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Obafemi Awolowo as the Personification of a Strong Opposition in Nigeria's First Republic: The Didactic Elements from His Rhetoric

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Abstract:

This paper examines whether or not there is a statistically significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education as the opposition leader in Nigeria's first experience at the parliamentary system of government during the first republic. The purpose of the study, in this regard, was to analyse Awolowo's political speeches during the period he served as the opposition and to see the extent to which each of them is given prominence of attention and also whether, taken together, they show Awolowo as a social democrat and prophet. Indeed, this study of Awolowo's experience as opposition leader, from December, 1959 (maiden meeting of the house was on Jan 13, 1960) to January 15, 1966, constitutes one out of seven hypotheses tested by this same researcher, and is therefore within the umbrella of the whole longitudinal study spanning the whole career of Awolowo as a politician from 1951 to 1983. For the whole longitudinal study, 40 political speeches which represent six phases in Awolowo's political career from 1951 to 1983 were selected through the proportional stratified sampling technique for content analysis. Measures of five broad issues (Category A – E), within and across six political situations, were employed to test seven hypotheses through the One-way ANOVA, Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison and Pearson's Product Moment Correlation. For the purpose of this particular paper, however, 3 of the 40 sampled speeches have been accommodated within this period. Using a logical scale comprising 25 themes, we assess the relative prominence of the five issues (dependent variable) against the background of Awolowo's reactions to the issues (independent variable) through the content analysis method, as originally conceptualized by Harold Laswell, (1948) and developed by Berelson (1952). Findings, from the One-way ANOVA, reveal that there is a statistically significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues. A further Newman Keuls' analysis, designed to locate where the differences could be found, shows that, whereas Awolowo places a greater emphasis on politics than any of the other four issues, as the opposition leader, he treats the other four issues uniformly. This is against the background of the revelation of the post-mortem comparison of the means of the issues. The research results were presented in 4 tables to show the pattern of Awolowo's rhetoric during this period.

Keywords: *Democracy, separation of power, opposition leader, personification, didactic elements, parliament, parliamentary system, legislature, executive, judiciary, the trias politica model, coalition, presidential, democratic socialism, crisis, polls, winners-take-all mentality, hybrid opposition, regional government, central government, power corrupts, allocutus*

1. The Study's Background

The principle of democracy makes it sacrosanct that the voices of the opposition must be heard and respected and cogent explanations must be given for every of their enquiry. In fact, it is trite understanding that the opposition is always saddled with the responsibility of putting the right questions to government with a view to expecting reasonable answers too. This was not so in Nigeria's first republic and I doubt if it is even so now. It is unfortunate that, in Nigeria of today, the voices of the opposition are still seen as the voices of dissent. The opposition in Nigeria, unfortunately, is still to be seen as an enemy that must be crushed instead of a partner in progress whose opinion must be sought and respected. This paper presents the report of a study by the researcher on Obafemi Awolowo's rhetoric during the period he was the official opposition leader, a period beginning with the grant of political independence to Nigeria, through the period when Nigeria was embroiled in a crisis of monumental dimension that sent Awolowo to prison and set the entire nation on fire; to the period of the negligent invitation of the army to take over the reins of power. Although the minority, ably represented by Awolowo, kowtowed to the decision-making principle of the majority, during this period, there was no reciprocal tolerance of the minority's alternative policies. Indeed, the most predominant reason for the various crisis, witnessed in the first republic, was the non-respect for the views of the minority, epitomized by Awolowo, however, grandiose these views might be.

Against this background, this study found it imperative to examine how Awolowo reacted to five crucial issues during this time when he was the opposition leader. The paper looks at this period as bedevilled with a lot of complications and crisis. It was the period when Awolowo relinquished power as premier with an eye on being Nigeria's first prime minister, an ambition that kissed the dust. He, thus, found himself as the opposition leader, with the Balewa's northern party (NPC), in coalition with Azikiwe's Eastern party, (NCNC) that formed the government, to the exclusion of his Western AG Party. Another complication was that, having moved to the centre, leaving his deputy, Chief S.L. Akintola in the region as premier, Akintola was not favourably disposed to the arrangement that Awolowo would still continue to be the party leader. Worse still, Awolowo too wanted to continue to enjoy an overwhelming control over the Western Region but Akintola would not want to hear of this. Furthermore, Awolowo, had, by this time, started the agitation for democratic socialism as a state ideology; whereas, neither the federal government nor any other regional government, was interested in this programme. Indeed, the NCNC government of Azikiwe, which was known for its democratic socialism credentials, had jettisoned the ideology in order to be good partners in the new alliance with the government's NPC party. Moreover, Awolowo was also different from the others because of his penchant for dedication, hard-work and forthrightness.

Indeed, at the embryonic stage of Nigeria's political development at independence, Awolowo was everything a leader of opposition should be. He was at the vanguard of providing checks and balances and standing against filibustering, which was a common way of obstructing the Nigerian legislature at independence. He was at the forefront of constructively criticising policies that were against people's happiness and prosperity as well as antithetical to good governance. He was at his best when proposing, advocating, explaining, explicating and defending policies that are diametrically opposed to the best interests of the people and presenting such as alternative policies from the opposition. He was able to effectively probe government bills that may be militating against equal opportunities for all. He was at the leading movement for initiating amendments to important bills and addressing issues that were not being effectively handled by government. Indeed, Awolowo was all there to complement democracy and make government's representatives to be responsive to their responsibilities and sensitive to the plight of the downtrodden. Awolowo was, unquestionably, the voice of the voiceless, standing tall against oppression. As a dependable watch dog, Awolowo did not shy away from his role of constructively criticising government and getting people to contribute to the dialectic by unboxing their thinking on particular issues of national importance. He was, in fact, a scrutinizer, who often raised the level of the people's political consciousness. Most importantly, Awolowo was a unique leader of opposition who was highly gifted in reeling out prophecies on what would happen, especially, under certain conditionalities and he had never failed even for once.

As much as Awolowo tried to play his God-assigned role, to the best of his ability and conscience, however, he was either misunderstood for what he stood for or deliberately maligned to prevent him from being the hero of Nigeria's democracy. So, in Nigeria's first republic, where Awolowo ensured that the opposition was clearly discernible from the government at the centre, the government was not comfortable with his rising profile and sought to cut him to size. In fact, Nigerian leaders of Awolowo's time saw themselves as the alpha and omega, by virtue of success at the polls and the attitude of winners-take-all. The aftermath of this was that researchers concentrated lavishly on the achievements and non-achievements of the various governments while either ignoring the opposition or classifying it as part of the governments of the day, with no remarkable mention. The mistake arising from this is that it is impossible to see whether or not the opposition performed the responsibilities due to it, which would have saved the first republic from the inevitable collapse that we all witnessed.

