

# THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

## The Labour of Our Heroes Past Shall Never Be in Vain: Lessons from Obafemi Awolowo's Rhetoric as a Nationalist

Gbenga Bode Babatunde

Former Chief Lecturer, Osun State Polytechnic, Iree, Nigeria

### Abstract:

*This ex-post facto rhetorical analysis examines the extent to which Awolowo's political utterances, during the agitation against colonial rule in Nigeria, are determined by his nationalistic zeal and concludes that contemporary politicians in Nigeria have a lot to learn from this sage. The study is an integral part of a developmental analysis of Awolowo's political speeches from the period of agitation against colonial rule to the end of the second republic (1951-1983). While the purpose of the whole study, spanning 32 years, was to see the extent to which Awolowo could be described as a social democrat and prophet, judging by the ramifications of his political speeches, this particular one (1/4/51-30/09/54) was to determine how nationalistic Awolowo was, as a fighter against colonialism with its attendant injustice. Forty political speeches, which represent six phases in Awolowo's political career, were selected, through the proportional stratified sampling technique, for content analysis. Five of these speeches were in the corpus for the period of focus. Although measures of five broad issues (Categories A – E), within six political periods, were employed to test the entire study's 7 hypotheses, through the One-way ANOVA and Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison, this article concentrates only on the results obtained from the first hypothesis. The study categorized the issues into 5: the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education and measured their relative salience using a logical scale comprising 25 themes. In a nutshell, findings from the study corroborated the prediction that the concept of choice would make Awolowo's treatment of the salient issues to differ markedly within the period under investigation.*

**Keywords:** *The study's 25 constructs, agriculture, economic planning and development, monetary economy, mineral resources, economic problems, political control, political plans and thoughts, freedom/equality, unity, regional politics, political development, election, political problems, social behaviour, social cohesion, quality of life, social ills, international politics, foreign domination, international trade, international co-operation, international problems, educational programmes, educational development, educational problems Nationalistic, politics, economy, socio-cultural milieu, international relations, education, colonialism, agitation, self-rule, research question, hypothesis*

### 1. The Study's Background

This article is about Obafemi Awolowo's display of nationalistic zeal during the agitation for self-rule by Nigerian leaders and the call for emerging politicians to emulate him. The study's title: "The labour of our hero's past shall never be in vain" is from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> line of the first stanza of Nigeria's national anthem, composed by Ilechukwu, *et al* (1978). This study is an original investigation undertaken by the researcher to examine the relative salience of 5 major issues which Awolowo reacted to when agitating for self-rule. The study concedes that much has been written generally about some active participants in Africa's political process, and much more about those of them who had been heads of government, especially. It is, however, concerned that very little has been written about those of them who did not head any country, like Awolowo and that, even less has been written about the politicians' past, from purely communication or rhetorical perspective. In fact, most books and research on Nigeria's political leaders are centred either on historical or political analysis. They, therefore, focus on specific time periods or the individual actor. Moreover, the distant past of participants in the political space, especially the period of nationalism movement, has often been relegated to the abyss of oblivion. This study posits that the role of a political leader, especially in a third world country like Nigeria, should go into the roots of his rhetorical behaviour while also encapsulating the very beginning of his political participation. It also postulates that research efforts should be directed at not just heads of government but also other exceptionally articulate politicians with an indelible mark on the sands of time.

The research is based on a combination of the content analysis and information method, drawing from both primary and secondary evidence with objective interpretation via relevant empirical literature. The study's instrument was meticulously designed and validated with a test-retest measure, for the final content analysis scale, yielding a high reliability co-efficient. Although the battle for self-rule had been fought and won, in Nigeria, this article is important to the Nigerian state

in view of the recent revert to worse situations of tyranny, injustice and impunity than in the colonial state and the necessity for current operators to employ the methods used by Awolowo to fight against the current decadence. The article is, indeed, going to be of interest to the general Nigerian populace who are already tired of the misrule of politicians after the era of Awolowo and his contemporaries. It is particularly going to be of interest to articulate youths, who are being looked upon to take up the challenge of ousting the inept, clueless, directionless and selfish old politicians the same way Awolowo and his contemporaries sent the colonialists packing. Indeed, the nature of the role of contemporary Nigerian political leaders, henceforth, presupposes that such leaders will, first and foremost, adopt the unassailable template that has been left behind by the good politicians who had ruled in the past, like Awolowo. Thereafter, it is expected that they will put their knowledge and experiential background into play when exercising their freedom of choice in discussing such issues that will bring permanent solutions to the problems of the nation. This study has, therefore, endeavoured to assess Awolowo, as a political communicator, nationalist and prophet in order to prepare the minds of our contemporary youthful politicians for the lessons in patriotism that will make them leave a good legacy for others to follow in future too.

### 1.1. Statement of the Problem

It is evident from the background to this study that communication is highly essential for the realization of political objectives. In fact, there is no way by which communication can be divorced from politics. Both are inextricably interwoven. Politics without effective communication and understanding could lead and has often led to political instability. It is obvious, then, that having a thorough knowledge of the political behaviour of the audience is not enough. In addition, a political rhetorician must also be able to influence such behaviour via an effective discussion of themes paramount to the society's development.

In spite of these conditions of social life, it is strange that the nature of political rhetoric has interested few African researchers. How speech is created, why it is created, how it functions, what makes its functions differ from situation to situation and how it is received and interpreted have been given sporadic study by these researchers. Although a few researches had been carried out on the rhetoric of civilian and military rulers during certain critical periods in Nigeria's development (e.g. Emoruwa, 1983; Johnson, 1988; Adediran, 1989; Ona Ode, 1990; Nasidi, 1990; Maiyanger, 1990; Oyelaran, *et al*, 2002; Oke, *et al*, 2009), research efforts have been concentrated on the speeches of national leaders given at rallies and expressed as stereotypes. This situation creates two flaws. The first is the impression that the manifestoes and programmes of the ruling parties in Africa are only a product of heads of government. The second flaw, an inevitable inference from the first, is that Africans have no systematic way of recognizing non-heads of state who are more articulate than the heads of state. Yet, this is not the case. As Taiwo (2002:207), one of the most astute critics of Awolowo notes, "Awolowo stands out as a politician who realizes the need to go beyond speeches, the rhetoric of constituency meetings and the popular predilections of election manifestoes. He has bequeathed to us... a body of works in political thought which, to say the least, is impressive."

The truth, then, is that there has been a general neglect of the rhetoric of some visionary and articulate African political rhetoricians and statesmen, whose agenda and research, spanning several decades of active participation in the political process, could be effectively translated into templates to be used by emerging politicians. This neglect could be attributed to the fact that these sages have never ruled their countries as national heads of government. The fact remains, however, that the values, models, and agenda of such African leaders, like Awolowo, have not been woven together to see if they could form a coherent template. Yet, such efforts will encourage standards of speech that chart cultural paths, enhance the understanding of certain political intricacies, present rhetorical models for future political rhetoricians and researchers, shape the future of a democratic society and ensure political stability. This study posits that Awolowo, an African statesman, was imbued with nationalistic zeal capable of producing the results highlighted above, albeit, his works have been largely ignored.

### 1.2. Aim of the Study

The original aim of the study was to assess the extent to which Awolowo demonstrated nationalistic zeal at the beginning of his political career, coinciding with colonial rule. Essentially, the focus of this study was to confirm the assumption that an articulate and visionary Awolowo would react to issues bothering on colonialism and its attendant injustice by selecting from his repository of knowledge, experiences, and observations, those themes associated with the desired change in the polity. To achieve this goal, the study was carried out with utmost objectivity.

