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The Tenure of Obafemi Awolowo as Vice President of Nigeria: Implications for Contemporary Nigeria's Political Permutations

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Abstract:

This paper presents the report of one of the hypotheses tested in a longitudinal study carried out by this researcher on Awolowo's rhetoric during the period spanning the whole of his career, as a politician. Specifically, it examines the period Awolowo was Nigeria's Vice-President and Commissioner for Finance, from March 17, 1967 till July 1, 1971, under General Yakubu Gowon's Supreme Military Council. Gowon, himself, served as Head of Military Government between 1 August, 1966 and 29 July, 1975. This paper probes into Awolowo's reactions to five different issues during this period. The five prominent issues are: the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education. The purpose of the study was to analyse Awolowo's political speeches with a view to determining whether or not there was a statistically significant difference in his reactions to the issues. The study used the content analysis method and employed a logical scale, comprising 25 themes, to assess Awolowo's treatment of the issues (independent variable) against his apportioning of relative prominence to them (dependent variable). Findings, from the One-way ANOVA, revealed that there was no statistically significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues. No further analysis was required, as $\bar{x}_1 = \bar{x}_2 = \bar{x}_3 = \bar{x}_4 = \bar{x}_5$. Be that as it may, Awolowo's treatment of the issues are extensively discussed in line with relevant literature. The research results were presented in 2 Tables to show the pattern of Awolowo's rhetoric during this period.

Keyword: *Light after darkness, political permutations, military government, allocutus, socio-politico-economic facts, treasonable felony, imprisonment, mitigation, conviction, sentencing, civil war, rehabilitation, reconciliation, putsch, coup.*

1. The Study's Background

Awolowo was convicted of treasonable felony by Justice (Chief) George Sodeinde Sowemimo of the High Court of Lagos, the man who rose, from a Magistrate in 1951 to Chief Magistrate in 1956, and then High Court judge in 1961 and who later reached the pinnacle of his career as Chief Justice of Nigeria in 1983. He was the High Court Judge of Lagos, when he sentenced Awolowo to 10 years imprisonment, on 16 September, 1963. Before he was sentenced, Awolowo, made an unusual allocutus before the court. He said, among other things:

Though this is a point which will be taken up at a Higher Tribunal, yet, I must say, with respect, that I disagree with your verdict, as well as the premises on which that verdict is based. I have been in politics for upwards of 30 years. During this long period, I have operated in various theatres of the public life of this country...It is, therefore, with a brave heart, with confident hope, and with faith in my unalterable destiny, that I go from the twilight into the darkness, unshaken in my trust in the Providence of God that the glorious dawn will come on the morrow... I am still alive and will not die in prison (Awolowo, 1981b:1-2).

Why do I dub his allocutus unusual? I have argued, in another work, entitled: *The Interpretive Study of Obafemi Awolowo's Prophecies in the Light of Emerging Socio-Politico-Economic Facts about Nigeria*, that: "It was the norm to give an allocutus before sentencing, in a criminal matter and, usually, the defendant begged for leniency and mitigation of the sentence but Awolowo's allocutus was unusual, as it was laced with condemnation of the judgement and predictions on what to expect after his conviction" (Babatunde, 2018f:140). Although Awolowo was convicted of treasonable felony for ten years, with hard labour, his pre-conviction predictions were entirely fulfilled. Two of them were: "I...will not die in prison" and "the glorious dawn will come on the morrow." Truly, he did not die in prison and "a glorious dawn" also came, with his release from the Calabar Prison, on August 3, 1966, followed by his appointment, less than seven months later, as the Vice-President and Commissioner for Finance of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

I am sure every right-thinking person will agree that, the fulfilment of Awolowo's prophecy, regarding the coming of a new dawn, should, ordinarily, have made him more credible than he had ever been perceived. It is, thus, expected that researchers would have started to take special interest in a man, who could have been the first casualty of the January 1966 pogrom, by the reason of being in prison for treasonable felony, then, but whose prophecy of "I shall not die" also

came to be fulfilled, as he was spared by the coup plotters who killed most of his compatriots. This was not to be, however. Nigerian researchers refused to look his way.

Even though Awolowo became the first highest civilian beneficiary of a diarchy in Nigeria and also used his knowledge, as Commissioner for Finance, to assist the Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, to prosecute the civil war, without borrowing a dime, his name is hardly mentioned in investigations into this period in Nigeria's history. Hear what Mabogunje (2002:9) has to say about Awolowo: "... As Vice chairman under Gowon, ... his deft husbandry of our national resources which made it possible for the country to prosecute a thirty-month bloody civil war without having to borrow a penny (before the era of the oil boom) attest to an uncanny ability to lead a people through the most daunting of circumstances...."

Although, scanty research on Awolowo's achievements, in government, is appalling, the reason for the neglect is, apparently, obvious – Awolowo was not the Head of State and there was this idiosyncrasy (there still is) that all good things and all bad things, in the polity, were ascribable to the Head of State. Be that as it may, that there is scanty research on Awolowo's impact, as Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, during Gowon's regime, despite his penchant for discussing and reacting to issues, especially of: the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, more than any Nigerian president, is questionable. After all, Ademilokun (2015) confirms that all that researchers concentrate upon, in presidents' speeches, are themes centred on "national independence days, New Year days and most significantly, presidential inauguration ceremonies." The big question is: why only the stereotypical speeches of presidents that do not add value to the progress of the country, to the exclusion of, progress-focused, how-to-do-it, speeches of other participants in government, like Awolowo, the man who, throughout his political career, bestrode the political landscape of Nigeria like a colossus.

This study, thus, considered, as of paramount importance, the necessity of examining how Awolowo reacted to the five major climactic issues during the time he was the Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. and its Commissioner for Finance. The paper looks at this period from several antecedent perspectives of restoring Nigeria to sanity, after the crisis attending Awolowo's incarceration, followed, consecutively, by the first ethnic military coup, spearheaded by the Ibos, the second purported corrective coup, masterminded by the Hausa/Fulani, the civil war that claimed thousands of lives and the after-war period of reconciliation and consolidation. It was the period of the new dawn, forecasted by Awolowo, when Gowon's task "to keep Nigeria one" was paramount in the heart of Nigeria's patriotic elements. It was the period that tested the will of the several tribal elements in the country to continuously stay together. Although there were discordant tunes in the polity, the prophecy of the sage, Awolowo, concerning a glorious dawn, served as the mantra that kept the country together.

I cannot see a better time for the publication of this paper than now, when there are ominous signs pointing to the past back-and-forth movement of Nigerian leaders from the path of exemplary lucidity to that of senile dementia, preventing them from learning from history. In today's Nigeria, for example, the ruling party still finds joy in incarcerating opponents continuously without the input of the court, forgetting that, following Awolowo's unjust incarceration, was the first military coup, the second military coup and the civil war. El-Zakzaky, for example, has been in prison since 2015 and despite several bails granted him by the courts, he is still there. Also, Col, Sambo Dasuki (Rtd), one of the masterminds of the coup that ousted Buhari on December 31, 1983, has been in prison, since 2015 and despite the ECOWAS Court's ruling of the 4th October, 2016, declaring his arrest and detention unlawful and arbitrary, and ordering that he should be released promptly, he is still languishing in jail. Some people are of the opinion that Dasuki is now paying for his sin of arresting Buhari, the current Nigerian president, thirty-five years ago. So, Buhari is still nursing the animosity of thirty-five years, instead of thanking God that the coup did not consume him and that he still succeeded in becoming president, again? What arrogant vindictiveness? What ungratefulness to God? Recently, at the address he delivered, at the opening ceremony of the 2018 Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) Annual General Conference, in Abuja, on Sunday August 26, 2018, President Muhamad Buhari claims that national security, takes precedence over the rule of law (Pulse, 2018). He has, however, failed to tell the nation why it is the president, and not the court, that determines what constitutes national security. To the best of my knowledge, national security is, no more, no less, a concept that makes a government, along with its parliaments, to protect the citizenry. It is just a trite concept that the major business of any democratic government is the protection of its citizens' inalienable rights. Where the government continuously fails to do this, such government is telling the citizenry that it needs to be changed.

