

OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY, ILE-IFE, NIGERIA.

Inaugural Lecture Series 167

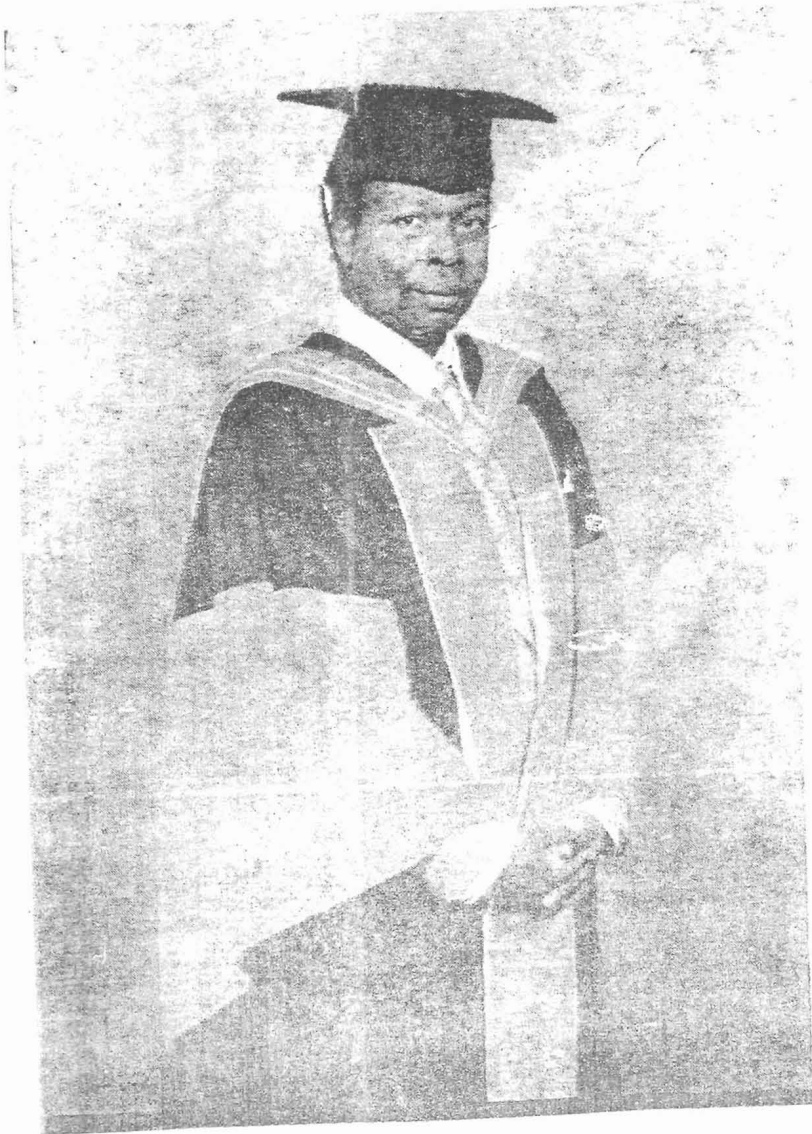
**POLITICAL SCEPTICISM:
NIGERIA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD**

By

Moses Akin Makinde
Professor of Philosophy



OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY PRESS LIMITED



MOSES AKIN MAKINDE
Professor of Philosophy

**POLITICAL SCEPTICISM:
NIGERIA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD**

By

Moses Akin Makinde
Professor of Philosophy

An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Oduduwa Hall
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
on Tuesday, 9th March, 2004.

Inaugural Lecture Series 167

Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited.
Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

© Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited, 2004

ISSN 0189 - 7848

Printed by
Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited
Ile-Ife, Nigeria

I. Introduction

The idea of inaugural lecture as conceived in British Universities, like Oxford and Cambridge and many others, is for a Professor to give an account of works done by him or her in his/her discipline over the years and, probably, to justify his position as a Professor and Chair of department. "The institution of professorship" according to Chief Afe Babalola, "is not only a distinguished mark of high academic honour, it is one that signifies the attainment of exemplary scholarship"¹. From Afe Babalola's description as stated above, we can now go on and say further, that the institution of professorship is an honour marking the height of an achievement, the highest academic position in the University system.

An inaugural lecture at Oxford, Cambridge or London would normally be delivered by a Professor to his academic colleagues in his discipline, and related disciplines, over tea or coffee at the Faculty club. And usually, the lecturer's subject matter, contents, arguments, and conclusions are easily understood and appreciated by his colleagues in these disciplines. In fact, these colleagues would have read most, if not all, of the publications of the lecturer whose duty now is to present to them some important aspects of his work in one fell swoop. But in Nigeria, an inaugural lecture has become a social event, something like an *Iwuye* ceremony which is performed after the conferment of a chieftaincy title. Mr. Vice-Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, this is precisely what I am doing today in the Nigerian style, and more especially, in the style of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

My scepticism in this lecture is with regard to Nigerian social and political cultures. To be more precise, it is about our democratic experiments as seen by us and the outside world and our hope, if any, for the survival of democracy in Nigeria. But first, I must say something about the nature of philosophy, and later about scepticism. I shall rest my political scepticism on some perceived social maladies in our society namely, *contradiction, indiscipline, lawlessness, greed, and*

corruption, which have always stood in the way of political, economic, scientific and technological developments, as well as economic and intellectual independence, in Nigeria. I hope that, by this lecture, I may succeed in provoking the minds of well meaning Nigerians and redirect them to the paths of rectitude and honour, if this is at all possible or even probable.

2. Philosophy in General

As of today, there is no acceptable definition of philosophy. However, philosophy is seen as an attempt to arrive at reasoned answers to important questions². This is only one definition of philosophy, but with it an important point could be made with respect to the fundamental questions and answers that characterize philosophy. Philosophical questions are not questions to which 'yes' or 'no' answers can so readily be given. For this reason, there is no decisive or definitive answer to any philosophical question, whether in logic, epistemology, metaphysics, science, mathematics, ethics, aesthetics or religion.

Bertrand Russell regarded philosophy as something intermediate between theology and science: "like theology, it is concerned with speculation, but like science, it appeals to human reason rather than authority"³. The interesting conclusion from Russell's equivocation is his difficulty in giving a precise definition of philosophy. Philosophy, according to him, is neither science nor theology, "but between theology and science there is a no-man's land, exposed to attack from both sides; this no-man's land is philosophy."⁴ To show that philosophy is not science, Russell emphasized the point that "almost all the questions of most interest to speculative minds are such as science cannot answer", for "science tells us what we can know, but what we can know is little, and if we forget how much we cannot know, we become insensitive to many things of very great importance"⁵. There are, of course, many important questions which science cannot answer, but which are of the utmost interest and

importance to us. Therefore, finding answers to these important questions which science cannot answer is the business of philosophy.

Unlike science and mathematics, no problem ever gets solved in philosophy. But the problems raised, critically and analytically discussed by philosophers, have led to improvement in the sciences, including mathematics which is the language of science. Because every subject in philosophy is seen as both conceptually rigorous and conceptually analytic, philosophy does ask difficult but searching questions in all departments of knowledge. We may safely say, in the manner of Immanuel Kant, that, in philosophy, reason asks questions which reason cannot answer. It is precisely for this reason that Professor C.E.M. Joad describes a philosopher as an "impossible possessor of impossible knowledge"⁶.

2.1 Philosophy and Science

The history of philosophy reveals a very interesting relationship between philosophy and science. In Plato's *Republic*, philosophy is described as the highest form of knowledge. Plato's disciple, Aristotle, looked at philosophy as the study of first principles. But more than anything else, it was Aristotle's philosophical stature that put a stamp of authority on philosophy as a discipline that must be courted by all other disciplines.⁷ It is from Aristotle that we see philosophy and science as twins and mutually related fields. In fact, it has been argued that the clear and simple account of the Western approach to science and philosophy began with Aristotle. In his book, *Physics*, Aristotle was of the opinion that it was one of the fundamental characteristics of the scientific method to proceed from what is directly knowable to what is intelligible. It was probably the Aristotelian influence that led some philosophers to see science and philosophy as part of the same chain of thought, to the extent that these two were not distinguished from one another. Thus "in ancient and medieval times, the whole chain from observed facts to intelligible principles was called science and was also called philosophy"⁸. Many scientists after this period saw

science as nothing but natural philosophy. In fact, one of the most important work of Isaac Newton in physics is entitled *Philosophy of Nature*⁹. Thus, philosophy of physical science is also known as philosophy of natural science. Like Albert Einstein and many others, Isaac Newton was a philosopher-scientist.

However, narrow specialization seems to have led to the teaching of science and philosophy in different departments as we have them today. According to Philipp Frank, there is no more cooperation between them:

The Scientists frequently believe that philosophers are just talkers and that what they talk is nonsense. The philosopher, on the other hand, says that the scientist is a small man with a very narrow mind, who understands only a very small field, whereas the world as a whole is the subject matter of philosophy.¹⁰

The position of the philosopher is quite understandable. Previously, Aristotle appeared to be an extraordinary philosopher who could easily be referred to as an *encyclopaedia of knowledge*. Thus, Aristotle conferred on the philosopher the image of a man with omnibus knowledge who, by his study of philosophy, has acquired some kind of universal knowledge of the whole world and nature.

It would appear that the scientists accepted the wide knowledge attributed to Aristotle but were not convinced that there could ever be another Aristotle after him. One explanation usually given against the possibility of another Aristotle who was quite at home in science, philosophy, and other disciplines at the same time is that science has become so specialized nowadays that it is no longer possible for a man to know, as Aristotle did, all the kinds of subjects like ethics, physics, biology, law, poetics, rhetoric, logic, philosophy etc. It is therefore argued that today, nobody can acquire, as Aristotle did, a universal knowledge and unrestricted understanding of nature,

man and his environment. Everybody, it is thought, is so busy learning to be familiar with a narrow specialized subject that familiarity with a wide range of subject is no longer an attractive possibility. From the above position and from the war of words between the scientists and the philosophers, the saying emerges: "The scientist knows much about little; the philosopher knows little about much".¹¹

The dispute now is between knowing much about little and knowing little about much. If critically considered, this dispute can be extended to cover all the disciplines in the humanistic studies whose range of interests are covered by the studies in philosophy: history, social science, law, linguistic, political science, administration, fine arts, music and religion. Therefore, the overriding importance of philosophy as Queen of the sciences and the humanities is ably demonstrated by its involvement in all departments of human knowledge.

