

# LEADERSHIP AND LEGACY

J. B. Fagoyinbo

## INTRODUCTION



Source: The Ojetunji Aboiyade Foundation  
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I was posted to the Farming Systems Engineering Department of the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) in 1976 for industrial attachment. I was to serve with Adejumo and Folami from the University of Ibadan and one Simon from Britain. Those of us from Nigeria were agricultural Engineering students while Simon was a student of agriculture; looks like he was really in agronomy. He is English. Our supervisor was Mr. Wijewardene of Sri Lanka.

I cannot remember if Folami continued with us or not because I remember that on most programs Adejumo, Simon and I were actively involved; looks like Folami came in with us but later sought another posting. When Mr. Wijewardene went to either Tanzania or Kenya he left us under the supervision of Heavy Vehicles Section of the Engineering Workshop but with Simon doing skeletal work on the internal projects, i.e. projects based within IITA's premises. However, we were all to be involved in the extension projects; he left a program of visitations to the extension sites. There was this day we had to go to a project site near Fasola, along Oyo Road. The farmers were amazed at our commitment despite the fact that our supervisor was not around. I suspected that Simon would want to play Oyinbo (white-skinned man) so I schemed out how to handle him.

At the close of the day's work, we were to clean up and load our equipment back into our Ford car. I quickly took over the leadership and assigned tasks to each of us. Simon was caught unawares and had to comply.

The host farmer drew his wife's attention to the event; thinking I was the boss. He promised his wife that he would do everything possible to educate all his children since a Yoruba young man could issue instructions to Oyinbo. That was a legacy; to educate all his children.

In 1979, when I had admission for post graduate studies at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) in Zaria, my letter of admission stipulated the fees; tuition, Students' Union, accommodation, etc. I paid up the total to the Bursary. However, on assumption, it was demanded of me to pay for accommodation. On informing the Bursary that I had paid all, I was informed that I should have paid them separately. I had to pay the accommodation and then ask for a refund of the initial payment. After about one year of going to the Bursary without success, I walked up to the Vice-Chancellor's (VC's) Office to lodge a complaint. I insisted on seeing the VC himself. Candidly I did not know it was easy to see a VC. That very day, before I left his office, my refund was prepared and paid out to me; in cash. That VC is Prof Abdullahi Ango.

Then, Prof Ango was humane, considerate, un-tribalized and unsectarian; from my name, you will immediately recognize that I am a Yoruba and a Christian but these facts did not becloud his reaction to my complaint. It beats my imagination when I read of his utterances these days. Has he not sat down to consider the activities and utterances of his contemporaries?

I am sure, but for his recent utterances, that if Prof. Ango requests to have a private meeting with any President in this country today, that President will nearly ask him to choose a convenient time himself.

## PROF ANGO'S CONTEMPORARIES

### Prof. Ojetunji Aboiyade

Olaopa (2012) not of emotion but of gratitude, not of ethnicity but of benefit and not of duty but of mentorship wrote concerning Aboiyade:

*As his own unique revisionism of the narrow economic vision of policy in government, Aboyade established the Development Policy Centre (DPC), Ibadan, which is a structural representation of a multidisciplinary matrix Aboyade was advocating for policy research and analysis to backstop the development process. Its objective is to synthesize a sociology of development from the backdrop of policy, business, culture, value, institution, development communication, research and science and technology. It was a joint venture conceptualized with like minds and partners like Mabogunje from the academics, Omolayole from industry, Ayida from the civil service, Vincent Maduka from engineering, Bimpe Aboyade from development communication/documentation research, Alhaji Umaru Ndanusa, from the business community and from the international community, Bax Nomvete from South Africa as well as Joe Abbey from Ghana. The partners on the DPC Board were reinforced with various research fellows from varied background.*

*He took his development idea a step further by linking national development with grassroots mobilization. This led to his collaboration, with Prof. Akin Mabogunje, on the Optimum Community (OPTICOM) development approach at Awe, Oyo State. OPTICOM (an acronym given by Chief Obafemi Awolowo during a seminar interaction with the duo to integrate it into his development blueprint in 1979) was meant to make a point about the role of government as a galvanizer of development. Thus, in grassroots mobilization, Aboyade makes the critical point that it is not only what the individual does in the society that drives development, but what the government enables the individuals to achieve for themselves and their society. And the right place to begin this, he insisted, was the grassroots. In other words, the traditional socio-economic and political structures have the capacity to respond positively to adequate and well-formulated policies driven by a willing and development-sensitive leadership.*

*With the OPTICOM initiative, Aboyade brought the elite down to the level of the masses, and thus rupture the extant perception of a hiatus between the elites and the masses. In retrospect, we can say that Aboyade made a spirited effort to live up to the ideals that defined and inspired the uncompromised in his generation. Whether he succeeds or not is for posterity to judge...*

*Prof. Aboyade came into elitehood with such a deep awareness of what is required of him. He came into public service with a unique strength of character, an unwavering commitment to nation and scholarship characterised by an intellectual symbiosis between what Chief Simeon Adebo called “academic knowledge and the practical workings of a democratic system”, and a great sense of what is required of him, noblesse oblige, in public service. Essentially, Aboyade was an elite without being elitist. He served his nation and he served his people.*

*His mission was to bring Nigeria to the acknowledgment of her historic destiny and to point her in that direction without the benefit of wielding political power. Heroes can only do that much. The onus of responsibility lies with the nation who values them to then take up the gauntlet and run with the ideas, projections, paradigms, and possibilities even at the risk of failing. The difference between a nation that succeeds and the one that fails, however, is that readiness to deploy heroic ideas and ideals and, with political will, follow them through. Has the nation taken the first step in deploying her heroes and heroic ideas towards building a great Nigeria? I suggest we look to the education system breeding ground and our institutions for an answer. By rebuilding our institutions to become value-based institutions leveraging global benchmarks, Nigeria can begin to chart a path to what is possible in terms of rehabilitating the Nigerian Project. Aboyade was a product of an institution; the university and he gave his best. I doubt if we have even begun to understand the extent of that kind of public service as a sacrifice, and the depth of ideas, merit, selflessness in the cause of national development.*