We wonder why a major opposition leader, like Awolowo, has been so widely side-tracked by researchers. It is true that a few historians, political analysts and philosophers have commented on Awolowo, in passing, when writing generally about Nigeria; nonetheless, Awolowo deserves more than this, having devoted all his life to searching for solutions to Nigeria's problems. Thus, the nitty-gritty of this particular study is that, because fearless and constructive opposition is hard to come by in any emerging democracy, kudos should be given to Awolowo for his excellent roles as an opposition leader.

Now is the best time to study more than ever before about Awolowo, as an opposition leader, when the watch-dog notion, the primary instrument for enforcing a government's accountability to elected representatives, is being gradually eroded; when the opposition is being continually weakened, thereby putting the national assembly in an enfeebled state. Now is the more appropriate time than before when Nigeria's executive presidential system has made a caricature of the doctrine of separation of power, by the nature of the complication of executive accountability to the legislature; when it becomes increasingly difficult to sanction an unpopular and unconstitutional president; where the president can wield the big stick against even strong opposition and legislatures and even court justices, up to the Supreme Court, by intimidating them with state agents like the EFCC, DSS, the Police, assassination bids, etc. This is why we see this study as representing a genuine effort at presenting Awolowo's voice of courage, wisdom and reason to the public so that they can know how rewarding it is to stand for the truth all the time, no matter the level of intimidation, believing that light will always come after darkness.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The background to this study has clearly shown that effective opposition is the hallmark of every true democracy. Scholars have actually agreed that without a strong opposition, democracy is as best as forgotten. The universality of consensus on this matter has, in fact, been corroborated by empirical findings that have stood the test of time. Nonetheless, the extensive consensus, that the place of the opposition in a democracy cannot be compromised, does not suggest what happens in case it is compromised, thereby, making the researchers' thoughts apparently hypothetical. We acknowledge

the fact that massive literature, for strong oppositions, in successful democracies, is available. It is regrettable, however, that researchers have failed largely to separate a situation where the opposition is apathetic and weak from a situation where it is subdued due to its being too strong to be handled by government. We contend that what happens to the opposition in the latter situation is worthy of serious debate and study. For example, should the opposition that has been strangled, to the point of extinction, continue to speak on behalf of the people? I know the stereotypical answer will be "yes"; but then, what happens where the government continues to wield the big stick, to the extent of bringing to focus, once again, John Dalberg-Acton's outburst: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely?" This is where to separate the boys from the men.

Einstein (2018) has this to say, concerning separating the boys from the men: "Great spirits have always encountered opposition from mediocre minds. The mediocre mind is incapable of understanding the man who refuses to bow blindly to conventional prejudices and chooses instead to express his opinions courageously and honestly." Is it not reasonable, then, that every opposition must keep its spirit high and fight violently and resiliently against unnecessary intimidation? Hear also Zinn (2002): "The power of a bold idea uttered publicly in defiance of dominant opinion cannot be easily measured. Those special people who speak out in such a way as to shake up not only the self-assurance of their enemies, but the complacency of their friends, are precious catalysts for change." I almost began to think that this man was referring to Awolowo but then, the quotation is applicable to any effective opposition leader who has the interests of his people and society at heart. It all boils down to how you see power and the determination not to make the man wielding it to destroy others with it.

Truly, power has been recognized as the tool of all forms of government. Also, the features of a government, in a democracy, have been acknowledged as distinct from those of the opposition, right from time immemorial. The implication of self-government in Aristotle's Athenian period, for example, saw the people doubling as "the rulers and the ruled" (Schmitz, 1988). Abraham Lincoln puts it another way. He says: "Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people and for the people" (2018). With development and advancement in governance came the doctrine of a clear separation of power, as propounded by Montesquieu (1748) in his book *The Spirit of the Laws*. The gist of the doctrine is that the government's several branches must be run in such a way that no conflict exists between one branch and the others, the most pronounced branches being the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, the trias politica model (Wikipedia, 2018). What the doctrine stands for is the prevention of undue concentration of power on any of the arms of government without checks and balances.

Arising from this doctrine is the principle of reciprocal respect whereby the majority reserves the authority to make decisions only on the condition that it respects the right of dissent from the minority to advance alternative policies (Schmitz, 1988). The crisis in Nigeria's first republic happened because government was based, not on the consent of the people but on the whims and caprices of those elected into office. The essentiality of the opposition to be so effectively strong as to take the place of an alternative government and queue behind the people, was recognized by Awolowo. He was, thus, more often than not, on the side of the people, to fight their cause. Can we say that Awolowo's opposition to the ills of his society, constructive and strong as it was, was able to checkmate the excesses of government? The answer is in the negative. The reason is that there was a conspiracy theory which allowed even Awolowo's lieutenants, like Akintola, etc to team up with the central government and the two other regional governments to kill Awolowo's vision. There was, indeed, a kind of hybrid opposition to Awolowo's opposition roles. Nigeria was reduced to a dismal state, shortly after independence, because there was a stronger, albeit, selfishly-motivated counter-opposition against the constructive opposition of Awolowo. There were, actually two oppositions, with those in government simultaneously performing their roles as government, on one hand and the roles of the opposition, on the other, even as they treated Awolowo as another government to be carefully watched. Awolowo's supposed role as the leader of all opposing parties was, therefore, truncated ab initio.

The period was really volatile; yet, Awolowo showed sufficient ability and resilience to swizzle the ruling party. The ruling party, on its own, was too stubborn and egocentric to be whipped into line. Schmitz (1988), writing about the risks open to the opposition in the 16th and 17th centuries Britain, quotes historian Macaulay as saying: "... every man who then meddled with public affairs took his life in his hand... It was, we seriously believe, as safe to be a highwayman as to be a distinguished leader of the opposition...." This was the case with Awolowo during the first republic. It was, however, an irony of fate that the same way King Louis XVII, the absolute French monarch, was violently removed from office through a bloody revolution that claimed several lives, so were most of the Nigeria's First Republic major participants, who scuttled Awolowo's good intentions, forcefully removed through a bloody coup that truncated the first Nigerian republic.

Awolowo's own colleagues, in government, were so hostile to him because they did not believe that he, as the Opposition Leader, could be loyal and patriotic to the cause of the nation and that his preachment of democratic socialism was only a deceptive façade to cover his arrogance and elitism. There was even this body language of the Tafawa Balewa government that often suggested to the opposition: "wait for your turn to do it the way you want to do it; as far as we are concerned, we will do it our own way, whether right or wrong." No wonder, on May 27, 1963, when Lord Radcliff delivered the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council's judgement, upholding the validity of the dismissal of Chief Akintola and returning the premiership to Alhaji Adegbenro, the Federal Government, with the connivance of the Western House of Assembly, lackadaisically, changed the law and backdated it retroactively to October 2, 1960 to nullify the Privy Council's position. Thus, on May 30, 1963, a statement was issued by the Prime Minister to the effect that the Federal Government would better give support to the Constitution of Western Nigeria (Amendment) Law, 1963 - that the premier could only be removed by the Governor with a majority decision of the Regional Legislature - than the ruling of the Privy Council of England.