First, philosophy is characterised as the highest form of knowledge. It is from this point of view that the highest academic degree obtainable in the University is known as Doctor of Philosophy. In this connection, there should be some sort of a pride in those people who obtained Doctor of Philosophy in Philosophy itself. Second, we can say that the philosopher who is said to know little about much, according to the scientist, is a man who, apart from a deep knowledge of his subject, is also a man who uses his knowledge of philosophy and logic to probe into the nature, scope and problems of other disciplines, as the present lecturer has done in science, technology, mathematics, social science, psychiatry, linguistic, traditional medicine, politics and religion, as we shall see later in this lecture. More often than not, it is the philosopher who, by means of logical or critical analysis, sees problems which others do not see by raising fundamental questions about what many people have taken for granted in their respective disciplines, thus creating problems that are in need of solutions.

A typical example of such a philosopher is the 18th century British Empiricist philosopher. David Hume. This great philosopher of all time shocked the whole scientific world and awakened them from their dogmatic slumber when he argued, in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1939)¹², that there is no necessary or logical connection between cause and effect, that there is no uniformity in nature, and that the future may not be like the past, in which case it is not logically impossible that the sun may not rise tomorrow and, what is more shocking to the Newtonian science, that the law of Gravitation may cease to hold as from tomorrow. By a dint of superior philosophical argument, Hume was able to show that the enthusiasm of the scientist about the certainty of empirical or inductive statements, and conclusions about the world and nature, have no logical warrant or support. Hume's scepticism about our knowledge of the external world is the most celebrated in the history of philosophy and science.

From the perspective of the history and philosophy of science, the impact of Hume's philosophical treatise has gone beyond philosophy itself. It has led to a better understanding of the nature, scope and problems not only in the physical science but also in the social science, and even in the humanities like ethics, aesthetics, religion and indeed in practically all the fields of human knowledge. Since Hume's devastating critique of inductive science, the notion of certainty in science, medicine, social science, history and related fields has given way to the notion of probability in its various forms. The philosophers' incursion into practically all fields of human knowledge is perfectly demonstrated by its application to other academic subjects or disciplines in the Universities, as it can be seen in the existence, and study, of various subjects like the following: Philosophy of Science, Philosophy of Mind, Philosophy of Mathematics, Philosophy of Law, Philosophy of Social Science, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Art (Aesthetics), Philosophy of Language, Philosophy of Biology, Philosophy of Literature, Philosophy of Medicine, Philosophy of

Criticism, Philosophy of Education, Philosophy of History, Philosophical Psychology, Social and Political Philosophy, Medical Ethics, Business Ethics, History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, Philosophy of Feminism, Philosophy of Logic, Philosophy of Sports, Philosophy of Culture etc. These are probably why, since Aristotle, philosophy has been called the queen of the sciences, to which I will add "the queen of the humanities" as well.¹³

By giving the prefix "philosophy of" to virtually all the disciplines in the sciences and the humanities as stated above, we may have shown the overriding importance of philosophy, not only in its relation to the sciences and the humanities, but also as a foundation of all the departments of human knowledge. By the application of sound theoretical reasoning and critical or logical analysis to all subjects, philosophy has important bearings on all fields of human knowledge. This is necessarily the case in as much as philosophy helps us to understand the nature, scope and problems of these different fields of knowledge, even to the extent that philosophical inquiries into their nature, scope and problems often lead to the development of ideas and growth of knowledge in the physical or natural science, technology, social science, medicine, religion, linguistics, social and political philosophy etc¹⁴

Criticism, according to Popper, is the growth of knowledge.¹⁵ And since criticism, aided by logical reasoning, is perhaps the philosopher's most important tool, we can expect that the application of philosophy or philosophical method to various fields of human knowledge will only lead to an increase, rather than diminution, of knowledge in these fields. Increase of knowledge is growth of knowledge. From the point of view of criticism we can say that Philosophy of Mathematics or Philosophy of Religion is not mathematics or theology, but simply philosophy. It is assumed that a student of mathematics or religious studies with a good knowledge of philosophy would be interested in the nature, scope and problems of

these disciplines. A mere study of mathematics and religious studies does not compel any interest in understanding the nature, scope and problems of these subjects. Very often it is the mathematician familiar with the Philosophy of Mathematics who can engage in fruitful discussion with the philosopher on the nature, scope and problems of mathematics. Thus, when the philosopher and the mathematician engage in a critical discussion on the nature, scope and problems of mathematics, the mathematician or an independent listener is likely to look at the philosopher as if he is a mathematician par excellence, whereas he may only have studied the Philosophy of Mathematics. Some interesting examples will explain my point of view about the alluring power of philosophy over all other disciplines.

In February 1976, the present lecturer wrote a critique of an eminent Nigerian mathematician, Professor Chike Obi in his rejection of modern mathematics in a lecture he delivered in Darkar, Senegal, in 1975. My critique of Chike Obi as revised and elaborated with arguments from the logical and philosophical foundations of mathematics has been published under the title: "The Relevance of Modern Mathematics: A Critique of Professor Chike Obi" in *Thought and Practice* (An East African Journal of Philosophy) in 1984. Professor Chike Obi asked for the abolition of modern mathematics in the Nigeria educational curriculum because, as he thought, Nigerian students were not used to abstract, theoretical thinking and so could not cope with the rigour of an abstract mathematical system. From my own thinking, I thought this was precisely what we needed to teach to our children right from the secondary schools. The abstractness of mathematical system derives from its logical foundations, which has accounted for the *a priori* character of logic and mathematics. In this connection, the works of George Boole and Bertrand Russell were very significant. For instance, George Boole's work: *Mathematical Analysis of Logic* (Cambridge 1847) is known to have marked the first successful application of algebraic methods to logic, and it remains

the foundation of all subsequent development in modern mathematics which is logic plus set theory. It has led to the development of modern computers.

George Boole's idea is further elaborated, with application to probability theory, in his later work: *An Investigation of the Laws of Thought on which are founded the Mathematical Theories of Logic and Probabilities* (London, 1854). An English mathematician and logician, and a Professor of mathematics in Queen's College, Cork in Ireland, George Boole had no University training or degree.¹⁶ From his writings, especially *The Mathematical Analysis of Logic* (Cambridge, 1847 and Oxford, 1951), George Boole effected the reduction of logic to mathematics. But after him, a British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, wrote extensively on the logical foundations of mathematics and, with his works, *The Principles of Mathematics* (London, 1964) and the second volume, *Principia Mathematica* (Cambridge, 1967) which he co-authored with A.N. Whitehead and, in another work, *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* (London, 1967) Russell effected the reduction of mathematics to logic. So we now have two competing views: reduction of logic to mathematics *a la* George Boole and reduction of mathematics to logic *a la* Russell. But one thing that cannot be denied is that both logic and mathematics are abstract disciplines which are not related to reality, and the principles of logic or the laws of thought underlie both.

When my critique made its first appearance in the *Daily Sketch*, several responses from mathematicians were published between February and December, 1976, until the editor of the daily newspaper called for a truce. Of all the mathematicians who replied to my critique, only one, Dr. Victor Olunloyo, then at the University of Ibadan, demonstrated some knowledge of philosophy. He examined Kant, Descartes, Plato and other relevant philosophers on the issue of the *a priori* character of mathematics and logic, both of which were relevant to my discussion on modern mathematics. Other prominent writers

were Dr. (now Prof.) Lassa of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and the late Prof. Olubumo of the University of Ibadan. A few months after my paper was published, Chike Obi sent me some copies of his articles on quadratic equations, his area of specialization, and asked me to send him my own publications. I had to send him a reply without enclosing any articles on mathematics which he would have loved to read. Instead, I simply wrote to tell him that I was not a mathematician, but only a philosopher interested in the philosophical or logical foundations of mathematics. It then dawned on those mathematicians that a philosopher is one who not only can easily poke his nose into other disciplines, but can also discuss or create problems which they had never thought about in those disciplines. That, to me, is a plus for the philosopher.

Another opportunity presented itself during the presidential election in 1979. Alhaji Shehu Shagari had been declared the winner under the then famous mathematical formula known as $12^{2/3}$. A well known lawyer, Chief Richard Akinjide, had come out with a mathematical "solution" to the problem of $2/3$ of 19 States which must be won, in addition to a simple majority, before a winner of the presidential election could emerge. Surely, $2/3$ of 19 is $12^{2/3}$, and $2/3$ of 19 States is not 12 or $12^{2/3}$ but approximately 13 States. But Richard Akinjide came out with a formula which put $2/3$ of 19 States as 12 instead of 13 which Sagari badly needed to win the election. The present lecturer opened the discussion on the absurdity of that mathematical computation in a paper entitled " $2/3$ of 19 = 12; not in this universe", published in the *Nigerian Tribune* in August 1979. This was followed by another paper, also in the *Nigerian Tribune* where I argued that, if we should accept Akinjide's mathematical formula, its application to the then 19 States would have reduced 19 States to 18 and 19 Governors to 18 Governors because, if $2/3$ of 19 States = 12 States, then, $2/3$ of 19 Governors would be 12 Governors, in which case one Governor would have disappeared from the surface of the earth.

Still angry about this mathematical absurdity, I wrote another paper, this time a handout, where I showed the absurdity of this mathematical formula with the example of Kano State where it turned out that, following the formula, the PRP would have won 115% of all the votes cast in Kano State even though other political parties did win some votes. This certainly is a mathematical absurdity. Thirty six copies of my paper were taken to Chief Awolowo in Lagos by Prof. Sam Aluko. The mathematical and constitutional issues raised in my paper was to assist debate in the Supreme Court. I did warn, however, that if the UPN lost the case at the Supreme Court, it should insist that it must be quoted in future as a precedent. I said this because I knew that any reference to that judgement would cause a constitutional crisis whenever $2/3$ of 19 States and 19 Governors were to be considered. As it turned out, the Chief Justice of the Federation refused the judgement to be quoted in all future cases of similar character. No wonder, then, that some Nigerian commentators at that time referred to the present lecturer as a lecturer in the Department of Mathematics while some said he wrote from the Department of Statistics!

