

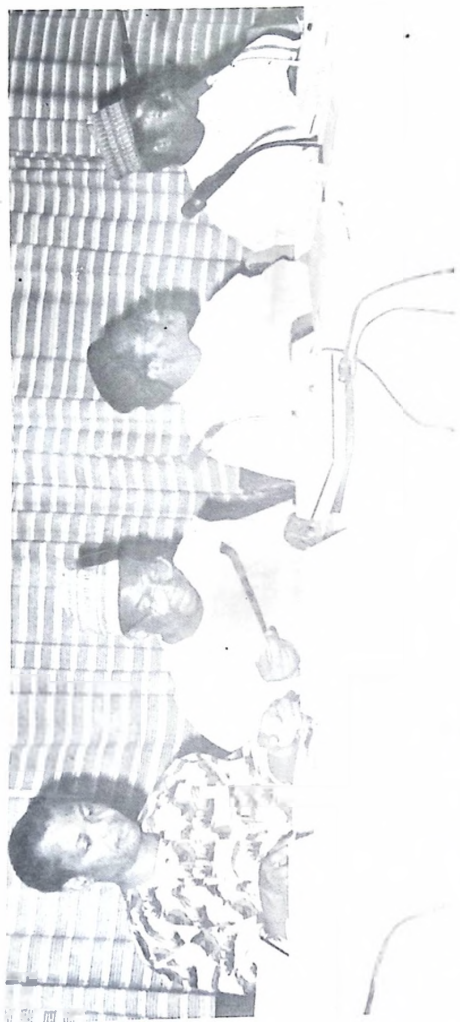
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National Conference
on
Nigeria
Since Independence

Addresses at the Formal Opening

Edited by

TEKENA N. TAMUNO



Formal Opening Ceremony, Zaria, 28th March, 1983.

From left to right, Professor T.N. Tamuno, Chairman of Panel, Professor Ishaya Audu, former Minister for External Affairs, who represented Mr President, Professor Ango Abdullahi, Vice-Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, and Alhaji I.S. Jimeta, Permanent Secretary, Federal Department of Information, (Executive Office of the President).

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON
NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

Addresses at the Formal Opening held in Zaria on 28 March 1983

Edited by

TEKENA N. TAMUNO

Published by

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for

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This publication is part of a larger project funded by the Federal Government of Nigeria since our Panel was established.



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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This set of *Addresses* is published under the auspices of the Presidential Panel on Nigeria Since Independence History Project to give specialist scholars and general readers some useful insight into the wide-ranging aspects of a task of considerable national significance. Other publications, under the same auspices, have been planned for execution in the next few years. Indeed, the manuscript for an Annotated Bibliography is ready and should have been in print but for lack of funds.

The background and main objectives of the project entrusted to the fourteen-man Panel are as set out in the Keynote Address by its Chairman, and the Special Address by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, at the formal opening of the National Conference convened in Zaria on 28 March, 1983. The Panel has decided to publish in full the proceedings of that most stimulating conference as soon as funds permit. In several respects, this first volume, in the planned series, does what the appetite for more.

Participants and observers at the Zaria Conference will, indeed, recall that most of the key issues raised in the *Addresses* at the formal opening re-echoed in the papers and discussions that followed till the sessions ended on 31 March, 1983. Other important issues raised at the same conference have also featured in the Panel's deliberations since its formal establishment in April 1980. Apart from methodological and related problems, such re-curring issues include the need for access to vital documents, and honesty in the interpretation of relevant materials combed from a variety of sources: oral, written, otherwise. Some of these issues acquire greater significance when examined against the background of the themes and topics highlighted in *Appendix II* which provides a fair sample of the scope of papers selected by the

Panel for presentation at the National Conference in Zaria March 1983.

The Panel's programme of activities, reviewed from time to time since its inaugural meeting in June 1980, emphasizes two phases. The first phase includes activities spread to cover the years 1980-85. The second phase contains programmes with a more elastic time-span. Workshops, seminars, symposia, conferences, special studies, and publications based on these, come within Phase One. The span of activities for Phase Two includes the collation and publication of documentary and archival materials. The same long-extended Phase features living history series: tape-recorded interviews with leading personalities, as well as taped and filmed documentaries of selected *dramatis personae*. The location of private archival collections also features in Phase Two.

The seminal stage of such research thrusts, covering the development of the Nigerian State since Independence, began in the last few months of the Federal Military Government headed by General Olusegun Obasanjo. The credit for details of the composition of the present Panel and formal approval goes, however, to the Civilian Government headed by President Shehu Shagari. By some coincidence, General Olusegun Obasanjo, then a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, attended the inaugural meeting of the Panel at the University of Ibadan on 19 June, 1980.

The Welcome Address given by Professor Saburi O. Biobaku, Director of the Institute of African Studies, at the inaugural meeting is featured here as *Appendix III*. Some of the issues raised by Professor Biobaku in an address, which had the hallmark of a Keynote Address, came up again during the sessions of the Panel's National Conference in Zaria in March 1983.

At the formal opening of the National Conference in Zaria on 28 March, 1983, the Panel missed the distinguished presence of President Shehu Shagari who had more pressing reasons of state at the time. We were, however, fortunate

to receive the President's Address delivered on his behalf by Professor Ishaya Audu, a scholar in his own right and former Vice-Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, before he became Federal Minister of External Affairs. In every conceivable respect, Professor Audu gave the formal opening ceremony of the National Conference an academic flavour most appropriate to it.

Appendix I indicates the list of other honoured guests at the National Conference. The list of Special Guests includes eminent scholars and distinguished personalities some of whom were, regrettably, absent with good reasons, during the sessions of the National Conference in Zaria in March 1983. To the special guests, chairmen of sessions, authors, discussants, and other participants, the Panel is most grateful for the success of the Conference in Zaria.

Though a National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence had featured in the Panel's programme of activities since its inaugural meeting in June 1980, problems of funding delayed its implementation for nearly three years. For the same reason, it has not been possible for the Panel to publish the proceedings of the Zaria Conference (March 1983) at an early date. While the Panel continues to explore other ways of funding, the need for help from non-governmental sources becomes more and more urgent. Readers, we are sure, will agree that both public and private resources should be fully utilized for the task entrusted to the Panel. Indeed, in his Special Address to the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, at Zaria on 28 March 1983, President Shehu Shagari said:

I commend the Nigeria Since Independence History Project as a task deserving of support, in every way possible, by everyone who is in a position to advance its work. In particular, I invite all public-spirited Nigerians and institutions to make generous financial contributions to enable the Commission accomplish its challenging task.

The Panel is, thus, confident that Nigerians and others interested in the above project will heed the presidential appeal and so enable us accomplish a task whose significance, at home and abroad, has never been in doubt.

Tekena Tamuno

8 August 1983

CHAPTER TWO

Welcome Address by Professor Ango Abdullahi, Vice-Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, on the occasion of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence
Zaria, 28 March 1983

It is a great honour and privilege to welcome you all to Ahmadu Bello University on this auspicious occasion marking the opening of the 'National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence'. The University considers itself especially honoured to be asked to host what, I believe is the first in what is likely to be a series of Conferences and Seminars which the Special Panel on 'Nigeria Since Independence History Project' may have to organise in the course of accomplishing its enormous national assignment. I should like, particularly, to welcome the numerous distinguished scholars and personalities who have gathered here today. I have already expressed this very warm and special welcome to the representative of Mr. President in the person of the Minister for External Affairs, Professor Ishaya Audu. For him, perhaps, it is a special welcome back home.

I would also like to extend this very special welcome to the Chairman of the Special Presidential Panel, Professor Tekena Tamuno, all his colleagues on the Panel, and indeed, all the very special invited guests that have been listed at the back of the Programme and, indeed, all the special participants at this seminar.

I think we have the right kind of mix of participants, which should give correct texture and complexion to this Seminar. We have distinguished scholars whose responsibility it should be to research and record events as they are happening now or as they happened in the past. On the other hand, some of the distinguished personalities present now or who are expected to participate in the two-day seminar are, or were, themselves the active participants and

ingredients in the making of the more recent Nigerian history.