That was how proven the impunity was. Nonetheless, Awolowo, equally stubborn and resilient, would not want to hear that. Although he had been put under house arrest since September 22 1962, he continued to fight for the cause of the common man, as an opposition leader, until the big stick was used against him by the state. On September 11, 1963, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for treasonable felony, despite a powerful 20 minutes allocutus which the judge could have taken into consideration but for his hands that were "tied". Awolowo was left to die in prison but, like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, he survived and came back on the scene of Nigeria's governance once again, as he had predicted in his allocutus. Although his traducers were worsted, he was vindicated.

It can, therefore, be seen that in Nigeria's first experiment at internal democracy, after independence, the opposition was misconstrued, undermined, maligned, relegated and rubbished. With a plethora of nasty paradigms, its stamina ebbed and the opposition was made prostrate by an inconsiderate heady government. The main opposition, epitomised by Awolowo, crashed like the ice of polar sea, with the government, too, irredeemably doomed, making the coming of the military, on 15 January, 1966, inevitable. In this coup that was led by the trio of Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogu, Emmanuel Ifeajuna and Adewale Ademoyega, apparently, to clear the Augean stable, 22 people were assassinated. From then till now, the shift, back and forth, from militarism to civilian democracy, has been unenviable, no thanks to the recurring suspicion and relegation of any serious opposition and obvious failure to learn from the past

With Awolowo's candour and composure, as well as his unbending nature, as an effective opposition, despite all the persecutions he passed through, and with his eventual vindication, we felt it to be very strange that he has been ignored by researchers. This neglect could be attributed, partly, to the fact that Awolowo was punished for a crime he did not commit; so, some researchers may want to see him as a villain to whom nothing serious must be attributed. It could also be because he never ruled as a head of state, even though those who ruled in the then government of his days were not considered good enough to live. Be that as it may, we felt there was something to be learnt about this "cat with nine lives" who gave his country all within his power, despite his persecutions; the one who predicted, during his height of persecution, that he would not die in prison, that he was temporarily in darkness but that there would be light after the tunnel (and it was so); the one whose thoughts were once described as being "laced with sublime erudition" by no less a personality than General (Dr) Yakubu Gowon, the former head of the Nigerian state, under whom later Awolowo served as Vice-chairman. What are the features of his research, or, better still, his rhetoric, that makes it to be seen as having sublime erudition? We need to know. What didactic elements can be inferred from the history of Awolowo as opposition leader? We need to know. How did Awolowo react to several unconstitutional laws and behaviours arising from the government of his days as opposition leader? We need to know. How did Awolowo react to illegality upon illegalities, resulting into, what Aluko (2006) refers to as, "unintended consequences"? We need to know.

Looked at from the point of view of all the above antecedents that we need to know about the past of Nigeria, coupled with the accusation that the present government's fanatical muzzling of the opposition, is getting worse by the day, it is considered imperative to assess how the first ever Nigerian opposition, took precautions and made predictions that would have saved the country from collapse, had the governments listened. This is with a view to projecting to the present crops of leaders how to learn from the governments' mistakes of the past. As robust as this presumption may be, it is paradoxical that there has not been a serious research to see how Awolowo, the head of the first republic opposition, warned the government severally, through his rhetoric and prophecies, on conditions that ought to be maintained for the republic not to be truncated.

Thus, the problem of this study is associated with the authentically evidenced paradox, arising from the attitude that nothing didactic could be deciphered from Awolowo's volumes of speeches and thoughts as the first true opposition leader after independence. Yet, Awolowo's volumes of speeches and thoughts are so well-reasoned, well-researched, thought-provoking, prophetic, objective and future-penetrating that they cannot be ignored even by the present and future leaders of Nigeria. In order to unravel the major problem of the study, we examined the relationships between Awolowo's treatment of the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education - including the dominant themes associated with them - during the period he was the opposition leader (independent variables) and the relative prominence attached to the issues (dependent variable). Accordingly, this study endeavoured to answer the question bordering on the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, highlighted above, during Awolowo's stint as the opposition leader in the first republic.

1.2. Aim of the Study

It was the main aim of this study to examine Awolowo's attempt at tackling the government through the five issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, when he was the opposition leader in Nigeria's first republic. The corollary was to authenticate the prediction that a vociferous and highly self-opinionated Awolowo would articulate the broad issues in the polity that called for concern. This is even against the backdrop of pitching his new-found love for democratic socialism against the capitalist-orientation of the government in power. It was our genuine expectation that Awolowo, a wrestler, who would never come home from a fight defeated, would combine the strategies of persuasion, argumentation, inoculation and attack strategy to present his opinion on how the government is being run and outline what he considered as better alternatives than those of government.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Researchers have reached an infallible conclusion about the major role of the opposition in a democracy. It is this: The opposition performs the onerous duty of holding the government accountable by scrutinizing their deeds and misdeeds and it presents such to the government and the people, including its own alternatives, through talk. As has been

stated earlier, the original aim of this study was to evaluate Awolowo's opposition role, shortly after Nigeria's independence. The significance of this study is, therefore, anchored on the necessity of examining how Awolowo assumed the responsibility of coordinating the affairs of the opposition parties through his talks on the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, during the first republic. Particularly, the study was out to see the tripartite ability of Awolowo at challenging government policies, harmonizing other available policies and producing coherent and reliable policies that could stand the test of time. We believe that an exercise of this nature, will be of heuristic value to current and future Nigerian leaders in lieu of providing intellectual shortcuts for soothing the cognitive load of governmental decision-making. Besides, this study will definitely be doing justice to the memory of this great man who was supposed to be the rallying point for other parties in the minority but who was obviously left on a frolic of his own to decide when to agree with the government and when to disagree. This situation actually put Awolowo on the spot because of the complications inherent in determining when very obvious government bad policies were being rebuffed by the general public because of the apathy of Awolowo's other colleagues in the opposition. In such situations, the option, left to Awolowo, was to keep a close eye and ear on the needs and wants of the public. I should also think that credit should be given to this man who, all alone, would have to double his efforts by going down different routes to look for information, which were, hitherto, at the fingertips of government officials. At times, Awolowo paraded documents on the Nigerian economy which were unproduced able by the reigning and ruling government. This study postulates that there cannot be a better demonstration of patriotism, at its best, than this. It is our belief that this study will undress the extent to which Obafemi Awolowo can be considered as the personification of a strong opposition in Nigeria's first attempt at self-governance as well as produce didactic elements for contemporary Nigeria.