### 1.3. Significance of the Study

The significance of this study centres on the underlying assumption that an articulate and knowledgeable politician, like Awolowo, would address the issue of nationalism from the point of view of high national demand for better quality of life for the people. Research has indicated, for example, that nationalists have often shown how much the public will gain by self-rule and have used several rhetorical strategies to drive their points home. The significance of this present study, therefore, derives from a genuine inclination to demonstrate Awolowo's commitment to socio-politico-economic emancipation of the people of Nigeria during colonialism. Arising from this is the use of rhetoric to press home this demand. This is even against the backdrop that the solution to most problems associated with the use of political rhetoric in various situations requires the knowledge of rhetorical analysis. We concede that experience can bring about such knowledge and the development of some

useful insights. However, the insight into rhetorical analysis derived from experience has its limitations. This is where the value of this research becomes obvious as it provides the basis for developing such information about Awolowo's use of political rhetoric that cannot be inferred from experience.

To the extent that it identifies the variables associated with different aspects of rhetorical and political behaviour during colonialism in Nigeria, and specifies the relationships among such variables, the study will provide the basis for the thorough understanding of the place of rhetoric in pressing for legitimate demands in contemporary time.

#### *1.4. The Impact of the Study within Its Discipline*

The study also becomes significant, in so far as it will impact positively on the discipline of applied linguistics. Apart from the objective of identifying the relationships among the study's variables, this research also reviews relevant literature establishing causal relationships. The effect of this is that it becomes easy to see where, in the study, the potency of the empirical studies is reinforced or undermined, thereby lending credence to the objective of this study. In the same vein, the verification of the results of the study by others will generally show whether or not Awolowo's nationalistic zeal is worth studying by researchers and worthy of emulation by upcoming politicians. Other researchers will also find the methodology adopted for the study useful. More specifically, the instrument of the study could be adopted to verify the study's findings or modified to guarantee validity for further related studies.

#### *1.5. Research Question/Hypothesis*

From the statement of the study's problem, it is evident that the question this study is posed to unravel is connected with scanty research, from purely communication or rhetorical perspective, on articulate non-heads-of-government politicians, from the very beginning of nationalism. It is submitted that the nature of the role of an articulate political leader, at any given situation, presupposes that such leader will put his knowledge and experiential background into play when exercising his freedom of choice of issue discussion. This study endeavours to assess Awolowo as a political communicator, nationalist and prophet. Specifically, the study's interest centres on the establishment of the relationship between Awolowo's choice of different issues and the relative salience of such issues. Accordingly, this study will endeavour to answer the following research question: Do the reactions of Awolowo to different issues differ significantly during the period of agitation against colonialism? This can also be transposed to this null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>): Awolowo's reactions to different issues do not differ significantly during the period of agitation against colonialism.

## **2. Literature Review**

### *2.1. Nature and Process of Rhetoric*

There is no doubt about the fact that the world cannot exist without communication. We are constantly surrounded by talk, as we engage in talking and listening a large part of our day. Whether or not we can fulfil our aspirations, as individuals, groups or nations, depends, to a large extent, on how we cope with our problems, through talk. The participation of each man, in the task of solving our common problems, through talk, determines, ultimately, the overall quality of the human condition, in a free society. Blankenship (1972:4) observes that: "... It [Rhetoric] has been called a synonym for bombast; sophistry; elocution; style...The theory of spoken and written discourse; freshman English; empty words, especially in political discourse; and...the study of misunderstanding and its remedies."

This brings us to the question "what is rhetoric?" According to Aristotle's definition, which is reported in Blankenship, (1972:5), rhetoric is "the faculty of observing, in any given case, the available means of persuasion." As there is now much vigorous discussion, over the scope of rhetoric, it is pertinent to look at a more contemporary and relevant definition. In his own definition, Ehninger, (1972:34) characterises rhetoric as the "rationale of symbolic inducement; as that discipline which studies all of the ways in which men influence each other's thinking and behaviour through the strategic use of symbols." In fact, rhetoric can be seen as a process of practically directing men's thoughts and actions toward the realisation of a particular course: to fight for political freedom and emancipation, to manipulate voters' behaviour, to convince the citizenry about the viability of government programmes, to mobilize support, to deactivate criticism and to insulate the citizenry from false propaganda.

The rhetorical process is an essential element of the polity. This process involves sending and receiving ideas by means of verbal and nonverbal symbols. The process of rhetoric becomes more important, the more open a society is. Open societies give encouragement to participation in public debate and discussion by the citizenry. In fact, rhetoric is a powerful tool for the advancement of both personal and social causes. The understanding of the process of rhetoric is to protect ourselves and our society from selfish and evil elements. Cross, (1983: 188) effectively argues that "... people should be educated beginning as school children, to recognise propaganda." He further points out that there is a difference between argument and sophistry, between persuasion and demagoguery, and between information and dogma and concludes that "A rational democracy requires that people be able to recognise that distinction" (Cross, 1983: 188).

## 2.2. Rhetoric, Issue Discussion and Symbolic Language

Rhetoric is inextricably bound to politics, as indeed politics is to it. Denton (1986) agrees with Aristotle that politics is the "master science" and adds that rhetoric is its primary disciple. Karl Wallace (1955) sees rhetoric as "The knowledge and application of the principles and methods of discourse ... in situations that affect the information, attitudes and personal welfare of listener and speaker." It goes without saying, therefore, that the art of rhetoric serves the master art of politics. The ultimate aim of political science is the understanding of the political ways of life. A rhetorician must, therefore, know about political behaviour and the means of influencing it. To influence, he needs to understand what Blankenship, (1972:200) calls "the relations among mass attitudes, communications, political institutions and formation of public policy." Leiserson (1975) says that communications studies are essential for political-party and pressure group publicity.

Indeed, political rhetoric, as method, not subject, is concerned with open issues and questions. Such issues and questions are with a view to informing the audience or manipulating their behaviour. This idea of issues discussion also hinges on the treatment and comparison of the agenda of the politician with those of his opponents. Besides, it involves candid opinion on the state of the nation and intellectual contributions to international political process. Golden *et al* (2003:39) argue that the chief subjects about which all men discuss in a democracy are: "ways and means (i.e. Public revenue), war and peace, national defence, commerce (i.e. imports and exports), and legislation." The authors, therefore, notice that the difference between rhetoric and other instrumental studies is due to "its focus on informed opinion rather than on scientific demonstration." The function of rhetoric, according to Bryant (1972), involves the adjustment of ideas to people and people to ideas. As a literary study, rhetoric involves the identification, definition, and resolution of human ideas, issues, and interests, which are always in conflict.

Because issue discussion and political consciousness depend on language, language should be viewed as "the medium for the generation and perpetuation of politically significant symbols" (Denton, 1986:11). Political consciousness, therefore, is a product of symbolic interpretation of socio-political experience. In order to control, manipulate or structure this "interpretation", politics has to come into play. Indeed, a successful politician or leader will employ specific linguistic devices that reinforce popular beliefs, attitudes, and values. In fact, "successful leadership and control is dependent upon the successful manipulation of political symbols" (Denton, 1986:11). Politicians, therefore, strive to manipulate symbols with a view to mobilizing support, deactivating criticism and insulating themselves from criticism.