Also when a philosopher writes on science and technology from the point of view of his training in the Philosophy of Science, including History and the Philosophy of Science and Technology, he may enjoy the patronage of his colleagues in Physics or Technology. For instance, when I was a senior Fulbright scholar in the USA in the 1983/84 academic session, the College of Engineering at my host institution, the Ohio University, Athens Ohio, USA, invited me to deliver a lecture to the college on the topic "Technology and Development: The problems of Africa", on 15 May, 1984. The revised version of the same paper was later published under the title: "Technology Transfer: An African Dilemma" in a book entitled *The Underside of High Technology*, (London/New York, Greenwood Press), 1986, ch. 14. Examples of other papers delivered in Nigeria

include, among others, "Modern Science and African Dilemma: The Impact of Technology on African Nations", presented at the workshop on Technology and Humanities, by Ile-Ife Humanities Society, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, 25-26 April, 1988, "Technology and the Future of Mankind", presented at the Conference of the Professors World Peace Academy", Sheraton Hotel, Lagos, 9-11 March, 1989, and "Scientific Research, Technology and Self-Reliance", the 2nd Guest Lecture Series, delivered to the Oyo State University of Technology (now Ladoke Akintola University, Ogbomoso), 5 November, 1991 and an earlier paper, "The World and its Enemies: A Philosophical Perspective", on the theme "Vision and Reality", delivered at the International Conference on George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four* and Its Implications For Life Today, at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA, 4-6 May, 1984. This paper was later revised and published under the title "George Orwell's 1984 and After: A Study of Societal Psychology and the Impact of Technology on Human Values", together with a postscript, in *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies* No. 6 August 1993. And when I wrote from my training in the Philosophy of Mind on the topic "Cultural and Philosophical Dimensions of Neuro-Medical Science" and published in *the Nigerian Journal of Psychiatry* (1987), I may enjoy the patronage of my colleagues in the department of psychiatry or mental health in the Faculty of Health Science. Incidentally, my paper along with that of the present Vice-Chancellor, were published in the same journal after their selection from "The Joint Conference of the Association of Psychiatrists in Nigeria, the African Psychiatric Association and the World Federation for Mental Health, held at the University of Ife, (now Obafemi Awolowo University) Ile-Ife, at the Conference Centre, University of Ife, 20-23 September, 1982. After this Conference and the publication of my paper, the Department of Mental Health, Faculty of Health Sciences, appointed me as an associate lecturer, to teach the subject, Philosophy of Mind i.e. Mind-Body Identity problem, to undergraduate and postgraduate students in his department. I had

occasionally done the same at the University Teaching Hospital, Ibadan, and the Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Complex, Ile-Ife for a little stipend.

To me, all of these seem to point to one important conclusion: that, perhaps, the characterization of the philosopher as a man with omnibus knowledge, in the manner of Aristotle, is not altogether misleading because, since Aristotle, philosophers have engaged in profitable discussions in all fields of human knowledge. Because of the nature and scope of their discipline, it is admitted that philosophers often do write on any field of human knowledge – science, technology, religion, social science, literature, art, etc. to the admiration of scholars in these fields. Bertrand Russell did so in his life time. He wrote from the point of view of a philosopher on practically any subject of discourse. Perhaps, Russell was Aristotle re-incarnate.

3. Political Scepticism

Philosophical inquiry about the principles of government and social justice has been the concern of philosophers from Plato to John Rawls. The history of western philosophy is replete with theorists in social and political philosophy. Thus we have Thomas Hobbes' theory of government by "covenant", Rousseau's by "social contract" and John Locke's government by "consent".¹⁷ Two themes that run through all of these theories are *democracy* and *justice*. But since Plato, the concept of justice has defied accurate definition while democracy, seen as "government of the people by the people and for the people" has remained so only on paper.

Every society has its own system of values. This in turn has so affected social organisation that philosophers have produced a lot of work on social and political philosophy. But as one observer noticed, "humanity has never been able to discover a government that rules perfectly over all men and women, even though philosophers and statesmen have penned millions of words about perfect government".¹⁸

Be this as it may, democracy is generally acclaimed as the best system of government, provided it is run according to the fundamental tenets of a democratic system.

For the rest of this lecture we have to critically examine the Nigeria democratic system of government in the light of her so many social ills – indiscipline and lawlessness, greed and corruption with contradictions and absurdities as parents of these evils in our society.

3.1 Contradictions and Absurdities

In 1914, two monsters were cloned into the Nigerian society by the colonial masters. These monsters which we may call a monstrous couple – contradiction and absurdity – later gave birth to two sets of twins: first, *indiscipline* and *lawlessness*, and second, *greed* and *corruption*, with the second set of twins coming barely one year after the first. In this case, you could hardly differentiate between their ages, heights and appearances. They were identical twins and all of them were males. So close were these set of twins that whenever and wherever you saw Taiye (indiscipline) you saw his Kehinde (lawlessness), and wherever you saw the second set of twins and saw Taye (greed), you saw his Kehinde (corruption). Then the two sets of twins agreed to work together as in a relay race. As soon as indiscipline picked up the race, it passed the baton to lawlessness who then passed the baton to greed and, finally, to corruption whose job was to perfect the race. Thus, indiscipline and corruption became the *alpha* and *omega* of the mighty relay race. As the *alpha*, indiscipline had the single honour of starting the race very well, while the *omega*, corruption, finished the race in a grand style and thus became the most famous of these monsters of cloned parentage. So entrenched were these monsters that they have completely taken over Nigeria and governed her through their ministers: graft, embezzlement, bribery, lack of accountability, inflation of contracts, gangsterism, armed robbery, ritual killings and everything that is bad. I therefore see Nigeria as a cloned nation. It is probably because of this unnatural origin that Nigerian

social and political maladies have defied human comprehension while her numerous problems have become perennially insoluble. Perhaps we need a cloned solution to a cloned problem.

Nigeria is a country full of contradictions and absurdities. When Levy Bruhl wrote, a long time ago, that Africans were incapable of second order thought, he meant that African cultures and thought systems were pre-scientific and pre-logical, using the term pre-logical to describe a kind of thought that is not free from inner self-contradiction. Although I had criticized Levy Bruhl's position somewhere else¹⁹, I have since come to the realisation that there is some truth in this brutally frank assertion. In as much as a people's actions are products of their thinking, we can safely say that a people's actions are reflections of their thought system. So, if Nigeria is a nation full of contradictions, then, it is not unreasonable to say that their thoughts are not free from inner-self contradictions. Therefore, my scepticism about Nigerian democracy is based on the perceived contradictions in our social, political, economic and even religious behaviours, and their manifestations in indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption. Contradiction may be seen as a defining characteristic of our social, political, economic and religious maladies, with the auxiliary maladies as manifested by the two sets of twins above.

The ordinary meaning of scepticism, according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* is, simply, an unwillingness to believe; or doubt that certain claims, statements, are true or will happen. The philosophical definition that I will adopt is methodic doubt, as propounded by the great French philosopher, Rene Descartes.²⁰ Under this definition, doubt about certain beliefs or claims simply means suspension of judgement. Suspension of judgement in this case is not like suspension of a strike which may not last for long, but a suspension which may last a life time or even a century. Russell's scepticism about politics and religion outlived him, and so was Awolowo's scepticism about Nigerian democracy. When you suspend your judgement, you

hesitate to give assent to such a judgement because there is no guarantee for its truth. By this fact, my scepticism about Nigerian politics, especially its so-called democratic system of government, arises from the fact that there seems to be no guarantee that there can be a true democracy in Nigeria, not only in our life time as Chief Awolowo had predicted a long time ago, but in the life of our future generation. My scepticism rests squarely on the maladies stated above and to which I shall now address myself.

Contradiction is very damaging to the human mind and thought. I also see it as a disease of the mind. As one of the three laws of thought or principles of logic, the principle of non-contradiction (the others being identity and excluded middle) enjoins consistency, coherence and absolute elimination of contradiction in thought and practice. In thought, it states that a statement cannot be both true and false at the same time $\neg(\rho \& \sim \rho)$, i.e., it is not the case that ρ and not ρ . In practice, it means that a person cannot be in two places say, Lagos and Abuja, at the same time. The lawyers have always applied, and very successfully, the principle of non-contradiction in presenting an *alibi* as a potent argument in the defence of their clients. When a father tells his son to go and play football but must not soil his clothes, he is guilty of contradictory assumption. When a government orders Universities to increase their student enrolments but goes on to order a cut down in University funding, it is guilty of contradictory assumption. When the National University Commission (NUC) gives an order that universities must pass its accreditation exercise on the facilities it did not provide, an absurd situation that has forced some Heads of Department to carry tables, chairs, rugs, drapes, air conditioners and books from their homes to their departments just to meet the requirement for accreditation, or when the same NUC denies accreditation owing to inadequate staff when at the same time it has denied the departments the opportunity to increase their staff which have gone down by more than 40% as a result of poor funding, the

National Universities Commission is guilty of contradictory assumptions. Such statements and acts are not reasonable. They are senseless. It is absurd, foolish and ridiculous to utter such directives, because they are logically inconsistent and so logically indefensible. If anything at all, it is the NUC, not the universities, that is badly in need of accreditation in the circumstance. This is the plain truth.

Nigeria is such a nation full of contradictions that it may have presented itself to the outside world as a big theatre of contradictions and absurdities. In logic, it is known that any statement, whether true, false, meaningless or absurd, follows from any contradictory statement. That is to say that, from a contradiction, anything follows. Perhaps this is why it has often been said that Nigeria is a nation where anything goes or happens (apology to a former Chief of Army Staff). A "country of anything goes" is a country full of contradictions, and where anarchy reigns supreme. From the contradictory nature of our society, a Nigerian can be anything under the sun, from a saint to a villain. Taking contradiction along with absurdity as the root of our problems, and the Field Marshal of our social and political maladies, its two sets of twins, which are more vicious maladies, have seized our nation with ferocious intensity and spread their tentacles over Nigeria and the outside world. These social and political maladies – indiscipline and lawlessness, greed and corruption – have displaced God and substituted MONEY as an object of worship in our society, to the extent that we are neither accountable to God nor to humanity. How close are we to Sodom and Gomorrah!