*It is enough for me that I knew this man and was able to gain privileged entry into his amazing and intriguing world. I consider it as one of my tasks in life and part of my service to the Nigerian nation to continually highlight the significance of heroes of the Nigerian Project. That was the essence of the biography. If I had the opportunity to revisit his epitaph, I won't hesitate to write:*

### **Aboyade's legacy**

The DPC was founded by the late Professor Ojetunji Aboyade in 1993. An erudite and highly distinguished scholar of international repute and a gifted administrator, late Professor Aboyade desired an autonomous and independent think tank where various stakeholders concerned about Nigeria's development process could brainstorm and develop sustainable policy options in this regard.

Regarded as the 'Father of Economics' in Nigeria who mentored and trained some of the leading economic planners and technocrats in the Nation today, Professor Aboyade recognized that the discipline of economics alone could not address the weaknesses in the policy analysis and management mechanism of the nation's government at all levels, the federal, state and local. Hence, he established the DPC to promote the 'Multidisciplinary Approach' towards developing policy options for the nation's development. Other disciplines included in this framework are: Political Science, Urban and Regional Planning, Environmental Management, Gender and Social Development, Information Management, Poverty, etc.

On DPC mission and objectives, the center said the foundation is committed to pursuing knowledge and truth about the prevailing societal situations in a systematic way and also has a strong commitment to the exploration of various policy options that are needed to address and transform the prevailing situation (Akosile and Megbolu, 2014).

According to DPC, "The mission of DPC is thus primarily to enhance national capacity for carefully articulating, realistically formulating and effectively implementing those policy options that will promote overall development which is also environmentally sustainable".

According to the Archbishop of Ibadan Ecclesiastical Province, Mr. J. O. Akinfenwa, "For Ojetunji Aboyade, it appeared that he made up his mind early in life to improve or save, if not the world, at least developing nations. Aboyade had an obsession for progress for developing nation which went beyond sterile treaties of promotion seeking intellectuals

"DPC has three-fold objective comprising development intelligence, capacity building, and information management. Each of this is pursued from the economic, socio-political, technological and cultural perspectives."

### **Prof. Umaru Shehu**

Professor Umaru Shehu was born on December 8, 1930, in Maiduguri, Nigeria. He attended Elementary School, Maiduguri 1935-1940; Middle School, Maiduguri 1941-1943; Kaduna College, Kaduna 1944-1947; University College, Ibadan 1948-1953; and was at the University of Liverpool between 1953-1956, and 1966-1967. Professor Shehu holds MBBS (London), IRCF (London), MRCS (England), DPH (Liverpool), FMCPH, MFCM, FFCM (UK), FFCM (Nigeria), FAS, FWACP, DFMC (Nigeria).

The following is an unedited extract from a write-up by Aminu (2010):

*On Wednesday, December 8, 2010, the Maiduguri-born Professor Emeritus of Community Medicine, Umaru Shehu clocked 80 years. By any definition, Umaru Shehu is a momentous exemplification of the human spirit. Being carefully-tended and well-grounded personality, Umaru Shehu is a popular name within the Nigerian academe, especially where the branch of medicine committed to the endowment of public health care is concerned... the first time I came across the word "Emeritus". Up and until now, I perceive "retired but still holding a professional title, especially of professors" as not very prevalent in Nigeria since most university teachers end up so superannuated even though, against all odds Professor Shehu is much a disparate, supernumerary figure.*

*In my university years in the prestigious University of Maiduguri where Professor Shehu holds the Emeriti title, every time the nominal list of university professors was enumerated, Professor Shehu's name was at the apex. Being a non-medical student, throughout my stay in the university, I was not by anyway associated, at least in academic terms, to the Professor until lately when I had the opportunity to meet with him in his office at the University Teaching Hospital in Maiduguri... we met the untiring Professor enmeshed in office work that it would be obstinate to interrupt him. Professor Shehu's office was mind-boggling! Clean to a level of spick-and-span, the walls of the office depicted a Professor of no measly accomplishment. Plaques of distinctive inscriptions and commemorations were in plain sight from all perspectives.*

*On the wall, I could also notice a monochrome snapshot of Professor Shehu and a group of medical doctors at the University of Liverpool in 1956. That was one year after my father was born! Our visit to Professor Shehu's office, as a result, was as quick as we could make it, and while we were leaving, the Professor told us how glad and grateful he was in having an acquaintance.*

*Professor Shehu started working as a Pre-registration House Surgeon, Southport Infirmary, United Kingdom in 1957. He came back to the Government of Northern Nigeria as Pre-registration House Physician that same year, and was promoted Medical Officer 1957-1963; Senior Medical Officer 1963-1965; Principal Medical Officer 1965-1966; Assistant Chief Medical Officer 1966-1967; Chief Medical Officer (Preventive Services Division) 1967-1968. Professor Shehu was then redeployed to North-Eastern State as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health and Chief Medical Officer, an offer he declined only to move on to Ahmadu Bello University to take up appointment as Reader and Acting Head of Department of Community Medicine 1968-1970; Deputy Dean, Faculty of Medicine 1968-1970; Acting Director, Institute of Health 1969-1970; Professor of Community Medicine 1970; Head of Department of Community Medicine 1970-1978; Director, Institute of Health 1970-1977; Deputy Vice Chancellor 1975-1976; Pro Vice-Chancellor (Academic) 1977-1978. Professor Shehu held visiting professorships in various universities, including the School of Medicine, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA 1976-1977.*