## 2.3. Awolowo and His Contemporaries' Reactions to Issues during the Struggle against Colonialism

It is evident, from the literature that Awolowo and his contemporaries practically sought to direct the thoughts of their countrymen and women during the agitation for self-rule. The opportunity to do so was actually provided, inadvertently, by the attitudes of the European colonisers. As recalled by Anderson, (1972:156), the first kind of attitude was that of open exploitation, which African politicians reacted against after receiving European education. This exploitative tendency of the Europeans was the tendency to take over the commerce and the governance of African people by, first, introducing their own religion – Christianity.

The second attitude was patronizing and condescending. It was triggered by the desire of the European leaders to "educate the white man's young African brother and bring modern inventions to his continent" (Anderson, 1972:157). Anderson sees Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1925, as an early example of a white man with paternalistic attitude. Guggisberg, like some other European rulers, foresaw the eventual withdrawal of Europeans and, therefore, sought to prepare Africans for independent rule.

The paternalistic attitude of the European rulers led to the introduction of Western education during their rather short but eventful stay in Africa. In fact, the transplantation of Western education into Africa could be considered as an accident of history. This is so because if the European colonialists had not come to Africa, there would not have been Western education.

Be that as it may, the colonization of Africa and the attendant transplantation of Western education brought about the emergence of a new bourgeois class unique in history - the Western educated Africans who had access to education through the colonisers and their missionary collaborators. Ekeh (1978:321) notes that "these Western educated Africans, in every post-colonial nation, have tried to prove that their standards of education and advancement could be favourably compared to those of their former colonizers." Consequently, the Western educated Africans had tried to demonstrate these high standards during the agitation against colonialism,

Indeed, Ekeh (1978) sees this ideology of African high standards in education as having its roots in the fight for independence. The rationale behind this claim to such high standards was to prove that, in so far as they were as qualified as the English or the French colonizers, "their rule could be as 'democratic' as that of England or France; that Africans could attain as high a degree of efficiency in bureaucracy as that in Britain or France, etc." (Ekeh, 1978: 322). He behaved in such manner because the African bourgeois did not want to be seen as different from his former colonizers, especially in the areas of education, administration and technology, if he was to replace him. In short, the early Western educated Africans and nationalists sought for legitimacy. They, therefore, endeavoured to consolidate themselves educationally in preparation for self-rule. Their motivation and great determination led to a dramatic increase in the number of Africans in tertiary institutions both at home and abroad. These Western educated Africans also called for and encouraged increased educational

opportunities in the 1930s. Even among those who had no opportunity for higher education, there were struggles against all odds to acquire it. Awolowo encouraged this urge in the 1950s by granting scholarships for university education.

Furthermore, the Western educated Africans also endeavoured to develop their communicative skills correspondingly. Thus, articulate politicians, like Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Padmore, Nyerere and Awolowo made bold attempts to acquire Western education. This ultimately exposed them to the philosophy and rhetoric of Western thought. As a philosophy student, for example, Nkrumah of Ghana studied such revolutionary thinkers like Lenin, Napoleon, Gandhi, Hitler, and most importantly, the Jamaican Marcus Garvey. As a graduate of Commerce, too, Awolowo was influenced in his rhetoric by the economic principles learnt as a Bachelor's Degree holder in Commerce. He was also at home with the methodical and logical way of presenting his arguments before the broad public as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. Indeed, as an advocate, Awolowo was, of necessity, required to give direct advice to procurators and to present oral arguments in courts, using valid lines of arguments. As a notary public too, he was supposed to be a drafting expert. He was also expected to attend to the formal and especially the documentary steps in litigation. There is a strong assumption that Awolowo must have been influenced in his rhetoric by his scholarly activities as a Grade 2 Teacher, an economist and a legal practitioner. Indeed, Awolowo reasoned quite rightly that, through his legal training, it became expedient for him to: "...engage, without bitterness or animosity in the fiercest contention; to cultivate the habit of always examining both sides of a problem and to present the side you espouse with forensic forcefulness and assuredness ..." (Awolowo, 1960).

Like Nkrumah and Awolowo, all other politically minded Western educated Africans were rather enthusiastic in their bid to acquire adequate education and employ Western pattern of rhetoric. This enthusiasm was borne out of the desire to match the European colonizers and acquire the necessary charisma for eventually taking over from them. In fact, Apter (1963) and Wallerstein (2005) have defined the character of the new African leadership during nationalism and post-independence era as charismatic and as a necessary step in the transition from traditional rule to rational bureaucratic rule. According to Ekeh (1978:327):

Charisma as a basis of legitimacy was introduced into African with colonialism, with the appearance of alien rulers whose claim to rule was based on their powers perceived by most Africans in magico-religious terms, to dispense good life and to introduce what Africans could not produce.

Ekeh, further, argues that Africans were controlled, by the European leaders, on the basis of this charismatic authority. He also attributes the problem of charismatic legitimacy in Africa to the emergent Western educated leaders to claim the charismatic powers often attributed to their former alien colonizers by the mass of African populace.

The attempt by African leaders to gain charisma through Western education and rhetoric, inevitably, affected their oratory. Cognizant of the fact that education endows its recipient with special power, the new African leader attempted to show that they had special knowledge by making use of words whose meanings are not clear to the ordinary man. If we go by Adesanoye's (1973) classification of the Nigerian written English into three broad varieties (lowest variety, medium variety and highest variety), it will be seen that the political speeches of Western educated Africans will be conveniently accommodated in the third and highest variety. This was even more so with Awolowo who had a penchant for elitist language. Maiyanga (1990:72) notes that such words used by African leaders will be considered by the native speaker as "verbose, pedantic, impressionistic and jaw twisting." He maintains that it is one of the characteristics of the bureaucrats and politicians to use English as an image building language. These leaders not only use high sounding words; many of them also prepare their speeches meticulously while making use of different rhetorical strategies like persuasion and argumentation, either consciously or unconsciously. No doubt, Awolowo was one of such leaders.

It is also pertinent to point out that the exposure of Africans to education introduced a clash between the Western and African rhetorical thoughts. Weinrich, (1953) notes that, in a situation where languages come into contact, an attempt is always made by the speaker to translate their indigenous linguistic and cultural experiences into the target language. It is noteworthy that Africans had evolved and developed their rhetorical patterns before the advent of the European colonisers. For example, African orators employ proverbs, myths, stories, etc to reinforce and enliven their rhetorical thoughts. With the exposure to Western education, African leaders tend to use the admixture of Western and African rhetoric. Accordingly, African proverbs, short stories, etc, are translated from the indigenous language to the English or the French language and used extensively in speech occasions. It can, indeed, be argued that the dependence of issue discussion and political consciousness on language, will, inevitably, qualify language as the medium for generating and perpetuating symbols that are politically remarkable (Denton and Hahn, 1986: 11).

With the review of this section, it is obvious that Western education and rhetoric have influenced drastically the oratory of African leaders. Particularly, it has helped to shape Awolowo's discussion of what he considers as his own "chief subjects about which all men discuss", i.e. politics, economics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education. Also, it is expected that the bond between politics and rhetoric will continue to blossom in so far as open issues and questions will continue to crop up in the polity.