1.3.1. The Impact of the Study within Its Discipline

This study has been carried out within the context of laying the foundation for other related studies bordering on interdisciplinarity with the hope that it will provide a useful linkage between subjects in the social sciences. From the identification of problem, through the review of relevant literature to the methodology, this study promises to be of relevance and value in political science, applied linguistics, sociology and communication. It is, thus, our belief that researchers in the identified subject areas and others related subject areas will find the methodology adaptable and useful.

1.3.2. Research Question/Hypothesis

The offshoot of this study's problem was premised on the authentically evidenced paradox concerning researcher's general neglect of Awolowo's volumes of speeches and thoughts as the first true opposition leader after independence. As has been said, earlier, Awolowo's rhetoric, as opposition leader, has apparently been consigned to the footnote of history, despite his tremendous effort at creditably playing the role of an opposition leader despite obvious naked life electric wire set before him. This is not fair on Awolowo. We feel very strongly that there should be a more rugged perspective to research on a charismatic opposition leader, like Awolowo, who had carved a niche for himself by his outspoken and insistent attack on the corrupt government of Balewa. Awolowo had, indeed, vociferously tackled the conservative inept and corrupt government of Balewa – a government that was incapable of fulfilling the wishes of the people – in a consistent manner. His is a different kind of opposition that has done more than even the government in alleviating the sufferings of the masses and giving them happiness. We contend that in as much as he had performed his role effectively well as the Opposition Leader, researchers ought to have published lots of studies on him and his style of operation, including his penchant for information gathering and his effectiveness in using the information gathered to confront the government on what needed to be done to move Nigeria forward. This would have boosted the cause of empiricism and debunked certain falsehood that had been peddled about Awolowo as a result of unhealthy propaganda of his opponents and enemies. Of even the utmost importance is the fact that unassailable research on the rhetoric of Awolowo, during this period, would have prepared the ground for successive opposition leaders after him to get prepared for what to say on the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, to react to government's preparedness and wade off any counter attack that could be coming from government. Such action like this is even more required under the presidential system, where the power of the president is almost absolute. For example, consistent effective opposition after Awolowo would have curbed the excesses of government, including unnecessary intimidation of the opposition and other critics. As a consequence, from the preceding speculation, the following question has been raised by this study on the rhetoric of Awolowo during his tenure as opposition leader. The question is this: Does any significant difference exist in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues as the opposition leader during Nigeria's first republic? This research question has been transposed to the null hypothesis: No significant difference exists in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues as the opposition leader during Nigeria's first republic

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Essentiality of a Strong Opposition in a True Democracy

The essentiality of hiring and firing of political leaders in a democracy is a sine-qua-non. This is, however, made possible by 2 factors – the sincerity of government and the determination of the opposition to counterattack any unwholesome policy of the government. The sincerity of the government can be ascertained, partly, by its readiness to resign from government anytime the criticism of the opposition and the people have been so overwhelming as to threaten the continued existence of such government. The government also demonstrates sincerity by conducting free and fair elections that will make the people solely responsible for choosing their succeeding government. On its own part, the

determination of the opposition to counterattack any unwholesome policy of the government is hinged on its readiness to know the nitty-gritty of how the government is being run, including the various indices of ascertaining the development and progress of the country; be on its toes all the time to see when the government is doing well, with a mind of commending it and when it is doing badly, with a mind of pointing the attention of the government as well as the people to the lapses. Arguing along this line, Naing (2014) states that the necessity of the opposition for democracy is dependent upon its being adequately constructive and strong so as to be able to confront the government on its actions and policy. Indeed, it is only by its role of being constructive and strong that a viable alternative and an awaiting government can be provided.

Also, speaking on the need for a strong opposition, Ajao (2016) recalls that different levels of government were created by the founding fathers of the US in order to advance the cause of checks and balances. He sees in a strong opposition, the determination to counter the government by "filibustering a law" thereby, killing dangerous laws outright, even from the womb. This, according to him, will discourage the government from making laws that run counter to the interest of the people. Against this background, it will be appropriate to see whether Awolowo was a strong Opposition Leader and what factors assisted him.

2.2. *The Factors That Made Awolowo a Strong Charismatic Opposition Leader*

Wikipedia (2018) gives two senses by which the term charisma can be construed. The first is that charisma is "compelling attractiveness or charm that can inspire devotion in others." Inevitably, the man with compelling attractiveness will be strong as well as loveable. This aptly describes Awolowo. Secondly, charisma is seen as "a divinely conferred power or talent." Awolowo was, by this standard, too, a charismatic person. Akporugo (1987) describes Awolowo as "a populariser of an almost incisive proportion." This position has been corroborated by several sources too that Awolowo had an aura in him that would compel any of his followers do his will. His word in his party, the Action Group, was the will the people would love to obey. It was their constitution. He was, indeed, an icon, with lots of myths surrounding him. He was believed to have a lot of supernatural endowments, including the ability to disappear at any attempt to catch him. Some even believed that he was the reincarnated Oduduwa, the progenitor of his Yoruba tribe. He was, therefore, adored, worshipped and obeyed.

Awolowo's charisma was also a product of his power and talent. For example, anything he predicted came to pass. Far back in 1986, when he was requested to contribute to a debate on the new political transition of President Babangida, he turned the offer down with a prediction, as reported by Ajani (2018):

I received your letter of February 28, 1986, and sincerely thank you for doing me the honour of inviting me to contribute to the ... search for a new social order ... something within me tells me, loud and clear, that we have embarked on a fruitless search ... At the end of the day, when we imagine that the new order is here, we would be terribly disappointed ... I beg to decline your invitation.

He was correct. Although he died a year after the prediction (1987), the prediction came to pass seven years after it was uttered, when, after having put a lot of energy and money into the new political transition, the last phase, witnessing the conduct of the presidential election, was disrupted. The June 12, 1993 election, generally adjudged the freest and fairest, in the history of the nation, was annulled. The same Awolowo predicted his death at the celebration of his 78th birthday on March 6, 1987, when he said, "What I'm actually celebrating is the imminence of my transition to eternal life" (Awolowo, 1987). He never lived to celebrate another one, as he died two months later, on 09 May, 1987.

Awolowo was well schooled and well-grounded in the art of rhetoric. He was a very effective communicator, which made him to have a retinue of followers, always behind him. This is in tandem with Riggio's (2012) assertion that "Charismatic leaders are essentially very skilled communicators – individuals who are both verbally eloquent, but also able to communicate to followers on a deep, emotional level. They are able to articulate a compelling or captivating vision, and are able to arouse strong emotions in followers." Awolowo, indeed, was a legal luminary with a predisposition for articulating his views before the broad public. Awolowo, (1951b:1) himself attests to this when he says: "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." Taiwo (2002:207), corroborates Awolowo's penchant for articulate rhetoric, when he says: "... 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."