*He was appointed Vice Chancellor, University of Nigeria, Nsukka 1978-1980. He also worked with the World Health Organization as Short Term Consultant (Working Group on Health Services and Manpower Development Mechanism) in Geneva, September 1970; Appointed Temporary Adviser, October 1970; Short Term Consultant, 1971-1973; Consultant (Technical Discussions), 24<sup>th</sup> WHO Regional Committee for Africa 1974; National WHO Program Coordinator/Representative in Nigeria 1980-1985; Director, WHO Sub-Regional Health Development Office 111, 1985-1989; WHO Representative to Ethiopia, 1990. At the University of Maiduguri, Professor Shehu was appointed Honorary Consultant Physician since 1991 to date and became Professor Emeritus in 2000.*

*He was also the Provost of the College of Medical Sciences 1991-1993; and Sole Administrator of the University of Maiduguri 1993-1994. At the University College Hospital Ibadan, he was the Chairman, Board of Management 1991-1994. At Bayero University, Kano, he was Pro-Chancellor and Chairman Governing Council 1993-1996, and also Pro-Chancellor and Chairman Governing Council of the University of Lagos 1996-1999. He has held memberships and offices in several committees, councils, panels and commissions at both national and international levels.*

*He was President of Medical Schools in Africa 1973-1975; and External Examiner in Public Health at the University of Ghana Medical School. He is the current Chairman Board of Governors of the STOPAIDS organization; Chairman Governing Board of the National Agency for the Control of AIDS (NACA); Patron Guild of Medical Directors; Patron Nationwide Network for Health; Patron Nigerian Medical Forum of Great Britain and Ireland; Patron Nigerian Institute of Stress; Trustee National Foundation on VVF; Member Board of Trustees, Nigerian Tuberculosis and Leprosy Association; Member Editorial Board, West African Medical Journal; Consulting Editor, the Nigerian Medical Practitioner; Editorial Adviser, the Nigerian Postgraduate Medical Journal; Joint Editor-in-Chief, British Medical Journal (West Africa) Edition.*

*Apart from holding active memberships of Professional bodies as the Nigerian Medical Association, The Society of Health (Nigeria), Science Association of Nigeria, Association of Community Physicians of Nigeria, and the Nigerian Academy of Science, Professor Shehu is also a Foundation Fellow of the National Postgraduate Medical College of Nigeria; Foundation Fellow of the West African College of Physicians; Foundation Fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Science; and Foundation Fellow of the Faculty of Community Medicine (Nigeria). Professor Umaru Shehu is mentioned in Who is Who in the world; Men of Achievement; Dictionary of International Biography; Africa Year Book 1977—Who is Who in Africa; Who is Who in Nigeria; and A Dictionary of African Biography.*

## **Prof. Wande Abimbola**

Wándé Abímbólá, (born June 26, 1932 in Oyo, Nigeria) is a Nigerian academician, a professor of Yoruba language and literature and former Vice Chancellor of the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University). Prof Abimbola served as the Majority Leader of the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He was installed as Àwísẹ Awo Àgbàyé in 1981 by the Ooni of Ife on the recommendation of a conclave of Babalawos of Yorubaland in West Africa.

The *Awise* comes from a family of traditional title-bearers. His late father, Abimbola Iroko, was a renowned hunter and warrior whose brave exploits are still being celebrated by Ijala oral artists (occupational lyrics of Yoruba hunters). He was the Asipade (Leader of the Ogun Community) of Oyo until his death in 1971. His mother, a high priestess of



Sango, was both mentally and physically well at the age of 109 when she departed the earth in 1987 (WandeAbimbola.com, Undated)

Abimbola holds a Bachelors degree from the University of London in History from University College, Ibadan, in 1963; a Master's Degree in Linguistics from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, in 1966 and was the first PhD graduate of the University of Lagos, in 1971. He became a Full Professor in 1976.

The Awise's academic background is very much rooted in oral traditions. He was an apprentice in Ifa chanting and oral artistry before he began formal schooling. The Awise Awo Agbaye was a lecturer in three Nigerian universities; the University of Ibadan from 1963-5, the University of Lagos from 1966–72, and the University of Ife from 1972-91. He has also served as visiting lecturer/professor at several U.S. universities, including Indiana University, Amherst College, Harvard University, Boston University, Colgate University, and most recently, the University of Louisville. Professor Abimbola has written many books on Ifa and Yoruba culture.

Wande Abimbola was conferred the Awise Awo Ni Agbaye, "spokesperson and ambassador for the Yorùbá religion and culture in the world." This is a position he was chosen to fill in 1987 by the assembled elder babaláwos of Nigeria.

### **Ifa Heritage Institute, Oyo, Nigeria**

Professor Abimbola is the recipient of the UNESCO Proclamation of Ifá as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. In November 2005, UNESCO proclaimed the Ifá divination system as one of the 86 traditions of the world to be regarded as masterpieces. UNESCO then enjoined all nations and peoples of the world to give their unflinching support to these traditions so that they would not perish. A project entitled "Safeguarding the Ifa Divination System" was then initiated with the support of UNESCO, the major component of which project is the establishment of the Ifa Heritage Institute at Oyo, Nigeria. The Ifa Heritage Institute, which is a two-year college, came into being in November 2008. The curriculum is based on Ifá and Yoruba indigenous knowledge and taught in the Yoruba language (Oyegbola, 2006; UNESCO, 2010).

### **Former President Olusegun Obasanjo**

I am including Obasanjo in the list of contemporaries because he has been an object of attack by Prof Ango. Unjustified attacks on an individual are an acknowledgment of the superiority of that individual over the attacker. It is a way of saying "I cannot defeat you but let me damage your character". It is also an instrument of highlighting the hidden qualities of the object of attack. Personally, I never liked Obasanjo because he made the South lose out in the Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund program, he did not pursue the agenda of the Express Road from Lagos to Maiduguri and his determined effort to force himself as the leader of the Yorubas. But the utterances of Prof Ango highlight his qualities; his ability to hold Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, his ability to cause the "Core North" to unwittingly declare that it had been using the remaining part of the North for its own agenda; his delivering Nigeria from the pangs of Paris Club; the establishment of research library of international standard; his erudite understanding of his country from defence through industry to agriculture, etc.