I understand that the objectives of the special Presidential Panel on the History of Nigeria Since Independence are threefold:

- (i) to identify, collect and publish primary source materials particularly written documents and oral accounts, on the history of Nigeria since 1960;
- (ii) to organise and publish a series of studies on important aspects of the history of Nigeria since Independence; and
- (iii) to conduct all these with the purpose of making available, as widely as possible, to the people of Nigeria analyses and interpretations of the nature of their historical experience in the last twenty (now twenty-three) years so that historical consciousness which fosters the independence, self-reliance and unity of Nigeria is developed.

Mr. Chairman of the Special Panel, permit me to seize this opportunity to venture some brief remarks on the above-mentioned objectives as I see and/or understand them. Firstly, I have no reservations or doubts in my mind about the noble goals set for the good of this country, but my reservations and, to some extent, apprehensions are largely on areas of conceptualization and approach to the problem.

The first question which came to my mind was why we chose 1960 as the starting or reference point. Certainly, Nigeria in its present geographical expression has had a history which started with its colonization. Is it being suggested that Nigeria should ignore that important and crucial aspect of its colonial past as if that period is not relevant to the historical events after independence? Unless we are satisfied that the colonial period of our history as a nation had been thoroughly and correctly documented, analysed, and interpreted, I believe, the present approach appears to be like starting a building in the air towards its foundation on the ground.

Furthermore, we should never forget that the history of the various peoples who today make up the Nigerian Nation obviously pre-dates Nigeria as conceived and eventually carved out by the British colonial administration. The true history of the new Nigeria cannot therefore be divorced nor severed from both its pre-colonial and colonial contents in respect of the various multi-national groups in the country. If nations have their roots in families, and families in clearly identifiable ethnic and linguistic affinities, the task ahead of Nigerian historians must be an enormous one, given the two hundred-plus ethnic and linguistic groups in Nigeria, and with each, apparently and perhaps quite justifiably, unwilling to stake its age-old history and traditions in the mad scramble for a monolithic Nigerian history or monolithic Nigerian society.

While I fully agree that the history of Nigeria after independence should be accorded the importance it richly deserves, this should not be done at the expense of the much needed foundation history of the country and its various peoples. I may be wrong in assuming that not much has been, or is being, done already on the pre-independence and pre-colonization history of Nigeria and its people.

When the colonial masters arrived, the first assumption they appeared to have made was that Africa had no history apart from tribal jungle wars. Not surprisingly, no indigenous African history was taught by the colonialists in our schools and Universities apart from the humiliating, denigrating and 'civilising' discovery and exploitation of slave labour from the 'Dark Continent'. By the time the colonial masters left, they had largely succeeded in reducing Africa and its people to a corrupt and distorted caricature of their image, which is now serving their long-term interests.

It is now up to us to correct and reconstruct the history of Africa and our individual nations and diverse peoples. I am not, in anyway, suggesting that African historians should engage in an exercise of window-dressing the true historical past of their respective nations and peoples as this will

amount to intellectual dishonesty on which we see criticized those who deliberately distorted the historical of this continent. The litmus-test for any worthy historian 'is one who pays attention to evidence and source and who in addition to demonstrating concern for source, takes critical evaluation of not only the evidence but also source'.

I have already remarked that the task before the Nigerian historian is not an easy one, though, I believe, it is a challenging and lucrative one. For, by the time we get down to the nitty gritty details of Nigerian history, especially the colonial history, we would be in a much better position to appreciate the cultural and historical backgrounds of Nigerian multi-states, and this would provide us with the basic and necessary ingredients of the mini-diplomatic bridge which we so badly require to move across the multi-ethnic and cultural boundaries in the country. I hope our historians will themselves learn the lessons of history. What Nigeria requires today, in my view, and, perhaps, for all time is unity rather than uniformity. We are all living witnesses to the tragic consequences of forcing uniformity on Nigeria even if it is by force of arms. At the end of it all, we realize that what is really needed is unity and understanding of diversity. And this can be accelerated through the sharing of our diverse historical and cultural experiences rather than through coerced fusion.

Mr. Chairman, before I end this address, I would like to appeal to this Special Panel to act as a stimulant to more active historical research throughout the country. In this regard, it can anticipate an enthusiastic and ready cooperation of virtually all Nigerian Universities. At least, we at Ahmadu Bello University, would like to extend that willing cooperation to the Panel. Apart from Africanising and Nigerianising a substantial part of teaching history in our (Ahmadu Bello) University, we have taken some positive steps to back up this new orientation in teaching history

through concerted research activities in our Northern History Research Unit and Arewa House. Our problem in this area, like other areas of academic endeavours, is insufficient funds. Financial and other forms of material assistance to similar Centres throughout the country would certainly stimulate more of the kind of activity which the Special Panel had been set up to achieve.

Finally, I wish to again welcome all of you to our University and to wish you successful deliberations at this important national Seminar.

Thank you.

CHAPTER THREE

Keynote Address by Professor Tekena N. Tamuno at the
Formal Opening of the National Conference on Nigeria
Since Independence, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
28 March 1983

Nigeria: Trials of a new Nation

After that brilliant Welcome Address by Professor A. Abdullahi, Vice-Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, I shall have very little else to do on the same theme. Indeed, it has the texture and significance of a Keynote Address. Dr. Garba Ashiwaju, Federal Director of Culture, and member of our Panel, will later move a vote of thanks, I shall try to pre-empt his efforts. Even so, I briefly thank you distinguished ladies and gentlemen, for honouring our Panel invitation to our National Conference here in the historic city of Zaria. Our Panel also wishes to thank, publicly, Vice-Chancellor Anjo Abdullahi, his Department of History and Institute of Administration, for the admirable co-operation we have received from them in organizing this Conference. Since Dr. Ashiwaju will not include himself and his able staff at the Federal Department of Culture in his Vote of Thanks, I hereby express our debt of gratitude to them as well.

In more senses than one, we are guests of Special Hosts: the Government, chiefs, and people of Kaduna State. Through His Excellency, Alhaji Abba Musa Rimi, Governor, Kaduna State, and His Highness Alhaji Shehu Idris, Emir of Zaria, we thank them all.

As a Panel set up by Mr. President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, we are extremely delighted in having his distinguished representative with us on this special day. It is very convenient to have you, Professor Ishaya Audu, Hon. Minister for External Affairs, and Mr. President's distinguished representative,

long-standing leader of scholars, with us today. We, therefore, eagerly look forward to receiving Mr. President's Special Message through you.

We shall not have time enough to elaborate here the origins of our Panel. The decision to study and disseminate Nigeria's complex and momentous events since Independence spanned more than the life-time of one Federal Administration. Set up on 21 April 1980 by President Shehu Shagari, our Panel of fourteen members consciously sought to focus on the problems of integration, development, and identity in the search for nationhood in Independent Nigeria.

Let me assure you, and the entire nation, that we are not members of a commission of inquiry. We are not members of a court sitting in judgement. We are not a born-again Inquisition. We are no trained psychiatrists and clergymen. Our interpretations of the momentous events in Nigeria's exciting march as a sovereign nation-state remain views which do not necessarily assume the status of pontifical statements. We do admit that other interpretations may differ from ours. In the world of scholarship, of search and research, the *corpus* of new evidence and new interpretations tends to increase with years of penetrating studies. Ours will, understandably, fall into the familiar patterns of views and reviews. With meticulous care we intend to chart the difficult paths of our nation-state since Independence, and move warily from the nation-that-was to the nation-that-is in the hope that both will give fair glimpses of the nation-to-be. We are humble enough to acknowledge that we know not yet all we wish to know about this great country, Nigeria, about its great people, and their great problems.

We are also aware of the interest of other professional historians in Nigeria's universities and comparable institutions of learning whose activities cover fields bordering on ours. Our efforts, we hope, will complement all such studies by tapping to the full resources outside and inside various academic campuses in Nigeria.

Equally conscious are members of our Panel in using the best possible means in our search for truth as the basis of any serious work of scholarship. In all such efforts, we admit awareness of only one bias: the fact that members of this Panel are also concerned citizens of Nigeria. This bias, this special interest, we have reasons to believe, members of our Panel share with other scholars and citizens anxious over the integrity and welfare of Nigeria as a developing multi-national state in Africa and the comity of nations.