### 3. Methodology and Data Collection

This research design was employed to investigate Awolowo's rhetoric during the period of agitation against colonialism. The basic problem of the study was to investigate Awolowo's treatment of and reactions to 5 issues (the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education) during the period of agitation against colonialism. Thus,

the purpose of the study was to analyse the issues which Awolowo reacted to, during this period, by concentrating upon the content of his speeches and making valid inferences about his purpose, attitudes and strategies. The study worked on three assumptions: that the communicator is actively involved in the choice of communication behaviour; that the societal context is highly important in communication and that the communicator will react to certain issues which reasonably fulfil his needs, the needs of the audience and the situational contexts.

The development of the study's criteria was predicated on the initial assumption that Awolowo would accord different degrees of prominence to different issues depending on their perceived salience. The primary dependent variable employed to assess Awolowo's rhetoric was "issue salience" while the independent variable was "choice of issues." A null hypothesis was formulated to ascertain significant differences in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues within the period under consideration. The content analysis method was used to gauge this hypothesis through the one-way ANOVA and the Neuman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison. Out of the 385 which constituted the total population of Awolowo's published and unpublished political speeches, 40 were randomly selected, from the period of agitation against colonialism to the end of Nigeria's Second Republic (1951-1983), through the proportional stratified sampling method. Five of these 40 were, however, within the corpus of the speeches for the anti-colonialism period (1951-1954), which this study focuses mainly. For the study's instrumentation, a validated logical scale was used to categorise the 5 issues into 25 themes while the constructs were also clearly operationalized to guarantee internal and construct validity. A test-retest measure, undertaken for the final content analysis scale, yielded a high reliability co-efficient of 0.95; thereby freeing the instrument from human biases.

### 3.1. An appropriate Contextualisation of the Research

For the purpose of appropriately contextualising the study, one original and significant research question has been formulated, as stated earlier under "Research Question/Hypothesis." Besides, the clearly identified relationships between this study's background and the methodologies adopted enable any reader to understand vividly the justifications for the hypothesis tested. Furthermore, the review of relevant literature, within the speech analysis framework, shows justifications for the findings and help to put the study in the proper perspective. Moreover, the study's constructs have been correctly identified and clearly operationalized, thus making the construct validity of the study a *fait accompli*.

## 4. Research Findings and Data Analysis

### 4.1. Research Findings

This dissertation has raised a potent research question on Awolowo's nationalistic zeal during the period of agitation against colonialism. It has also transposed the only research question into a null hypothesis. The research results were presented to showcase the pattern of Awolowo's nationalism, as inferred from his rhetoric, within the period of study. The approach of the study, in this regard, was to draw inferences concerning Awolowo's treatment of issues and communication behaviour during the period of study. This was achieved by providing an answer to the research question, testing the hypothesis through the ANOVA and Newman Keuls' method of Multiple Comparison and interpreting the results on the basis of relevant literature. Results show the predominance of political theme over and above the other four themes. The issue of the economy also occupies a prominent place in Awolowo's treatment of issues, coming next to politics. Besides, Awolowo's political speeches could be seen as focussing mainly on nationalism and welfarism. Beyond this, the study's findings were found to bear some similarities with related ones on the evaluation of the political utterances of other political leaders and statesmen. Findings, thus, confirmed the major assumption guiding the study in this hypothesis. The results of the research question are examined more comprehensively in this part with the aid of Tables 1 to 4. As the Tables reveal, the hypothesis was tested at and beyond the 0.05 level of significance with relevant degrees of freedom.

Source of variation	ss	Df	ms	F	P
Total	128757.5	29	-		
Between	52104.6	4	13026.15	4.25	0.01
Within	76652.9	25	3066.12		

Table 1: Analysis of Variance on the Issues Addressed During the Period of Anti-Colonialism

The null hypothesis tested is shown below with the corresponding alternative hypothesis.

- Ho: Awolowo's reactions to different issues do not differ significantly during the period of agitation against colonialism.
- Ha: Awolowo's reactions to different issues differ significantly during the period of agitation against colonialism.

It is obvious from Table 4 that the null hypothesis is rejected. The F obtained (4.25) is greater than the F critical (4.18) at  $P < 0.01$  ( $F = 4.25$ ;  $df = 4/25$ ;  $P < 0.01$ ). The alternative hypothesis is, thus, upheld that there is, indeed, a significant difference.

The study was interested in determining where this difference, actually, could be found. It therefore carried out a posteriori multiple comparisons analysis, the result of which is shown in Table 2.

The Issues	Economics	Politics	Socio-Cultural Relation	International relation	Education
	n = 5 x1 = 64.2	n = 5 x2 = 118.7	n = 5 x3 = 21.3	n = 5 x4 = 19.5	n = 5 x5 = 4.0
Economics		54.5ns	42.9ns	44.7ns	60.2ns
Politics			97.4*	99.2*	114.7**
Socio-Cultural milieu				1.8ns	17.3ns
International Relations					15.5ns
Education					

Table 2: Multiple Comparison of the Saliency of the Five Different Issues during Anti-Colonialism Period through Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Companion  
Ns = Not Significant; \*P < 0.05 (Significant at That Level) \*\*P < 0.01 (Significant at That Level)

In Table 3, the difference between any two-adjacent means is shown in rows 2 to 5. Such differences were compared with the critical differences before conclusions were reached concerning the hypothesis

	0.05	0.01
Q2	63.31	87.9
Q3	78.9	100.6
Q4	86.9	108.5
Q5	92.7	114.13

Table 3: The Critical Differences Obtained from the Studentized Table Concerning Ho1

In addition to the critical differences, the means of the five issues were also compared. The means are reproduced again in Table 4 so as to see them at a glance:

Period	Hypo-Thesis	Mean Scores of Issues					Source
Agitation against Colonialism	1	Politics	Economy	Sociocultural Milieu	International Relations	Education	
		118.7	64.2	21.3	19.5	4.0	Table 2

Table 4: Mean Scores of Five Issues within the Period of Agitation against Colonial Rule at a Glance

Thereafter, the following conclusions were reached for the anti-colonialism period:

- Awolowo placed a greater emphasis on politics than any of the issues of socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education.
- During this period, Awolowo treated the issues of politics and the economy equally. Although the mean difference shows politics as more prominently discussed than the economy, statistically, there was no significant difference in Awolowo's discussion of these issues.
- No statistically significant difference was also found in Awolowo's discussion of the economy, socio-cultural relations, international relation and education.

## 5. Data Analysis

The research question was answered in the affirmative. Findings from the ANOVA test showed that the null hypothesis was rejected at  $P < 0.01$ . Thus, Awolowo's reactions to the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural relations, international relations and education differed significantly. The data have revealed, generally, that Awolowo's placed the greatest emphasis on politics which has a mean score of 118.7. This was followed in order of salience by the mean score of the economy (64.2), social-culture milieu (21.3), international relations (19.5), and education (4.0).

Specifically, the results showed that:

- Politics was given more prominence than socio-cultural milieu, international relations, and education.
- The issues of politics and the economy were given equal treatment.
- There was equal salience for the issues of the economy, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education.
- Awolowo preached nationalism and welfarism during this period.

The difference was shown by the multiple comparisons of the salience of the 5 issues through the Newman Keuls' Multiple Comparison Method. This test indicates that Awolowo placed a greater emphasis on politics than any of the other issues with the exception of the issues of economy which received a prominence equal to that of the politics.