Prof. Ango drew out the originality of Obasanjo's blood as purely Yoruba.

Africa Progress Panel (2013) wrote on Obasanjo

*Olusegun Obasanjo was president of Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, from 1999 to 2007. He oversaw his country's first democratic handover of power and administrative reforms that accelerated economic growth.*

*Mr. Obasanjo has played a pivotal role in the regeneration and repositioning of the African Union, including helping to establish the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), designed to promote democracy and good governance. He has consistently supported the deepening and widening of regional cooperation through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Co-prosperity Alliance Zone incorporating Benin, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo. He has served as chairman of the Group of 77, chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, and chairman of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee.*

*Mr. Obasanjo has also been involved in international mediation efforts in Angola, Burundi, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa. In 2008, the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, appointed Mr. Obasanjo as his Special Envoy to the Great Lakes region, where he has played an integral part in mediation efforts in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.*

*Mr. Obasanjo was born on March 5, 1937, in Abeokuta, Ogun State, South Western Nigeria. He attended Baptist Boys High School, Abeokuta, then worked as a teacher before enlisting in the Nigerian Army in 1958.*

The following extracts from UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 1999 also speak about Obasanjo:

- i. 1988: Founded the African Leadership Forum, based at his Otta farm.*
- ii. In view of Obasanjo's proven foreign policy credentials, some local analysts feel that Nigeria's ability to maintain its existing level of military commitment in countries within the sub-region, such as Sierra Leone and Liberia, is questionable. Whereas Nigeria's involvement under Abacha was to prove his value to a world that condemned him on every other front, Obasanjo is already well-regarded so he can afford for Nigeria to have a lower international profile, they argue.*

Extracts from Fagoyinbo (2013) stated the following about Obasanjo

*We must remember that Chief O. Obasanjo, despite being a military man, had not allowed his brain to grow moulds. He had been involved in editing jobs, authorship and establishment and management of learning and research with a world-class library in his possession; not boot-licking to receive crumbs from politicians.*

*To buttress the points on his commitment to national development Obasanjo is highly valued by the Agricultural and Rural Management Training Institute (ARMTI), one of the very few functioning research and training institutions among the 15No agricultural research institutions in Nigeria. Obasanjo was brought in to deliver the very first in the annual lecture series in 1982 on the topic 'Management in agriculture and rural development- A practitioner's view' (Cason, 2013). 31 years after, in anticipation of attracting policy makers, practitioners, academics and key stakeholders ARMTI again invited Chief Obasanjo to deliver the 2013 lecture entitled 'Managing agriculture as a business to unlock Nigeria's agricultural potentials' (Azeez, 2013). Channelstv reported that the lecture hall was "filled with stakeholders in agricultural sector who came to share from the practical experience of the man who established Operation Feed the Nation as a military head of state over three decades ago" (Channelstv 2013).*

*Obasanjo's military regime also made contributions through a successful hand over of the reins of power from the military junta to elected civilian government while his civilian era was able to stabilise democracy, re-establish the middle-class that was incapacitated by Babangida's regime, clean up the huge foreign debts that started building up from the Shagari era and his on-going promotion of agriculture and research and development (R&D) that has put Nigeria into the circle of research promoters.*

*For Obasanjo, a retired military General of 34 years-out-of-active-service, to have information on the contributions of the various crops in this country to the nation's gross domestic product (GDP) at his finger ...*

### **Obasanjo's legacy**

The Olusegun Obasanjo Foundation (OOF, 2012) presented the following in respect of the Olusegun Obasanjo Presidential Library:

*When Chief Obasanjo rode from prison to the State House as Nigeria's second elected Executive President, he established the Office of Presidential Libraries (Libraries, Research and Documentation) whose mission was in part to see the OOPL idea translated into reality. A primary concern for the establishment of a presidential library is first to acknowledge the contributions of, at any one time, the occupier of Nigeria's most important political office. It is also generally acknowledged that there is a gap in understanding the complex conditions that prevail or act upon important decision makers when they occupy their positions. A presidential library, with documents and other archival materials, could avail to researchers important resources that would enable them to arrive at more accurate and objective analysis. The point of the library is also to demonstrate and deepen democracy. It will add value to democracy, as transparency and accountability would be enhanced and policies better understood. It will clear up the myth and misconceptions of the office of the president and perhaps broker a much more pragmatic understanding of*

*the events and the person. For children in schools, the benefits and the value of understanding the travails of a leader cannot be underestimated.*

*The first of its kind in Nigeria and probably Africa, OOPL continues the distinguished tradition where a nation's president bequeaths to posterity, historical documentation of his life's achievements. As in other parts of the world, the Olusegun Obasanjo Presidential Library provides an accommodation for the life's work and memorabilia on the Obasanjo Presidential years as well as an ambience to carry out research work on him and other matters of interest.*

## The Project Nigeria

### US Agenda

Shilgba (Undated) stated four important things that must exist before a nation tears apart:

- i. Total disregard for the constitution, public opinion, and visible authorities.
- ii. Exaltation of one part of the country over the rest in a blatant, unyielding, and unpretentious fashion.
- iii. Abdication of responsible duties by those constitutionally and lawfully charged with them.
- iv. Resistance to change in the overriding national interest by a clique, cabal, or mafia.

The four debilitating factors listed above spell the acronym TEAR. Each of these negative conditions is not just existing but conspicuously demonstrated by those in authority in the political enclave called Nigeria. It is unfortunate that Prof Abdullahi Ango who was once the V-C of the largest and very prestigious University in his time is a principal promoter of these debilitating factors within the political leaders of Core-North extraction.