Indeed, the Panel's work, national in scope, deserves your positive encouragement in every way possible. The Project's objectives are the same as those read out by Professor Ango Abdullahi, Vice Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in his Welcome Address. These are to

- (i) Identify, collect, and publish primary source-materials particularly written documents and oral accounts, on the history of Nigeria since October 1960;
- (ii) Organize and publish a series of studies on important aspects of the history of Nigeria since Independence; and
- (iii) Conduct all these with the purpose of making available as widely as possible, to the people of Nigeria analyses and interpretations of the nature of their historical experience, since October 1960, so that historical consciousness which fosters the independence, self-reliance, and unity of Nigeria is developed.

Naturally, the periods we cover are the Background to Independence; Nigeria, 1960-66; Nigeria, 1966-79; and Nigeria since October 1979. Our programme involves conferences, workshops, seminars, and publications. One such activity is our present National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence formally being opened today.

We, the members of the Presidential Panel on Nigeria Since Independence History Project, do not underestimate our difficulties in carrying out an assignment as formidable as ours. We regard our onerous task as a national challenge. Hence, we owe it, as a duty, to accomplish our mission with

dedication and honesty. We, therefore, invite maximum co-operation from all Nigerians and others so as to secure the greatest possible success.

We are here today, and this week, in Zaria not to present to Nigeria and the world the Panel's views on our nation's history since Independence but to receive and publicize later what other Nigerian luminaries in various fields perceive of the record of our nation-state since October 1960. Our distinguished Special Guests, Chairmen at Sessions, Discussants, and Authors, chosen mainly for reasons of merit, will, no doubt, give us of their best in the various roles we have carefully assigned them. We are grateful that they have, with few exceptions, honoured our invitation.

We, the members of the Panel, have given them every possible freedom in the expression of their well-considered views. We are content with merely defining the structural limits of their analyses, in terms of themes and epochs, without elaborating details. The themes, as you can see from the printed programme, are unavoidable, and so are the epochs, in any systematic study of the Project before our Panel.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our main purpose here is not to take you through the labyrinths of Nigerian history as a foretaste of World History, the unending study of the rise and fall of civilizations since time immemorial. What is crucial now is an awareness of a sense of history in the development of a modern state such as Nigeria. Such an awareness, we hope, will, in turn, be related to the way of life and value-systems its several million people represent and vow to defend with every means at their disposal. A sense of history, if properly understood, will, among other things, seek to ascertain and assess where people have been, where they are, and where they wish to go.

A sense of history, where properly cultivated, also provides a useful tool of learning: learning from history, learning from what has gone before as guides for the present and future. On the other hand, those who refuse to learn, given

the chance to learn, often prove unable to un-learn. Yet, the unfolding history of man and society says, and says again, that learning and un-learning form essential links in the chain of reform and progress.

I refuse to be drawn, on this occasion, to that old battleground of whether or not History repeats itself exactly. Far more useful and pertinent are the lessons of history as they affect the totality of events in the life of a nation. The same story, taught and learnt well, will disclose the unique, and sometimes unpredictable role of change, of changing leaders, times, and circumstances. Change, as the earliest Greek philosophers continue to remind us, is the most constant factor in life. How governments and people see and use change can, thus, provide a key factor to a proper understanding of their place in History.

Professional newsmen and women, and others who think and work like them, do not seem to be very impressed by that Greek doctrine of Change. Being more pragmatic, some moghuls of the new-world prefer to hold the view:

What happens today

Has happened before

And will happen again.

They may be right, after all: but still very persuasive is the idea of change.

Let me, now, draw quick lessons from a familiar statement often rendered in Latin. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*. For those who still see Latin as a dead language, the translation of that statement in English is simple: 'The times are changing, and we are changing in them.' In such words, a careful observer described the contemporary scene in Britain as he saw it in 1577: that is, over four centuries ago. What can historians and other penetrating observers say of the panorama of events in Nigeria since 1 October 1960? How often have Nigerians used change for good or evil? To what extent did a succession of Nigerian leaders, and groups of followers, see Independence, from October 1960, as a challenge for redressing the wrongs of the

colonial past and assuring welfare, seen in the widest possible sense of the word, for the largest possible number of citizens? Did the elect and the select, when their opportunities came for demonstrating statesmanship of the best possible kind, possess the will and capacity for undertaking and accomplishing essential structural reforms so as to ensure the durability of the developing Nigerian federal state?

No matter how we focus our lenses—close-focus, wide-angle, tele-photo, and other lenses—we shall continually refer to the roles of leaders under changing times and circumstances. Followers, being followers, do have some part to play in all such events, but much lower down the scale of responsibility and accountability. In this regard, pride of place normally goes to leaders able to inspire and manage in the complex domains of ideas and action. In this class, good leaders do not always score well as great leaders. Where the language of communication, language of thought or language of action, leaves much to be desired, a yawning gap of frustration and disillusionment often separates the worlds of leaders and followers.

In the print and electronic media, in the complex songs and dances of our people, in the rich cultural idioms of our various communities, if not also in whispering campaigns, millions of Nigerians compare notes of what, they think, they know in relation to public and private affairs. Our people—literate, semi-literate, illiterate—are daily making such notes with whatever material they find accessible. They have noted the acts of omission and commission of their long lines of federal, state, and local government leaders since Independence. Given the chance to proclaim their verdict on leaders, old and new, these masses, particularly, eligible voters, often showed less concern for issueless politics directly and indirectly linked with ethnicism. Nigeria's chequered electoral history, from 1959 to 1979, has been littered with charges and counter-charges of rigging and violence that ridiculed the formal apparatus of electoral commissions and regulations. Indeed, the atmosphere of such exercises jeopardized

not only formal mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections but also polluted systems of doubtful efficacy so much that wider acceptance of electoral decisions became more and more hazardous. Hence, periods of elections have often become crucial tests of the durability of the Nigerian state in its commitment to a democratic way of life as spelt out in the operative Constitution.

When, however, extra-electoral changes of governments occurred, with varying degrees of mass support, they did so, remarkably, under the pretext of actual or potential threats to law and order. Hindsight, therefore, suggests that it is not enough for leaders to talk vaguely of the art of trouble-shooting in whatever sector Trouble (with a capital T) rears its ugly head. It is far more desirable to test always whether the nation's early-warning systems are in a state of maximum alert. Such threats to law and order assume greater significance when governments, at whatever level, create doubts over any of these two crucial tests of legitimacy: participation and performance.

The toxic mixture of electoral anxieties with growing concern over law and order tends to shake public confidence in the ability of the state to defend adequately the life and property of its citizens. Amidst such fears and anxieties, new forms of terrorism evoke graver concern over the prevailing level of public safety and security. Hence, the recent politics of fire, not merely traditional bush-fires, but modern fires, fires from whatever cause, if not prevented or controlled in time, pack a potential far beyond the comprehension of money-less, water-less, power-less institutions and individuals faced with disconcerting extremes of rain, drought, and heat in several parts of a grumbling land. Effective preventive strategies are needed because Nigerians, with particular interests, have demonstrated, time and time again, far greater resourcefulness in extra-legal devices than the architects of formal systems of control anticipated.

I have dwelt on the consuming theme of fire with great deliberation. The course of History is often determined by

seeming trifles as, indeed, by such variables as Chance and Accident. By chance or design, politics, like fire, inflames. Political fire, or other conflagration, from whatever motivation, encourages comparisons or contrasts with fiddling Neros. Believers and non-believers, in Nigeria, can do a lot by discouraging miscreants, with any axe to grind, from putting the emergent nation to the torch.

We must see the relatively new phenomenon of fire in Nigeria with greater seriousness than the prevailing challenge of other forms of crime: of armed robbery, murder and manslaughter, of white-collar crime, of crime as business, of bribery and corruption. Seen thus, we can, with good reason, compare the implications and consequences of widespread arson with those of our last civil war. Comparisons with the aftermath of the Great Fire of plague-ridden London in 1666 need not inspire actual or potential arsonists, whoever they are in Nigeria. Worthy of consideration are the incalculable risks of any conflagration as typified by such other examples as the fire of Nero's Rome, the Great Fire of London, and the *Reichstag* fire in Adolf Hitler's Germany. Hence, those, who have Nigeria's true interests at heart, have the ever-present duty to prevent or put out all the nation's fires: fires in the bush, fires in homes, fires in offices, factories and other work-place, fires in the stomach, fires in the heart, fires in people's minds.