From the experience that Nigeria has had, no one, in his right senses, will pray for a change from light to darkness again. Awolowo and the others did a repairer's job to keep Nigeria one; let no man or woman dismantle the good work that they did. This study, indeed, represents a veritable attempt at weighing Awolowo's rhetoric of change, reconciliation, freedom and greatness against the backdrop of the threat to the contemporary political permutations in Nigeria for progress, development and advancement – the permutations consistently in line with a clarion call for an action that will change the changeless ulterior changes, including the structural arrangement of Nigeria along the linear order.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

It has been succinctly brought out, under the study's background, that the change from darkness to light needs to be sustained in order to avoid another darkness. The consensus among political scholars is that political stability is a must for any country that desires growth in all ramifications. There is no doubt that without growth, the citizenry will be impoverished and life will be, generally, difficult. This opinion enjoys global support through the validity of findings recorded from virtually all remarkable scholarly studies. Throughout all the period Awolowo served under Gowon, all his thoughts and speeches were also on deploring all resources, human and material, to the development and growth of

Nigeria. He was also much interested in talking about topics related to causes of growth and development during this period. So, such topics like human dynamism, social contract, mental magnitude and the principle of the dialectics were paramount among his talks.

There has been that awareness, too, from Awolowo's postulations, that political stability is necessary for growth, even as growth is necessary for political stability. There is equally no doubt about the fact that substantial literature on the reciprocal role of political stability for growth and vice versa, is available and corroborative of Awolowo's position. Nonetheless, why the foremost advocate of this position, during his tenure as Vice President of Nigeria, has not been adequately recognized by researchers, is still a matter of concern.

It has been clearly shown how Awolowo treated the five major climacteric issues, when serving under Gowon as Vice President. During this time, Awolowo actually demonstrated his seriousness with his mantra of a "glorious dawn." That explains why he was very articulate, even as Vice President, to reel out plans and programmes of government for a sustainable socio-politico-economic entity. There was no doubt that he was prepared for a meaningful change that would catapult Nigeria to a great nation during the time he was the Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and its Commissioner for Finance. He also put no one in doubt as to the desirability of a quick transition from military government to civilian democracy. He was really not hedonistic, even with his comfortable position as Vice President. Perhaps, what helped Awolowo was that he had tasted both darkness and light in life and was sure that it was preferable to pitch one's tents with the latter.

Indeed, Awolowo's rhetoric of change served as a catalyst for meaningful development and progress, even in a terrain where angels would fear to tread – the rule of the military. Even, with the army in power and Awolowo their Vice-President, not for one day did his courage fail him. He was always telling the Head of State and his Supreme Military Council, the truth. Although he was loyal to the military government, under which he served, his loyalty was more to the people and to the cause of democracy. A look at his letter of resignation, from the Government of General Gowon, will show that, his quest for the freedom, welfare and prosperity of the downtrodden, was still intact, when serving with the Military Government. Part of the letter reads:

It is my resolve to continue, in all circumstances and until my life's end, to see the best interests of our fatherland, and promote the welfare and happiness of our people, in every way possible. In this connection, I would like to assure you that I shall always be willing, on a purely AD HOC basis and providing my professional commitments permit, to render, at your request and without any remuneration whatsoever, any particular service which is within my competence to give (Awolowo, 2018).

Awolowo also put no one in doubt, also, that, despite his serving under a military government, even as the Number 2 man, his love for democracy over the military is undiluted. Hear him again in his letter of resignation:

Even at the federal level, I have no desire whatsoever, and I certainly cannot be tempted or induced to develop one, to head, or participate in an unelected or even an electoral-college elected civil administration in a military or any setting. At the moment, I am participating in the activities of the military government because I have been invited, and I also think it is right, so to do ... for the purpose of keeping Nigeria united ... I should have, in accordance with this declaration, relinquished my present offices soon after the end of the civil war in January last year. But one main matter ... the four-year development and reconstruction plan had been under active preparation, and it had been hoped that it would be launched early in the 1970/71 fiscal year. It was my strong desire to participate in the consideration of this plan. As it turned out, however, the plan was not actually considered until August 1970 (Awolowo, 2018).

Notwithstanding Awolowo's continuous talk, his courage, his patriotism, his love of democracy and his selflessness, however, research on his rhetoric has been very scanty. Ademilokun (2015) gives a rationalization for this. He justifies the avalanche of research on presidents by saying that: because the presidents' "actions and views determine the happenings and affairs at the local and state levels, attention is more focused on presidential speeches." This word from Ademilokun speaks volumes – the neglect of Awolowo's speeches, by researchers, is because he never ruled as a Head of Government. This being the true position, the big question, then, is: what happens to Awolowo's various and varied templates on moving Nigeria forward, that have been found to have surpassed those of any African president, dead or alive? Should we lose them because Awolowo never ruled as the Head of the Nigerian government? Or, should we lose them because Awolowo is no more?

This study posits that, in as much as Awolowo's death should not be seen as the death of volumes of thoughts he left behind, in books, speeches, monographs, etc, we ought to continuously research on him. John Milton (2018) actually corroborates this view. Hear him: "For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them." This being so, we need to begin to weave, into fabrics, for the sake of national progress and development, Awolowo's various thoughts, ideas and predispositions, which effort is bound to make us build the impossible and solve the unsolvable. Our greatness, as a nation, can only come, by pounding barriers to pieces, through dependence on unassailable ideas and thoughts of our past heroes, and our aspirations met, by researching more into their contributions to national development. Thus, this study posits that, in so far as the best has not been tapped yet from Awolowo's rhetoric, we need to begin to get more interested in his works than ever before.

1.2. Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study was to examine how Awolowo's reactions to the five issues could be linked to his pre and post-war rhetorical behaviour, as Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This was with a view to

ascertaining three things – one, if there existed any significant difference in his discussion of the issues; two, whether or not the rhetoric fitted into the general atmosphere prevailing in the country then; and, three, whether or not the usual courage Awolowo displayed under a democracy was still present, when serving under the military.

1.2.1. Significance of the Study

Awolowo was called to the service of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as Vice-President on March 17, 1967, before the Civil War began and he remained in that position till July 1, 1971, after the civil war (the war was between 6 July, 1967 and 15 January 1970). Through several investigations, it has been revealed that the war period rhetoric is often laced with themes of reconciliation, prosperity strategies and general encouragements on the way forward. Indeed, Awolowo's rhetoric, during the delicate periods of the war and the aftermath of the war, needs studying. It becomes remarkable to note, especially, that talks that dwell on forestalling future wrangling among the diverse people of Nigeria, should be carefully studied. Such talks like Awolowo's, for example, have far-reaching implications on the contemporary political permutations in Nigeria.

This paper actually reveals the heart of a man who wanted unity in diversity and cherished growth and development, even, in difficult times. It presents Awolowo's genuine effort at prosecuting and ending the civil war with minimal calamity, although, no line of demarcation was drawn between his and Gowon's (the Head of State's) actions. It is submitted that we need to know more, about the true nature, of a dynamic and pragmatic leader, who strove hard, especially as an odd-man-out in a military regime, to canvass against what the military promotes – brute force and highhandedness. This paper posits that it is justifiable and justiciable to galvanize the memory of Awolowo as a way of buoying up the spirits of numerous of his contemporary imitators - in courage, resilience, patriotism and puritan morality - who are also desirous of making Nigeria great again. It is submitted that, the spotting of the interactive effects of the dependent and independent variables, of this study, on Awolowo's rhetoric, will assist us in drawing an inference as to the true behaviour of Obafemi Awolowo in the pre-war, the war and the post-war era. This will simultaneously serve to make the memories of Awolowo delicious and enable Nigerians, to continue to encourage performance in governance, through reference to the wisdom inherent in Awolowo's glorious past. It is submitted that the future of Nigeria offers a distinctive cornucopia of greatness and development that can be tapped from the glorious past of its committed leaders like Awolowo. Take it or leave it; Awolowo remains a model who must be studied again and again.

