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Reverberations from Obafemi Awolowo's Transcendence toward Self-Actualization during Nigeria's Second Republic

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Abstract:

This paper gives an account of one of the hypotheses tested in a developmental investigation on Awolowo's political rhetoric during his political career. It precisely examines Awolowo's treatment of the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education during Nigeria's Second Republic, when Awolowo doubled as the Leader of Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and its Presidential candidate. It was the major purpose of this study to subject Awolowo's political speeches, during this time, to statistical analysis, in order to gauge any significant difference in prominence arising from the interactive relationship between the dependent variable of issue salience and the independent variable of issue choice. A logical scale of 25 constructs were developed via the content analysis method, described by Duriau, et al (2007), as the research method for making reproduceable and valid, inferences that are drawn through the interpretation and coding of the texts. The 25 constructs were used as parameters, for weighing the issues treated by Awolowo (independent variables) and the relative salience attached to each of them (dependent variable). The ONE-WAY Factorial Analysis, performed on the data, exposed a significant difference in Awolowo's treatment of the five issues at probability is less than 0.05 ($P < 0.05$), with varying degrees of salience, located by the posteriori Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparisons. Relevant empirical studies are also employed to discuss Awolowo's treatment of the issues. Findings from the research were reproduced in 4 Tables to expose Awolowo's rhetorical behaviour during this period.

Keywords: *Second republic, transcendence, self-actualization, appropriate, virtues espoused, politician, public commentator, statesman, pragmatic leadership, democratic socialism, metamorphosis, de facto prime minister*

1. The Study's Background

This paper examines the post-military-era rhetoric of Awolowo, as it relates to the issues of the economy, politics, international relations, socio-cultural milieu and education, during Nigeria's Second Republic. Post Military Government rhetoric is often laced with promises, strategies, negotiations, party formation and alliances, electioneering campaigns, attacks and counter-attacks. The paper places Obafemi Awolowo's pragmatic leadership, during this period, as the Leader of the Unity Party of Nigeria and its Presidential candidate, in the 1979 election, in focus. It views this period, as it relates to Awolowo, as that of the battle royal for the soul of Nigeria. This is against the background of Awolowo's bitter experience in the First Republic as well as the relatively long stay in power of the military. Having been short-changed in the previous attempt at becoming Nigeria's Head of Government, during the First Republic, Awolowo was adequately prepared this time, to sell himself to the broad public, so he could be elected as President. After all, he had spent considerable time in prison, writing on how to make Nigeria a better place. By the beginning of the Second Republic, therefore, Awolowo had adequately prepared to defend and execute his philosophy of democratic socialism, although the opportunity to demonstrate this slightly eluded him at two consecutive general elections – the 1979 and 1983 presidential elections. By the time the Second Republic was ushered in, with pomp and pageantry, in 1979, it came with many changes, distinct from Nigeria's first experience at self-rule. These changes were brought in by the initiatives of successive military governments from the time of Aguiyi Ironsi through General Gowon to Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo government (which handed over power to the civilians of the Second Republic). The first noticeable change was that the Regions had given way for States. From 1966, when the military first took over, there had been a metamorphosis, first, from 4 regions to the 12 states, created in 1967 by General Yakubu Gowon's administration, with additional 7, created in 1976, by General Murtala Muhammed's administration, making 19. The second noticeable change was the change from the British Parliamentary style of government to the American Presidential system, where power was shielded to the President (as head of government) as opposed to the arrangement of the First Republic, with a ceremonial president and a de facto Prime Minister.

Be that as it may, the election of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, as the Second Republic President of Nigeria, made Nigerian researchers' focus to be on the president alone, to the neglect of other key participants in the political terrain. Although this is understandable, it is inexcusable. Going by Ademilokun's (2015) submission that: because the presidents' "actions and views determine the happenings and affairs at the local and state levels, attention is more focused on presidential speeches" we have the understanding of the reason researchers behaved the way they have chosen, with regard to

research on Nigerian leaders. On the other hand, the availability of other far better works of rhetoric to be researched than that of the president makes Nigerian researchers' action untenable and inexcusable. By far, Awolowo distinguished himself, during the Second Republic, as an erudite intellectual, towering above all other political heavyweights, including the president, in volumes of work on the polity and depth of knowledge. It is hereby submitted that, this being the case, it is expected that Awolowo's political rhetoric should have been given more attention. Unfortunately, this was not so.

Notwithstanding this neglect, however, research about Awolowo, during the Second Republic, becomes especially imperative in view of his deep elucidation on his popular philosophy of democratic socialism during this period. This current effort is, indeed, a spin-off of the ANOVA performed on the 25 carefully selected constructs, forming the speech data, (as primary evidence), and relevant empiricism, (as secondary evidence), on Awolowo's post-military handover cum second republic rhetoric. It is a research work that employs content analysis and information methods to venture into the nitty-gritty of Obafemi Awolowo's most celebrated speeches.