Under such circumstances, ethics in public and private places, could have served as an effective coolant if properly focused and enforced. In all such matters, however, Nigeria's performance has left much to be desired both under civilian and military rulers. Those who place excessive faith in religion as a corrective force often tend to overstate their case. Others who find in divine intervention Nigeria's ultimate salvation seem to under-play the continued role of sinful man in organized society before the Golden Era of Saints begins. It is remarkable that, thus far in our history as a sovereign state, we do not know whether we need bigness or goodness.

'By their fruits we shall know them' remains an ass standard of measurement where other yardsticks fail satisfy. Nigeria's record since independence, record of lea and followers, in three vital areas—integration, developm and identity—can now be quickly tested.

Newly independent Nigeria had a baptism of fire wi the first decade. During the same period, we made unmade Constitutions, often confusing means with go We fumbled and tumbled over panaceas for integration, paid lip-service to the call of nationhood. To save tim shall select a few cases for illustration.

One key area of our manifold problems is to ascert whether or not Nigeria can adequately develop her will capacity - to survive as a stable nation-state. Often, w things go wrong, or do not succeed as well as expect concerned observers enquire whether Nigeria has all soon exceeded her optimum size in territory and populati in government and administration, and in all other sect needing sustained efficient management. There have b no simple solutions, so far, to all these vexed questio and more.

Another area of frequent concern has been sover Nigeria's quick succession of Constitutions. Here, al there have been no easy solutions. How solid, we may a was the supreme law of newly Independent Nigeria? The fi two Constitutions gave the new sovereign state a sha start. Of the series that spanned Nigeria's evolution a development as an independent nation-state, the 19 Constitution, the most verbose, the most expensive, prov also the most durable, the most successful. Did the mai formula for its success, so far, lie in the theoretical separa tion of powers? In practice, the Executive, the Assembl the Judiciary, though separate in theory, are products of t same political system. Indeed, a common stream of pragmatism, a conscious avoidance of irreparable crisis, has und pinned all three organs of government at the federal a state levels of the 1979 Constitution. It would appear th

the Founding Fathers of the 1979 Constitution learnt useful lessons from the visible defects of the preceding Constitutions. More remarkable was the greater spirit of tolerance evinced by all those required to work the 1979 Constitution.

A supreme law that is not seen to be supreme in politically sensitive matters soon loses status, conviction, and public confidence. Attempts, in high places, to circumvent the strict provisions of the 1979 Constitution with conflicting laws of secondary importance have, so far, featured largely in the publicized attempts to create new states. It is remarkable that, twenty-odd years after independence, we are still in doubt whether we need one nation or a thousand and one nations. The renewed demand for the creation of more states begs many questions to be answered.

Where were today's strident voices for the creation of new states during the Willink Commission of 1958 when the solidarity of the existing regional boundaries of Nigeria was stoutly defended by leaders then? Some of these leaders are, at present, singing songs declared sacrilegious about a quarter of a century ago. Are these same advocates of new states pressing for a return to Nigeria's pre-colonial internal boundaries? Are the full implications and consequences of such a state of affairs well considered by today's political leaders faced with the challenge of integration in a multi-national state? What do the new advocates of state creation want or need: development or avoidance of government at a distance? Are Nigeria's policy-makers determined to create new states within or without the framework of the supreme law of the land? Independent Nigeria's last known example of creating a new state (formerly Region) within the letter and spirit of a written Constitution was that of the Mid-West Region in 1963. Military leaders, for reasons which need no elaboration here, gave extra-Constitutional answers to the pressing problem of new states in 1967 and 1976. Have we learnt useful lessons from our recent past in this respect? What, if an independent Supreme Court, acting on the explicit provisions of the 1979 Constitution, declares an

illegal creation of new states null and void? V
playing with fire more than once, if that game in
stability and durability of the Nigerian nation-state

The war for and against Nigeria, between July
mid-January 1970, gave embarrassing answers to
questions of integration, safety and security. 1
claims of the combatants need not detain us here.
of that war was officially seen as victory for all N.
We need not debate that verdict either. But what was
Nigeria as it was before the civil war or as it has been
the cessation of hostilities? On that tricky question, o
conclusions from the work of a British poet will suffi
'Epitaph for an Unknown Soldier', W.H. Auden wrote:

To save your world you asked this man to die;
Would this man, could he see you now, ask why?

Though originally addressed to a British audience, that point
question remains valid for Nigerians, as well, over a decade
after the end of their own civil war.

Education, not only for literacy in any recognized language
but also for responsible citizenship, could have served to
spread the gospel of common destiny under the same national
flag. Pre-colonial, pre-1914 Amalgamation, contacts and
cultural linkages, under able teachers and learners, would
have had a great potential for strengthening the buttresses
of the developing Nigerian nation-state. Where examples
serve as the best teachers, those of some Nigerian leaders of
thought and action, since Independence, left much to be
desired.

Ind. development scored spectacular pluses and undisguised
minuses. Until the 1970s, Nigeria's planners did not see
economic and social development as the two sides of the
same coin and changes in entrepreneurial arrangements,
pace and momentum of Nigeria's economic development gained
a pace. Where substantial crude-oil revenues boosted indus-
trialization, inadequate resources were allocated to such key

sectors of social welfare as health, education, cultural development, and internal security.

'What price, Development?' is a question policy-makers and so-called beneficiaries need to ask and answer from time to time. Industrialization, modernity, progress, urbanization, improved communications, and the whole gamut of development-priorities, are fast showing seamy sides of great concern to dispassionate observers. The content of change, direction of change, rate of change, and the total cost of change, among other factors, deserve closer study by experts in these fields.

It is significant that, over two decades after independence, we do not know how many we are. Nigerian planners carry little conviction in formulating and pursuing development strategies without an accurate census. Not even the widely-acclaimed, no-nonsense, military leaders of late July 1975 included a national census in their list of priorities.

The implications and consequences of uncontrolled growth in such areas as environmental pollution; breakdown in municipal services (water, light, sewage, and the like) multiply public frustration and irritation. Rural-urban drifts, food shortages, city slums, crime, corruption, join other factors or scape-goats in giving inadequately planned development a bad name.

'The almighty dollar is the only object of worship', cried the Philadelphia Public Ledger in 1860. The worship of the dollar gained more devotees at the end of the American Civil War. Similar trends have occurred, in post-Civil War Nigeria, with respect to the naira and the foreign currencies it can command, thanks to varying OPEC price and production tags. Here, again, lessons from the USA can help Nigeria's development goals and practices. Industrialization in the US, from the late nineteenth century, created and expanded the class of 'Robber Barons'. The circumstances of the US, then, were such that it could pay the necessary price, in public corruption, for its first giant steps in corporate enterprise. But will Nigeria, with fewer resources, not count the cost in

pushing industrialization and so-called development hard?

With regard to identity, a very difficult expression, Independent Nigeria has had to fight various image-making projects at home and abroad. After a difficult start as a self-confessed 'neutral' in the early days of independence, Nigeria, from the 1970s, has moved vigorously into positions of leadership in matters which trouble, and continue to agitate, the southern part of Africa. In the cultural field, FESTAC 77, though perhaps regarded as too expensive, and similar inputs in sports and the arts helped to expand Nigeria's links with its continental neighbours. A further image-maker has been the dynamism of Nigeria's foreign policy, in the late 1970s, a record which has always matched or surpassed by the civilian rulers at home. In October 1979. One valuable guide to all such comparisons and contrasts lies in the fluctuating state of Nigeria's domestic economy, largely dependent on crude-oil exports with their far-flung politics and conspiracies.

During the entire period after independence, Nigeria has fostered the image of a good-neighbour. Significantly, Nigeria has not been compelled to fight with her neighbours on any principle resembling Palmerston's early nineteenth-century appeal to the familiar battle-cry. '*Civis Romanus sum*' (I am a Roman citizen). Caution, in all such matters, say, over Nigeria's citizenship disputes with the Cameroun, has proved the best policy.

