-170
- Trade Labour Movement, 89
- Trade Organisations, 169
- Trade Union Congress (TUC), 123
- Nigeria (TUCN), 127-128
- Trade Union Leadership Today, 130
- Trade Union Movement, 121, 131-132
- Trade Unionism, 121, 128, 143
- Traditional institutions, 139, 144, 209
- Trait Theories, 50
- Transitional Political Programme, 203
- Treason and treasonable felony, 117
- Tribal leadership, 107
- Truman, President Harry, 237
- Tshombe, Moise, 244
- Tyoden, Professor S., 298, 311, 328, 333
- Uchendu, 72
- United African Company Union (UACU), 123
- United Democratic Front (UDF), 235
- United Labour Congress, 128
- United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), 195, 200
- United Nations Security Council, 320
- United Peoples Grand Alliance (UPGA), 87
- UPN, 275
- Usman, Bala, 96-97
- Usman, Dan, 98
- Usman, Shehu, 98
- Usurpation of Political Power, 34-37
- Utomi, Pat., 260, 310, 321, 330
- Voluntary agencies, 284
- Voluntary agency schools, 87
- Wallace, Anthony F.C., 32
- Watergate scandal, 241
- Webber, Max, 48
- West African Chamber of Commerce, 170
- West African Currency, 196
- West African Marketing Board, 196
- Western education, 22, 200
- World Confederation of Labour (WCL), 129
- World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU), 124, 129
- Yaro, Mrs., 287
- Yoruba history, 86
- Yoruba Theatre, 149



Like the proverbial philosopher's stone, the search for leadership in Nigeria has continued to prove elusive. A country endowed with so much talent in human and material resources, that boasts sub-Sahara's only Nobel Laureate in the world of learning still gropes in the dark for purposeful leadership.

The 3rd Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue engages this paradox with customary candour. A keynote address sets the tone. It is followed by seven illuminating sessions on all facets of leadership: theories and conceptions, historical perspectives, comparative analysis, sectoral and generational studies and rounds off with a ponderous communique addressed to the extant leadership *sui generis*.

These pages demonstrate once again that paucity of ideas has never been the root cause of Nigeria's leadership problem. It is compulsory reading for all those who are genuinely concerned with the future of Africa's largest nation.

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