1.2.2. The Impact of the Study within Its Discipline

There is no doubt that this study will appeal to researchers in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Specifically, it is going to be of interest to investigators from the Departments of Information and Communication, Media Influence, Cultural Studies, Language Arts, Applied Linguistics, Political Science, History and Sociology. This interdisciplinary nature of the study will, inevitably, encourage a trend whereby a rather wide audience will want to have access to the message. There is no doubt, too, that this will help to promote the cause of inter-disciplinarians and enrich theoretical and empirical literature. With this, the heuristic value of the study will be further enhanced. Finally, it will provide an eye opener to tackling current challenges in the social sciences and humanities that call, increasingly, for interdisciplinary approach.

1.3. Research Question/Hypothesis

The problem of this study originated from the concern over the neglect of the activities and communications of active participants in a political system just because they did not operate as heads of government. This comes against the backdrop that the nation would be unable to learn worthy lessons from the appropriate sources, thus, increasing the chance of making the same mistakes, in the polity, over and over again. This is a serious problem that needs to be arrested, in earnest, by devoting more energy to the investigation of the rhetoric of such people, whose ideas continue to outlive them, several years after they had died. One of such legends was Obafemi Awolowo, the Vice-President and Commissioner for Finance of Nigeria, during the Civil War, who assisted the Head of State, in no small measure, to prosecute the war without borrowing a dime from abroad.

I have gone through several studies on Nigeria's civil war and discovered that, in a few places where Awolowo's name has been mentioned, it is, either, to backstab him for, what his opponents will call "his inglorious acts" of the war or just mention him in passing. Not many people seem to remember his acts of heroism, probably because he didn't fight in the war. But, then, it is not fighting in a war that makes you a hero; heroism is different from bravery. The story of Ivan, a British Red Army cook during the Second World war will show the difference. According to the story, reported by Naaman Shadid Siddiqui (2016), Ivan of the 91st Regiment, who was not a fighter, got the German Army to surrender to him, alone, by ordering the imaginary British soldiers, who were not physically at the scene, where the Germans' tank got stalled, to "pass on the grenades." The story has it that he wielded just his axe and as the German army retreated to the tank and started firing from it, he jumped on the tank, placed the tarpaulin on top of the observation hole, before ordering his make-believe confreres, to hand over the grenades. He sold a dummy to the German army and coerced them to surrender completely by feigning the presence of the entire Red Army outside.

Like Ivan, although Awolowo did not fight in the war, he caused the government to take some decisive actions that made the war to be won and to end earlier than it would have. Despite his efforts, however, coupled with his several speeches of courage, wisdom and reason, scanty research is available to highlight the difference (if any) in his treatment of different issues of the period. That explains our effort, in this paper, to answer the question: Is there any significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, as Vice President and Finance Commissioner under Gowon?

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Movement of Nigeria from Colonialism to Democracy to Militarism: The Meeting Point between Awolowo and Gowon*

This paper argues that the meeting point between Awolowo, a democrat, and Gowon, a military man, was occasioned by the flipflop in the constitutional development of Nigeria, a development that saw changes being constantly sought on the constitutional provisions due to their non-autochthonous character. From the beginning of constitution making in Nigeria to the time of the first military coup of January 15, 1966, the substance of the successive constitutions had been so directionless and empty that the political leaders did not know what actually to make of them. That could justify the constant demand for changes in the constitution even before they took effect. For example, it was the breakdown of the Independence Constitution, that precipitated the Western Nigeria crisis, which sent Awolowo to prison. It has also been adequately documented that the 1963 Constitution could not help matters because the trial of Awolowo and the attendant crisis were too overwhelming to make a sense out of the hurriedly packaged constitution. With the January 15, 1966 putsch, defined as an ethnic insurrection, spearheaded by mainly Ibo Majors, another coup was staged by the Hausa/Fulani soldiers who brought in General Yakubu Gowon as Head of State. The making of Gowon as the Head of State was the beginning of the meeting point between him and Awolowo. This is against the backdrop that Gowon, who knew that Awolowo was sufficiently politicised and articulate to help his government, promptly released him from prison and made him Vice Chairman and Commissioner for Finance.

Constitutional Hub (2018) sees the historicity of constitutional development, in Nigeria, as having two life spans, the colonial and the post-independence. For the colonial time, the constitutional instruments are labelled 1914, 1922, 1946, 1951, 1954 and 1960 constitutions. For the post-independence period, they are labelled the 1963, 1979, 1979 and the 1999 constitutions. While the first six constitutional instruments were by the British monarch's order-in-council, the four post-independence ones were by parliamentary procedure and by military autocratic decrees. The meeting point between Awolowo and Gowon happened after two major events - the total breakdown of the 1963 Constitution, during which time Awolowo was in prison for treasonable felony and the January 15 Coup that ushered in General Aguiyi Ironsi as Head of State. Let us see the events from the period of 1914, the first attempt at constitutional making in Nigeria.

Ever before the promulgation of the 1914 Colonial Administration Constitution, the journey of Nigeria, under the colonial rule of the British, had been clearly defined with the start of the British influence on prohibiting slave trade to British subjects put at 1807. This was followed by the appointment, in 1849, of an English man called John Beecroft, as consul for the Bights of Biafra and Benin; the annexation of Lagos (with a signed treaty), on August 6, 1861; the appointment of Henry Stanhope Freeman as Lagos' first governor on 22 January 1862 (Freeman died in April 1865); the establishment of the Oil River Protectorate in 1884 and the carving out of Nigeria at Berlin in 1885 with what Johnson, (2002:701) calls "the small army of Colonel Lugard in Africa." Indeed, the Berlin conference of 1885 marked the eventual effective occupation of Nigeria by the British, (with the other European countries backing down for British dominance) and Lugard's rule, actually, marked the beginning of the progressive evolution of constitutional rule in Nigeria.

The Royal Niger Company, through an approved charter, took control of most of the country between 1886 and 1899, under George Taubman Goldie. From 1900, the Crown took control of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria from the RNC and appointed Lord Frederick Lugard as the country's first High Commissioner, the position he occupied till 1906. In the Year 1914, the two protectorates were amalgamated by Lord Lugard, who encouraged regional autonomy in the three major tribes - the Yoruba, the Ibos and the Hausa/Fulani.

Now, back to the first effort of the colonial masters at making a constitution for Nigeria, in 1914, we will discover that this year was actually the year we can talk of Nigeria being in existence, as one entity, through Lugard's amalgamation of the South and the North of Nigeria. Simultaneously, the amalgamation was greeted with Lugard's Constitution of 1914, under which Nigeria was governed, on the authority of the British Monarch, with Lugard as the first Governor-General. Under the 1914 arrangement, Lugard constituted a legislative Council but restricted the Council's operation to only Lagos. For the rest of the country, any word coming from the mouth of Lugard was the constitution. This arrangement encouraged a clamour for another constitution, which came into being in 1922 and was dubbed Sir Clifford Constitution.