Shilgba, like many others, further accuses the US of playing in the past few years a role that convinces him that the utmost collapse of Nigeria is its strong desire; a prediction that Nigeria would break up in 2015.

With reference to the United States think-tank Fund for Peace a failed state has several attributes (Wikipedia, 2014). Common indicators include a state whose central government is so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory; non-provision of public services; widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations; sharp economic decline. The list has been cited by journalists and academics in making broad comparative points about countries or regions.

Table 1 is part of the list for 2013. Change in rank and score from 2012 is shown in parentheses and the three table headings correspond to those used by the Fund for Peace and Foreign Policy magazine. Many countries' ranks are affected by South Sudan's first full appearance on the list.

The report uses 12 factors to determine the rating for each nation including security threats, economic implosion, human rights violations and refugee flows. Looking at the indicators that determine failure as a state which can be pointed at as not applying to the Nigeria situation?

#### **i. Social**

- a. Mounting demographic pressures.
- b. Massive displacement of refugees, creating severe humanitarian emergencies.
- c. Widespread vengeance-seeking group grievance.
- d. Chronic and sustained human flight.

#### **ii. Economic**

- a. Uneven economic development along group lines.
- b. Severe economic decline.

#### **iii. Political**

- a. Criminalization and/or delegitimization of the state.
- b. Deterioration of public services.

- c. Suspension or arbitrary application of law; widespread human rights abuses.
- d. Security apparatus operating as a "state within a state".
- e. The rise of factionalized elites.
- f. The intervention of external political agents.

*Table 1: List of countries by Failed States Index*

	Country	FSI	
		2013	Change compared to 2012
1	Somalia	113.9	(1.0)
2	The Democratic Republic of the Congo	111.9	(0.7)
3	Sudan	111.0	(1.6)
4	South Sudan	110.6	(2.2)
5	Chad	109.0	(1.4)
6	Yemen	107.0	(2.2)
7	Afghanistan	106.7	(0.7)
8	Haiti	105.8	(0.9)
9	The Central African Republic	105.3	(1.5)
10	Zimbabwe	105.2	(1.1)
11	Iraq	103.9	(0.4)
12	Ivory Coast	103.5	(0.1)
13	Pakistan	102.9	(1.3)
14	Guinea	101.3	(0.6)
15	Guinea-Bissau	101.1	(1.9)
16	Nigeria	100.7	(0.4)
17	Kenya	99.6	(1.2)

This table indicates countries that are placed on alert. When you add up the effect of a General Officer Commanding a Division giving a wrong order to his troop so they could be slaughtered by enemies you will agree that Nigeria's rating as a failed state should be higher.

If Mr. Teacher notices that Mr. Parent's children do not attend classes, fail to do their assignments, are involved in drugs and other vices and then draws the attention of Mr Parent to the activities of his children, showing records of performance should Mr Parent go about accusing Mr Teacher that he does not want the progress of his children? The author had a neighbor (co-teacher) whose daughter was in his class. She led the A class in three successive continuous assessments (CAs) and the teacher encouraged other members of the class to compete with her. The next CA she came third in class. The father withdrew her from the A class; by the end of that term, the competition had become so keen in the A class that the term's examination rated her 7<sup>th</sup> in the combined class though

she led the B class. The father recognized his error and pleaded for re-absorption the following term.

What the United States think-tank Fund for Peace has done is to play the role of Mr. Teacher who is alive to his responsibility. I shudder to believe that the Fund is more playing the role of a neighbor who is interested in the affairs of his neighbor for good.

This reminds me of my own experience. We had about nine months exposure to General Science in the Teachers' College (St Andrew's college, Oyo. Now Bishop Ajayi Crowther University) and some of us resolved to study science. Two of us were posted to the vicinity of our College and had the opportunity of better exposure. In the real sense of the word, the Science Teacher just got his Bachelor's degree from Fourah Bay College (University of Sierra Leone), Sierra Leone and started with us. We did not have the luxury of laboratory practice. Candidly I knew the inside of a laboratory first in the university. Two of us, Kolawole and Olaniyi, had the opportunity of going further with the GCE (London) Advanced Level. I was posted to a rural community where I had no opportunity of any form of lessons; in the whole of the District Council, there was no secondary school. Olaniyi enrolled with the University of Ibadan Extra Mural Lessons. I think that Abobarin had the same opportunity. Four of us met at the University of Ife: Olaniyi enrolled by Direct Entry, having got his A' Level, into Physics. He is now a Professor, I believe; one of us enrolled for Chemistry (Education); the fourth of us along with me enrolled for Agricultural Engineering (AE) at the Preliminary Level ( the equivalent of present day 100 Level) through Concessional Examination. Kolawole secured admission to study Chemistry at the University of Ibadan, I believe he is also a professor. The two of us in AE were chronically poor. I had an added disadvantage of poor science background (I studied science as prose subjects, thanks to "alternative to practicals" then called Theory of Practical). My first scores in terminal tests were 4% in Physics and 7% in Mathematics. I felt devastated but was determined. My colleague was always complaining that some of our classmates (in the Teachers' College) did not fulfill their promises of financial assistance.

We happened to be the youngest in the combined class of 59 students in the teachers' College, except Kolawole whom I discovered that I shared the same year of birth with his junior brother; although I am some months older than the junior brother. Kolawole would probably become aware of this only if he reads this write-up. A good majority of us were married. One of our mates used to give me some pennies while I was still in Primary School; specifically, primaries III and IV. Then, he had finished the Secondary Modern School program and was working with the District



Council. He happened to be the principal classmate that this colleague of mine in the University depended on for support.