Riggio's (2012) also talks about transformational leadership, which he claims goes beyond charisma as it incorporates "idealized influence" (ability to walk the talk as a role model to followers) and "inspirational motivation" (ability to inspire and motivate followers in the areas of performance and commitment). Awolowo was, indeed, a role model, who the youths of his time loved to emulate. He was a motivating factor to some of these youths, who chose to study law so they could be as articulate and radical as Awolowo.

Conger and Kanungo (1998) are also of the opinion that the personality and charm of a charismatic leader, rather than any extraneous variable from outside, will make them to attract followers. Awolowo had a personality of integrity, truth and puritan morality. Anytime he promised to do something for the people, in his manifestoes, he usually obliged them. That explains the reason politicians are still using his name to campaign, in Nigeria even till today.

Another factor that distinguished Awolowo as a charismatic opposition leader was his commitment to doing the right thing, no matter what others were doing. As the Leader of the Federal Opposition, Awolowo knew that his major duty was to keep watch over the Federal Government and point out the right things that needed to be done to it. That was the reason he refused to be in coalition with the other opposing parties, who jettisoned their opposition role to team up with

the government of Tafawa Balewa. According to Sanford (2012), the opposition must be so organized as to be able to fill whatever gap is left by government as well as empathize with all citizens who have been relegated to the abyss of hopelessness and oblivion, including, but not limited to, the poor, the marginalized, the oppressed and the disenfranchised. With this calculation, opposition parties, in a multiparty state, have always shared an unbroken bond with the citizens which would, at least, prepare them for the next election. During Nigeria's first republic, however, the opposite of the above scenario played up, where all the major parties, instead of working in tandem with Awolowo, the Opposition Leader, preferred to work with the government. The fact that all other major opposition parties in Nigeria's first republic teamed up with the Balewa's NPC to form a government of national unity made only Awolowo to be of essence in Nigeria's politics. Babangida, a former Nigerian President, saw it all and said it all, in a congratulatory message to Awolowo, at his 77th birthday celebration. As reported by The African Guardian of May 14, 1987, Babangida states, in his message of goodwill, as the then incumbent president: "It can be truly said that Chief Obafemi Awolowo has been the main issue in Nigerian politics during the last 35 years: the main political question is whether you are with Chief Awolowo or against him."

It can be safely concluded that Awolowo was, generally emboldened, as an Opposition Leader, by his compelling attractiveness, his instinctual bravery, his rhetorical skills, his transformational leadership style, his personality and charm and his commitment to doing the right thing. All these qualities actually made Awolowo, as Jibo (2009:88) has recalled: "a politician with wide national appeal."

2.3. The Burden on the Opposition Leader for Continuous Communication: The Nigerian Experience at Understanding and Accommodating the Opposition

Myatt, M. (2012) states that you cannot be a good leader without being, first, a good communicator. While the school teaches us to focus on ourselves, real communication is contingent upon developing a keen eternal awareness that makes you speak about your ideas in such a way as to speak out your emotions and aspirations, he enthuses. Every level of communication – be it interpersonal, group, intercultural needs effective communication as an indispensable element. That explains why the development of the skills of communication becomes highly necessary. It has also been suggested by Myatt, M. (2012) that a heightened sense of situational and contextual awareness is the number one thing that effective communicators must strive to have. The knowledge of the environment is also essential and the need to adapt their conversation to such environment.

There is also a link between the politician's charisma and his communication. A politician who speaks with both sides of his mouth cannot be believed. His communication may end up being an effort in futility; whereas, the one who has a reputation for sincere and honest dealings, will be heard by the people. Most importantly, you just need to focus on using communication to help others.

There is a burden on the Opposition Leader to be on his feet and talk all the time. He needs to talk when the government is doing well, to commend them. He must also be able to talk when the government is derailing in order to advise them, synthesise the people about it and give directions. In the Nigerian experience, however, politicians, including, ironically, co-opponents of government do not seem to understand the onerous communication role of the Opposition Leader to continuously bring sanity to the art of governance. Mabogunje, (2002:8), indeed, records that: "As leader of the Federal Opposition, he [Awolowo] came to be known for his informed, diligently researched and nationalistic posture on many issues which did not always go well with the government of the day."

I give one example here. In an interview Akintola granted the Drum in May 1965, as Premier of Western Nigeria, when Awolowo was already in prison for treasonable felony, Uba (2012:117) reports Akintola, as saying that his main disagreement with Awolowo was that, while he (Akintola) favoured a national government, Awolowo did not. In this interview, Akintola also likens the opposition leadership role of Awolowo as, "Party partisanship to the extreme." He equally asserts that this "is a feature of Western democracy...alien to African conception of national unity." Uba, further, records Akintola, as saying:

I am yet to be convinced that there is a basic difference in the ideologies being professed by the various political parties in Africa...I feel that, at the present stage of our development, the objective should be a national government in which everyone would have a feeling of belonging. A national government is a commonwealth in which every citizen is a shareholder. No one would desire to subvert it.

There are two issues from this interview that need to be noted. The first is that Akintola could be seen as being either evasive or deceptive when he likened Awolowo's opposition role, which is a prominent feature of parliamentary democracy, to party partisanship to the extreme. I am sure that Akintola was sufficiently educated and learned to know that Awolowo could only be seen as being alive to his communication role as an Opposition Leader by constructively criticising the government in power. Indeed, if Awolowo had joined the national government, ostensibly to maintain "African conception of national unity", as Akintola had wished, there would have been no opposition at all and Nigerians would have continued to suffer in silence. Besides, if one remembers quickly that this same Akintola was Awolowo's Deputy, in the Action Group, where Awolowo was Party Leader, and their party's consistent call for democratic socialism, as an ideology, one will be able to see, clearly, that Akintola was, actually, averse to Awolowo's democratic socialism. Kolzow (2014) is, therefore, correct to have said that "Leaders today sometimes appear to be an endangered species." His observation is even truer today about Nigeria's opposition leaders than any other time in the past of Nigeria.

4. Methodology and Data Collection

It was the intention of the study, ab initio, to present Awolowo's rhetoric on five issues (the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education) during the time he was the opposition leader with a view to determining how each stood on his scale of prominence. Consequently, a content analysis of Awolowo's sampled speeches

was undertaken to work on the dependent and independent variables of "issue prominence" and "issue choice" respectively and in order to test the study's hypothesis. Preparatory to this, a logical scale of 25 themes, was validated and the study's constructs were, clearly, operationalized.

It was also preempted that if any significant difference in the sample means was cited, then, it would be necessary to examine the population means, in order to see if statistics would justify Awolowo's choice of one issue over any of the others. So, it was our intention to test whether the difference would be great enough as to rule out any chance. Thus, the study used the 1-factor ANOVA to test the means of Awolowo's reactions to the five issues for equality or difference and the Newman Keuls' Methods of Multiple Comparisons to identify where the significant differences stood.