The 1922 Constitution was an improvement on the 1914 Constitution for many reasons. First, it had a larger number of members as legislatures, i.e. 46. It was also based, for the first time, on elective principle, whereby voters in Lagos and Calabar had the opportunity of electing their legislative representatives. Besides, it encouraged the formation of political parties. For example, Herbert Heelas Macaulay's first Nigerian political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), was formed in 1923 and its members were the first to sit in the Council. Moreover, its scope was extended to cover, in addition to the Lagos Colony, the Southern Provinces, thus, leaving out only the Northern Provinces. It is instructive to note that Macaulay's NNDP was the primus inter pares among the British West African political parties. The 1922 Constitution also approved of 27 executive members comprising the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governors, some elected members and a few nominated members, out of whom were three from Lagos and one from Calabar.

After the 1922 Constitution came the 1946 Arthur Richard's Constitution. The major new distinctive feature of this Post Second World War Constitution was the partition of Nigeria along regional dichotomy. Thus, there was the birth of the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions, made up, respectively, of the three major tribes in Nigeria - the Hausa/Fulani, the Yoruba and the Ibo. The constitution made a wide impact on the understanding of the people, of certain terms like national freedom, international sovereignty, independence and self-rule, because, its coming into operation coincided with the returning home of the Second World War Nigerian veterans who had grasped these phrases during the war. This was even against the backdrop of series of events leading to the formation of two additional strong parties - the

Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) and the Nigerian Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in-between 1922 and 1946.

Nigeria's second party – the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was formed in 1933 by Professor Iyo Eta, with the support of people like Kofo Abayomi, who became its first president; Ernest Ikoli, the first editor of Daily Times of Nigeria, who was the first Vice-President; Hezekiah Oladipo Davies, first Secretary and Samuel Akinsanya. Adeyemo Alakija also became the president of NYM at a time. Also, as members of the multi-tribal NYM, were Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Samuel Oladoke Akintola. Although Macaulay's NNDP were victorious in all Legislative Council elections, from its inception in 1923 to 1938, as a result of what The Nation (2017) calls Macaulay's "remarkable leadership and organizational abilities...", the new NYM stopped it in 1938 by winning the legislative Council elections. With a plethora of internal wrangling among the NNDP's members, the fortunes of the party actually dwindled at the polls; thereby forcing Macaulay to form an alliance with the NYM.

In 1944, the third Nigerian party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was formed by no less a personality than the one who established the first (NNDP), in person of Herbert Macaulay. This was after he had resigned his position as Secretary of NNDP/NYM Coalition in 1943, sequel to the failure of his NNDP's alliance with NYM. As reported by African Affairs (2018), the new NCNC could be called a true nationalist party judging by its nationalistic interests, effective mobilization for independence and the amalgamation of several interests. This amalgamation saw national parties, cultural associations and labour movements like, the T.U.C. of Nigeria, Calabar Improvement League, Lagos Market Women Union, Tailors Union of Nigeria, Nigerian Union of Students, Ahoada District Union, Council of Ijebu National Societies, Ekpoma Progress Union, Ila Patriotic Union, West African Union of Seamen, Ekiti Parapo Society, Farmers Committee of West Africa, Edo National Union, etc, coming together. Herbert Macaulay was the first president; Professor Eyo Ita (founder of Nigeria Youth Movement) became NCNC' first Deputy National President. Later, Nnamdi Azikiwe became the second national President and later the first Nigerian autochthonous President, after which Dr Michael I. Okpara became the third National President of NCNC. Professor Eyo Ita later left to form another party called National Independence Party (NIP).

The 1946 Richards Constitution also gave way to Sir John Macpherson's 1951 Constitution because it was believed by the elite of Nigeria to be allochthonous. Consequently, the Macpherson Constitution came after a lot of consultations with the people of Nigeria. Consultations were taken through several strata of the society prior to the national conferences, held in Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu to birth the constitution. The effect was that, for the first time, majorities were elected among Africans at both the Federal Legislature and the Regional Assemblies and were endowed with functioning power in several spheres. It was also the first time to establish the federal system of government in Nigeria.

Autochthonous as the 1951 Constitution was, however, it was soon to be discarded because of perceived inability to put the necessary machinery in motion for conflict management among the various leaders of the Country. With the coming of the 1951 Constitution, two other parties were formed – the Action Group, established by Awolowo (AG) and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), formed by Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto. So, effectively from 1951, Nigeria was having 6 major parties – the NNDP, the NCNC, the NYM, UNIP, the AG and the NPC. The conflict that saw the end of the 1951 Constitution was orchestrated by the ulterior motive of the political leaders in establishing some of the parties. For example, the AG, which metamorphosed from Egbe omo Oduduwa (Society for the Descendants of Oduduwa) was formed, first and foremost, to checkmate the NCNC, which was already having a field day, fielding candidates, other than the Yoruba, into the Legislative Council even in Lagos. Akintola's NNDP was also formed to counter the AG in the Western Region. The NPC's preoccupation was to recruit party members mainly from the Hausa/ Fulani North and to make Islam alone its main focus. It was, indeed, an offshoot of an Islamic North society called Jamiyyar or Mutanem Arewa. The Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), formed on 8 August 1950, a year earlier than the NPC, by Malam Aminu Kano, had, as its focus, the fight against the oligarchical tendency of the NPC. UNIP, a breakaway party from the NCNC was a party associated with the Easterners, like the NCNC too. Its main preoccupation was, therefore, to oppose the NCNC and compete with it fiercely.

With this development, it was clear that most of the political leaders did not have insight into the real agenda of political parties. With this came violent explosions at the regional levels. An example was the Kano riot that pitched the Northerners against the Southerners and claimed numerous lives and properties. This was the last straw that broke the camel's back, leading the British Secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, to summon the leaders for the 1953 London Conference, the aftermath of which was the promulgation of the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution.

The 1954 Lyttleton Constitution was an improvement on the 1951 Constitution as it sought to grant autonomy to regional governments and made them to have their own civil service structures and their judiciaries. It also provided to each of the Regional and Federal Governments a unicameral legislature, expunged Lagos from regional control and confirmed it as the Federal capital Territory. Also, specific functions were allocated to ministers. Another notable feature was the grant of autonomy to Southern Cameroons, which was, hitherto part of the larger Nigeria and Northern Cameroon.

With the grant of independence to Nigeria, in 1960, Nigeria began the parliamentary system of government with the premiers, in the 3 regions, and the Prime Minister, at the Federal Level, as Heads of Regional and Federal Governments respectively. Both the regions and the Federal Governments also had bicameral legislatures. At the regions, the two law-making bodies were the House of Assembly and House of Chiefs; whereas, at the Federal level, they were called the Senate and House of Representatives. The constitution had power shared among the regional governments and the Federal Government under the exclusive, concurrent and residual categories. Whereas, both the regional and Federal governments were to legislate on all matters under the concurrent list, the Federal Government alone was to legislate under the

exclusive list and the Regional governments alone under the residual list. Citizenship, under the constitution, was also clearly defined, with rights of citizens specified.

As the 1960 Independence Constitution was perceived not to have captured fully the status of Nigeria as a Sovereign country, it soon gave way to Nigeria's Republican Constitution of 1963. For example, the situation where the British Monarch was still recognized as the Head of State with her power delegated to her appointee Governor-General, was considered abnormal. This was in contradistinction to the constitution's nomenclature as "Nigeria's Independence Constitution." Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe was so appointed as the Governor General. Another case against the 1960 Constitution was the control of Nigeria's apex Court by the Queen's Privy Council in London. Consequently, the first issue addressed by the 1963 Constitution was the issue of having a republican status, in which the Queen seized to be Nigeria's Head of State but instead, a ceremonial president was appointed. The person appointed was the one who had been appointed Governor-General under the 1960 Constitution, I mean, Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe. Also, the Supreme Court of Nigeria was established as the apex and last court of adjudication in Nigeria. Thus, the colonial domination did not end effectively until 1963, when Nigeria assumed a republican status.