We make bold to say that, at no timelier period, in the annals of Nigeria, than now is this investigation more relevant, when there is a need to weigh Awolowo's democratic principles and practice against the feeble, badly-copied, deceptive and caricatured attempt being made to cater for the overall welfare and happiness of the masses in contemporary Nigeria, by recent Nigeria's governments. At no better time than now is this kind of research more relevant, when there is the need to know that all that went wrong to make the collapse of the First Republic, inevitable, also repeated themselves in the Second Republic and, even, the Third Republic. It is also unfortunate that the Fourth Republic, too, does not promise to be an exception. We should, indeed, take note of Awolowo's considered reasons for the fall of the First Republic here and nip the problems in the bud. Awolowo has argued in an interview, just before the inauguration of the second republic that the first republic fell because of ethnic chauvinism, extreme parochialism towards the opposition's judgements, total absence of ideological orientation, preference for mediocrity over superior capability, undervaluation of high quality and boasting in mere emptiness. Indeed, failure to end these problems amounts to unreadiness to learn from history.

I also want to submit here that we would also need to know the reasons for the fall of the Second Republic so that it could assist us in safeguarding the Fourth Republic, which, by accident of history, is a paradoxical extension of the Third Republic. Most importantly, this study becomes imperative in view of the fact that it will draw attention to identifiable problems of the Second Republic that are still rearing their ugly heads in the contemporary time, in order to make us to see, if we can, for once, learn from history and adjust our ways. It is our considered opinion that the Fifth Republic must be allowed to arise. Besides, we should avoid a situation where Nigeria would eventually disintegrate, as has been widely predicted by political pundits.

The necessity of this study, now, also becomes manifest, in view of the fact, that Nigeria, of today, is still bedevilled with the multifaceted ills that led to the grounding of the First and Second Republics, even with more advanced manifestations. For example, although election rigging in Nigeria's first republic started with the use of thugs in their usual mufti, today, it has graduated to the use of thugs in their authentic service uniforms. In today's Nigeria, those people who are supposed to safeguard the security of the people, at election, and serve as supportive umpires, are the same ones, now, being used, as thugs, to truncate the wishes of the people at the polls. I am talking about the police, the DSS, the Military and the EFCC. Besides, the use of political powers to siphon public funds, distributable to a few privileged government followers, which led to crisis and an endless economic decline, in the First and Second Republics, have also been consistently repeated by subsequent republics, including the Fourth Republic. What about undue favouritism, tribal jingoism and deep nepotism, still happening in Nigeria's Fourth Republic? Do we also remember that the tenets of freedom that Awolowo and the likes fought for are still being vastly eroded? The ills are, indeed, endless. Now that Nigeria is calling on the youths to come forward and take the leadership off the hands of the old brigade, the question will be: what are they taking over – their elderly leaders' culture of bribery, corruption, nepotism, etc.? What useful election legacy are they imbibing? We cannot put something on nothing and expect it to stand; so, says the law of gravity.

If then we don't have a solid structure upon which to build Nigeria, it is going to be argued in the body of this paper how and under what circumstances we can start the country Nigeria, all over again, on a tabula rasa. This sums up the most important *raison data* for this study. There is, therefore, no doubt that this paper will appeal to people desirous of true and authentic change that can truly move the country Nigeria forward.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

It has been lucidly stated, in this study's background, that post-military rhetoric is often laced with promises, strategies, negotiations, party formation and alliances, electioneering campaigns, attacks and counter-attacks. It is conceded that there have been pockets of investigations on the party formation and campaigns of participants and their parties. It is regrettable, however, that scanty research exists to cover the ramifications of post-military rhetoric, especially the issues of the economy, socio-cultural values and education with their implications on the progress and development of the polity. Although, the Second Republic rhetoric of Nigerian politicians came with many changes, distinct from Nigeria's first experience at self-rule, the changes fell short of the standard anticipated by articulate and pragmatic statesmen like Awolowo and, by extension, the international standard.

It is, in fact, paradoxical that Awolowo's singled-out rhetoric, of this era, which, largely followed international standard, has been largely ignored. It is, indeed, absurd that, despite the fact that the period represents the time Awolowo put in his best in terms of articulating broad programmes before the public, giving conditional prophesies about what the future held in stock for the country and defending, with forensic agility, his much controversial philosophy of democratic socialism, his efforts were side-lined. It is on record, for example that Awolowo, during this period, discussed such fundamentally topical issues like:

- Charter of Stability and Progress, (where he gave the recipe for a stable and progressive Nigeria);
- Innovations and Progress in Former Western Nigeria: An Address to Oyo State House of Assembly, (where he released his template for success as Premier of the Western Region and admonished the new House of Assembly to follow his exemplary performance);
- Final Appeal in Connection with the Presidential Election of 1983 (where he gave his campaign speech showing the nitty-gritty of the manifesto of his Unity Party of Nigeria);
- An Address to the 5th Annual Congress of the UPN Held at Ogun State Hotel, Abeokuta (where he gave the performance of the states under the watch of his UPN, while promising to improve on the 1979 manifesto);
- FOR THE GLORY OF NIGERIA: Awolowo's Acceptance Speech as UPN Presidential Candidate for the 1983 Presidential Election (where he promised the citizenry, in his campaign speech, welfare and happiness, if elected as president);
- Address at the 6th Annual Congress of the UPN at Ogun State Hotel, Abeokuta (where he addressed the issue of the "tragico-mockery" of the 1983 election and advised the elected President Shagari to find ways of revamping the failed economy);
- Christmas Message for 1983 (where he predicted the fall of the Second Republic).
- The lackadaisical attitude of Nigerian researchers to the Second Republic rhetoric of Awolowo, is unacceptable, more so that they know what transpires in advanced countries, which Awolowo tried to emulate. This study postulates that the political speeches of Awolowo are too important and solution-bearing to be ignored.