In school, we never bothered to know our ages. I visited one of our classmates last year and he wanted to help carry my traveling bag. I refused. He insisted “You are my guest”. I told him I was aware of that but he is older. He could not believe it. I told him my date of birth. He is three years plus some months older. He asked if I was aware of this all along. I told him that I was; I was trained to respect people who are older even if it by one day. Yorubas are generally trained that way. He flashed back and said “No wonder, you have always been like this!”

I once sat my university colleague down and told him “Your condition is much better than mine. You have your parents, your senior brothers and sisters. You are not poor until you have 2s 6d (by direct conversion ₦0.25k); 2s to get you to Apomu, your hometown, and 6d to get a taxi from campus to town. Whatever you can glean from your people come back and continue with your studies. Your case is better than mine; my father is late and I need 6s to be able to get to my mother for any help. There is nobody ahead of me that can assist. Adetunji, who you rely on most, has been taking on family responsibilities before we got to Teachers’ College. He would have added responsibilities now.”

My colleague never heeded the advice; he dropped out. Like Nigeria, he would blame his woe on our old classmates that did not abandon their responsibilities for his search for a degree; they also were struggling to secure admission qualifications. He eventually ended up earning a degree in education; I think, after seeking re-admission.

Nigerian leaders have always been in the habit of transferring their failures to the erstwhile colonialists. But it is the same colonialists that were in India and Pakistan that today are displaying technology feats. Is it the erstwhile colonialists that advised aspiring governors to set up terrorizing agents that became a menace to Nigeria? Is it the colonialists that advised governors to launder our currency? Is it the colonialists that declared corruption in the land? Did the colonialist teach us how to break one another’s heads with the maze? Did they teach us to withhold budgets until the fourth quarter of the year? Is it the colonialists that instructed us to allow convicted corrupt officials into the Nigeria future fashioning body known as the Constitutional Conference? Do they do that in their countries?

## Governance

It is the responsibility of the state to deliver education, health care, infrastructure, public services, good governance, and protection from violence and crime among others. The colonialists had these programs when they were here. Our leaders say that they made them so they could enjoy them. Did the colonialists make our leaders sign agreements of none-expansion of these infrastructures and facilities? Did they teach us to abandon facilities for development half-way to completion or establish laudable policies without implementation?

The inability of the state to meet its responsibility results in state failure. Africa’s so-called largest economy has been classified in the worst category of failed states because every factor that contributes to failure is conspicuously and blatantly exhibited. This seems improbable, however; the reality on the ground confirms Nigeria’s descent into the category of failed states; alert!

Independence broke the bonds of colonialism, freeing Nigeria to be sovereign, to practice free will and to determine its own fate. But leadership in Nigeria sought for and opened the doors to corruption (Oladele, 2014), money laundering (Aribisala, 2013; BBC, 2013), exorbitant self-assigned wages and allowances by the law-makers (Ekot, 2012; Odutola, 2013), settling election disputes on the streets (Ayodele, 2008), breaking heads with mazes, nominating people of questionable characters into the fashioning of Nigeria’s future (Ayodele, 2008; Vanguard, 2009; Punch, 2013; Falana, 2013), etc.

In the Niger Delta region, the failed state has produced a citizenry paralyzed by the presence of oil companies, their movements restricted in their own communities; their means of livelihood completely destroyed; their environment degraded. It has produced isolation in the name of commerce. International oil companies treat community residents as risks rather than as stakeholders without concerns about the impact of oil operations (Amnesty International, 2008; Effiong, 2010; SDN 2010).” This approach alienates community residents and fuels animosity. Where communities protest the alienation by oil companies, the response is a disproportionate use of force by government forces against

them (Mählera, 2012). The interests of foreign companies being placed before the needs of nationals are not reflective of a government that is accountable (Nxumalo, Undated; Amnesty International, 2005).

## **National Interests**

Shilgba teaches at the American University of Nigeria and happens to know that Americans do not just get involved in a project outside the shores of their country without a guarantee that they would dominate. The survival of America rests firmly on their ability to successfully manipulate world affairs (including engineering false wars); control the production and distribution of needed resources such as oil around the world, and determine personalities who must occupy positions of power and influence in superficially sovereign countries such as Nigeria.

Was the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU) not a manipulative effort of a demised Head of State to bring African States under one umbrella which he thought he held and carried by a pair of boots that fitted his own feet alone, accessing a door which only himself had the unlocking key and a cap that fitted only his own head? Were these in the interest of Nigeria? Bravo to American leaders that think not of themselves but the nation called the United States of America! A nation that is so committed to its socio-economic development and democratic stability that it could trust its leadership into the hand of a second generation African immigrant when it observed he has enough mental, emotional, physical and psychological capability to direct the affairs of state; not clamoring for sectional consideration or rotational leadership.

Should this not be termed patriotism as against sabotage? Is Nigeria not playing the same role in Africa but rather to the gain of individuals as against the interests of Nigeria and the good of the people? What happened to the loot in Iberia? Does America not render the country a service? Should America spend its taxpayers' money without expecting some gain?

## **ASPIRING TO LEAVE A LEGACY**

Prof Ango should look at the fact of his service to the nation beyond paid employment. How many lives has he touched by virtue of the position he had found himself in? What communities have benefitted from him? Ojetunji Aboyade, Wande Abimbola, Umaru Shehu all have touched lives beyond normal working responsibilities, beyond their ethnic communities and beyond the coast of Nigeria. At 80 (in 2010) Umaru Shehu's professional services were still available to mankind. Prof Ango's professional experience is needed for the build-up of Nigeria, not its fragmentation. His exposure should benefit all, not the clique within the "Core North" that are determined to impose their stooges in governance.

Let us look at what posterity does after our demise in the lives of Lenin and Stalin of the erstwhile Soviet Union.