Quite disturbing, however, at home and abroad, is Nigeria's fast-developing image as a voluptuous spend-thrift, displacing former peers in the Middle East and elsewhere as supreme examples of conspicuous consumption. Whispering campaigns, in all such cases, do not provide the much-needed bedrock of History. Yet, cumulatively, they do incalculable harm to public morale and confidence in any ethical crusade to restore sanity to the body-politic.

Trade Fairs and similar international gatherings in Nigeria have merely served to illustrate the nation's continued dependence on foreign skill, goods, and services under tags

conveniently invented by those in a position to benefit from such collaboration. Such activities seriously negate the declared wish of those who won political independence in October 1960 as a means of securing the economic kingdom. Over two decades after winning independence, many observers of the contemporary scene do not seem convinced that the 'Made in Nigeria' tag fits all the nation's constitutions, governments, administrations, goods, services, philosophies, strategies, and tactics.

The often-heard expression 'This is Nigeria' gives a rude shock to those with the highest expectations of the good and beautiful in national life-styles. In practice, Nigerian character is as difficult to define as any attempt to sketch the hardcore of any national character.

One such difficulty lies in Nigeria's pre-Independence cultural landscape and its short-term and long-term implications. Our cultural diversity and constitutional principle of unity in diversity have not succeeded, in the last few decades, in encouraging any real melting-pot ideas. Hence, a Nigerian is a multiple personality, a product of his or her heterogeneous society with unique and shared value-systems. After all, it takes all characters to make a nation.

Such characterization can hardly be a valid defence for the other growing concern that Nigerian contractors, and all those who aid and abet them at home and abroad, show little or no abiding interest in the quality and durability of what they build for their country and posterity. Indefensible is their mentality, inherited from colonial times: namely, that all projects and measures in the public domain are to be seen and treated as no-man's business.

Given such long-standing attitudes, any government measure involving a major 'contract', 'commission', 'mobilization fee', 'consultancy', or similar transactions, has, in the last two decades, acquired very sinister connotations among insiders and outsiders. Where such transactions have gone too far too fast, vigilant observers genuinely fear whether Nigeria's

body and soul would, in turn, be entirely given on contract.

Crucial to all such matters is an awareness of the ranging implications and consequences of any total concern for the nation-state in a milieu of combative individual interests. Such interests, in Nigeria's development nation-state, have become more and more material. Hence, some observers of Nigeria's quick transition from relative prosperity of the early 1970s to the grim austerity of the late 1970s and early 1980s have been constrained to give their fatherland the image of the 'Prodigal Son'. They may be right; they may be wrong, too. A lot, we guess, depends on the observer's slant or interpretation of the facts. Even so, there is little doubt that where a 'national cake', any cake, has been, for over two decades, the sustenance target of voracious front-line locusts, undisguised frustration can easily confront bottom-line on-lookers.

Let me now conclude. No matter how different observers see Independent Nigeria's trials and record in integrated development, and identity in nearly a quarter of a century, it can be conceded that only those who expected too much felt disappointed in some areas where first steps do count a lot. Even in such areas, inevitable mistakes, which of course enrich experience, can prove blessings in disguise.

In other areas, Nigeria's pluses, since October 1960, stand out prominently side by side with her initial trials and pains as a developing nation-state. A few examples will suffice.

The civil war years, above all, demonstrate not only a crisis of threatened secession but a vindication of the pre-independence drive for the territorial integrity of a multi-national state. The pace of post-civil war reconciliation and reconstruction impressed even former critics of Federal Nigeria her trauma of bloodshed and huge national sacrifices in cash and kind.

The abundance of economic and human resources, yet to be fully tapped, provides a durable buttress of any well-

considered measure to promote inter-dependence in a fast growing market of national and international significance. Nigeria's vast assets, in these respects, are such that they have given her a status in continental and world affairs well beyond modest expectations in pre-civil war years.

The people's irrepressible will for freedom and equality, as enshrined in the 1979 Constitution, and the courageous role of the judiciary in defence of fundamental human rights, within the limits of the nation's supreme law, have helped to strengthen Nigeria's image, at home and abroad, in her conscious development as a democratic federal republic. In this respect, the 1979 Constitution—a product of a Constitution Drafting Committee, a Constituent Assembly, and military directives—has occupied a monumental stature in Nigeria's successive experiments with frames of government in the pre- and post-independence eras.

More a plus than a minus has been the growing power and might of the federal government in its relations with the post-civil war constituent states of the Nigerian federation. The national crisis of 1966–70, thirteen years of military government, the creation of new states in 1967 and 1976, and significant changes in revenue allocation policies and practices from the 1970s have, directly and indirectly, combined with other factors to expand and strengthen the role of the Centre. Not even the 1976 local government reforms have substantially reduced the fear of an over-mighty government at the Centre by those with reasons to suspect any form of government at a distance. Such fears and anxieties could not be easily allayed when some critics failed to see in federal power and its exercise their ideals of excellence in government, administration, planning, development, leadership in thought and action, and excellence in other vital areas. The balance of the argument, in federal-state relations, however, lies in an allocation of powers and functions that would provide an effective national magnet for those who seek the Centre as against the ploys of those who flee from it whenever there is a palpable clash of interests.

Finally, wherever Nigeria's record since Independence is assessed, there quickly emerge two antagonistic camps: pessimists and optimists regarding the future of their fatherland. The case of the pessimists rings familiar bells not too far from home. What, however, needs to be stressed, stressed again, is Nigeria's proven ability to survive vicissitudes and stresses in her development as a sovereign state. There, lies the main springboard of Nigeria's optimism. There, also lies the ultimate vindication of all those who regard Nigeria's sovereignty as a welcome challenge at home and abroad.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

CHAPTER FOUR

Special Address by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, at the Formal Opening of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, Zaria, 28 March 1983

I have the honour and privilege to read this Special Address on behalf of our President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, who is unavoidably absent owing to a prior National assignment.

"I wish to express my congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman and the Members of the Panel on "Nigeria Since Independence History Project" on this important occasion of the first Conference on Nigeria Since Independence. I would like to assure you all from the outset, that I am committed to the success of your endeavour. I therefore urge you to work hard for unqualified success.

In April 1980, shortly after I assumed office as the first Executive President of Nigeria under our new Constitution, I became disturbed and concerned by the absence of a well researched and documented history of Nigeria, and written by Nigerians since our attainment of Independence. Our country has in the last twenty years been through varied and traumatic historical experiences. These experiences have sometimes been distorted by our detractors in order to embarrass us or to detract from our achievements. Those of us who lived through these years know the facts even if from our various standpoints. But there are Nigerians who were too young at the time of our achievement of nationhood but who are now fully grown adults who, regrettably, cannot read at first hand the experiences of our efforts at nation building. Occasionally politicians, and sometimes even some politically motivated academicians who have no respect for intellectual honesty, have misrepresented political aspects of our history to suit their ever changing political aspirations. Unfortunately we have had no nationally recognised authoritative treatise to which we could refer as a veritable record

of our National History Since Independence. The soul character of our nation thus stand distorted and blue.

It is against this background that I set up your Panel Nigeria Since Independence History Project. This Panel made up of 14 eminent scholars whose qualifications, reputation and standing in their fields ably qualify them for onerous assignment. The Chairman of your Panel, Prof. Teka Tamuno, himself an outstanding Nigerian Historian has applied himself diligently to this Project.

I feel glad that today we are witnessing the first National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence. I have no doubt that your contributions at today's Conference will touch many aspects of our National history whose memory a proper articulation will help to motivate us further in the task of building a solid nation.

In 1960 when Independent Nigeria was born, independence represented to us self-rule, emancipation and a promise of a better future. We proclaimed that though tribe and tongue may differ, in brotherhood we stand. We claimed that we are proud to be in the service of our fatherland. We wanted a country where truth and justice would reign. We prayed God to help us to build a nation where no one will be oppressed, a nation which will be blessed in peace and plenty. Your analysis of our historical experiences in the last twenty-three years must be made against the background of these lofty expectations and hopes. In other words, you must provide an answer to the question regarding how much we have fulfilled our yearnings for independence in 1960 and our expectations of the benefits of independence.

At this juncture it would not be out of place for me to appeal to you to demonstrate a high standard of intellectual honesty in your assignment. As Nigerians dealing with your own history no one can rightly expect you not to be subjective about events and issues. It is still possible, however, in your subjectivity to be seen to be transparently honest and fair to all concerned. Furthermore, I hope that your studies

will uncover our areas of difficulty as a nation, problems, obstacles and or impediments on our way in the attainment of our national goals and aspirations.