The philosophical underpinning of the study was that a legal luminary and economic expert and freedom fighter, like Awolowo, was by providence and by determination, prepared for the arduous responsibilities of leading the opposition, while not foreclosing the fight of the titans that would evolve because of the determination of the national cake eaters, equally weighty in substance and component, to take away from the way, anyone who would want to destabilize their evil agenda of milking Nigeria dry. The kind of fight that would ensue was, therefore, easy to predict. It was, as speculated, the fight between light and darkness; thus, making the philosophical underpinning, no doubt, encapsulated in the communication behaviors of both the government and the opposition. While Awolowo, demonstrated, in his rhetoric that he could see light in the Nigerian economy, politics and socio-cultural life, subject to certain conditions; his opponent in the NDDP, NCNC etc. were unable to see anything.

4.1. An Appropriate Contextualisation of the Research

It was our objective, in this study, to create a systematised procedure for putting this work in the most proper perspective in the context of previous work. In this regard, the problem of the study was identified as distinct from the problems of earlier related works. The study's problem was simultaneously explained and investigated through the critical review of relevant literature and employment of fool-proof methodologies. Furthermore, the research was subjected to scientific verification and authentication by testing the hypothesis, using the 1 Factor ANOVA and Newman Keuls' Statistics. Moreover, the psychometric properties of the study – reliability and validity – were guaranteed through measures like the pilot study, clear operationalization of the study's constructs and the test-retest measure of the content analysis scale.

5. Research Findings and Data Analysis

5.1. Research Findings

The research question is: Is there is a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education as the opposition leader in Nigeria's first experience at the parliamentary system of government during the first republic? Thus, the null hypothesis (H_0) derived from the research question is: There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues with Awolowo as opposition leader during Nigeria's first republic. This null hypothesis was tested with the aid of two parametric statistics – the One-Way ANOVA and Newman Keul's Method of Multiple Comparison. The One-Way ANOVA test corroborated the speculation that a significant difference existed in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues, thereby rejecting the H_0 and confirming the alternative H_1 . A posteriori analysis multiple comparison of the mean scores of the issues also show politics as the most predominantly focused issue in the polity while all the remaining four issues stand on the same pedestal, the difference in their mean scores notwithstanding. Table 1 to 4 below show clearly and considerably, the results obtained from the ANOVA and the Newman Keul's statistics, beyond the 0.05 level of significance.

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Total	119697.74	14	-		
Between	159886.24	4	39971.56	10.04	P<0.01
Within	39811	10	3981.15		

Table 1: The ANOVA Performed on the Five Issues during the Period Awolowo Served as the Opposition Leader in Nigeria's First Republic

- Here, H_0 states: There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education as the opposition leader in Nigeria's first experience at the parliamentary system of government during the first republic.
- On the other hand, H_1 states: There is a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education as the opposition leader in Nigeria's first experience at the parliamentary system of government during the first republic

It can be clearly seen why the H_0 has been rejected and the H_1 upheld. This is against the background that the F obtained 10.04 is greater than the F tabulated (5.99) at better than the 0.01 level ($F = 10.04$; $df = 4/10$; $p < 0.01$). Thus, the null hypothesis suffers defeat while the alternative hypothesis is upheld.

The Issues	Economics	Politics	Socio-cultural Milieu	International Relations	Education
	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3
	x1 = 91.3	x2 = 298.7	x3 = 32.3	x4 = 15.87	x5 = 13.3
Economics		207.4**	59.0 ^{ns}	75.63 ^{ns}	78.0 ^{ns}
Politics			266.4**	182.83**	285.4**
Socio-cultural Milieu				16.43 ^{ns}	19.0 ^{ns}
International					2.57 ^{ns}
Education					

Table 2: Multiple Comparison of the Magnitude of Salience for the Five Issues When Awolowo Was the Opposition Leader through Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparisons

*P < *0.05 (Significant at This Level) P < **0.01 (Significant at This Level) Ns = Not Significant*

The result of the multiple comparison of the magnitude of salience for the five issues which Awolowo discussed as the Opposition Leader is shown in Table 2 above. It is as a result of the study's interest in determining where exactly the difference in the prominence of the five issues actually can be located after performing an ANOVA which only limitation is that it stops to locate a difference without actually being able to pinpoint where the difference actually is.

	0.05	0.01
Q2	114.75	163.2
Q3	141.34	191.98
Q4	157.74	210.20
Q5	169.39	223.68

Table 3: The Critical Differences Obtained from the Studentized Table Regarding the Null Hypothesis

In addition to the critical differences, the means of the five issues discussed during the first republic were compared. The means are reproduced again in Table 4 below.

Period	Hypothesis	Mean scores of issues					Source
		Politics	Economy	Socio-cultural milieu	International relations	Education	
Opposition	Any difference in issues discussion as opposition leader?	289.7	91.3	32.3	15.87	13.3	Table 2

Table 4: Mean Scores of Five Issues within the Period When Awolowo Was the Opposition Leader

The following conclusions were reached from our effort:

- Awolowo placed a greater emphasis on politics than any of the other four issues when he was the opposition leader.
- No statistically significant difference was observed in the remaining six pairs of measures; therefore, Awolowo treated the remaining 4 issues equally.

5.2. Data Analysis

The research question for this part was answered in the affirmative. It was revealed by the ANOVA statistics that a significant difference existed in Awolowo's treatment of the issues during the first republic. A post-mortem comparison of the issues means also revealed that politics was the most predominantly discussed issue. All the other issues were discussed uniformly.

I have argued, elsewhere, (Babatunde, 2018d:378) that Awolowo's strident attacks and concentration on the colonial economic policies had subsided when he was premier between 1954 and 1959. Between 1960 and 1962, whatever remained of Awolowo's zeal at criticizing and attacking the colonial government had been transferred to the criticism of the political and ideological stand of the ruling party – the NPC. Awolowo's thoughts on the economy had, therefore, been further relegated. Rather, Awolowo's preoccupation was with politics and politicking.