From independence in 1960, the pattern of Nigerian leaders' control and communication differed from state to state. In the Western and Eastern regions, where there were lots of educated men and women, the political leaders were highly considerate in dealing with the people over whom they governed; whereas, in the North, communication was along a feudalistic trend, with the masses depending entirely on what the elites said. Following the botched election of December 1959, Nigeria recorded the first false step towards good governance. The Independence constitution of Nigeria was not very clear about what the status of political parties should be. Post-independence elections were also rigged with reckless abandon.

With no clearly defined status, there arose protests that necessitated reforms. This period saw a rise in the labour unions' advocacy for a better place than the ostentatious politicians have accorded it, with the likes of Alhaji H.P. Adebola, Wahab O. Goodluck, Gogo Chu Nzeribe, Dr Tunji Otegbeye and the highly vociferous and dynamic veteran labour leader, Michael Imoudu, hiding under Governments' rejection of the Morgan Commission, to champion the cause of the common man. The necessity of this agitation, which led to the May 31 to June 13 1964 national strike, has been captured by Bailey, (2012:114) thus:

However, aided as we all are today by hindsight, we now know that the strike could never have been avoided. The government's consistent frightened retreats from the realities of post-independent Nigeria, their pie-in-the-sky economy, and the ambivalence that was inherent in their asking the people to put on the belt of austerity while allowing their ministers to live in ostentatious opulence would have made the avoidance of the strike impossible.

Although people like Awolowo protested, the alliance of certain politicians from the South with the North did not help matters. A series of ups and downs followed, culminating in the Western Nigeria crisis of 1962. Besides, the post-independence crisis in the Western Region of Nigeria opened a can of worms and exposed the Nigerian leaders as lacking in the requisite integrity and maturity to rule over Nigeria. The crisis eventually consumed the likes of Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Lateef Jakande, all of whom were sentenced to various jail terms on September 16, 1963, on the trumped-up charge of treasonable felony. After Awolowo's imprisonment came the Federal election of December 30, 1964, which was completely boycotted in the Eastern Nigeria. Again, the election was a disaster but an eleventh-hour alliance among the major parties, to the exclusion of Awolowo's Action Group, saved the situation.

The last action, from the cumulative assemblage of unwholesome events, which brought about an unpredictably massive violent reaction was the October 1965 Western Regional election, which was believed to have been rigged massively by Chief S.L. Akintola and his cronies. The rigging led to bitterness, culminating in the popular uproar, named "operation wet e" in the Western Region. The concept of "operation wet e" involved wetting your opponents, mainly members of Akintola's party, with petrol, and then, igniting, with matches. In such a dastardly way, like this, hundreds of people were roasted alive. Indeed, this last uproar was the one the mainly Ibo Majors capitalized on to stage a coup against the Tafawa Balewa Government on January 15, 1966.

Following the coup of January, 1966, the Nigerian Constitution was suspended to make the military have a firm control of the polity. Nevertheless, the Young majors who captured power did not know what to do with it or, rather, did not plan what they would do with it if they got it. In the confusion that ensued, General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi carried out another coup, making some of the young officers who carried out the 15 January putsch to go into hiding, with some of them fleeing abroad, while others were arrested and detained, without trial.

The Hausa/Fulani officers as well as the Northern people were not happy with Ironsi's merely arresting and detaining the coup plotters; they actually wanted them tried under the army martial law for murder. Nonetheless, either because he had no will power to prosecute them or because he was sympathetic to their cause, Ironsi just kept the ones in detention there. Neither was Ironsi able to subdue the ensuing ethnic tension. Besides, the government of Ironsi was unable to get the country going with an acceptable constitution. His most fatal false step at governance was the nullification of Nigeria's Federal structure and the fostering on the people of Decree No. 34, which tried to introduce the Unitary system of government, in a fundamentally heterogeneous and expansive country, like Nigeria. On 24 May 1966, he removed the word "Federal" from Nigeria's name, leaving it with "Republic of Nigeria." His calculation was that the unitary arrangement would unify the country.

Ironsi's adoption of the unitary system and his renaming of Nigeria heat up the polity, which, eventually, led to another coup planned by the Hausa/Fulani military leaders who made General Yakubu Gowon the Head of Government, who renamed Nigeria correctly as "Federal Republic of Nigeria" on 31 August 1966. Meanwhile, the killing of the Ibos in hundreds was still going on in the North after Gowon's takeover. There was also a command that Ibos should relocate from

the North to the South East or get killed. Meanwhile Gowon had released Awolowo from the Calabar Prison on August 3, 1966 and had, on March 17, 1967, invited him to serve in his government, as Vice Chairman and Commissioner for Finance. Some people interpreted this deft move as a clever way to assuage the Yoruba of Western Nigeria.

In order to douse the tension in the society and resolve the ensuing conflict finally, Gowon simultaneously declared a state of emergency on May 27, 1967 and divided Nigeria's into twelve states, from its original four. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, an Ibo Lieutenant Colonel in the Nigerian Army, was so disillusioned and aggrieved about what was happening to his Ibo people that he declared the Eastern part of Nigeria, an independent state of Biafra, on 29 May, 1967. One thing led to another and the crisis metamorphosed into a full-blown Civil War on 6 July, 1967.

Obviously, by the time, the war started, Awolowo had joined Gowon's government as Vice Chairman and Commissioner of Finance. Gowon stuck to Awolowo like the unripe fruit would stick to the tree. The meeting point was effective. There is no doubt that Gowon gave Awolowo a freehand to manage the Nigerian economy effectively during the war. Little wonder, then, that Awolowo could talk about how to attain national goal, even as Vice President, under a Military Government, without having to take permission. As an example, Awolowo states, in one of his lectures to the public: "The need to establish a good and harmonious working relationship between the public and private sectors of the economy is ever present in the mind of the Federal Military Government" (Awolowo, 1981b:121). That shows the extent to which Awolowo could go because he had the ears of the military men and General Gowon, especially, had a lot of regard for him.

2.2. *Awolowo's Rhetoric under a Diarchal Government*

Whether in a democracy or dictatorship, Awolowo has never hidden his love for political stability. Awolowo's penchant for political stability is premised on his belief in the equal importance of the minority and the majority in the polity. Not only did he believe this, he actually demonstrated it during his stint as Vice-President of Nigeria, under Gowon, especially during the Nigerian Civil War, which ravaged the land between 6 July, 1967 and 15 January 1970. The reasoning behind equal recognition of the majority and the minority is in tandem with Kriwaczek's postulation. Kriwaczek (2010) states: "For a patrimonial state to be stable over time, it is best ruled with consent, at least with consent from the largest minority, if not from the majority. Instinctive obedience must be the norm, otherwise too much effort needs to be put into suppressing disaffection for the regime's wider aims to be achievable." Kriwaczek is absolutely correct. The only way to remove mutual suspicion in a heterogeneous country like Nigeria is to carry along all tribes in governance, whether from the majority or the minority. It is gratifying to note that, since the civil war period till now, there has been a continuous, continuing and continual effort to extinguish the disgruntlement in the polity. The unceasing disgruntlement is also in consonance with Kriwaczek's (2010) further postulation that it is not always easy to obtain consent as a result of the conservativeness of the "collective view of most societies." The panacea to this, according to Kriwaczek, (2010) is for the leader to prevail over social enervation before taking any radical action and to carry along his people. When we say "the people", to Awolowo, it is the people without exception as to number. That explains why he was always canvassing for the enjoyment of the same right by the majority and the minority. That also is the reason for his constant call for restructuring in order to have a true federation.

Another thing that Awolowo preached endlessly as Vice President, under Gowon, was economic growth, with emphasis on equal opportunities, regardless of demographic variables. His write-ups will expose how he values such economic growth that brings happiness, freedom and prosperity to the masses of the people. This is in consonance with his democratic socialism principle. His views on economic growth also has the support from the literature. Naam, (2018), for example, states that "We've seen over time that countries that have the best economic growth are those that have good governance, and good governance comes from freedom of communication. It comes from ending corruption...." As an economist, of no mean repute, Awolowo also did not see the Civil War as preventing the country from raising the level of her investment; so, he was really instrumental to the government's decision not to borrow for war but instead to continue to save. This decision also has support in the literature. Chand (2018), for example, considers this as a strategic way of increasing the level of production.