Finally, I shall on a personal note request you to kindly pay serious attention to the moral aspects of our history, emphasising in strong terms condemnable attitudes and events with a view to helping our ethical revolution campaign.

I commend the Nigeria Since Independence History Project as a task deserving of support, in every way possible, by everyone who is in a position to advance its work. In particular, I invite all public-spirited Nigerians and institutions to make generous financial contributions to enable the Commission accomplish its challenging task.

I now declare open the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, and wish its deliberations in the next few days, here in Zaria, every success.

Thank you.

CHAPTER FIVE

Vote of Thanks by Dr. Garba Ashiwaju at the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, Ahmad Bello University, Zaria, 28 March 1983

The time is well spent and the most important a which I intend to highlight in my vote of thanks is content of Mr. President's Address to us which, to mind, is the most reassuring to us this morning. It is proper that Government sets up organizations and deliberately allows such an organization or organizations to starved of funds. But this morning's address to us is revealing and significant in that the President and his would be quite prepared to give the necessary financial support to ensure the success of the Panel on Nigeria Since Independence History Project. This is very important and I would like to thank Mr. President's representative for coming to Zaria to deliver this most promising statement. I would also like to thank the Department of Information, more especially the Hon. Minister of Information and his Permanent Secretary who have been the brain, as far as the project concerned, in giving the assurance that the Panel itself will take off the ground and continue to achieve some of the objectives it has set out to achieve. There are other important agencies of the universities, most especially the Ahmad Bello University, Department of History, and the host agency, the Institute of Administration, without whose help Professor Aliyu and his staff will not have been able to achieve a lot. This is not the question of trying to drink champagne before the campaign begins. We believe that the most important thing is to x-ray the problems of the past twenty-five years, so that by 1984/85, I think, this Panel shall be in a position to present Nigeria and the world with a documented history of Nigeria in its first quarter of a century. I would like to thank the eminent scholars and personalities in the various fields of government, administration—

the economy, the military, as well as the broad spectrum of our society who have found time to come to attend this important conference and give us the benefit of their experiences since the last twenty-five years or more. I do hope that the few days spent in Zaria will be quite fruitful to you as professional men and to the country as a whole.

I thank you very much on behalf of the Chairman and members of our Panel and we wish ourselves a very useful and fruitful deliberation.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE, ZARIA, 28-31 MARCH, 1983

SPECIAL GUESTS (As originally invited, though some did not attend).

1. Alhaji Garba Wushishi, Honorable Minister of Information.
2. Professor A.A. Aderibigbe, University of Lagos, Lagos.
3. Professor J.F. Ade Ajayi, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
4. Professor I.A. Akinjogbin, University of Ife, Ile-Ife.
5. Professor E.J. Alagoa, University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt.
6. Professor Jibril Aminu, President, Historical Society of Nigeria.
7. Professor (Mrs) Bolanle Awe, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri.
8. Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
9. Professor S.O. Biobaku, Kaduna.
10. Professor S.J.S. Cookey, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
11. Lt. General T.Y. Danjuma, (Rtd), University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt.
12. Professor K.O. Dike, Governing Council, National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru.
13. Anambra State University of Technology, Enugu.

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| 13. Dr. Ekpo Eyo, | National Museum, Lagos. |
| 14. Major-General Joe Garba, (Rtd). | Lantang, Plateau State. |
| 15. Alhaji Yahaya Gusau, | Sokoto University Council, University of Sokoto, Sokoto. |
| 16. His Highness, Alhaji Shehu Idris, | Emir of Zaria. |
| 17. Professor C. C. Ifemesia, | University of Nigeria, Nsukka. |
| 18. Professor Obaro Ikime, | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |
| 19. Alhaji Ibrahim S. Jimeta, | Department of Information, Executive Office of the President, Lagos. |
| 20. Major-General Hassan Usman Katsina, (Rtd). | National Oil Corporation, Lagos. |
| 21. Professor S.O. Olayide, | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |
| 22. Alhaji Ahmed Talib, | New Nigerian Development Corporation Ltd., Kaduna. |
| 23. Dr. Mahmud Tukur, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 24. Major-General Musa Shehu Yar'Adua, (Rtd). | 25A. Rabah Road, Kaduna. |

CHAIRMEN OF SESSIONS

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| 1. Professor George Abalu (in place of Professor V. Diejomaoh), | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 2. Professor S.O. Biobaku (in place of General Olusegun Obasanjo), | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |
| 3. Dr. L.B. Ekpebu, | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |

4. Dr. J.I. Elaigwu
(in place of Professor
E.U. Essien Udom),
5. Professor S.U. Emovon,
6. Major General (Rtd.) I.B.M.
Haruna,
7. Dr. B. Ikara (in place of
Chief Anthony Enahoro),
8. Alhaji Ahmed Joda,
9. Professor Sanya Onabamiro,
10. Bishop John Onaiyekan,
11. Dr. Sanni Zaharadeen
(in place of Alhaji Hassan
Gwarzo, Grand Khadi of
Kano),

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1. Mr. Y. Abdullahi,
2. Dr. O. Aborisade,
3. Dr. F. Abudu,
4. Professor J.A. Adedeji,
5. Dr. Tunde Adeniran,
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| 9. Mr. O.I. Alo, | University of Ife, Ile-Ife. |
| 10. Dr. Airen Amayo, | University of Ibadan,
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| 11. Dr. J.O. Ayoade, | University of Ibadan,
Ibadan. |
| 12. Dr. A.S. Ayodele, | N.I.S.E.R., Ibadan. |
| 13. Dr. I.A. Ayua, | Ahmadu Bello Univer-
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| 15. Dr. I.B. Bello-Immam, | N.I.S.E.R., Ibadan. |
| 16. Professor Laz Ekwueme, | University of Lagōs,
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| 17. Dr. J.I. Elaigwu, | University of Jos, Jos. |
| 18. Dr. O.O. Elegalam, | University of Lagos,
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| 19. Professor S.U. Erivwo, | Bendel State University,
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| 20. Dr. A.M. Fagbulu, | University of Benin,
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| 21. Dr. I. Gambari, | Ahmadu Bello Univer-
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| 22. Dr. O. Gbadegesin, | University of Ife, Ile-Ife. |
| 23. Chief Dr. N.B.
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tion, Lagos. |
| 24. Major-General I.B.M.
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| 25. Dr. B. Ikara, | Kaduna State Council
for Arts and Culture,
Kaduna. |
| 26. Major-General D.M.
Jemibewon, | Head Quarters, Nigerian
Army, Lagos. |
| 27. Alhaji Ahmed Joda, | P. O. Box 51166, Lagos. |
| 28. Mr A. Kolawole, | University of Ife, Ile-Ife. |

29. Rev. Father M.H. Kukah,
30. Professor Abdullahi Mohammed,
31. Dr. A.C. Mbanefo,
32. Professor N.A. Nwagwu,
33. Dr. G.A. Nweke,
34. Dr. A. Nweze,
35. Dr. O.B.C. Nwolise,
36. Professor Ikenna Nzimiro,
37. Professor P.A.I. Obanya,
38. Rev. Dr. F.O.B. Obanya,
39. Mr. I.N. Obasi,
- 40 Professor Abiola Ojo,
41. Dr. O.J.B. Ojo,
42. Dr. Chuba Okadigbo,
43. Dr. Pius Okigbo,
44. Dr. A.A. Okonkwo,
- 45 Chief Mokwugo Okoye
- 46 Mr. B. Okunade,
- 47 Mr. G.D. Olowononi,

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| 48. Professor Sanya-Onabamiro, | Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos. |
| 49. Bishop John Onaiyekan, | Diocese of Ilorin, Ilorin. |
| 50. Dr. Bade Onimode, | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |
| 51. Professor M.A. Onwuejeogwu | University of Benin, Benin. |
| 52. Mr. Egbosa Osaghae, | University of Ibadan, Ibadan. |
| 53 Mr. T.A. Oshagbemi, | University of Jos, Jos. |
| 54 Professor Jide Osuntokun, | University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri. |
| 55. Dr. S. Oyovbaire, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 56. Major-General (then Brigadier) A. Shelleng. | Nigeria Defence Academy, Kaduna. |
| 57. Mrs. M.J. Sokomba, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 58. Mr. Bala Takaya, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 59. Dr. M. Yakubu, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |

DISCUSSANTS

- | | |
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| 1. Dr. I. Abudussalam, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 2. Dr. S. Abubakar, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 3. Mallam Umar Ahmed, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 4. Mr. Tony Edoh, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 5. Dr. B. Ekuehare, | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |
| 6. Dr. Ekpo Eyo, | National Museum, Lagos. |
| 7. Dr. I. Gambari | Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. |

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| 8 Professor J. Inikori, | Ahmadu Bello
sity, Zaria. |
| 9. Dr. Femi Odekunle, | Ahmadu Bello U
sity, Zaria. |
| 10. Dr. M. Omolewa, | University of It
Ibadan. |
| 11. Professor O. Onoge, | University of Jos, |
| 12. Dr. S. Oyovbaire, | Ahmadu Bello Un
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| 13. Mr. Bala Takaya, | Ahmadu Bello Un
sity, Zaria. |

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2. Ambassador I.I.C.
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| 3. Mr. Y.A. Abdullahi, | Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria. |
| 4. Dr. Femi Abe, | N.I.S.E.R., Ibadan. |
| 5. Mr. G.B. Abrack, | Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria. |
| 6. Dr. S. Abubakar, | Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria. |
| 7. Dr. F. Abudu, | University of Benin,
Benin. |
| 8. Mr. Bala Achi, | Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria. |
| 9. Professor J.A. Adedeji, | University of Ibadan,
Ibadan. |

10. Professor A.E. Afigbo, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
11. Hon. Dr. T.A. Aguda, Nigerian Institute of Legal Studies, Lagos.
12. Mallam U.B. Ahmed, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
13. Professor A.B. Akinyemi, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos.
14. Mr. Tony D. Alabi, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
15. Professor E.J. Alagoa, University of Port-Harcourt, Port Harcourt.
16. Miss M.A. Alahira, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
17. Mr. O.I. Alo, University of Ife, Ile-Ife.
18. Mr. Z.S. Ali, Centre for Black and African Arts, Lagos.
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27. Dr. I.B. Bello Immam, N.I.S.E.R., Ibadan.
28. Professor S.O. Biobaku, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
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30. Mr. K.A. Britwun, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
31. Mr. A. Bukar, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
32. Professor S.J.S. Cookey, University of Portcourt, Port Harcourt, Zaria.
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42. Dr. J.I. Elaigwu, University of Jos, Jos.
43. Mrs. G.T. Emeagwali, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
44. Professor E.U. Emovon, University of Jos, Jos.
45. Professor S.U. Erivwo, Bendel State University, Ekpoma.
46. Mr. A. Fadahunsi, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
47. Dr. A.M. Fagbulu, University of Benin, Benin.
48. Mr. A.A. Fari, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri.
49. Professor T.G.O. Gbadamosi, University of Lagos, Lagos.

50. Dr. O. Gbadegesin,
51. Mr. T. Gbashi
52. Chief Dr. N.B. Graham-Douglas,
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56. Dr. S.A. Hashim,
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59. Mr. M.M. Ja'afaru,
60. Alhaji Ahmed Joda
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- University of Ife, Ile-Ife.
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72. Mr. M.A. Modibbo,
- 73 Professor A Mohammed,
74. Mr. A. Mohammed,
75. Dr. I.U.A. Musa,
76. Mr. T. Mustapha,
77. Mr. L. Naya,
78. Professor N.A. Nwagwu,
79. Dr. G.A. Nweke,
80. Mr. O. B.C. Nwolise,
81. Mr. T.N'zakka,
82. Professor Ikenna Nzimiro,
83. Professor Pai Obanya,
84. Dr. I.N. Ohasi,
85. Dr. Femi Odekunle,
86. Dr. A. Ogunsanwo,
87. Mr. J.A. Ohiare,

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New Nigeria Newspaper,
Kaduna.

University of Benin,
Benin.

University of Nigeria,
Nsukka.

University of Ibadan
Ibadan.

New Nigerian Newspape
Kaduna.

University of Port Ha
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University of Ibada
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University of Soko
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89. Dr. O.J.B. Ojo,
90. Dr. J.O. Ojowu,
91. Mr. S.I.O. Okita,
92. Dr. P. Okonkwo,
- 93 Chief M. Okoye,
94. Mr. B. Okunade,
95. Miss F.U. Okwesa,
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99. Mr. G.D. Olowononi,
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103. Dr. P.A. Omorogiwa,
104. Bishop J. Onaiyekan,
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106. Dr. T.A. Oshagbemi,
107. Mr. E. Oyedele,
108. Dr. S. Oyovbaire.

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University of Lagos,
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University of Lagos,
Ibadan.

N.N.P.C. of Lagos

University of Kaduna,
Benin.

Catholic Bishop of Benin,
Ibadan.

University of Benin,
Ibadan.

Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.

Ahmadu Bello University,
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109. Norma Perchonock, Ahmadu Bello
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111. Mr. Y.D. Sada, Ahmadu Bello U
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ersity, Zaria.
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rsity, Zaria.
117. Dr. G. Tahir, Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.
118. Professor T.N. Tamuno, University of Ibadan,
Ibadan.
119. Professor A. Temu, Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.
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sity, Zaria.
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122. Mr J.N. Ukwedeh, Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.
123. Mr. M.K. Umar, T.P.C.L., Kano.
124. Dr. Y.B. Usman, Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.
125. Dr. N.L. Walcott Jnr., Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.
126. Mr. S. Wazhl, P.D.C., Zaria. Branch.
127. Mr. S. Yabo, Ahmadu Bello Univer
sity, Zaria.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN ZARIA, MARCH 1983

Government and Public Policy

- (i) Dr. J. O. Ayoade – Water Resources Development and Management in Nigeria before and after Independence.
- (ii) Dr. O. Bamiduro – Development Planning and Distributive Politics: The Nigerian Press and the Census Experience.
- (iii) Dr. P.A. Okonkwo – Public Policy, Public and Private Enterprise and action.
- (iv) Mrs. M. J. Sokomba – Physical Planning in Nigeria's Economy Since Independence.

Constitutions and Constitutional Changes

- (i) Hon. (Dr.) T.A. Aguda – Constitutions and Constitutional Changes.
- (ii) Chief (Dr.) N.B. Graham-Douglas – Fundamental Objectives and the Importance of Nigerian Constitutionalism.
- (iii) Professor A. Ojo – Constitutions and Constitutional Changes and Independence.
- (iv) Dr. S. Oyovbaire – Federalism
- (v) Dr. M. Yakubu – Constitutional Changes and The Nigerian Since Independence

Author whose paper was circulated:

- Dr. I. A. Ayua — Constitutional Development.

Education

- (i) Mr. T.D. Alabi — Nigerian Education since Independence: Crisis of Development and Autonomy.
- (ii) Dr. A.M. Fagbulu — The Search for Adaptation and Innovation in Nigerian Education: 1960–82.
- (iii) Professor N.A. Nwagwu — Education Policy Formulation and Implementation in Nigeria: A Crisis of Rational Creative Action.
- (iv) Professor P.A.I. Obanya — Growth and Development in Nigerian Education since Independence.
- (v) Professor J. Osuntokun — Expansion of University Education in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects.
- (vi) Alhaji U.B. Ahmed — Education As Obstacle: The Nigerian Neo-Colonial System.

Authors whose papers were circulated:

- (i) Alhaji Ahmed Joda — Education.
- (ii) Professor A. Mohammed — Nigerian Education: Past and Present.
- (iii) Dr. A. Nweze — Higher Education and Manpower Citizenship Development: An Analysis of Issues and Trends in Nigerian Higher Education during Military Administration (1966–1979).

) Professor S. Onabamiro — Education in Nigeria since Independence.

eligion
(i) Professor S.U. Eriwwo — The Church in a Changing Nigeria, 1960 to date.
(ii) Dr. O. Gbadegesin — Public Morality in Independent Nigeria: Issues and Problems.