It is in Nigeria that you witness abundant contradictory situations and suppositions. First, Nigeria is an oil rich country, but it is a country where there is perennial shortage of petroleum products. Nigeria is a country which supplies electricity to its neighbouring countries but suffers from an unending epileptic supply of electricity at home. Because of its oil wealth, Nigeria is probably one of the richest countries in the world, but it is only so on paper. Nigeria is a

country full of milk and honey; yet it is where less than 5% of its citizens are stinkingly rich, while more than 70% live in abject poverty. It is a country where its leaders, even including some religious leaders, preach morality in the morning and break it at noon! Nigeria is a God-intoxicated society. It has over 1000 religious denominations of assorted kinds and of various descriptions, always conducting aggressive prayers at revivals, night vigils in many churches and mosques on a daily and weekly basis. Yet, Nigeria has been, and has jealously guarded its reputation as, the second most corrupt nation on earth! It is a country which badly craves for economic, political, scientific and technological developments and yet treats her academics who are indispensable to these goals as beggars in intellectual clothing. How I wish we understood Awolowo's philosophy of man, particularly the educated man, as the instrument of social, political, economic, scientific and technological changes! Yet there are many more of these contradictions if you care to listen.

Nigeria is where the judiciary exhibits traits of injustice and lawlessness; where people see white and call it black; where people see the truth and call it falsehood or see falsehood and call it truth; where people pray for economic recovery, while at the same time engage in economic sabotage through wasteful spending, abandoned projects, stealing of public money and stacking them in foreign countries which, in turn, oblige us with huge debts through the financial monsters known as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), where people pray for order and at the same time create atmosphere for turmoil or, where people pray for peace and prepare for war; where it is a sin to tell the truth but greatly rewarding to tell lies; where honest people perish before their time, while rogues triumph like saints or conquerors; where appointments are made for 9am only for people to show up at 12 noon, a situation that has led me to argue somewhere else that Africans, of which Nigeria is one, have no concept of time and its direction²¹; a country where there exists a federal system

of government that is at the same time unitary in style and practice. Nigeria is where patriotism is at the zero level; where people hate their country and prefer to migrate to foreign lands in desperate search for the golden fleece; where parents prefer their offspring to acquire their thought system early in life in a foreign language (English) instead of their natural language known as mother tongue.²² Nigeria is where pregnant women rush to Europe and America to deliver their babies so as to acquire for their babies the nationalities of those foreign countries. And there are many more of these contradictions in our society which time and space will not permit me to mention. I believe that people can think of many more. But with those I have mentioned above, it is quite easy to see why we can derive a basketful of maladies from contradictions that have made Nigeria a country where anything goes and nothing works, including our democratic experiments that have turned out to be everlasting experiments in political failure.

3.2 Lawlessness and the State of Nature

Thomas Hobbes had a clear picture of what human beings are capable of doing to themselves in a primitive state of nature. The state of nature described by Hobbes is a state of lawlessness. In such a state, nothing is stable or predictable. It is a state of anarchy where life is nasty, brutish and short! Wherever there is lawlessness, there is anarchy and where there is anarchy anything can happen. And Nigeria has been described as a nation where anything goes. A lawless society is definitely an unstable society where anything can happen. It is a society without order, without principles, and without decorum. Laws are made only to be broken without sanctions. There is no enforcement of laws because those who are to enforce these laws are themselves lawless and corrupt.

When you drive on the road, a driver who is behind you begs that you should allow him way to overtake you, forgetting that you too are moving forward, just as he is following you behind. There are

often cases of policemen killing innocent drivers for refusing to give a N20 bribe (*egunje*), and the policemen would get away with that murder. What of trailer drivers and commercial vehicles killing as many as forty innocent passengers without prosecution and subsequent litigation against the drivers and owners of vehicles in order to compel payment of heavy compensation for all the lives lost. I remember a celebrated case in the USA in 1984. A lady died in an automobile accident and her parents sued the manufacturer of the automobile because the accident occurred as a result of mechanical fault in the vehicle. The court awarded a staggering sum of \$20 million dollars to the parents of the deceased. That was justice in an orderly, disciplined and just society. This just reward for a single loss of life is perfectly consistent with Awolowo's search for reality, meaning and supreme value of human existence.

There is lawlessness everywhere: in the street, on our roads, in the motorparks, in the market places, in social parties, in social and political organisations, in educational institutions, in public institutions, and even in the judiciary where there are some instances of judicial lawlessness. Even the lawlessness finds its place in the highest position in the land. When, by the judgement of a Kangaroo court, the Government of the late General Sanni Abacha sentenced Ken Saro-Wiwa and others to death by hanging, Mr. John Major, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, called it judicial murder - an oblique reference to judicial lawlessness and wickedness. The judicial lawlessness exhibited by the late Justice Ikpeme at Abuja in 1993 and the recent judgements by Justices Egbo Egbo and Nnaji on Ngige, the present Governor of Anambra State, have been described as black market injunctions. Because of lawlessness, there is always a disagreement between the Executive and Legislative Arms of government, with each arm interpreting the laws its own way, as if the laws are notoriously ambiguous or incomprehensible, while the judiciary itself looks on. The victims are the masses who watch helplessly as the lawless scenario

goes on. Disobedience to the rule of law is a poison to democracy and civilized life. When we are in Nigeria, we behave to type; but when we are in Europe or America, obedience to the rule of law is the beginning of wisdom.

In a state of nature what is paramount in peoples mind is survival of the fittest. Underlying this phenomenon is a culture of selfishness. Everybody wants the best thing in life for himself at the expense of his fellowmen. This ugly situation has been carried to our democratic experiment. The dividend of democracy is more hardship for the poor and life more abundant for the political elites. Electricity or no electricity, water or no water, the rest of the society can go to blazes once you have the money to provide generators and boreholes for the use of your immediate family. Ostentatious life which Awo abhors to the core, is meaningful only where people are generally poor in the midst of a handful of rich people. In this case, the best way to show the difference between the rich and poor is for the rich to flaunt their wealth before the abject poor. In a truly democratic society, there is no big man or small man; everybody is important in his or her own right as he/she can afford the basic necessities of life. Those who can afford to live in luxury do so without much notice or bitterness on the part of the poor but relatively comfortable and happy citizens. The situation in Nigeria is so grave that the gap between the rich and the poor has become so great that revolution seems imminent. The dividend of democracy is never poverty but prosperity for all. Where poverty and neglect turn out to be dividends of democracy, violent revolution becomes the ultimate and inevitable dividend, a direct offshoot of lawlessness and anarchy. Lawlessness is the father of anarchy and anarchy a forerunner of violent revolution which is always directed against the rich and the ruling class, and this may include even the middle class which consists of the academics, civil servants and gentlemen of the press, both in the electronic and print media.

3.3 Indiscipline and Corruption

I see indiscipline as an uncontrolled, disordered behaviour owing to a lack of good training of the mind, and corruption as an indisciplined act as nurtured by greed. If indiscipline is a cultural trait, then it signifies the trait of untrained minds in a culture, whether in a primitive or modern culture. Historically, there were some trained minds whose written or unwritten ideas were meant to tame societies. In ancient philosophy, three of such minds were identified as Socrates, Jesus Christ and Confucius. None of them wrote down anything, but their ideas were written down by their disciples. One of them, Jesus Christ, stood out as one who was both divine and human. His teachings, as recorded by His disciples, have so captivated human beings that he has become an object of worship by high and low all over the world. In this case, nobody is comparable to Jesus Christ. But as for Socrates and Confucius, there are comparisons.

In Africa, there exists an individual comparable to Socrates or Confucius in the training of his mind and his obsession for discipline and order. A mind that has this trait is a mind that is free from inner self-contradiction, a mind that puts the intellect and its attendant sophistication above human desires and pleasures; a mind that thinks more about the future than the immediate present; a mind whose intellectual and political sophistications were on their way to making Nigeria one of the greatest democracy on earth, on her attainment of independence. That mind, as you can guess, is that of the immortal Awo, variously described as "the main issue in Nigerian politics", "the best President Nigeria never had" and "a great philosopher of 20th century Africa".²³

Throughout the history of mankind, great scientists, mathematicians, social scientists, political theorists and even eminent statesmen were those whom nature had endowed with superior intellectual powers and philosophic spirits. All the achievements in

the social sciences, including politics and economics and, indeed, science and technology have been the results of scientific intelligence and sound theoretical thinking, the very sources of man's capability to dominate nature and conquer it to his own advantage. Awolowo understands all these and, therefore, for him, man is the sole dynamic in nature, the indubitable instrument for social, political, economic, scientific and technological changes. And it is for this reason that he, like Plato, subjugates the human body to his mind, the physical to the mental, the appetite or desire to the intellect and reason. An essential purpose of the training of the mind through education is, in Awolowo's social and political doctrine, the triumph of reason i.e. triumph of reason over appetite or desire, the veritable seat of indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and all forms of corruption in a society. Once you have understood Awolowo's philosophy of man, his social and political philosophy becomes an easy to swallow, pre-digested system.

Awo and Plato agreed that appetite, emotion or desire should be a slave to reason. But when reason is dethroned for appetite or desire, mediocrity or negative emotion, the inevitable result is the corruption of the mind which in turn leads to all sorts of evils like greed, bribery, nepotism, abuse and misuse of power, cheating, embezzlement, graft, smuggling, violation of the laws of the land, violence and gangsterism – all of which are flourishing phenomena in Awolowo's land of birth – Nigeria.²⁴

According to Awo, any society or system of government, in whatever country, has one goal: the evolvement of egalitarian society i.e. the greatest good of the greatest number by which a true meaning is given to human existence, individually or collectively. Therefore, for the purpose of effective governance, just and egalitarian society, those who aspire to leadership in any society must be those who are ruled by reason rather than by appetite or desire. They must be mentally equipped, because a leader without a sound and disciplined mind cannot pilot the ship of a state to success. This is to say that, for a

leader to make a success of his difficult assignment of governing a state, "he must possess comprehension, mental magnitude and spiritual depth"²⁵. Thus a leader who possesses mental magnitude and spiritual depth is a leader who is always in control of himself or herself. Awo's doctrine of mental magnitude involves a typical stoic conception of life. In this connection, he believes that if one wants to be master of others, he must first of all be master of himself; and in order to be able to discipline others, one must himself be self-disciplined.