Besides, literature has shown that the challenges posed by reconciliation and peace building in post-war period call for talk and action on domestic and international issues (Tang, 2011), which Awolowo did not shy away from. The necessity of this has also been recognised by Long and Brecke (2003), who affirm that the factors of domestic and international politics in interstate reconciliation will be conducive to building a perfectly stable social order. Although Nigeria's Civil War case was intrastate and not interstate, Awolowo recognizes the same dimensionality of talk in his handling of socio-cultural milieu and international rhetoric. He, thus, spoke extensively on rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction. For example, he states that government would waste no time "in resettling those who had been displaced...and in rehabilitating troops and civilians where necessary" (Awolowo, 1981b:100). On restoration, Awolowo affirms that government's urgent task "is the early conclusion of the civil war and the complete restoration of peace to our land" (Awolowo, 1981b:120). Also, on reconstruction, he asserts that "there is a political necessity for treating reconstruction and development as mere aspects of identical operations" (Awolowo, 1981b:35). In this regard, Awolowo, like Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) believes that reciprocal respect and acceptance are necessary for true and enduring reconciliation. Also, in line with Bar-Tal and Bennink's (2004) belief in peaceful co-existence and socio-politico-economic relations, rooted in equality and justice, Awolowo also calls for relations, along this line, in so far as it will achieve natural justice, equity and good conscience.

As Vice President under General Gowon, Awolowo was always very courteous whenever he had the opportunity to speak out his mind, either through personal invitation or when representing government. He was not just loyal to the

General who appointed him as Vice President, he also showed it, practically, in his rhetoric, that he was. For example, he ended his speech to the 1967 graduating students of the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University, with these words:

Shortly before I left Lagos, in the afternoon of last Wednesday, I had consultations with the Commander-in-Chief, Major General Yakubu Gowon. At the close of our discussions, and having been informed of my impending visit to Ife for this graduation ceremony, he asked me specially to greet you and to wish you the best of luck.

Awolowo has also shown that a civilian, serving under a diarchal government should not make himself, by reason of being a civilian, a push-over under that government. For example, with confidence, Awolowo (1981b:116-117) gives assurance to the newly formed Chambers of Commerce, industry and Mines of Nigeria, at its first annual conference that "the Federal Government will do all in its power to co-operate with, and make use of, this new Association as an effective channel of mutual communication between it and the members of our business community." Also, Awolowo gave a broadcast on the occasion of the 7th Independence anniversary of Nigeria, on October 1, 1967, as Nigeria's Commissioner for Finance and Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive. It was during the Biafran war and the topic was: This war in not for the extermination of the Ibos; It is for the Federal unity of Nigeria and the happiness and prosperity of its people (Awolowo, 1981b:9-19). This was unusual; not even under a civilian government has a Vice-President been allowed to give a broadcast, not just a speech, on the Independence Day, in Nigeria. Ademilokun (2015) has left no one in doubt that "national independence days" speeches in Nigeria are meant to be delivered by Presidents or Heads of Government. He is correct. Apart from this speech by Awolowo, I have never seen any other speech, delivered on the Independence Day, by no other person than the Head of Government. What makes it even more curious is the fact that Gowon was not sick during this period; neither was he out of the country. That Awolowo was given this opportunity is a message to show how highly esteemed he was under the government he was serving.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

As stated earlier, Awolowo spoke extensively during his tenure as Vice-President and Commissioner for Finance under Gowon. The study undertook a content analysis of the speeches delivered by Awolowo, along 5 categories – the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education through the One-Way ANOVA. His speeches were assessed using a logical scale of 25 themes, which were clearly operationalized. Our aim was to see how prominent each issue stood in Awolowo's agenda. It was also set, as a preemptive measure, that the Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison would be used in case there was any significant difference in the means of the issues.

3.1. An Appropriate Contextualisation of the Research

The major objective of this study was to have a bird's eye view of the workability of putting this study within the context of the previous related ones. We have identified that the problem of this study was quite different from those the earlier works have sought to unravel. The speculations surrounding this study's problem have been adequately investigated through empirical review of relevant literature, supported by unassailable methodologies. Besides, the study was a product of quantitative analysis through the 1 Factor ANOVA. Finally, the reliability and validity of the study's instrument were ensured through measures like the pilot study, clear operationalization of the study's constructs and the test-retest measure of the content analysis scale.

4. Research Findings and Data Analysis

4.1. Research Findings

The question this paper has raised is this: Is there any significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues as Vice-chairman under Gowon? Transposed to a hypothesis, we have the following null and alternative hypotheses:

- H_0 : There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues as Vice-chairman under Gowon.
- H_1 : There is a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues as Vice-chairman under Gowon.

In order to ascertain whether or not any discovered differences, in reality, existed in the population of Awolowo's speeches, the study's stratagem was to run the hypothesis. Thus, the study tested the speculation of whether the sample estimate of Awolowo's selected speeches could be generalized to the population parameter. To achieve this, the study clearly defined the research hypothesis; operationalized the relevant constructs; set out the null and alternative hypothesis; set the significance level; made a two tailed prediction and guaranteed that the distributions being studied were normal, using the ANOVA, the parametric test considered to be relevant to the variables tested. After running the statistical test, the study failed to reject the null hypothesis. Thus, findings did not confirm the major assumption guiding the study, even at the lowest $P < .05$

Source of Variation	SS	Df	Ms	F	
Total	129439.5	29	-		
Between	26882.0	4	6720.5	1.63	$P > 0.05$
Within	102557.5	24			

Table 1: The ANOVA Performed on the Five Issues during the Period Awolowo

Served as Vice-Chairman under Gowon's Military Rule

It has been established that the findings ran contrary to the major assumption guiding the study because the F tabulated is greater than the F obtained, i.e. $P > .05$. Thus, the null hypothesis (H_0) was upheld that: No significant difference exists in Awolowo's reactions to the issues during his tenure as Vice-Chairman under Gowon. The above table, indeed, gives a statistical justification for the retention of the null hypothesis. The probability of obtaining the F values under the null hypothesis is greater than 0.05 because the F obtained (1.63) is less than the F tabulated (2.76) i.e. $F = 1.63$, $df = 4/25$, $p > 0.05$. It is obvious then that Awolowo adopted a neutral posture in his discussion of the five issues during this period. Table 2 below shows, at a glance, the position of the five issues in the hypothesis, with $\bar{x}_1 = \bar{x}_2 = \bar{x}_3 = \bar{x}_4 = \bar{x}_5$.

Period	Hypo-Thesis	Mean Scores Of Issues					Source
		Politics	The Economy	Socio cultural Milieu	International Relations	Education	
Vice-Chairman	No significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues as Vice-chairman under Gowon	$\bar{x}_1 =$	$\bar{x}_2 =$	$\bar{x}_3 =$	$\bar{x}_4 =$	\bar{x}_5	

Table 2: Mean Scores of Five Issues within the Period When Awolowo Was Vice Chairman under Gowon

The following conclusion was reached from our effort:

- Awolowo treated the five issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu and education equally when he was Vice-chairman under Gowon.

This result called for no further analysis as there was no difference to search for, there being no one issue more significant than any of the other with $\bar{x}_1 = \bar{x}_2 = \bar{x}_3 = \bar{x}_4 = \bar{x}_5$.

4.2. Data Analysis

The research question here was answered in the negative. Findings from the One-Way ANOVA statistics revealed Awolowo's uniform treatment of the five issues. There was no significant difference in issue salience and the null hypothesis was retained. Thus, there was no need for a follow-up testing to ANOVA.