(iii) Rev. (Dr.) F.O.B. Obanya — The Development of Higher Education in Nigeria since Independence and its Impact on Religion.

(iv) Bishop John. O. Onaiyekan. — Recent History of Religions in Nigeria. Some Myths and Realities.

Author whose paper was circulated:

Rev. Father M.H. Kukah — The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Justice in Nigeria.

The Cultural Scene

(i) Professor J.A. Adedeji — Culture As Reagent of Nigeria's National Identity, Policy and Practice.

(ii) Dr. Airen Amayo — The Search for National Integration and National Identity in Nigeria since Independence: The Linguistic Aspect.

(iii) Professor Laz E.N. Ekwueme — Nigerian Music since Independence.

(iv) Dr. T.A. Oshagbemi — The Cultural Factor in Nigeria's Development Equation.

- (v) Dr. B. Ikara
- The Search for a Cultural Order in Nigeria: 1976 Local Government Reforms as an Aspect of Nigeria's Contemporary Political Culture.

The Economy

- (i) Dr. F. Abudu
- Growth and Equity in the Nigerian Economy: 1960-80.
- (ii) Dr. O. O. Elegalam
- The Nigerian Economy since Independence.
- (iii) Dr. Pius Okigbo
- Economic Planning since 1960.
- (iv) Dr. Bade Onimode
- Nigeria: The Dynamics of the Challenge of Underdevelopment.

Social Stratification and Change

- (i) Mr. Y. Abdullahi
- Peasant Agriculture and Class Formation in Nigeria.
- (ii) Mr. O. I. Alo
- Social Stratification and National Development: The Changing Patterns of Social Inequality in Nigeria.
- (iii) Dr. A.S. Ayodele
- Electricity Supply Monopolization in Nigeria's Social Stratification and Change.
- (iv) Professor I. Nzimiro
- Class and Power in Post-Independence Nigeria.

The Civil War Years

- (i) Major-General (Rtd.) I.B.M. Haruna
- The Military Revolution: The Nigerian Experience 1960-1983.

- (ii) Dr. A.C. Mbanefo – A Psychological Analysis of the Nigerian Civil War: Future Implications for Unity and Nationhood.
- (iii) Dr. O.B.C. Nwolise – The Social Consequences of the Civil War in Biafra.
- (iv) Professor M.A. Onwuejeogwu – The Biafran Army: Structure and Problems.
- (v) Major-General (then Brigadier) A. Shelleng – The Nigerian Army in the Civil War.
- (vi) Major-General D.M. Jemibewon – The Nigerian Army in Perspective.

Party Politics and Elections

- (i) Dr. J.I. Elaigwu – Nation Building and Political Development in Nigeria: The Challenge of Unity in a Heterogeneous Society.
- (ii) Chief Mokuwugo Okoye -- Party Politics and Elections: A Historical and Functional Analysis.
- (iii) Mr. E. Osaghae – Political Parties, the Creation of more States and Federal Stability in Nigeria.
- (iv) Dr. Chuba Okadigbo -- Party Politics and Elections in Nigeria.

Author whose paper was circulated:

- Dr. I.B. Bello-Imamm – Democracy in Nigeria: A Myth or Reality.

International Relations

- (i) Dr. Tunde Adeniran – The Terrain and Tenor of Nigeria's Foreign Policy.
- (ii) Dr. I. Gambari – Nigeria's Foreign Policy: the Search for Consensus on Major Issues.

(iii) Dr. G.A. Nweke

- The Transformation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy since Independence.

(iv) Dr. O.J. B. Ojo

- Nigeria: Foreign Policy and National Development and Integration.

Public Administration (including Local Government)

(i) Dr. O. Aborisade

- The Impact of Local Government in Rural Development since 1976.

(ii) Mr. I.N. Obasi

- The Dilemma of Public Corporations in Nigeria.

(iii) Mr. G.D. Olowononi

- The Evolution of the Finances of the Local Government in Nigeria since Independence.

(iv) Mr. Bala Takaya

- Growth, Adaptation and Morality in the Nigerian Public Administration since Independence.

Authors whose papers were circulated:

(i) Dr. A. Kolawole

- Local Government Reform and the Changing Status of Traditional Rulers in Nigeria: The Case of the Former Ilorin Emirates.

(ii) Dr. A. Okunade

- The Impact of The Political System on Local Government since Independence.

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APPENDIX III

Welcome Address at the Inaugural Meeting of the
Nigeria Since Independence History Panel held at
the Conference Centre, University of Ibadan, on
Thursday, 19 June, 1980

by

Professor S.O. Biobaku
*Director, Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan).*

IT AFFORDS ME great pleasure, speaking as Director of
Institute of African Studies of this University, to add my
own, warm and heart-felt, to that of the Chairman, to
the distinguished members assembled here at this his-
torical meeting. For us at the Institute (and indeed at this
University) it is a matter of honour and pride to count
the Chairman and one of your members among the leading
and most valuable members of our Senior Staff. Without
doubt, the attention of either flattering or embarrassing the Chair-
man. I know for a fact that we can hardly find a man in
Nigeria today, qualified by his personal scholarship and dedica-
tion to research as well as his inimitable ability to bring emi-
nent people together in excellent inter-personal relationship,
and as a successful leader of your carefully selected team.
Certainly, for us at the Institute of African Studies, now
fully integrated into the University for the purpose
of studying the African, and especially, the Nigerian scene,
and the ramifications, the need for the production of an authen-
tic history of Nigeria since Independence has for long been
apparent. No doubt there have appeared a number of publi-
cations, both by Nigerians and expatriates alike, which deal
with some aspects of Nigerian life since independence. Some
have bordered upon tendentious propaganda; others have
been misrepresentations, arising from either ignorance or

prejudice; and, indeed, none have been wholly satisfactory. It does seem that the task cannot be successfully accomplished until it is undertaken by a qualified and dedicated team of Nigerians themselves intent upon ascertaining "what has actually happened"; which is the essence of History.

We now, in my view, have assembled here such a team. I think we are all agreed now that just as war is too serious a business for us to leave to generals alone so also can we no longer leave the writing of history to professional historians alone. The inter-disciplinary approach has proved to be the vogue especially in writing "Third World" histories. We are therefore, pleased to see in your team along with distinguished historians practitioners of other disciplines such as literary arts, political science, sociology and economics as well as seasoned administrators and mass-media experts. I am sure that with this wealth of expertise at the disposal of the historians the success of your project is assured.

Perhaps, I should mention just one more cliché; namely, that you cannot make brick without straw! For as historians our raw material is evidence and happily we have now discarded the notion that the only tenable evidence is the written one. Oral evidence is now a valuable source of historical material despite the hazards of using it with which historians are only too familiar. My main point here, however, is that your work must not be hampered (or indeed frustrated) by lack of evidence. We are all familiar with the deficiencies of 'instant history', the penchant for jumping into hasty conclusions based upon ill-digested evidence. The position is even more serious when vital evidence cannot be obtained for a variety of reasons. This is the danger that besets all those who wish to attempt the history of contemporary events; the near-certainty that the researcher might be denied access to vital information, sometimes wearing the masque of "classified documents". My hope is that you will be given the access you may require to tap valuable sources of historical material. Indeed, it would seem to me that the

presence of top ranking Federal officials among you and the appointment of two highly placed liaison officers to link you with the Government is a sure (and indeed a re-assuring) device by the Federal Government that you would not be denied any worthwhile information within the inevitable limitations of national security.

Indeed "brevity, is the soul of wit". My words of welcome will, therefore, be brief. But with it is the assurance that we in the Institute of African Studies recognise yours to be an important national assignment, not only to record for posterity what has happened in our nation since Independence in 1960 but to place these occurrences in true perspectives for the better understanding of ourselves and the greater enlightenment of the world at large. Furthermore, we believe that under the exemplary leadership of our distinguished colleague, Professor Tekena Tamuno, your Chairman, and with your well-thought out composition, you cannot possibly fail. It only remains for me to add that you can count upon our co-operation at all times; you will always find that what we lack in resources we shall always supply by way of our abundance of good-will.

May I wish you all a most successful deliberation at this Inaugural meeting.

THANK YOU.

Enquiries to be sent to:

THE CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENTIAL PANEL ON
NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE
c/o Institute of African Studies
University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria.