In addition, data showed that in the three instances where significant differences were obtained, Awolowo articulated the issues of politics more than those of socio-culture milieu, international relative and education before his audience. The interpretation of data on Awolowo's discussion of issues, during the anti-colonialism period cannot be carried out in isolation; it can only be meaningful if we consider the background under which Awolowo spoke. The pertinent question here is: "Why did the issues of politics and the economy receive more prominence in Awolowo's agenda than other issues?"

The first justification for these results is that there is a thin line between politics and the economy. Indeed, the only explanation of the meaning of political economy given by *Webster's New World Dictionary*, is that it is an "earlier name for ECONOMICS." Thus, a good political leader must be well grounded in economic principles to be able to succeed in modern governance. Against this background, we must realize that, first and foremost, Awolowo was an astute politician and then a sound economist with a Bachelor's degree in Commerce.

Second, the dissertation has clearly shown that Awolowo's quest for nationalism and welfarism and not his socialism inspired him to launch strident attacks on the economic policies of the colonial imperialists. It is submitted that the principles of nationalism and welfarism, which Awolowo preached during agitation against colonialism, are well-rooted in the theory of political economy.

### 5.1. Analytical Framework

The figure reproduced below presents the research design as adapted from Holsti's (1969) and Johnson's (1988) models. Holsti's and Johnson's models have been modified extensively to further shed light on our proposed design. In addition to their inclusion of the study's purpose, types of comparison, questions and research problems, this study further highlights the relationships between the dependent and independent variables and the analytical scheme of the study.

Purpose	Types of Comparisons	Question	Research Problems	Analytical Scheme
To concentrate on the message, the content of Awolowo's speeches and make valid inferences about the man who is the source of the message, his purposes, attributes and values during the period of agitation against colonialism.	Category A-E Vs the Period of Agitation against Colonial Rule (Issue Features and salience – Independent Influence)	What significant difference is noticed?	Comparison: To examine how the concept of choice in Awolowo's discussion of issues will influence Issue Salience through the investigation of any likely difference in the way Awolowo reacted to issues within the period of study.	Content analysis through:  (1) The one-way ANOVA (f);  (2) Neuman Keuls' Multiple Comparison Method (Q);

Table 5: Mean Scores of Five Issues within the Period of Agitation against Colonial Rule at a Glance

## 6. Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion

### 6.1. Introduction

Let us start by stating that this period of agitation against colonialism (1951-54) was very important in Awolowo's political career. This dissertation has shown, in the early part, that politics and communication are so interwoven that they can hardly be separated. It should be noted that the period under consideration was the first period of Awolowo's serious involvement in Nigerian politics and political discourse. Before 1951, Awolowo was politically obscure when compared with



such personalities like Herbert Macaulay, Earnest Ikoli, Nnamdi Azikiwe etc. Although Lawuyi (2002:135) puts the period of Awolowo's recognition in Nigeria's politics arena at 1950, it was not until 1951, when he formally launched his party – the Action Group, that Awolowo's really came into political limelight. Even then, Awolowo was no less marginalized than these other nationalists before him until the Macpherson Constitution of 1951. Before this time, all the Nigerian educated elites were not only discriminated against but were actually relegated to the abyss of oblivion in the running of the affairs of Nigeria. Akinyeye (2002:73) notes that until 1951, there were only two African members of the executive council – Rhodes (a Sierra-Leonean) and Alakija (a Brazilian). He also adds: "Nigerians performed no meaningful roles in the legislature" (Akinyeye (2002:73). Dudley, (1982:44-45) puts the roles which nationalists were later to perform in perspective by specifying the three things which made the MacPherson constitution significant – "giving the regional assemblies the right, for the first time, to make laws for the region; providing, for the first time, for the election ... of the member of the regional assemblies and providing for an equality of representation among the three regions (in the central legislature)."

More than anything else, Awolowo and the other Nigerian nationalists seized the opportunity, offered by the Macpherson constitution, to erode the claims that they were political inferiors to the colonialists. Awolowo, more than any of his contemporaries, actually demonstrated, through his rhetoric, that he was equal to, if not better than the European leaders. Literature supports the assumption that, in a colonial state, communication-conscious leaders will endeavour to educate and mobilize opinion to antagonize government and political objectives of the ruling powers. Communication is, thus, seen as an arsenal of enlightenment and signals which tend to reinforce and legitimize the power of political leaders like Obafemi Awolowo.

### 6.2. Discussion of Findings

Indeed, Awolowo, more than the other early Western educated Nigerians, sought to legitimize his authority not only to redeem Nigeria from the shackles of Western imperialism but also to rule over it. The literature corroborates this zeal for legitimacy by revealing that Western educated Africans had tried to demonstrate high standards of education and advancement that "could favourably compare to those by their... colonisers" (Otite 1978:321). As it has been shown under the review of literature, the rationale behind the nationalists' claim to such high standard was to prove that, in so far as their educational qualifications were at par with those of the English colonizers, "their rule could be as democratic as that of England..." (Otite, 1978:332). Literature supports the speculation that education teaches men to communicate better and confers greater benefits on opinion leaders. The nationalists, therefore, detested the unwholesome attitude of the colonial masters which sought to fashion out Nigeria's future without their involvement. They therefore, fought tooth and nail to dismantle the colonial system. The weapon used by Awolowo to achieve this was powerful oratory. Awolowo actually pointed out that "if you have a good cause, and you are sufficiently intelligent you can always out-argue your opponent and win against him at least at the bar of world conscience and opinion ...." (Awolowo, 1953:12).

There was also this belief that the colonial imperialists were merely interested in the perpetual monopolistic control of the Nigerian economy. As argued by Fasola and Adebayo (2002:18), "the process of colonial acquisition involved the big commercial houses whose representatives constitute the nucleus of imperialism in the country." This process enabled the British bourgeoisie to "exploit the agricultural and mineral resources of the country at minimum cost." Besides, the monetization of the economy led to further integration of the country into the Western capitalist system. In this regard, Falola and Adebayo (2002:23) also recall that this monetization policy was achieved by the colonial state's payment of cash for services rendered by Nigerians; coercing the peasants into working for remuneration; encouraging the mines to employ Nigerian tributes who earned very low pay and imposing heavy tax even on the low pay.

The corollary of the above features of the political economy of colonial Nigeria was that the nationalists identified the politico-economic subjects of interest and articulated them before the broad public. Indeed, Awolowo, who was first and foremost a politician, and then an economist tried very hard, through his rhetoric to puncture holes into the political and economic policies of the colonialists which were designed to milk the country dry. In this task, he demonstrated more astute knowledge and more capabilities for seeking information and managing information than his other political colleagues. This accords with the views of communication experts that a political leader who continually seeks information and employs effective communication will show more capabilities of advance planning and decision making than one who possesses only fragment of information. Politics and the economy became the most salient in Awolowo's agenda in so far as he constantly sought and obtained information on them and employed such information to fight the cause of nationalism and welfarism.

Indeed, the struggles of Awolowo to promote the cause of politics and the economy during the period of agitation against colonialism can be understood best by examining the speeches selected for analysis during this period. In the five speeches, the issues discussed substantially by Awolowo were those of politics, the economy, socio-cultural relations, international relations and education. The pertinent question is: How did these issues stand in Awolowo's scheming?

As argued earlier, the McPherson Constitution of 1951 served to propel Nigerian educated leaders into action. Arising from this was their persistent demand for independence. The promulgation of the constitution also coincided with Awolowo's launching of the Action Group on April 28, 1951. Zachernuk, (2002:15), argues that, by this time, "the basic consensus between the colonial administration and southern Nigeria nationalist politicians about the problem of economic development was still intact." Dudley (1982:5) also holds the view that during this period "scholarly concern was devoted to the phenomenon of nationalism which was seen as the driving force behind the demand for independence."