Another reason why politics had no equal during this period was because it was the first time when Awolowo strove to defend the political ideology of democratic socialism. This is reflected in the treatment of his speeches during this period. For example, in his presidential address at the 7th congress of the A.G. held at Abelabi Hall Mushin, Lagos on 19 June, 1960, Awolowo delved extensively on such themes like peaceful, orderly, democratic and progressive society; the

rule of law; faster speed in the formulation and execution of policies and programmes; the rights of oppressed people; the duties of a nation to its citizens; freedom, peace and justice to all citizens; equality of opportunities; welfare state; political power; the masses as custodian of political power adherence to the spirit of the constitution; leadership of democratically run political party, etc. Likewise, Awolowo's "Philosophy for Independent Nigeria" lecture delivered to Nigerian students at Conway Hall London touched on such themes like corporate and individual rights of citizens; functions of government; attributes of political leaders; loyalty and devotion by followers; welfare and happiness of the citizenry; socialist ideals, etc. Again, his presidential address at the 8th congress of the A. G held at Jos on February 2, 1962 made political issue the main focus of attention. Here, Awolowo delved extensively on such themes like minority rights; political self-determination; creation of more regions; national government; social justice, equal opportunity for all and the well-being of the individual; capitalist-oriented ideology; democratic socialism etc. In a nutshell, Awolowo's preoccupation, as an opposition leader, was mainly with politics. The similarity of the result obtained here with the one obtained when Awolowo was Premier (Ho₂) is obvious. Here the data also identified politics with a mean score of 298.7 as the most important subject in Awolowo's agenda as an opposition leader. The remaining mean scores are as follows: the economy means (91.3). Socio-cultural mean (32.3), international relations mean (15.87) and education mean (13.3). The examination of data also revealed Awolowo's formal introduction of democratic socialism as a state philosophy.

5.2.1. Analytical Framework

The redesigned analytical models of Holsti's (1969) and Johnson's (1988) were used for the study. The new contributions by this study were the highlights of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables and the study's analytical scheme.

6. Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

Data interpretation has shed some light on the values espoused by Awolowo as the opposition leader between 1960 and 1963. Three speeches constituted the stratum of sample for this period (see appendix1). The first pertinent question is: What factors guided Awolowo's rhetoric as opposition leader in Nigerian post-independence era?

Dunn (1980:152) records that in post-independence Nigeria, politics became identified "with the corrupt and blatant enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, and the nepotism, tribalism and repression with which the politicians kept themselves in power." There was, indeed, the double-edged ethics of entrepreneurial initiative which sought to legitimize the crass inequality between the few rich and the several poor while at the same time providing opportunities and succour to the downtrodden. By this time, politics had become a focus of resentment for failing to keep alive the hopes for "life more abundant" for the masses of the people.

I have argued in my two earlier published papers (Babatunde, 2018b:146; Babatunde, 2018d:380) that Awolowo's penchant for nationalism and welfarism explained his party's political slogans of "life more abundant" in the periods of agitation against colonialism and Awolowo's premiership. Naturally, with 'life more abundant' nose-diving for majority of Nigerians, Awolowo could not but share in the people's resentment. He, therefore, sought to change the status quo through his rhetoric savoured of democratic socialism. Thus, Awolowo's shift of focus from regional to national politics in 1959 witnessed a corresponding shift in ideology. The next question is: How did Awolowo formulate his agenda as opposition leader?

6.2. Discussion of Findings

First, Awolowo's emphasis on freedom shifts from that of corporate freedom to individual freedom immediately after of as the opposition leader in Nigeria's first republic, Awolowo deemphasized his thoughts on independence. Rather, his determination was to ensure that Nigeria's independence was synonymous with individual freedom and a more abundant life for the masses of the people. To Awolowo, "a citizen of an independent country enjoys individual freedom, when he is free to say and do what he likes." Awolowo, however, feels that such freedom, enjoyed by the individual, must be subject to the laws enacted by the freely elected parliament or the popular legislative assembly of the land. He also believes that the country cannot be said to be free unless its citizens are free. He, therefore, argues that "in a democracy ...and in normal circumstances, the freedom of a country connotes the freedom of its individual citizens." (Awolowo, 1981a:10)

He, however, criticizes the Tafawa Balewa economic policy which was still tied to the apron strings of the British economy. He opines that "political freedom is meaningless unless it goes hand in hand with economic freedom" (Awolowo, 1981a:10). He warns the government against economic subjugation, which he feels could take several but not easily perceptible forms, the result of which could indicate that "many free nations are only ostensibly so" (Awolowo, 1981a:10). Thus, Awolowo feels that the economic shackles being worn by the so-called nations "are heavy and extremely depressing but are visible only to the discerning eye" (Awolowo, 1981a:10) He concludes by admonishing the Tafawa Balewa government to "ensure as near a state of equilibrium as possible among all the citizens, in their legitimate demand for equitable shares on the national products (Awolowo, 1981a:11).

The issues of equality also feature prominently in Awolowo's thoughts on international relations. As far as he is concerned, all mankind, irrespective of colour or race, should be regarded as equal.

Consequently, atrocities and injustices “by Africans to Africans or by whites to whites must be condemned with the same vigour as we denounce white atrocities and injustices to Africans and coloured people” (Awolowo, 1960b:13). Akin to Awolowo’s notion of freedom is the theme of political control. Awolowo classifies the primal functions of a government under two headings, viz:

- Its duty to the state to preserve its corporate existence against internal disorder and external aggression and
- Its duty to the citizens to cater for their welfare and promote their happiness (awolowo, 1981a:11)

He counsels that all leaders of thought and all political parties must enjoin and ensure among their leadership the strict adherence of the letter and spirit of the Nigeria’s constitution. He also calls on the party leadership to demonstrate positive attributes which would endear them to their supporters.

On education, Awolowo speaks convincingly of the need for a thoroughly enlightened, educated and disciplined manpower resources. According to him, the people “must not only... know their rights but (must) also appreciate and discharge, with a fanatical and selfless sense of mission, their duties and obligations to the state.” Awolowo also speaks extensively on the welfare of the people as opposition leader. He promises, among other things, that his party would continue to translate its policies into concrete programmes for the propriety, welfare and happiness of the people under its jurisdiction. He believes that the citizens need a healthy body which could be reared only on “good food” adequate shelter, decent clothing, a reasonable measure of comfort and luxury and a wholesome environment” (Awolowo, 1981a:11). According to Awolowo, the citizens also need a sound and cultivated mind which truly is free to know and meditate upon the things of its choice. In addition, his natural, conventional and legal rights must be protected and upheld with impartiality and inflexible justice by the appropriate organs and his society.

He also vowed that his party’s economic objectives and developmental programmes would be rooted in and guided strictly by the socialist ideals of equal opportunity for all, equitable distribution of the national products, the liberty, dignity and well- being of the individual and brotherhood among all mankind. Awolowo’s resolve to “work unremittingly for the peace and tranquillity of Nigeria” was predicated on the belief that by so doing, the unity of Nigeria would be preserved and rapid progress made towards the attainment of a welfare state. (1960b:45)

Awolowo also places a great emphasis on political and economic development during this period. His major emphasis on economic development is that the development of agriculture must go hand in hand with industrialization. On political development, Awolowo recognizes the deep yearnings of Nigerians for a peaceful orderly, democratic and progressive society.

6.3. Recommendations

The need to peep into the past of Nigeria’s attempt at consolidating democracy becomes necessary in so far as it is bound to show how the problems and benefits of democracy today are entrenched in the remote past. This is to say that we cannot divorce our yesterday from today because yesterday is still with us today as a social residue. This means that, whether we like it or not, whatever remnants of the good or bad of the past, will still be relevant for improving on our democracy today.