Men of affairs and wisdom everywhere are unanimous in the view that only "those who are masters of themselves become masters of others". Aristotle said it, with the authority of one of the greatest and wisest men that ever lived. "Let him that would move the world first move himself". And if we may, in passing, adopt Aristotle's words, we should say: "Let the country that would lead Africa, first lead itself out of its own domestic mess."²⁶

The cultivation of mental magnitude, in Awo's sense, therefore, involves the cultivation of self-discipline of the highest order. Self discipline is the tool by which mental magnitude exhibits itself by the way of curbing greed, bribery, corruption, lawlessness, all appetites or desires and negative emotions like anger, hate, envy, jealousy, fear, greed, selfishness, pettiness, wickedness, sadism etc. In particular, Awo considers it a settled opinion that the tyranny of the flesh is the worst of all tyrannies known to man. For this reason, he argues that only those who have subdued this tyranny can successfully lead others out of the bondage of ignorance, poverty and disease. In short, "good leadership involves self-conquest, and self conquest is attainable only by cultivating, as a first major step, what some applied psychologists have termed 'The regime of mental magnitude'. The regime of mental magnitude is cultivated through the training of the mind, and an essential tool for that purpose is Education."²⁷ And this explains

Awolowo's unhidden love for academics and intellectuals of various descriptions in our society and in his political party, the very famous Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). In explaining further how this regime is cultivated, Awo reveals his stoic philosophy of life which, for a leader, requires self- mortification of the highest order.

In plain language, the regime of mental magnitude is cultivated when we are sexually continent, abstemious in food, abstain from alcoholic beverage and tobacco and completely vanquish the emotion of greed and fear.²⁸

For the subjection of appetite or desire to reason, and the development of man's physical and spiritual well being, Awolowo considered education as the first cardinal principle of his Party's (UPN) manifesto in 1979. Incidentally, that party, the Unity Party of Nigeria, was seen as the most disciplined party in Nigeria. This discipline, as manifested in Awo's private and public life finds one of its best expression in his memorabilia adorning the walls of Efunyela Hall at Ikenne till today. There Awo wrote and signed:

I have never regarded myself as having a monopoly of knowledge. The trouble is that when most people in public life and in position of leadership are spending whole days and nights carousing in night clubs or in company of men of shady characters and women of easy virtue I, like a few others, am always at my post working hard at the country's problems and trying to find solutions to them... only the deep can call to the deep.²⁹

From the above, we are in a position to see more clearly the role discipline or indiscipline can play in any society. It has been stated that a leader who wants to discipline others must himself be self-disciplined. Nigeria is a society where indiscipline is the order of the

day. It goes from top to the very bottom of our society. In the government circle, bribery, corruption and nepotism are the order of the day. If a Permanent Secretary is corrupt, he cannot discipline his corrupt subordinates. The same is true of any Minister, Prime Minister or President who may lose moral authority to discipline his appointees and other subordinates if he himself is indisciplined and corrupt. In this case, corruption spreads like wild fire and becomes institutionalised from top to bottom. The same obtains in private and public institutions and it also manifests itself during elections where corruption makes nonsense of the word democracy.

In his brief address to the people of Gettysburg, the President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln, had this prayer: that the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.³⁰ A good prayer it was, in what has become the most accepted definition of democracy. Whereas a purely democratic government is an illusion, it seems reasonable to assume that, for the purpose of convenience, a great number of people will be prepared to accept the views and authority of a few as representatives of their collective views and authority. But the danger of this democratic characteristic is that it makes totalitarian government easy, once the few have been given the instrument of power and persuasion. This kind of government is what I have called totalitarian democracy somewhere else³¹ and I strongly believe it could lead to undersirable consequences, especially in an illiterate or semi-illiterate society like ours.

The danger here is indiscipline, the human greed and appetite for unrestricted power, wealth and domination. Once power is tasted, most politicians want to remain in it by employing all sorts of corrupt means to remain in power. Because the electorates have been deliberately pauperised, they are easily amenable to voting at a prize put on their heads, to the extent that money, rather than merit, becomes the sole determinant of who gets elected at any election. In addition

to money, state power is often used to force people to vote against their wishes and conscience. Thus, politicians who have no good records do successfully bribe their ways through the so-called screening exercise, and complete the job by buying over the poor electorates. In Nigeria, winning an election is for the highest bidder which translates into what Awolowo says about Nigerian Democracy as cash and carry democracy or chop and chop democracy.^{31a} In some cases, human beings do not vote, as only abstract numbers are recorded. And this makes nonsense of free and fair election in a democratic setting. So, what we call democracy is actually not a democracy. It is a system of mental and physical cheating, and buying of votes in the political open market. And yet we talk of democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people. In this way, the road to totalitarianism or dictatorship differs only in degrees and method, not in kind. While totalitarianism is achieved by means of force or a non-elective one party system, democracy as practised in Nigeria is a ruse whereby once in every four years, at a fake general election, people are made to believe that they are governing themselves. As soon as a few people come to power they show that they do not owe any allegiance and responsibility to the voters who had earlier been purchased like merchandise, or to abstract figures which, by any stretch of the imagination, do not represent human beings.

In essence, politicians who are elected to govern cannot be queried for doing nothing for the people, as their rise or return to power is not determined by any judgement of their previous records and performance in office, but by the same corrupt means of buying and selling of votes in the usual grand style. Individually, they enjoy immunity against stealing of public funds that are necessary for buying the conscience of voters at the next election. This is why, as soon as they get to power, they make sure they own everything, including the national treasury, and dispose of the products as they think, to the extent that a government of the people by the people and for the

people becomes a government of the people by the elite and for the elite. What is more, in order to hold on to power, every system of mental cheating – double think and double talk, i.e. the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them³² – are employed, especially through government functionaries or willing mass media. In underdeveloped countries of Africa, like Nigeria, mass rigging of elections, persecution, killing of political opponents, bribery and corruption are sure symptoms of indiscipline which has no place in Awolowo's regime of mental magnitude. Many Nigerians share my views as expressed in this lecture. The level of corruption is so great in our unending democratic experiments that Reuben Abatti, in an African Independent Television (AIT) programme, *Patito's Gang*, at 11pm, on 5 February, 2004, publicly said that Nigeria is an abandoned property. He made this point as a result of the corruption and wastes associated with many abandoned projects and properties in Nigeria. If we accept Abatti's view, then we may also say that Nigeria is a wasted country, just as Soyinka said about Nigerians as a wasted generation. With all these facts at our disposal, we can say that, at the present level of our political thinking and activities, there is no democracy in Nigeria. Our democracy has taken the garb of totalitarian democracy, different only in certain degrees from Marxist totalitarianism and dictatorship.

4. What Hope for Democracy in Nigeria?

Since independence, Nigeria has oscillated between military and civilian governments. This scenario, to me, is injurious to the growth and health of democracy and good governance. The only successful democracy in Nigeria was that of the old Western Region under Chief Obafemi Awolowo. By a cruel hand of fate and to the disadvantage of Nigeria, Awolowo was prevented from putting into practice, at the Federal level, what he did for Western Region as Premier. In view of his potentials to make Nigeria great, there was no

way the Western powers would have allowed Awolowo to rule this country for fear of Nigeria becoming a black world super power.

After the 1959 General election, Tafawa Balewa became the Prime Minister and Awolowo leader of opposition. As a result of lawlessness in the Western Region and support by an equally lawless Federal government, there was crisis which consumed, like fire, not only the Western Region, but the entire Federation. Tafawa Balewa's government was terminated in January 1966. Aguyi Ironsi cut his regime brutally short by his introduction of a unitary system of government into the nation's democratic system. Ironically, the unitary system of government for which Ironsi's life and government were cut short later became the pattern of government by succeeding military governments. Gowon moved in, and with plenty of money in his kitty, he boasted to the whole world that money was not his problem but how to spend it. And with an astonishing rapidity, the Western powers came in to solve Gowon's problem by helping him to quickly spend the money on wasteful projects. He was succeeded by Gen. Murtala Mohammed, another military man who ruled Nigeria for a very short period. He died a hero, although it was difficult to know how he would have ended his reign had he not died at the time he did. Perhaps death to him was a blessing. The only thing against him was his destruction of the civil service where the positions of permanent secretaries and confirmed officers were no longer permanent nor secured, in accordance to the civil service regulations.

General Obasanjo had the singular luck and honour of being the anointed person to complete Murtala Mohammed's transition programme. By handing over power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari under controversial circumstances notwithstanding, Obasanjo became a hero and man of history. Shagari tried his best, but he was surrounded by vipers and predators whom he could not control. Then came General Buhari, another military man, who drove Shagari out of office on 31 December, 1983. Buhari made his mark through his famous war against

indiscipline, while he also refused to devalue the Naira. However, his greatest undoing was tribalism and nepotism which his adversaries used as an excuse to drive him out of office on 27 August, 1985. General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida who drove out Buhari from office, started well and had one good thing to his advantage. He had a great respect for the intellectuals and used them to his own advantage. He was certainly on his way to becoming one of the greatest statesmen (after Awolowo and Obasanjo) in Nigerian history when he annulled the freest and fairest election ever held in Nigeria. His achievement would have surpassed that of Obasanjo had he handed over power to Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the winner of the free and fair election. The truth has not been told about the motive for the annulment till today, and so Babangida has this problem to contend with. In order to redeem his image, he must purge himself of the sin of annulment. I believe he would be forgiven if he asks for forgiveness.

After Babangida stepped aside, he appointed, for the first time after Shagari's intrusion into the reigns of Generals, Chief Ernest Sonekan as the leader of a hurriedly concocted interim government which I once described as interim nonsense. It is difficult to see what significant position Sonekan held in Nigerian political history. Apart from the fact that his regime was declared illegal by the court, he reigned but did not rule, while he was only a mere shadow of himself in the corridors of power. Quite easily, his minister of defence and the *de facto* ruler, Gen. Sanni Abacha, seized power from him and sacked all political office holders in November, 1993. His was a reign of terror which Nigerians will never forget in a hurry. He was a powerful and wicked dictator, but alas, the man died like a rat, and the nation jubilated at his demise. General Abdulsalam took over in the midst of horse trading. He made his mark by initiating some reforms, including an upward review of salaries and better condition of service for University teachers through his Minister of Education, Mr. Oni to whom some people referred as ASUU's minister and who definitely

has left a good history behind him as Education Minister. Perhaps General Abdulsalam's best achievement was his handing over the reigns of power to a civilian government under the Presidentship of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who had just been released from Abacha's prison.