Such developments actually influenced Awolowo's discussion of issues during the period of agitation against colonialism. It is a settled fact among communication experts that communication is related to socio-economic development in so far as it recognizes new real ideas which would lead to political actions. It is also a trite understanding that rhetoric plays very important roles in socio-economic development and development strategy. Awolowo aptly recognized these facts and, thus, employed fool-proof arguments and some political manoeuvres in a bid to change the political atmosphere of Nigeria which made Nigeria aliens in their own country. Awolowo spoke extensively during this period while articulating the broad themes associated with the issues of politics, the economy, socio-cultural relations, international relations and education.

In handling the theme of political control, Awolowo emphasized, from the onset, the need for discipline among the Nigerian leaders and especially his disciples. In his very first address as President of the Action Group, Awolowo emphasized only two items in the aims and objects of his party. The first was: "To bring and organize within its fold all nationalists in the Western Region, so that they may work together as a united group and submit themselves to party loyalty and discipline" (Awolowo, 1981a:195). In addition, for success in governance, he considered as a *sine-qua-non*, the accumulation of past experiences. Awolowo was even more zealous on the theme of political plans and thoughts. He recognized the necessity of preparing and presenting to the public "programmes for all departments of Government" early in his political career. He seized the opportunity offered by the McPherson Constitution to educate his political lieutenants on the need for fool-proof plans and thoughts on the upliftment of the masses. He maintained, therefore, that his party must "strive faithfully to ensure the effectuation of such programmes through those of its members that are elected into the Western House of Assembly and the Federal legislature" (Awolowo, 1981a:196). The implication of this is that Awolowo, from the beginning of his political career, detested a situation whereby he or his party would make a promise and not fulfil it.

Awolowo further believed that the two aims of his party could be best achieved by "adherence to basic principles and identity of methods in the application of the principles." As an apostle of leadership by example, he told his party men: It is our duty to explain both the means and the end to our people, so that they may be able to judge which, of the ... parties, offers them the effective methods of solving their political, educational, economic and social problems. (Awolowo, 1951:1).

Awolowo's preference for well-articulated debate on the issues could be seen even in his early campaigns. Far back in 1951, when he had not formed a government, it was interesting to note that his party could lay claim to 23 papers which "are being serialized in the newspaper" (Awolowo, 1951:1).

Awolowo could be seen in this light, as laying a proper rhetorical foundation which African policy makers were to follow later as nationalists, members of government and commentators on political development in Africa. Indeed, Awolowo was reported to have boasted, on the floor of the house, that: "...it was the activity of himself and his party during the 1959 election in Northern Nigeria that compelled Sir Ahmadu to mount the soapbox and talk directly to the people for once" (Dyson, 2012:91-92).

Awolowo also resolved early enough to tow the path of honour and dignity by giving "fresh direction" and imparting "a new morality to political thought and activities in Nigeria.

The principles enunciated by Awolowo, during the agitation for self-rule, were those of welfarism and happiness of the masses and the method he purported to use to achieve these principles was constitutional non-violent means. In fact, as Awolowo will want us to believe, the very genesis of his tendency toward democratic socialism could be traced to the basic principles which had brought members of his Action Group together in 1951. The basic principles were summarized in the motto and mantra of his party: "Life more abundant and freedom for all." But then, Awolowo's penchant for nationalism and welfarism, (not democratic socialism) could be inferred from his belief that "the people of Western Nigeria in particular and Nigeria in general would have life more abundant when they enjoy freedom from British rule, freedom from ignorance, freedom from disease and freedom from want" (Awolowo, 1981a:196). Awolowo, thus, reiterated that the principle which his party must pursue should include "the immediate termination [politics] of British rule [international] education of all children of school age [education], general enlightenment of all illiterate adults [education] provision of health, general welfare for all the people and [social cultural milieu] abolition of want [the economy]". Bracketed emphasis is mine. It could be seen here that Awolowo's concern during the anti-colonialism period was with nationalism and welfarism.

Awolowo himself had actually summed up his welfarism inclinations during the period of agitation against colonialism when giving the catalogue of his achievements on November 10, 1954, when he had become Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria. According to him:

In less than 3 years in power, the Action Group ...Has Revolutionized educational planning by his free compulsory Primary education scheme which is to start functioning on January 17 next year (i.e., 1955); it has introduced free school medical Treatment to all children under 18 years of age; it has built and continues to build first class hospitals in every part of the region; It has improved training facilities for nurses, midwives and other health staff; it has succeeded in increasing food production and raising the standard and quality of cash crops....(Awolowo, 1954:5).

Although all these achievements are welfarism inclined, they are not very far from the realization of democratic socialism. It is submitted, in conclusion, that Awolowo's penchant for welfarism and nationalism became substantially obvious during the period of agitation for self-rule. This is manifested in his extensive discussion of the 5 issues of study.

In articulating this thought, on welfarism Awolowo showed sufficient awareness of the socio-economic problems confronting Nigerians and tried to provide the panacea for these problems. First, Awolowo criticized a situation where

Nigerians lived in a state of abundance economy where our prosperity was dependent mainly on a few export products. Second. He detested the state of poverty which colonial rule had thrown Nigeria into. Arguing that we ought not to be a poor if there was a little bit of political foresight and economic planning on the part of the colonial government; Awolowo gave the underlying causes of poverty in Nigeria. According to him:

The causes of our poverty are: the abject state of the peasant class of this country, their inertia through want of health, their enslavement by ignorance and superstition, their antediluvian methods of cultivating the land the progressive deterioration of the fertility of land due to bad husbandry and also their hopelessly unorganized system of marketing their farm products. (Awolowo, 1981a:37)

Awolowo was worried that, in spite of apparent plenteousness of money and repeated increases in wages, the people of Nigeria did not have enough to eat "because our land is fast losing its fertility. More and more areas are being used for the cultivation of export crops" (Awolowo, 1951:5). This problem became more acute with "rural-urban unattractiveness of the farming career" (Awolowo, 1951:5). Awolowo summed up the effect of this by saying: "... problem-stricken people are the easiest preys to political enslavement and economic exploitation" (Awolowo, 1981a:196). That was why he emphasized the need for political and economic freedom.

Third, Awolowo criticized the financial policy of the colonial government and likened the attitude of government to that of a street beggar who sat alongside the road waiting for fortune to smile on him. This analogy was drawn after Awolowo had critically examined government financial policy from the revenue side and concluded that the policy was dominated by extreme and unwarranted caution, conservatism and street beggar economy. He argued that, like a beggar, government did not make any concerted effort for 3 years running to increase revenue but instead adjusted her expenditure to the uncertain source of income.