The difference between the results of this part and the results obtained from other parts could be attributed to the fact that Awolowo did not play a clearly discernible role as Vice-Chairman. He was apparently in power; He was not in direct control.

It should also be noted that Awolowo did not completely shed his toga of constructive criticism and opposition to inequality when he was serving under Gowon. These conflicting roles seriously watered down Awolowo's predilection for particular issues over others. The trend actually caught Awolowo swinging between two simultaneous pendulums defending government and opposing government. As observed by Dunn (1988:157), Awolowo's distance and opposition to the military rule under which he served was tantamount to "riding two horses in opposite directions with varying degrees of agility."

A third reason which could account for Awolowo's neutrality during this period was the civil war prosecuted by Nigeria between 1967 and 1971. When there was no civil war, Awolowo was either taking up issues with Littleton, Ahmadu Bello, Tafawa Balewa, Akintola or Azikiwe. Now that there was a war, and the country was busy prosecuting the war, with a view to ensuring peace, decorum demanded that Awolowo maintain some neutrality.

It is submitted finally, that Awolowo's neutrality did not deter him from treating adequately the philosophy of democratic socialism, for which he had been well associated, by this time. He spoke extensively on it, perhaps, with a mind for future opportunity under a democratic rule.

4.3. 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.

5. Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

Data interpretation in this study has shown that Awolowo adopted a neutral posture in his discussion of the five issues during the period he was the Vice-chairman of Gowon. His balance of treatment, notwithstanding, Awolowo promoted certain values as Vice-chairman. What are these values? The values espoused by Awolowo during this period

could be deciphered from six sampled speeches (See Appendix 1). As revealed by data analysis, this was the only period when Awolowo's reaction to the issues did not reveal a significant difference. This is not to say, however, that Awolowo did not discuss extensively during this period. During this period, the major issues of revenue allocation, freedom and equality, federalism and creation of more states, federal capital, population census, etc, were prevalently discussed by Awolowo

Most fundamental in Awolowo's discussion was the theme relating to the contradictory requirements of capitalism. This has to do with an extension of his thoughts on democratic socialism when he was the opposition leader. First and foremost, Awolowo was sufficiently intelligent to know that the same naked greed and profit consciousness, which he sought to fight against, as opposition leader, would most likely continue under a military government. This was against the backdrop of his belief that only through democratic means could we have true socialism. He was also aware that, with the same mindset of greed, businessmen and bureaucrats would still continue to collude to appropriate commercial opportunities. Moreover, he was sufficiently informed to know that developing capitalist production was a sure way of propelling the disinterested civil servants to determine policy in the public interest.

Be that as it may, it is necessary to discuss Awolowo's treatment of the five issues, as vice-chairman, against the background of the equal manifestation of their means. This is done in the next section.

5.2. Discussion of Findings

Before his invitation to serve in Gowon's government, Awolowo had been, largely, identified, by the society, as a social democrat. Naturally then, Awolowo, while in Gowon's government, canvassed for the development of a healthy and decent moral life and the provision of such essential social services like modern health, housing and educational facilities for the people. He states that government could make the masses of the people happy, contented and "capable of realizing their inherent power to appreciate knowledge and beauty and to live in peace and harmony with themselves as well as their neighbours." (Awolowo, 1981b:132). He considers with process of reintegration a *sin-qua-non*. He argues further that the mainspring of this process is centred on the hope of an assumed greater economic prosperity and social well-being in a united Nigeria "in contradistinction to the comparative niggardliness of a fragmented portion of the country" (Awolowo, 1981b:133).

In addition, Awolowo canvassed for the guarantee of equal opportunity, and not equality among all men women. He believed that could be achieved through the promotion of the economic prosperity and social well-being of the entire people of Nigeria without exception through health, gainful, employment, and education

Awolowo's views on education also tallied with his welfarism attitude. Awolowo saw education as a means of search after the truth, He emphasized that every searcher after truth must be industrious, preserving, objective, honest, tolerant and inflexible in the pursuance of the cause of what he knew was true. He further believed strongly that the world in general and our own country in particular would fare infinitely better if we endeavoured to cultivate the above attributes of scholarship. Not only this, Awolowo also believed that the handicaps of environment could be overcomes through education of the right type.

Awolowo further linked the provision of education with the attainment of equal opportunities for all. He averred that between the age of 5 or 6 to 21, government must seek persistently and conscientiously to develop the neutral, physical and mental talents of each citizen. Through this, the government would have succeeded at providing the citizens with equal opportunities in their formative and most educable years. That explains the reason Awolowo works vigorously on the thesis that:

Education is a process of human nurture which is designed to promote, on an ever-increasing scale, the efficiency and constructiveness of the subjective level of the conscious phase of the mind in the performance of its functions (awolowo, 1971:7).

He considers human nurture as a necessity and argues that the nurturing process must, of a necessity, begin at birth and continues until life's end. This life-long conception of education must encompass two-phased process-the lifelong nurture of the body and the lifelong nurture of the mind. He argues that it is the direct responsibility of parents and the direct responsibility of the community to shoulder the responsibility for this two-phased process before the introduction of formal and institutional education. Thereafter, the government would take over. Indeed, Awolowo regards as fundamental and inalienable the right to the nurture of man's body and mind from the cradle to grave. Thus, the citizen must enjoy the right to physical well-being and to education regardless of what the community might feel about it.

5.3. Recommendations

Awolowo's idea of government's responsibilities to the citizenry is in line with that of Anne-Marie Slaughter. Slaughter (2017) looks at the three responsibilities of governments. The first is the responsibility of ensuring adequate security that is able to protect the citizenry from attack, as we witness in Nigeria, on a daily basis. The situation in Nigeria, today, is akin to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*, which depicts government's incompetence at safeguarding law and order and its disinclination to protecting innocent citizens, from internal and external enemies, in the face of inexorable insecurity. In Nigeria, today, if Boko Haram is not attacking, the Fulani herdsmen will be intimidating; and, if it is not the Fulani herdsmen; it is, most likely, the government's own security outfits, who are paid to secure lives and properties, doing the contrary by going after the harmless citizenry, to assist in stealing the votes of the people for the government's party or getting political party holders of the opposition arrested in the name of fighting an unimaginable corruption.

The first justification for the existence of any government is to secure the lives and properties of the people. This article looks at security, in this context, as both physical and legal. Today, there are abundant proofs to show, physically, that Nigeria's security is porous. That explains the reason it is easy for insurgents to continue to attack innocent citizens on

a daily basis, with the government being continuously helpless. This has to change. More money should be poured into surveillance as a proactive measure to counter unnecessary killings by Boko Haram and the Fulani herdsmen, especially. The government, in collaboration with the National Assembly, has to remodel Nigeria's surveillance laws, massively, so as to make it relatively easier, than it is now, for the Police, the DSS, the Military and other Nigerian spies, to form a consortium which will be responsible for collecting and assembling private communications and other diverse forms of data, that will enable them to see crime, ahead of its coming, and counter it. This way, anything that threatens the national security, including our socio-politico-economic well-being can be easily discovered and taken out of the way, even without the citizenry knowing that a danger was, hitherto, looming at their backyard. In this regard, all power must be used – including political, diplomatic, economic and military – to guarantee the safety of the nation and its citizens from national crises. Without addressing this quickly, we are even at the risk of foreign attack, or a military coup, which will be more devastating or worse than we have ever witnessed or, worse still, another civil war, which (God forbids) will be most calamitous. For Nigeria to continue, as a single, indivisible entity, this recommendation must be taken seriously.