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was the luckiest man in Nigerian military and political landscapes. He was the man who completed Brigadier Benjamin Adekunle's uncompleted job by accepting Biafran surrender in January, 1970. He also it was who completed Murtala Muhammed's transition programme by handing over power to the civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979. As if that was not enough, he was destined to complete the longest transition in history – from Babangida to Abdulsalam - when he became the second civilian President since independence. It was his second coming, first as Military Head of State (1976-1979) and now as civilian President. I had studied this scenario of systematic luck on his person and advised, in my book, *Awo as a philosopher*³³, that he must think carefully about his strings of luck which must have been by divine connection, and use this second and final opportunity afforded him by God to take care of the poor who had never benefited from God's given natural resources (oil wealth) in this country since independence. Precisely, I advised that he should concentrate more on improving the lot of the poor masses and the middle class than the rich who are getting richer by the day, and pay less attention to the dictates of the imperialists as ably represented by the World Bank and the IMF. If I were Mr. President I would almost always do the opposite of the selfish, wicked, deadly and sinful prescriptions of these financial monsters, as Awolowo did when he was in government.^{33a}

In the present democratic system the President may have good intentions, but the methods of carrying out his intentions may be rough, tough and bereft of the milk of human kindness, as people often say, or he may have been surrounded by bad and tired advisers, or by people who are afraid to give him advice just in case their advice may

be ignored for whatever reason. Since I believe that history cannot be written about Obasanjo while he is in office as President, and still making history everyday, I shall leave the judgement of his regime to posterity. **But I think President Obasanjo and his team of Ministers and special advisers need our prayers, and they must try not to render our prayers ineffective.**

From the scenario thus painted about our successive experiments in military dictatorship and democratic government, I think there is something to be learnt from Awolowo's doctrine of mental magnitude which also has its religious foundation in spiritual depth and love of God and our fellowmen, irrespective of whether one is rich or poor, as both are not only children of God but equal in His eyes. The ultimate objective of obedience to the will of God and the General will of the people is LOVE and the pursuit of the good – the greatest good of the greatest number. Awolowo's political doctrine is based on his quotation from the *People's Republic*,

The touchstone of what is good, be it a thought, or word or action is love. We are to love our neighbour as ourselves. Anything therefore – any thought or word or action – which falls short of LOVE is evil, and holds within itself the germ of its own eventual and inevitable destruction.³⁴

Therefore, for Awolowo, the ultimate moral injunction for any leader of a government is "love thy neighbour as yourself" or, as in Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative, "do unto others as you would wish them do unto you".³⁵ This to me remains the canon by which any leader in a democratic government can achieve a just and egalitarian society. It will remove all traits of arrogance, selfishness, indiscipline, lawlessness and corruption from the leader, prompt him to always do good in accordance to the rule of egalitarianism which enjoins complete reverence to the will of the people which is also the will of God and,

by implication, the greatest good of the greatest number. It is by following this rule that we can have a semblance of democracy.

In so far as the above has never been the practice in any government, military or democratic in Nigeria, our scepticism leads us to two drastic solutions. The first may be a crazy solution, but it is, theoretically, a solution nevertheless. In order to eradicate malaria, one may think of eradicating mosquitoes from the face of the earth. But this is impossible. In practical but crazy term, it would be easier to eliminate the human race than to eradicate the mosquitoes. In this case, there would be no person for the mosquitoes to bite and consequently there would be no malaria. If a solution is what we want, this, at least theoretically, is one. By the same token, if we think that there can be no solution to the problems of indiscipline, lawlessness and corruption which make mockery of our democracy, we can think of a theoretical but crazy solution to this problem. We may conceive of the possibility of eliminating all indisciplined, lawless and corrupt people in Nigeria, or if we cannot find all of them for elimination, we put an age limit say, 18 years and below as those to be spared if we think that this age group has not been contaminated. Unfortunately, we do often see many of this age group involved in indiscipline, lawlessness and corruption in one way or the other. Even in the university, we see many of them engaging in indiscipline, lawlessness and corruption. Many of them protest against the increase in hostel accommodation from N90 to N5,000 but go on to buy many bed spaces at N90 and sell them to other students at about N30,000. Which means we cannot trust these young people as future leaders. If we reduce the age to 10 and below, we find out that even these relatively young people are lawless, indisciplined, and corrupt as well. They have grown up in a lawless, indisciplined and corrupt society. What, then, do we do? Do we pray to the Almighty God to judge Nigeria by treating her as He did Sodom and Gomorrah or ask Him to sink us into the Atlantic ocean so that we all end up in the bellies of sharks

and whales?³⁶ All these may be heresy and against the will of God who prefers repentance to the death of sinners. But they are possible solutions suggested out of frustration.

Perhaps another possible solution to our democratic madness may be eugenic breeding, the raising and development of offsprings through judicious and selective breeding, such as Plato would have liked for his ideal society. Under the system of eugenic breeding, the people whose untrained minds are full of inner-contradictions, and who are lawless, indisciplined and corrupt will, by castration, be prevented from procreating, thus preventing them from breeding their likes in our society. If this method is repeated over a period of time, only those with trained and disciplined minds, the honest, incorrupt and incorruptible, would have been allowed to procreate. The problem, however, is how to find those who are qualified for this special privilege. This may not work as it may be difficult, if not, impossible, to find 2 million people out of 100 million Nigerians who would qualify to participate in this eugenic breeding. Perhaps the idea here is to prevent uneducated people without trained and disciplined minds from procreating as a way of putting an end to the breeding of future Nigerians who would turn out to be indisciplined, greedy, lawless and corrupt. Again, although this is a logically possible solution, it is, nevertheless, a crazy solution that would be morally unacceptable.

Democracy as it is practiced in underdeveloped world is dangerous. There can be no true democracy without economic and intellectual independence. It is a dangerous and backward system of government if, as a government of sheer majority, it is installed by illiterates who do not possess what Awolowo calls comprehension, mental magnitude, and spiritual depth, or the ability to appreciate and grasp salient details as well as most of the practical and temporal implications of a given problem or situation.³⁷ Thus the merit or demerit of democracy can be established from the quality of the individuals as well as the elected leaders in a State. Therefore, democracy can turn

out to be a disaster or a curse, unless it conforms to the regime of mental magnitude where both citizens i.e. the electorates and their elected leaders, have cultivated, through education and discipline of the mind, the essential ingredients of mental magnitude and spiritual depth.

Surely Awolowo's prescription of sound education calls for a review of the standard and qualifications of our leaders. It also calls for a proper education of our electorates because an uneducated electorate cannot objectively assess the qualities of a candidate as compared to his/her literate counterpart who would have critically assessed these qualities and manifestos before casting his/her vote. It is even more serious for an elected member who, by virtue of his illiteracy or semi-illiteracy, is incapable of comprehending salient details about the issues before him/her and so cannot meaningfully contribute to the debates in the National and State Assemblies. In order to improve upon our democratic system, the minimum qualification for our politicians should be a university degree or its equivalent, as it is almost always the case in civilized countries. Teachers, university lecturers and seasoned civil servants should be allowed to play politics through leave of absence, and come back to their posts if they lost elections, or come back to their posts after the expiration of their terms if they won elections, or come back to their posts after they had completed their political appointments.

As of now, politics is the exclusive preserve of the rich, the self-employed and the non-employed. The inclusion of highly educated people into politics will improve the quality of debates and critical appraisals of public opinions as they concern the general will. It will make dictatorship difficult if not impossible, make politicians understand, appreciate and obey the rule of law and especially the rule governing separation of powers. It is this group of people that can easily and quickly understand the tenets of democracy. Instead of seeing democracy as a perpetual experiment or an unending learning

process, this group of people will strive to make democracy work. They will be in a position to meaningfully talk about dividend of democracy because they understand its import, meaning and what it is all about – justice and fairness, the greatest good of the greatest number, life more abundant and prosperity for all.

5. Conclusion

I admit that there is no corrupt free nation in the world today. That is why we are number two of the most corrupt nations on earth. But this disgraceful assessment tells much about our democratic experiments, past, present, and our scepticism about the future. What we all know is that indiscipline, lawlessness, greed, corruption and other vices like drunkenness, stealing which are all forms of madness vary in different degrees. A drunkard will not condemn his drunkenness, but others will. A rogue will always like to see himself as a smart fellow, but others will see him as a crook or a villain. A madman is incapable of seeing himself as a mentally deranged person, but others see him as a lunatic and a nuisance to the bargain. In this lecture I have traced the different maladies or madness associated with the contradictions in our society as indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption. My scepticism rests on my suspicion that these, truly, are incurable for now or in the near future, especially as they have grown their wings from top to bottom. i.e. from the government to the governed. The situation is so bad that it has become spectacularly scandalous. Because we do not recognise this as such, or fail to recognise it, we pretend to be happy and comfortable about it to the extent that, in spite of our maladies and suffering, we are always smiling, and remain smiling (apology to Fela Anikulapo Kuti). This may explain why, in spite of the social and political maladies discussed, Nigerians are rated the happiest people in the world. By this singular judgement from the outside world, my initial hypothesis that Nigeria is a land full of contradictions readily falls into place.

Perhaps I should warn our African leaders that they should stop deceiving themselves by believing that the outside world genuinely respect them and their countries. When African leaders travel to Europe or America to dine with Kings, Queen's, Presidents and Prime Ministers and are received with red carpets, little do they know that it is not their persons or their countries that are being respected but their natural resources like oil, gold, diamond or uranium which they badly need to improve their economies and the general condition of their citizens. While they use the wealth cornered from our country, Nigeria, to make life comfortable and more abundant for the generality of their citizens, they misadvise us to either retrench workers or render them poor with poor wages so as to enhance their own investment opportunities. Whereas in their countries salaries are increased automatically every year through the cost of living index, their economic advice to our leaders is not to increase wages at all until workers go on strike or give up the ghost, knowing fully well that either of these would paralyse our economy. This economically destructive strategy is what our succeeding governments have always bought, hook, line and sinker. It has led to the paralysing phenomenon of brain drain and the attendant underdevelopment of our nation.