## **Lenin**

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (22 April 1870 – 21 January 1924) was a Russian communist revolutionary, politician and political theorist. He served as the leader of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic from 1917, and then concurrently as Premier of the Soviet Union from 1922, until his death. Under his administration, the Russian Empire was dissolved and replaced by the Soviet Union, a one-party socialist state; industry and businesses were nationalized, with widespread societal reform implemented. Politically a Marxist, his theoretical contributions to Marxist thought are known as Leninism, which coupled with Marxian economic theory, have collectively come to be known as Marxism–Leninism.

Born to a wealthy middle-class family in Simbirsk, Lenin gained an interest in revolutionary leftist politics following the execution of his brother Aleksandr in 1887. Expelled from Kazan State University for participating in anti-Tsarist protests, he devoted the following years to a law degree and to radical politics, becoming a Marxist. In 1893 he moved to St Petersburg and became a senior figure in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). Arrested for sedition and exiled to Siberia for three years, he married Nadezhda Krupskaya, and fled to Western Europe, living in Germany, France, England, and Switzerland, where he became known as a prominent party theorist. In 1903, he took a key role in the RSDLP schism, leading the Bolshevik faction against Julius Martov's Mensheviks. Briefly returning to Russia during the Revolution of 1905, he encouraged violent insurrection and later campaigned for the First World

War to be transformed into a Europe-wide proletariat revolution. After the 1917 February Revolution ousted the Tsar he returned to Russia.

Lenin played a senior role in orchestrating the October Revolution in 1917, which led to the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the world's first constitutionally socialist state. Immediately afterward, the new government under Lenin's leadership proceeded to implement socialist reforms, including the transfer of estates and crown lands to workers' soviets. He supported world revolution and immediate peace with the Central Powers, agreeing to a punitive treaty that turned over a significant portion of the former Russian Empire to Germany. The treaty was voided after the Allies won the war. In 1921 Lenin proposed the New Economic Policy, a system of state capitalism that started the process of industrialization and recovery from the Civil War. In 1922, the Russian SFSR joined former territories of the Russian Empire in becoming the Soviet Union, with Lenin elected as its leader.

After his death, Marxism–Leninism developed into a variety of schools of thought, namely Stalinism, Trotskyism and Maoism. Lenin remains a controversial and highly divisive world figure. Detractors label him a dictator whose administration oversaw multiple human rights cases of abuse, while supporters reject this criticism and promote him as a champion of the working class. Lenin had a significant influence on the international Communist movement and was one of the most influential and controversial figures of the 20th century.

His people so distinguished that when I saw his corpse in the year 2000, it was as if I should tap him and inform him that lunch was ready; he died in 1924.

## Stalin

Joseph Stalin was the dictator of the Soviet Union from the mid-1920s until his death in 1953. Among the Bolshevik revolutionaries who took part in the Russian Revolution of 1917, Stalin was appointed the General Secretary of the party's Central Committee in 1922. He subsequently managed to consolidate power following the 1924 death of Vladimir Lenin through suppressing Lenin's criticisms (in the postscript of his testament) and expanding the functions of his role, all the while eliminating any opposition. By the late 1920s, he was the unchallenged leader of the Soviet Union. He remained general secretary until the post was abolished in 1952, concurrently serving as the Premier of the Soviet Union from 1941 onward.

Under Stalin's rule, the concept of "socialism in one country" became a central tenet of Soviet society. He replaced the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in the early 1920s with a highly centralized command economy, launching a period of industrialization and collectivization that resulted in the rapid transformation of the USSR from an agrarian society into an industrial power. However, the economic changes coincided with the imprisonment of millions of people in correctional labor camps and the deportation of many others to remote areas. The initial upheaval in agriculture disrupted food production and contributed to the catastrophic Soviet famine of 1932–1933, known as the Holodomor in Ukraine. Later, in a period that lasted from 1936 to 1939, Stalin instituted a campaign against alleged enemies within his regime, called the Great Purge, in which hundreds of thousands were executed. Major figures in the Communist Party, such as the old Bolsheviks, Leon Trotsky, and several Red Army leaders, were killed after being convicted of plotting to overthrow the government and Stalin.

In August 1939, Stalin entered into a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany that divided their influence and territory within Eastern Europe, resulting in their invasion of Poland in September of that year, but Germany later violated the agreement and launched a massive invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Despite heavy human and territorial losses, Soviet forces managed to halt the Nazi incursion after the decisive Battles of Moscow and Stalingrad. After defeating the Axis powers on the Eastern Front, the Red Army captured Berlin in May 1945, effectively ending the war in Europe for the Allies. The Soviet Union subsequently emerged as one of two recognized world superpowers, the other being the United States. The Yalta and Potsdam conference established communist governments loyal to the Soviet Union in the Eastern Bloc countries as buffer states, which Stalin deemed necessary in the case of another invasion. He also fostered close relations with Mao Zedong in China and Kim Il-sung in North Korea.

Stalin led the Soviet Union through its post-war reconstruction phase, which saw a significant rise in tension with the Western world that would later be known as the Cold War. During this period, the USSR became the second country in the world to successfully develop a nuclear weapon, as well as launching the Great Plan for the Transformation of

Nature in response to another widespread famine and the Great Construction Projects of Communism. In the years following his death, Stalin and his regime have been condemned on numerous occasions, most notably in 1956 when his successor Nikita Khrushchev denounced his legacy and initiated a process of de-Stalinisation (Gavaghan, 2013; History, 2013). He remains a controversial figure today, with many regarding him as a tyrant; similar to his wartime enemy Adolf Hitler; however, popular opinion within the Russian Federation is mixed.

## Lenin's Mausoleum

Lenin's Mausoleum situated in Red Square in the center of Moscow is the mausoleum that serves as the current resting place of Vladimir Lenin. His embalmed body has been on public display there since shortly after his death in 1924 (with rare exceptions in wartime). Aleksey Shchusev's diminutive but monumental granite structure incorporates some elements from ancient mausoleums, such as the Step Pyramid and the Tomb of Cyrus the Great.