Security also extends to legal protection. In Nigeria, today, the rule of law has become the rule of brute. This should stop. The impunity in the land should stop. As stated by the erudite Justice Taylor, in *Olayori's Case* (1969) 2 A.N.L.R, page 308, the absence of the rule of law is an inevitable invitation to anarchy. Also, speaking recently at Calabar, at the opening of an ultra-modern Appeal Court Complex, the Chief Justice of the Federation, Justice Walter Onnoghen, affirms again that, what awaits a country, without the rule of law, is doom. He, therefore, charges judicial officers, in the build-up to the 2019 General Elections in Nigeria, to rise above board and be alert to their responsibilities (Onnoghen, 2018:1). In essence, the Chief Justice is indirectly predicting that, if the judicial officers don't get it right in 2019, by discharging their onerous duty to ensure justice in election petitions and other election-related matters, we may be heading for a doom as a nation.

Anne-Marie Slaughter also ranks the notion of government as the supplier of the peoples' needs, as second. This was where Awolowo scored a very high mark, as a result of his democratic socialism credentials. More than any other thing, Awolowo considered the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the masses, as paramount. Even as Vice President, under a military government, Awolowo left no one in doubt about his inclination towards equal opportunities and the provision of beneficial goods and services to all and sundry. He, indeed, believes in the creation of public goods for the benefit of all. Awolowo believes that the huge capital of such services and infrastructure, like building roads and bridges, providing free education, free health services, integrated rural development, etc, for the enjoyment of all, without discrimination as to sex, age, financial endowment could only be provided by the government. That is the very essence of his democratic socialism. Awolowo believes in such a welfare state that makes it easy for the government to provide for the vulnerable, like the young, the sick, the disabled, the unemployed and the elderly people. He believes that such provision would make these disadvantaged people to burgeon in education, health, wealth and social development. It is hereby recommended that the government should serve as the veritable hope of the hopeless and the help of the helpless by further expanding on Awolowo's phenomenal vision for outlandish egalitarianism. It is recommended that government should follow Awolowo's way of canvassing for the development of a healthy and decent moral life. The Nigeria government, as a way of achieving this, must endeavour to provide essential social services like modern health, housing, educational facilities and infrastructure for the people. This will make the people happy to believe that they have a caring government.

The third responsibility of government, according to Slaughter, is that of bankrolling talent. In the old Western Region, where he held sway, as premier, Awolowo allocated more resources to education than any other programme. His intention, then, was to recognize potential talent, which would have been dead without education. He was also bent on building talent and recognizing whosoever talent was bestowed upon. Awolowo so much considered the first six years in school as paramount that he allocated resources for free primary education, when he was the Premier of Western Nigeria. He also considered health so germane that he made his government responsible absolutely for providing free Medicare for children from the womb to Age 18. When he became Vice-President under Gowon, he also encouraged the government to consider executing these programmes, although they had other things in their priority list.

It is our recommendation that government should start looking at the possibility of investing absolutely on the child, from the womb to, at least, the age of 18, by deploying enough resources to the nutrition of the child, his health, his safeguarding, his education, his home comfort and his family support. It is also recommended that, from Age 18 upward, scholarships should be awarded to deserving students, who or whose parents may not have the financial capability to make them further their education.

The co-operative ventures of Awolowo should also be developed. If we have, in Nigeria, multiple family thriving businesses in Nigeria, built through cooperative venture, these will be more manageable than having large ones that are few in number. It is submitted that the cooperative nature of multiple family thriving businesses can make a conglomeration of national economic business possible. It is considered the role of government to create a conducive environment and provide the logistics for the effective implementation of this laudable programme.

Awolowo was also a man who believed in assisting individuals with talents to explore the possibility of turning their talents to productive ventures. He, indeed, encouraged Gowon to allocate a large portion of government tax revenues to encouraging citizens with relevant talents to reach their potential. He particularly encouraged the military government, under which he served, to accommodate Biafra returnees from the Civil war into worthy ventures akin to their various talents. Awolowo was able to come up with such worthy suggestion because he had done the same thing when he was the Premier of Western Nigeria. As Premier, he collected more revenues than the other regions of the federation and expended

the money on worthy programmes like free education, free health for people under 18, integrated rural development, etc. The implementation of such programmes was as a result of Awolowo's belief in citizens responding more quickly and more efficiently to change and innovation, where they have the support of government. This is why we feel like recommending that government should take cognizance of the dynamic nature of citizens needs and help them to get the right connections that will propel them to fulfil their destinies.

Although he didn't handle a gun, during the Nigerian Civil War, Awolowo could be considered a war hero, in view of his reintegration preachment to government. He was able to persuade the Gowon government to pursue a genuine reintegration programme that would remove the bad blood, along tribal sentiments, that the war had caused. He further considered reintegration a sine-qua-non, because he was convinced that it would bring economic prosperity and social well-being in a united Nigeria.

Considering the fact that, under the new dispensation, Nigeria is more divided than it has ever been since the Civil War, it is recommended that stakeholders should find a way of identifying various forces that underscore schismatic tendency in the polity and look at ways by which reintegration can be made possible. In Nigeria of today, such factors like ethnic chauvinism, religious sectarianism, nepotistic predisposition to handling appointments (in total disregard for federal character and the federal quota system), inequitable development and deceptively using security agents for settling old scores, barefaced injustice and more, should be identified and a sincere approach at obliterating them from the system taken. An objective appraisal of these problems should be undertaken and a sincere and unassailable pragmatic strategy adopted to assist in the unification effort. It is submitted that this is the surest way of ensuring integration and reintegration and sustain the effort to continue to keep Nigeria one.

5.4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper is a product of an original study which sought to investigate the relative prominence attached to 5 issues discussed by Awolowo, when he was serving as the Vice President of the Supreme Military Council of General Yakubu Gowon. It examines the experience of Awolowo at the Federal level in a diarchal government against the background of his preparedness to use his very wide experience to bail out the government of Gowon during the Civil War period in Nigeria, as a reciprocal gesture for his release from prison. The paper, however, recognizes the problem of the study as that of researchers' failure to recognize Awolowo, the foremost advocate of the indispensability of political stability for growth, as Vice-President under Gowon, but have, instead, concentrated on heads of state and government in Nigeria, with their often no-goal-serving stereotypical speeches at bank holidays.

Arising from the identification of this problem is the study's central thesis that, in as much as Awolowo's death should not be seen as the death of volumes of thoughts he left behind in books, speeches, monographs, containing various and varied templates on moving Nigeria forward, we ought to identify the ready templates and use them, even as we continuously research on Awolowo.

Consequently, it was the general purpose of this paper to demonstrate how Awolowo treated the five major significant issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, while serving under Gowon as Vice President. This was against the backdrop of Awolowo's preparedness for a meaningful change that would catapult Nigeria to a great nation and his actual demonstration of utmost seriousness in articulating plans and programmes of government for a sustainable socio-politico-economic growth and development.

The major speculation of the study was that a consistently courageous Awolowo would not hesitate to discuss issues in the polity that are in consonance with his principled stand of adding value to the interests and welfare of the downtrodden and the political stability of the country, even, as a stranger in a military government. The study, thus, hypothesised that Awolowo would react differently to the five issues as Vice President under a military government. Although, this working hypothesis was rejected, as $P > 0.05$, with the conclusion that Awolowo treated the 5 issues with the same degree of prominence, there was no doubt about the fact that his rhetoric fitted into the general atmosphere prevailing in the country then; and also, his courage, articulateness and straightforwardness, in discussing the issues, with the best of his ability, did not wane, when serving under the military.

It is also pertinent to point out that there were pockets of discussion of his philosophy of democratic socialism during the searchlight period.

The significance of this study is not in doubt. Not only will it make the memories of Awolowo, as a patriot, pleasurable, thereby, further encouraging performance in governance; it will also stimulate contemporary serious-minded Nigerian politicians, like Awolowo, to appropriate to Nigeria, the distinctive cornucopia of greatness and development that can be tapped from the glorious past of its committed leaders like Awolowo.

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