One of the residues of the past, dating back to the time Awolowo was the Opposition Leader, and still recurring today, has to do with Awolowo’s call for freedom shifts from corporate freedom to individual freedom. Tjoelker, (2018) states that the need to fight for our freedom, our rights, and every essence of our being, as humans, cannot be compromised. He argues that without the fight, there cannot be a decent live for the majority of individuals. Yes, Tjoelker is correct; but then, his call does not necessarily mean that everyone will have to go to the street and shout. No. The reason we have representatives in the Senate and the House of Representatives and our different Houses of Assembly, is for them to represent us and present our grievances before the government. The reason we also have a multiparty system is to be able to engage an effective opposition who will fight the battle of the downtrodden by crying out when the people are been marginalized.

Tjoelker, (201) further argues that while the poor people, including the working class, and the generally lowly, fight from the bottom to enjoy a decent life in the society and have their freedom restored, the very rich ones, represented by their mentor – the government – also fight from the top through wars, austerity, land grabbing, etc. Tjoelker, actually is correct. In Nigeria of today, worse things than Tjoelker, has mentioned are happening. While poor people are fighting, from the bottom - to have their wages paid or the arrears of their wages running to more than twelve months (in most cases) restored; or to stop the incessant killing of their people, almost on a weekly basis, by herdsmen, ostensibly for reason of ethnic cleansing; or for the release of their beloved ones, who have been incarcerated indefinitely without trial (some for over two years) - the government is also fighting from the top through the use of security agents (the Police, the DSS, the EFCC, etc.) to truncate the wishes of the opposition in parliament; to silence the people demanding for the fulfilment of government’s promises; to stifle people’s independence, through the carrot and stick approach, (whereby, if you dance to the side of government, you get compensated; otherwise, you get punished). The situation is so bad, now, that all what the corrupt rich need to do, in order to enjoy their loot, is to cross to the ruling party. With this unnecessary fight, from the top, the opposition leaders have to put up a more spirited fight, more than ever before and the lowly have to join them in this fight.

In addition to a more spirited fight by the opposition, all Nigerians still need to be tutored on how to observe and fulfil the reciprocal obligations which citizens, families and the various tribes owe to one another and to the state. Contributing on this subject of social contract, Awolowo has argued (1981c:150) that, notwithstanding the imposition of

the aggregation of the linguistic units on Nigeria externally by the colonialists, yet the implied social contract should remain binding on the federating units of Nigeria. He, thus, calls for equal treatment in a federation of multi-lingual state on Nigeria. He argues forcefully that drift of our ship of state has always been as a result of:

failure to realize the basic purpose of a state, to recognize the existence of an implied social contract between the citizens of Nigeria plus the constituent linguistic communities on Nigeria on the one hand, and the Nigeria multi-national state on the other; to declare, observe, and strive to fulfil the fundamental social objectives which epitomise the terms of the social contract; to prevent some of the state functionaries from committing wanton and open violation of some of the terms of the contract.

It is submitted that the controversy still rages on in today's Nigeria and is responsible for its persistent call for power shift and the restructuring of the Nigeria federation, which this present government does not want to hear about.

Another thing to watch out for is the stability of Nigeria's economic policy which must enjoy total freedom from outside influence. As Awolowo has argued, as said earlier, that political freedom has no meaning without economic freedom. Arguing in the same token, Feulner, (2014) states that: "The freest societies in history have always been the most prosperous." He rightly argues that the magnitude of the creation of "products, processes, innovation, jobs, wealth and opportunity" is dependent on the extent of freedom to engage in entrepreneurial and other economic activities. This point must be especially noted by the government of Nigeria now. This is so because the forces of revolution are watching for the best opportunity to strike and curtail individual liberty and it has been shown in the annals of the world that revolutionary oppressors usually strike when there is economic turmoil. No revolution has ever succeeded where there is plenty in the land for all to share.

I am also sure you remember that Awolowo had advocated for equality irrespective of colour or race on international relations when he was the Opposition Leader? He was not alone in it. Wollstein (2018) defines political equality as the essence of the equality of the rights and liberties of each individual citizen. An example is a country where equal right is given to every individual to vote irrespective of their unequal financial standing. Likewise, what is expected of a politically equal country is that people should have equal rights before the law of the land irrespective of what their purses weigh. Nigeria, I submit, should not be a difference.

Finally, there is the need for a strong opposition in Nigeria now, more than ever before. Nigeria has gone a long way in searching for and consolidating democracy for it to lose it now. Political stability, in Nigeria, can only be guaranteed if the opposition parties play the necessary effective role of safeguarding the interests of the people in their constituencies who put them there. There must be a resort to Awolowo's type of opposition that was grounded in sincerity, courage, selflessness, doggedness and resilience. It is true that, in today's Nigeria, the government will like to punish the opposition who come against them. This, however, should not make the opposition to jettison their own role in order to enjoy the booty from government. That will be tantamount to betraying the people who voted for them as their representatives.

6.4 Summary and Conclusion

This paper reports the outcome of an original study, by the researcher, with the intendment of investigating any statistically significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education as the Opposition Leader in Nigeria's First Republic. It also raises a query on whether or not the issues discussed have any relationship with his democratic socialism ideology. The original purpose of this study was to determine the comparative prominence given, first, to the issues and, second, to democratic socialism, as a state ideology.

The paper appraises the counter-attacking role of Awolowo as the Opposition Leader against the backdrop of showing sufficient fire to advance the cause of checks and balances by confronting the government on its unwholesome actions and policies. Against this background, the problem of the study emanated from a startling attitude suggesting that nothing edifying could be fathomed from Awolowo's rich rhetoric as an Opposition Leader. The paper debunks this unhealthy speculation, in view of Awolowo's known antecedent for consistent research laced with sublimity. The significance of this study is that it will provide the cognitive *modus operandi* for relaxing the mental burden of rulership as well as serve as an eye-opener to the combined opponents of any erring government to come together to salvage the general public from the claws of such government. The scientific validity of this study is hinged on the acceptance of the working hypothesis, affirming a difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five different issues, at $P < 0.01$. Data analysis also indicates that Awolowo gave more prominence to the issue of politics than the remaining four, and that the other four issues were equally treated.

Besides, although, Awolowo actually opened serious talk on democratic socialism, as Opposition Leader, his opponents argue that he never formed any government, throughout his remaining years in politics, for us to be able to determine whether or not he would have had the will to practise what he preached. This issue has continued to constitute a recurring decimal, with arguments, as to whether or not Awolowo was a social democrat, as long and as it is broad. Whereas, Awolowo's opponents will continue to put a serious question mark on the indisputableness on his democratic socialism, I will like to argue that his several socialist programmes as the Premier of Western Nigeria, will still qualify him to be called a social democrat, at least, by practice.

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