Let us, now, examine Awolowo's panacea for all these socio-economic problems. On Nigeria's state of unbalanced economy, Awolowo called for a two-pronged action. First, "we must embark on a measure of industrialization of the country" and second, "consistently raise the standard of our peasantry." This recommended solution was based on his conviction that the key to Nigeria's economic wellbeing could be found in our agricultural economy. Awolowo was even more concerned with reducing the poverty level among Nigerians. He proffered seven solutions to the problems of poverty. First, he put up a case for a large improvement in the agricultural economy of Nigeria through the introduction of scientific and modern way of cultivating the land. He argued that this would improve the productivity and earning capacity of the peasant class thereby increasing individual income tax. Second, he called for the introduction of mass education which would remove ignorance and superstition. Awolowo was determined during this anti-colonialism period "to make the most devastating assault" on the strongholds of ignorance, disease and want, albeit, he conceded that the battle against them might be long and arduous (Prophetic). In addition to mass education, therefore, Awolowo promised to put into operation immediately "the scheme for free and compulsory education of all children from the age 5 to 13" as well as the acceleration of adult education. (Awolowo, 1951:4). Third, he advocated for a substantial and extensive provision of medical and social services so that people might enjoy life more abundantly. Cognizant of the equality of life for the masses, Awolowo promised also to provide social amenities like hospitals in big towns, and dispensaries and maternity centres in villages and small towns. Fourth Awolowo promised "within the bounds of safety" to pursue a policy whereby a considerable portion of the resources piled up by the marketing Boards and the various native authorities "will be released for the provision of health and welfare for, the eradication of ignorance and the abolition of want among our farming population and the local authority areas" (Awolowo, 1951:6). Fifth, he promised to initiate a housing scheme which would make it possible for people with reasonable income to own houses and pay for them by easy instalments. Sixth, he anticipated a situation whereby Nigerians would embark on industrialization of the country with government aid. Seventh, Awolowo tried to proffer a solution to the street beggar financial policy of government. Apparently conscious of the needs and welfare of the people, he reasoned:

The duty of government ...is to try and work out the needs of the people however gigantic these needs may be ...the next duty of the government is to determine what portion of those needs could be met during the coming fiscal year...it is then its duty to look for the sources of income to meet its expenditure (Awolowo, 1951:6).

Awolowo also tied the issues of the socio-economic problem of the country to freedom which he cherished so much. Indeed, the twin-concept of political and economic freedom was vigorously articulated by Awolowo during the period of agitation against colonialism. The baseline of Awolowo's thoughts on freedom could be detected from the introduction of the Action Group to the public in 1951. Awolowo affirmed here: "In our views, the rule of one nation by another is unnatural and unjust ... there can be no satisfactory substitute for self-rule" (Awolowo, 1981b:196). He, therefore, called for the denunciation of British tutelage on the ground that it was indefensible in principles and characterized by plan-lessness and disregard for the vital interests of Nigerians in practice. Explaining why Nigeria must be set free from British rule, he declared, at the Action Group rally held at Glover Memorial Hall on August 26, 1951: "Our people must be free from British rule in order that they may tackle in their own may and in their own interest the problems of ignorance, disease and want" (Awolowo, 1951:4).

He further considered freedom to be "the inalienable right of every man." In the presidential address delivered at the third annual congress of the Action Group held in Warri, Awolowo had argued that "all human beings are born free and equal as to their rights and dignity" (Awolowo, 1953:5). He believed so much in the cause of setting Nigeria free from British rule that he called twice in 1951 - April and May - for self-government for Nigerian in 1956 and consistently made "every

conceivable effort and sacrifice to achieve our objective" He held to the fervent belief that the cause of freedom was a just and righteous one and called on "each and every one... (to) act well his part in this noble struggle for there the honour lies." (Awolowo, 1953:5).

In his fight for political freedom during this anti-colonialism period, Awolowo specified the type of weapon to be used "we will seek all effective constitutional means to terminate British rule the five-years period of our tenure" (Awolowo, 1981b:4).

Awolowo was not so naïve as to consider political freedom as an end in itself. He, in fact, saw it as a means of attaining economic freedom. Anticipating the influx of a large number of white people upon the introduction of the Pioneer Industries Bills with a view to exploiting Nigerian resources, Awolowo prophesied that: "Unless we are very vigilant, we may find that we are throwing off political bondage in exchange for economic stranglehold which can be made harsher [sic] and more grinding than political imperialism." (Awolowo, 1981a)

### 6.3. Recommendations

It is an irony of history that, most of the ills which Awolowo and his contemporaries tried to point out and remove, during their agitation for self-rule, are still present in contemporary Nigeria. Governments upon governments, after the era of Awolowo, at the local, state and federal levels seem to have jettisoned the good intentions of people like Awolowo and have also lost the respect which nationalists seemed to have enjoyed considerably. The kind of hard work which Awolowo engaged in, as his sacrifice for a better Nigeria, is no more there; no thanks to the ulterior motif of joining politics in today's Nigeria for chop-and-let-me-chop-too-idiosyncrasy. Such bad attitude has been variously branded "National cake", "stomach Infrastructure" etc to deceive the undiscerning. Be that as it may, I still feel something urgent can be done to bring us back to the good old ways of people like Awolowo. I want to argue, here, that the same weapon that Awolowo used, to fight imperialism, can still be deployed, with modifications, to correct the ills of our society today – after all, he has left volumes of his thoughts with us that can be used as unassailable template to move Nigeria forward. I will just reiterate a few examples of what Awolowo did to gain freedom from imperialism and leave whoever cares, to work on Awolowo's principles, to consult his template.

First, just as Awolowo strove hard, with others, to break the shackles of Western imperialism, our contemporary politicians should show interest in breaking the shackles of impunity which is clearly ruining Nigeria, in leaps and bounds today. This can only be achieved with zeal, determination, the quest for the rule of law and impartiality.

The second recipe is that potential politicians should be seen as clearly demonstrating the ability to put their high standards of education and advancement into meaningful use, like Awolowo did. Education should be seen as a weapon of working relentlessly on how to solve the problems of Nigeria, like Awolowo, and not how to exploit the masses of the people. It is noteworthy that most of our politicians are highly intelligent although it is despicable that they use their intelligence as a weapon for the oppression and suppression of people's legitimate wishes.

Moreover, there should be readiness and sincerity, on the part of contemporary politicians, to use their intelligence to promote worthy causes like Awolowo. Not until contemporary politicians start to use their education to win opponents, at "the bar of world conscience and opinion", can they be adjudged ready for governance in modern day Nigeria. Preference should be given to well-articulated debate on campaign issues instead of the present use of thuggery and violence of all sorts. Awolowo, indeed, has built enough rhetorical foundation that contemporary politicians can fall upon. They should go ahead and articulate their thoughts before the broad public and let the people see the values they actually espouse.

Besides, upcoming politicians should show sufficient knowledge of our socio-politico-economic problems and be able to discuss them with ready solutions. They must detest, like a plague, the state of poverty which past misrule has thrown Nigeria into. They must develop political foresight, provide the panacea for bringing solution to our economic problems and social menace and raise the standard of our peasantry.

### 6.4. Summary and Conclusion

The background to this study could be traced to a general observation of scanty research on the rhetoric of Awolowo, a major participant in Nigeria's political process, for the reason of, probably, not being a past head of government. The study worked on the thesis that the rhetoric of Awolowo was worth studying because he was not just one of the most active participants in Nigeria's political process; he actually left volumes of his writings for posterity. The purpose of the study was to analyse and describe the values which Awolowo espoused during the agitation for self-rule. To achieve this, the study's only research question was transposed into a null hypothesis in order to underpin the assumption that the freedom of choice open to Awolowo, as a political rhetorician, would be greatly influenced by his knowledge and his experiential background.