I make bold to say that people of the outside world have greater respect for the intellectuals, especially of Professor Soyinka's stamp, than they do our government. They can fool our government but they cannot fool our intellectuals. They know this, and I believe that because they know this, they will never feel comfortable if our intellectuals are in politics. To be useful, knowledge must be public as contained in journals and textbooks all over the world. It is precisely for this reason that a professor of medicine, philosophy, science, economics, mathematics or technology in Nigeria is welcome in universities abroad through the mechanism of brain drain. Yet, the same people who appreciate education in their own countries, especially university education, always deceive our leaders into believing and accepting

that we should give more money to Construction Companies than we give to our universities. And our leaders have bought this contradictory supposition without any reservation. The reward is one university crises after the other, inferior manpower and chronic underdevelopment. And people of the outside world enjoy all these while we fight ourselves to finish at home.

A Western philosopher once thought that there was no logical reason for him to prefer the burning of one of his fingers to the destruction of the human race. You may be surprised if I tell you that there is no logical fault in this kind of reasoning. It is only morally repulsive. If we apply the principle behind this statement which, by all means, is an abstractedly tenable hypothesis and logically defensible, I can assure us that America, Britain and France have no logical reason to prefer losing their oil wells to the total destruction of Nigeria. It is then we shall know that the only relation between Nigeria and America, Britain or France is not that we are human beings like them, but that we have oil and other mineral resources which they badly need, and which they thought God should have given them in the first place. And so we mistake their love of our oil for love of Nigeria when, as a matter of bare, brute fact they see us as brutes, pre-logical, indisciplined, lawless and corrupt. To them, there is nothing they think is worth presenting about our democracy either on their televisions or their newspapers other than rigging of elections or the staging of *coup-de tats* which nature has cruelly bestowed on us by virtue of the contradiction, indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption in our society.

Karl Marx has said that philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point, however, is to change it.³⁸ I might have interpreted our social and political maladies in order to give support to my political scepticism,³⁹ but you may still say that the real point is to change Nigerians and Nigeria. You may go on to say that my lecture is unhelpful if I do not tell you how we can change the horrible situations

I have painted about Nigeria where indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption have made democracy as dead as a dodo, or is being pulled up and down like a yoyo. My answer would be that any change such as would bring about a stable democracy in Nigeria is difficult, if not impossible, in this generation. Awo had said that we cannot see Democracy in our life time. To this I shall add, not only in our lifetime, but also in our next generation, if situations remain as they are. First, in order to change Nigerians and Nigeria for the better, you have to change the attitudes of people. This is difficult. What this means is that in order to change Nigeria we have to change the attitudes of Nigerians.

Second, suppose that Nigeria is just what I think it is – a land full of contradictions and absurdities, incurable maladies such as indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption? What if we compare all these maladies to actual madness which are usually manifested in various degrees. Then you will agree with me that there are degrees of madness – elementary, intermediate and advanced. There are the mad people who still wear clothes but with their hair unkempt, walk in the streets talking nonsense and to nobody in particular, and laughing at sporadic intervals. There are also some others who are half naked and walk in the streets carrying big stones on their heads. These kinds of elementary and intermediate madness can still be treated in mental hospitals or mental homes. But for the advanced ones, i.e. the ones that make people walk about naked in the market place, as the Yoruba will say, there seem to be no remedy. I do not believe that our social and political maladies have reached an advanced stage, only that we are almost near that stage, and God forbid we ever reach that advanced stage of madness.

In all the circumstances detailed above, there now appears to me four options as possible remedies for our social and political maladies. First to be considered is Awolowo's theory of Democratic socialism or egalitarianism (some people call it Awoism), the greatest

good of the greatest number, as opposed to the greatest good of the fewest member, in our society. I say this because I had moved very close to Awolowo in the last seven years of his life, have read and studied most of his writings and have continued to propagate in writing his social and political ideas as founded on his philosophy of man and the regime of mental magnitude. Second and third options: either we pray to God to send down a Messiah to cleanse and heal Nigeria of its various maladies, as some people are doing now in churches, vigils, crusades and revivals, or we are purged and cleansed of our maladies by the aggrieved and angry poor masses and area boys by means of a revolution that may sweep away many of us who may be so unfortunate as to be caught riding on okadas, second hand vehicles or, worse still, first hand vehicles, or found living in good houses and, worse still, in palatial buildings where we can afford to have three square meals a day with our families. The French Revolution may be a child's play. That revolution may change peoples' attitude more by force than by persuasion. Enforcement of revolutionary laws may keep everybody on his/her toes while lawlessness and corruption may be feared like death. My fear or scepticism is that, since the revolutionaries would be Nigerians, they may relapse into eating the forbidden fruits of contradictions, indiscipline, lawlessness, greed and corruption. And this will take us back to square one.

We are not unmindful of the efforts being made by the present government to curb corruption. But the fact that the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) has never succeeded in prosecuting anybody for over four years tells a lot about our sincerity in the enforcement of laws against corruption and lack of accountability in public office.⁴⁰ We may, therefore, suggest a traditional option – *Agogo Eewo*. In the Yoruba play, *agogo eewo* is a deadly device used to identify indiscipline, lawless, greedy and corrupt people in a society. If graft, embezzlement, murder or any immoral act was committed, all those suspected to be responsible for such an act would have to

swear that they had not committed the offence with which they were charged, or they confess their sins and promise to return their loots (in the case of embezzlement of public funds) before the bell – *agogo eewo* – is rung seven times. At the first, second or third ringing of the bell, the offenders begin to feel uneasy, and if they are wise, they confess their guilt publicly, and are ready to return the money or property embezzled. If they are adamant and refuse to confess or swear in the public, instant death occurs before or at the seventh ringing of the bell. Perhaps this traditional method of dealing with indiscipline, lawless, greedy and corrupt people in the play could be adopted throughout the nation, otherwise we are doomed to extinction. Its adoption might put to an end the social and political maladies in our society so that, in Nigeria, we begin to see the dawn of a shining light. In short, we assert that either we call Awo's social and political philosophy to the rescue or we are blessed with a God-sent Messiah or, failing these, we are visited by a revolution of young, decent, honest and highly dedicated group of people, or we re-call *Agogo-eewo* to do the job. It is my opinion that Nigeria needs any of these four options in order to establish the most fundamental aspect of good governance – JUSTICE, the quintessence of democracy.

Awolowo has said, by the authority of the *Holy Bible*: love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul. That is the greatest commandment. It comes first. The second is like it: love your neighbour as thyself. Everything in the law and prophets hangs on these two commandments.⁴¹ Auden has also said: we must love one another or we die.⁴² And Jesus Christ said: I come not to judge the world but to save it.⁴³ From all these it appears that Nigerians now have two paths lying before them: the one leading to destruction and the other leading to salvation and survival or democracy.

Having said all these you may want to ask: who is this philosopher talking as if he is not himself a Nigerian? My reply is that it is because I am a full-blooded Nigerian who has studied Nigerians

and the Nigerian situation very well that I consider myself qualified to say as much as I have said in this inaugural lecture. I might wish to disarm people's criticism by quickly saying that, as a Nigerian and a product of Nigerian society, I am guilty, and theoretically speaking, we are all guilty without exemption, of the various maladies enunciated in this lecture. If I try to exempt myself, my philosopher colleagues will remind me of the Liar paradox. That is, if I say all Nigerians are liars, then by virtue of the fact that I am a Nigerian, I too am a liar, in which case my statement that all Nigerians are liars is a lie. You will then say I am also one of those indisciplined, lawless and corrupt Nigerians. However, there is nothing wrong if by reflection and impatience with illogicality I open up and speak the truth about our maladies – the maladies on which I base my scepticism. But you will then remind me that the truth has been told by the immortal Awo that “as there are good soldiers, so also there are good politicians. Not all soldiers are saints and not all politicians are devils”.⁴⁴ I admit, therefore, that there exist some Nigerians in government, the National and State Assemblies, the judiciary the public service, parastatals and private organisations who are disciplined, lawful and honest and who may know themselves as such. But the weight of evidence clearly shows that these people are very few among us, and it might have been for their sake that Nigeria has not been consumed by Holy Ghost fire. But among corruptible and incorruptible Nigerians some people have to cry out when Nigeria burns as a result of her sins of commissions and omissions. Nevertheless, sins are sins and, as I have said, we are all probably guilty of one of these sins or the other. May be with this inaugural lecture you may think that I should be exempted, at least for today or for a while. I doubt if you will, but if you do, I'll be uncomfortable with your judgement.

Socrates said: he who knows not and knows not that he knows not, is a fool. On the other hand, he who knows not and knows that he knows not is a wise man. Because Socrates thought that he was

the one who knew that he knew not, he considered himself the wisest man in Athens. He then advised: examine yourself, for an unexamined life is not worth living.⁴⁵ I may then ask: what about unexamined Nigerians and our social and political organisations and strategies for survival, in the face of our social and political maladies in this age of globalisation?⁴⁶ You may think that Socrates has answered this question, but I still have the right to leave the question for you to answer.

At this stage, you may think that I have said all I could say concerning my scepticism about Nigeria's social and political situations, based on my perceptions of the numerous maladies that have tormented this nation. But Mr. vice-chancellor, sir, permit me to say that I have not said all that could be said about the reasons for my scepticism and what the outside world may think about us. As Nigerians in a country full of contradictions and who are notorious for indiscipline, lawlessness, greed, corruption and other auxiliary vices ever known to humanity, our image and that of our country have been of great concern to some well meaning Nigerians and other people from the outside world. Which means we are in great trouble at home and abroad. This is a fact. Facts are facts and cannot be disputed. So, if what I have said in my lecture today are facts as opposed to fictions, then they would remain so to the outside world, and our relation to this outside world would be in the light of these facts. But I think that, for now, I have said enough and cannot say more. As a philosopher once said, “what we can't say we can't say, and we cannot whistle it either”. And so, ladies and gentlemen, the rest is silence.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, sir, permit me to break this silence by saying, from the very bottom of my heart, thank you all for listening.