One of the main problems the embalmers faced was the appearance of dark spots on the skin, especially on the face and hands. They managed to solve the problem by the use of a variety of different reagents in between baths. For example, if a patch of wrinkling or discoloration occurred it was treated with an acetic acid diluted with vodka. Hydrogen peroxide could be used to restore the tissues' original coloring. Damp spots were removed by means of disinfectants like quinine or phenol. Russian laboratory was established within the mausoleum to care for Lenin's remains. A majority of the Russian parliament has supported the idea of reburying Lenin, but the country's Communist Party is fiercely opposed to the notion. Until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the continued preservation work was funded by the Russian government. At that point, the government discontinued financial support and now private donations support the preservation staff.

The tomb was rebuilt in 1929 and 1930, replacing the existing wooden structure. In 1953, the embalmed body of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was placed in a separate sarcophagus next to Lenin's. Stalin's body was removed from the mausoleum in 1961 (Ukraine Timeline, 2012).

Joseph Stalin had been the despotic dictator of the Soviet Union for nearly 30 years. He was considered responsible for the deaths of millions of his own people through famine and purges. Through a succession of bulletins, the Soviet people had been made aware that Stalin was gravely ill. Joseph Stalin, 73 years of age, had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died at 9:50 p.m. on March 5, 1953.

Stalin's body was washed by a nurse and then carried via a white car to the Kremlin mortuary. There, an autopsy was performed. After the autopsy was completed, Stalin's body was given to the embalmers to prepare it for the three days it would lay-in-state.

Stalin's body was placed on temporary display in the Hall of Columns. Thousands of people lined up in the snow to see it. The crowds were so dense and chaotic outside that some people were trampled underfoot, others rammed against traffic lights, and some others choked to death. It is estimated that 500 people lost their lives while trying to get a glimpse of Stalin's corpse.

On March 9, nine pallbearers carried the coffin from the Hall of Columns onto a gun carriage. The body was then ceremoniously taken to Lenin's tomb on the Red Square in Moscow.

Only three speeches were made - one by Georgy Malenkov, another by Lavrenty Beria, and the third by Vyacheslav Molotov. Then, covered in black and red silk, Stalin's coffin was carried into the tomb. At noon, throughout the Soviet Union, came a loud roar - whistles, bells, guns, and sirens were blown in honor of Stalin.

But history remembered his wickedness; the upheaval in agriculture in his time which disrupted food production and contributed to the catastrophic Soviet famine of 1932–1933, imprisonment of millions of people in correctional labour camps, deportation of many others to remote areas and campaign against alleged enemies within his regime tagged the Great Purge that led to execution of thousands of suspected enemies. The need to permanently immortalize his body no longer desired; he did more evil than good

## Prof's Legacy

Fagoyinbo (2013) advised:



*Elders are expected to channel the knowledge and experiences gathered over the years for the development of their communities. Prof Ango has the opportunity to establish an organization that will henceforth promote and support gainful employment of the youth in rural development through profitable agriculture and agribusiness; thereby his hiccups would be forgotten.*

*The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, with a vision to be one of Africa's leading research partners in finding solutions to hunger and poverty, is the result of efforts of concerned American individuals and corporate organisations to alleviating poverty in famished communities far away from their lands: Nigeria academicians and the wealthy in the land can do the same for their fellow countrymen and women in the areas of health, agriculture, employment generation, adult literacy, education, sports, industrial development, etc. rather than gallivanting to look for medical treatment in advanced countries and money laundering; leaving the common people to the mercy of ill-equipped medical centres and impoverished medical personnel.*

*Moh'd Qaddam Sidq Isa's warning (Okpi, 2013) imploring particularly the core northern Nigerian elites to wake up and face this reality (reestablishment of the fundamental socio-political and economic infrastructures in the north) should not be ignored. He further warned them of the need to swallow their largely empty pride in order to realize that there is no alternative to the provision of good governance that will restore hope to the people. Once people's hope is revived, he opined, they will automatically become proactive hence appropriately productive, and thus become motivated enough to make any sacrifice for the region and indeed the country; no matter how costly.*

Most importantly Prof Ango will do a lot of good to the country called Nigeria if he can set up an organization that assists Nigeria in making agriculture and rural life attractive to the youth. Then, he would have immortalized his name. Ford immortalized his name through his humanitarian efforts, Ahmadu Bello had a commitment to education, islamisation by peaceful means, and fairness to all around him. Awolowo committed himself to education, community development, industrialization and healthcare delivery. You still have time to set up a foundation that will better the lives of the youth; it is not late. Onassis set up his own in honor of his late son after his own death.

Nobody says Nigeria should not break; but it is not to be sung by those who held positions that should have influenced the direction of activities when Nigeria used the blood of the indigenes of the Southwest, the Mid West and the Middle Belt to hold Nigeria together.

Prof Ango should remember that it is not the Core North that built him up; it is Nigeria. Whether it was with groundnut proceeds or taxpayers' money it is Nigeria's money; recorded in the GDP. It is immaterial if it came from cattle tax. He has been made valuable for Nigeria not for a group of people. He has been blessed to live through four notable generations: when Nigeria was begging children to go to school and paid allowances; when they were being pampered to take on government jobs; when jobs were easy to get and now when the jobs are not there. He should develop a program of agricultural productivity for Nigeria. If he does not have the wherewithal for the entire nation he should kindly do it for the youths in the North. I am sure FAO will be willing to partner with him.

Remember Wole Soyinka's statement on the death of Prof. Ojetunji Aboyade

*Nigeria kills us slowly; one by one, but surely. If Oje had given less of himself to a thankless nation, he would be alive today.*

But, nobody will echo his (Soyinka's) song.

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