The problem of the study itself was centred on whether or not Awolowo would react to the five issues of study similarly. Measures of the issues of politics, the economy, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education (Category A to E) were used to test the study's hypothesis through the content analysis method, using the ANOVA and Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison. The validity and reliability of the instrument were ensured through unassailable statistical methods. Pearson's Product Moment Correlational Analysis which was used for a test-retest measure of the final instrument yielded 0.75 reliability coefficient. It was also used for the multiple correlation of the composite scores of the coders with very high reliability coefficient. Findings confirmed the major assumptions guiding the study as the null hypothesis was rejected at

$P < 0.01$ , thus, indicating a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the 5 issues. Data revealed the mean scores of the issues in this order of salience: politics, (118.7); the economy, (64.2); social-culture milieu, (21.3); international relations, (19.5) and education (4.0).

This study is significant in so far as it has succeeded in translating to reality the major assumption of the study. It is hoped that other researches will find the methodology adopted for the study useful in verifying the study's findings and adaptable in ensuring validity for further related studies. Most fundamentally, it is hoped that, through adapting the methodology of this study, rational hypotheses regarding the role of political rhetoric in Nigeria, especially, and Africa generally can be formulated.

## 7. References

- i. Adediran, J. K. (1989) "Awo and the Nigerian Civil War: A Rhetorical Appraisal of Chief Awolowo's Civil War Speeches," (Unpublished B.A. Project, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan).
- ii. Adesanoye, F.A. (1973). A Study of the Varieties of Written English in Nigeria. (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Ibadan).
- iii. Akinyeye (2002). A Decade of Consolidation: The Journalist, Businessman, Politician and Lawyer. In: O.O. Oyelaran, T. Falola, M. Okoye, A. Thompson, eds., Obafemi Awolowo: The End of an Era? 2<sup>nd</sup> reprint. Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press.
- iv. Anderson, B. (1978). In: O. Otite, ed., Themes in African Social and Political Thought. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- v. Apter, D.E. (1963). Ghana in Transition. [Online] Available at: <https://www.questia.com/library/70519449/ghana-in-transition>. [Accessed 27 May, 2018]
- vi. Awolowo O. (1951). Text of Address as President of Action Group Presented at the AG Rally Held at Glover Memorial Hall on 26 August, 1951 (Unpublished)
- vii. Awolowo O. (1953). A Presidential Address at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Congress of the Action Group Held in Warri on 16 December 1953 (Unpublished)
- viii. Awolowo, O. (1954). Give Action Group a Chance: Election Broadcast in Preparation for the House of Representative Elections Delivered on 10 November, 1954 (Unpublished).
- ix. Awolowo, O. (1960). Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- x. Awolowo, O. (1981a). Voice of Reason. Akure: Olaiya Fagbamigbe Publishers.
- xi. Awolowo, O. (1981b). Voice of Courage. Akure: Olaiya Fagbamigbe Publishers.
- xii. Blankenship, J. (1972). Public Speaking: A Rhetorical Perspective. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- xiii. Bryant, D.C. (1972). "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope. In: D. Ehninger, ed., Contemporary Rhetoric. Glenview: Scott Foresman.
- xiv. Cross, D. (1983). Media Speak. New York: Mentor Books.
- xv. Danielson, W.A. (1977). Content Analysis in Communication Research. In: R.O. Nafzinger and D.M. White, eds., Introduction to Mass Communication Research. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- xvi. Denton, R.E. (Jr) and Hahn, D.F. (1986). Presidential Communication: Description and Analysis. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- xvii. Dudley, B. (1982). An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics. London: The Macmillan Press Limited.
- xviii. Ehninger, D. (1972). Contemporary Rhetoric. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1972.
- xix. Dyson (1998). Nigeria: The Birth of Africa's greatest Country (From the Pages of Drum Magazine). (Vol. Two). Ibadan: Spectrum Books limited.
- xx. Ekeh, P.P. (1978). Colonialism and the Development of Citizenship in Africa: A Study of Ideologies of Legitimation. In: O. Otite, ed., Themes in African Social and Political Thought. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- xxi. Emoruwa, E.O. Persuasion-argumentation Dualism in the Selected Speeches of Awo (Unpublished M.A, Thesis Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan, 1989).
- xxii. Falola and Adebayo (2002). Awolowo's Background, (1906-1934). In: O.O. Oyelaran, T. Falola, M. Okoye, A. Thompson, eds., Obafemi Awolowo: The End of an Era? Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press.
- xxiii. Golden, J.L., Bergquist, G.F., and Coleman, W.E. (2003). The Rhetoric of Western Thought. Dubuque: U.S.A. Kendall Hunt Publishing Coy.
- xxiv. Holsti, O.R. (1969). Content Analysis for the Social Science and Humanities. London: Addison-Westley Publishing Company.
- xxv. Ilechukwu, J.A., Akpan, E.E., Ogunnaike, B.A., Omoigi, S., Aderibigbe, P.O. (1978). Arise, O Compatriots. [Online] Lagos: Nigerian Police Band under the Directorship of Odiase B.E. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arise,\\_O\\_Compatriots](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arise,_O_Compatriots) [Accessed 27 May, 2018]
- xxvi. Johnson, R.E. (1988). Comparative Study of Selected Broadcast Speeches of Civilian and Military Heads of Government in Nigeria (Unpublished PH. D Thesis, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan).
- xxvii. Lawuyi, O. (2002). Mirror of Identity: Reflections on "Awo", His Contemporaries, His Time. In: O.O. Oyelaran, T. Falola, M. Okoye, A. Thompson, eds., Obafemi Awolowo: The End of an Era? Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press.

- xxviii. Leiserson, A. (1975). Problems of Methodology in Political Research. *Political Science Quarterly*, 90(3), p.576.
- xxix. Maiyanger, A.B. (1990). A Semantic and Pragmatic Analysis of Selected National Day Speeches of Nigerian Heads of State (Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, Department of English, University of Ibadan).
- xxx. Nasidi, K.A. (1990) A Rhetorical Analysis of some Selected Speeches of Alhaji Shehu Shagari (Unpublished B.A. Project, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan).
- xxxi. Obilade, T. (1987). *Research Methods in Language and Communication*. Ibadan: Odusote Bookstore Limited.
- xxxii. Ode, O. (1990). A Content and Stylistic Analysis of Some Selected Nigerian Budget Speeches (1960-1990)" (Unpublished M. C. A. Thesis, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan).
- xxxiii. Oke, D.O., Dare, O., Williams, A., Akinola, F. (2009). *AWO: On the Trail of a Titan Essays in Celebration of the Obafemi Awolowo Centennial*. Lagos: Obafemi Awolowo Foundation.
- xxxiv. Otite, O. (1978). (Ed.) *Themes in African Social and Political Thought*. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- xxxv. Oyelaran, O.O., Falola, T., Okoye, M., Thompson, A. (Eds.) (2002). *Obafemi Awolowo: The End of an Era?* Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press, 1988.
- xxxvi. Wallace, K.R. (1955). *Francis Bacon on communication & rhetoric*. North Carolina: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- xxxvii. Wallerstein, I. (2005). *Africa: The Politics of Independence and Unity*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- xxxviii. *Webster's New World Dictionary* (2013). Reading: Hammers Harrap Publishers Ltd
- xxxix. Weinrich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton
- xl. Zachernuk, P. (2002). *Awolowo's Economic Thought in Historical Perspective*. In: O.O. Oyelaran, T. Falola, M. Okoye, A. Thompson, eds., *Obafemi Awolowo: The End of an Era?* Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press.