Notes and References

1. Babalola, Chief Afe (SAN), Pro-Chancellor, University of Lagos. Quoted in Odeyemi, Olu (OFR), *Timeless Words of Wisdom*, with introduction by Makinde, M.A., Osogbo, Sumob Publishers, 2001, p. ix.
2. Alston, William P. and Brandt, Richard B.: *Problems of Philosophy*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1967, as quoted in Makinde, M.A. *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine*: Athens, Ohio University Press, 1988, ch. 3, p. 23.
3. Russell, Bertrand: *The Art of Philosophizing*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1968, pp. 33-35. Quoted in Makinde, M.A., *African Philosophy, Culture, and Traditional Medicine*, above, *Ibid.*
4. Russell, Bertrand, *Ibid.*
5. Russell, Bertrand, *History of Western Philosophy*, 18th edition, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962, pp. 13-14, also quoted in Makinde M.A. above, *Ibid.*
6. Joad, C.E.M. *Philosophy*, London: Richard Clay, 1974, p. 39.
7. See Makinde, M.A. "Humanities and Nigerian Education: A Systematically Misleading Impression of the Value of the Humanities vis a vis Science and Technology in the Nigerian Educational System", The 2nd Nigerian Academy of Letters (NAL) Lecture, delivered at the University of Ibadan, 24 March, 2000 and published in *Towards an African Renaissance*, Steve Ogude ed., an occasional publication of the Nigerian Academy of Letters, no. 2, Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 2002, pp. 69-70.
8. Frank, Philipp, *Philosophy and Science: the Link between Science and Philosophy*: Englewood Cliff, Prentice-Hall inc. 1957, p. 10. See also Makinde, M.A., in our note 7 above, p. 70.
9. See Isaac Newton: *Newton's Philosophy of Nature*: Selections from his writings, H.S. Thaler, ed., with introduction by John Herman Randall Jr., New York; Hafner Pub. & Co, 1943.
10. Frank, Philipp. *Philosophy and Science: the Link between Science and Philosophy*, above, p. 11, also quoted in Makinde, M.A. "Teaching Philosophy to Other Disciplines" in *Teaching Philosophy on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century*, Evans, David & Ioanna Kucuradi eds., Ankarah, Turkey: International Federation of Philosophical Societies (FISP), 1998, p. 68. As a member of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies' (USA) Committee on Teaching Philosophy (1991-1998), I was commissioned, along with some of the members, to write the above paper for the above book that was launched at the 20th World Congress of Philosophy, Boston, Mass, USA, 10-16 August, 1988.
11. Frank, Philipp, above, *Ibid.* Also quoted in Makinde M.A. "Teaching Philosophy to Other Disciplines", in *Teaching Philosophy on the Eve of The Twenty-First Century*, *op.cit*, p. 11.
12. Hume, David: *A Treatise of Human Nature*, L.A. Selby-Bigg ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967 edition.
13. See Makinde, M.A. "Humanities and Nigerian Education..." in Steve Ogude, *Towards An African Renaissance*, in our note 7 *op.cit*, p. 72.
14. Makinde, M.A. "Teaching Philosophy to Other Discipline" *op cit*, p. 71.
15. See, for instance, Popper, Sir Karl, *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972. See

- also *Logic of Scientific Discovery*, London: Hutchinson, 1959 and *Conjectives and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, New York: Harper & Row, 1963
16. See Hardy, G.H. *A Mathematician's Apology*, Cambridge University Press, 1969.
 17. See Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan* ed. by Michael Oakeshott, with Introduction by Richard Peters, London: Collier-Macmillan, 1953 edition; Locke, John: *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, with Introduction by W.S. Carpenter, London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1966 edition, and Rousseau, Jean Jacques: *The Social Contract and Discourses*, with introduction by G.D.H. Cole, London: Dent. Everyman's Library, 1966 edition.
 18. Snyder Michael A. "Is a New Dark Age coming?", *The Plain Truth*, 1984, p. 40. See also Makinde, M.A., *African Philosophy, Culture, and Traditional Medicine* above, ch. 4, "Social and Political Philosophy of Obafemi Awolowo" p. 59.
 19. Makinde, M.A. *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine*, above pp. 35-36. A Colonial anthropologist and ethnographer, Levy Bruhl's position appeared in his work: *Primitive Mentality*, (1923, reprinted in 1966). Levy Bruhl later renounced this position in his posthumous publication: *Notebook on Primitive Mentality*, (1975).
 20. Descartes, Rene: "First Meditation" in *Meditations on First Philosophy in which the Existence of God and the Distinction Between Mind and Body are Demonstrated*, trans by E.S. Haldane & G.R. T. Ross eds., London: Cambridge University Press, 1912.
 21. See Makinde, M.A. "Of Chance Philosophy and Obsolete Philosophy: Some Anti-Scientific Features of African

- (Traditional) Thought", *Second Order*, (New Series), vol. 1, No. 1, January 1988, p. 8 ff.
22. For a similar view concerning the use of English Language, instead of Yoruba as mother tongue, by some of our children, see, for instance, Babalola Adeboye, "African Renaissance: Making The New Culture Grow Well out of The Old", The Nigerian Academy of Letters (NAL) Lecture Series, delivered at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos, on 10 August, 2000, in Ogude, Steve ed. *Towards An African Renaissance*, as in our note 7 above, under the section on "Nigerian Languages and English", pp. 14-16. An Emeritus Professor of African Languages and Literatures, University of Lagos, Adeboye Babalola is a distinguished and pioneer scholar of Yoruba Studies, and President of the Yoruba Studies Association.
 23. See Makinde, M.A. *Awo as a Philosopher*, Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2002, (inside cover).
 24. Makinde, M.A. *Awo as a Philosopher*, above, p. 160. See also Omoboriowo, Akin, *Awoism: A Select Theme of the Complex Ideology of Chief Obafemi Awolowo*, Ibadan: Evans Brothers, 1982, p. 56.
 25. Awolowo, Obafemi: *Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press 1966, pp. 157-158.
 26. *Opt. cit*, p. 158.
 27. *Ibid*
 28. *Ibid*
 29. Awolowo, Chief (Dr.) Mrs. H.I.D., *A Memoir of The Jewel*, edited with Introduction by Makinde, M.A., Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2003, p. 58.

30. Cited in Harvey, Ian: *The Techniques of Persuasion: An Essay in Human Relationship*, London: Falcon Press, 1951, p. 2.
31. Makinde, M.A. *African Philosophy, Culture, and Traditional Medicine* above, ch. 4 on "The Social and Political Philosophy of Chief Obafemi Awolowo" p. 81ff.
- 31a. Awolowo, Obafemi (conversation) in Makinde, M.A. *Awo as a Philosopher*, p. 233.
32. See Makinde, M.A. "George Orwell's 1984 and After: A Study in Societal Psychology and the Impact of Technology on Human Values", *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*, No. 6, August 1993, pp. 24-41.
33. Makinde, M.A., *Awo as a Philosopher*, pp. 11-15.
- 33a. For a similar view see, for instance, Awolowo, Obafemi, from my conversation with him on 4 April, 1987 at his residence in Ikenne, in Makinde, M.A. *Awo as a Philosopher*, pp 278. Chief Awolowo told me he did exactly the opposite of what the colonial masters advised him to do about the education of his people in the then Western Region of Nigeria. They had advised him not to waste his time and money on education because, as he thought, they were bent on making Nigeria "a colony of illiterates" who could easily be dominated by them. Hear him: "First of all, I thought it was a wicked and uncivilized proposal that I should not waste my time and money educating my people. I did ask them whether Britain would have developed without education. After all, we have read about the establishment of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the 12th century A.D., and we were now in the 20th century and yet we should not bother about western education... But the North bought this advice hook line and sinker". For his suspicion and scepticism about the selfish and wicked advice

- of the colonial masters Awolowo did the opposite, turned their advice upside down and went ahead to make education, not only free, but compulsory, in the Western Region of Nigeria. And his refusal to dance to the tune of the colonial masters paid off in the rapid educational and economic developments of the Region which he presided over between 1954 and 1959. See also his comments on the IMF and World Bank loans (p. 21) and why he refused to borrow money to prosecute an expensive civil war (p. 235).
34. Awolowo, Obafemi, *The People's Republic*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 188.
35. Kant, Immanuel: *Moral Law or Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, translation and analysis by H.J. Paton, New York: Harper & Row Publishers Inc., 1964. Kant's work is also referred to as the Categorical Imperative.
36. I have said this before, as a columnist, in an article entitled "The Triumph of Evil", *A.M. News* vol. 1, No. 183, Monday, October 2, 1995, p. 11. For a reply to this article see Yinka Bello (from Mushin, Lagos) in his article "God Triumphs, Not Evil" in *A.M. News*, vol. 1, No. 193, Sunday, October 15, 1995, p. 8.
37. Awolowo, Obafemi: *Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution*, p. 158.
38. Marx, Karl, "Theses on Feuerbach", in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 5, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976, p. 8.
39. My Scepticism is based on my perception about Nigerian politics and its vector, democracy. Like in Russell, my scepticism is more about people in politics than about politics *qua* politics. See, for instance, Bertrand Russell, "The Need

For Political Scepticism”, in his book, *Sceptical Essays*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1966, ch. XI, pp. 89-100.

40. See, for instance, Makinde, Taiwo (Mrs.): “A Philosophical Approach to the Problem of Ethics and Accountability in the Nigerian Public Service”, in Ezeani, Emmanuel O. ed. *Public Accountability in Nigeria: Perspectives and Issues*, Enugu: Academic Publishing Co, 2003, pp. 10-21.
41. *The Holy Bible*, Matthew 19: 16-24 and 22:36-40 as quoted by Awolowo, just before the Preface to his book, *The People's Republic*, above.
42. The quotation from W.H. Auden is in Jonathan Schell: *The Fate of the Earth*, New York: Avon Books, 1985, p. 65.
43. *The Holy Bible*, John 12:47
44. Awolowo, Obafemi, as quoted in Odeyemi, Olu: *Timeless Words of Wisdom*, above, p. 133.
45. This much was said about Socrates by his disciple, Plato, in his Socratic Dialogue.
46. See, for instance, Makinde, M.A. and Olaniyan, R.A., “People Cooperation: Imperative for Decent Survival and Development in Current Globalization Era” in Olamijulo, K. ed: *People Cooperation for African Development*, www.hopeafricapublisher.com/coopbk/chapt.2.html.