1.2. Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study was to examine the second republic rhetoric of Awolowo in the areas of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education and his relating them to his principle of democratic socialism. The focus of the study was, indeed, to confirm the study's assumption that, as a consistent self-professed socialist, Awolowo would want to assert his authority, once again, in the practice of democratic socialism, having practised it half-heartedly as premier, before the emergence of the first republic, and discussed it sincerely and extensively as opposition leader, during the first republic. This was against the backdrop that it was another opportunity for Awolowo to prove his opponents wrong that his democratic socialism has been anything but equivocal. He was, once again, putting his rectitude, honourableness and credibility into test.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Research has shown, by considerable and comprehensive concurrence, that learning from history is a major determinant of a society's progress and development. A country which fails to learn from history loses the much-needed historical templates full of solutions to guide the country leaders' future actions. It is noteworthy that the emphasis placed upon such learning may vary, from country to country, with each country's patriots and statesmen acknowledging, more often than not, the desirability of ensuring that the up-coming generation is equipped to deal with the challenges that living in a decent society entails. That a country needs good people, made up of credible, worthy and trustworthy people in that act of patriotism, is incontrovertible. In other words, we look at what kind of people are influencing those running a government, as determining the success or failure of the system. Suffice to say that the progress and development of any country is contingent upon the readiness and sincerity of mind of its leaders to govern according to their oath of office. It is equally dependent on other factors like adequate spiritual, mental and physical capacity to rule; the intention to govern with an objective mind and the moral rectitude to allocate resources to the heterogeneous society with puritan morality.

The pertinent question, then is: what should be the peoples' reactions, when the society fails to learn from history, thereby, repeating the same mistakes that eroded the leaders' credibility in the past? The answer is that people become frustrated and disillusioned and cry for change. This attitude from the people calls for a holistic approach to analysing past failures in order to propel future success. DiMenichi, et al, (2018) reason, in this respect, that: "Analyzing past failures may boost future performance by reducing stress: Study shows for first time that writing critically about past setbacks leads to lower stress responses, better choices and better performance on a new stressful task." These authors also argue that, when researchers beam their searchlights on the past failure with a view to carrying out a true and honest critique of the past, there is bound to be more cautious options that will engender better performance.

There is an adage, from the Yoruba of Nigeria, which says: if the child fell, he would look at his front; whereas, if it was an adult that fell, he would look at his back. It is paradoxical, however, that, in Nigeria, our supposed elders, after falling, never bothered to look back to see the cause of the fall. They often consider the chapter of the book of the past closed, thereby, refusing to learn from the past failures. This should not be. Among other voices, on the fall of the First and Second Republics, Awolowo's voice was the most noticed, meaning that he earnestly wanted a change for the better. We have earlier shown Awolowo's reasons for the fall of the First Republic. On the reasons for the fall of the Second Republic too, Awolowo has argued that financial profligacy, diminishing revenue and rising debt, zero frugal financial spending, and discipline, lackadaisical attitude at raising revenue, relegation of Nigeria's agriculture completely; meaninglessness of

indigenization of industry, abject poverty resulting in hunger, wretchedness, and indecent housing; contributed, in no small measure to its collapse. The significance of this study becomes obvious as it exposes the necessity of spotlighting Awolowo's recipe for moving Nigeria forward, especially during this period of study – the period of his transcendence toward self-actualization. Awolowo, indeed, made this general prediction, during the Second Republic:

If we fail to make a success of this second experiment, the consequences will be most dreadful and those of you who are much younger than myself, however long you may live, will never know democracy again (Awolowo, 1981d:126). With the belief by most public commentators as well as what we see, as very obvious lapses in conducting elections and managing democracy, since Awolowo's prediction, it is obvious that the truism of the prophecy still continues to reverberate. Even after the abysmal failure of Alhaji Shehu Shagari at sustaining democracy, in Nigeria, during the Second Republic, Awolowo still continued to give advice to the Federal government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari but no effort was made, on the part of the government to turn a new leaf. It is obvious, too, that successive governments have turned a deaf ear to Awolowo's solutions of taking Nigeria to greater height. Indeed, just of recent, one of the foremost legal luminaries in Nigeria and a SAN reiterates Awolowo's fears about the possibility of ever having democracy in Nigeria again. After the suspension of the Chief Justice of Nigeria on purported fraud and money laundering, with the General Elections around the corner, Chief Mike Ozekhome, SAN, (2019), has this to say:

The alleged suspension from office of the CJN is the vilest, thieving, most despicable, ultra-vires, undemocratic and brazenly unconstitutional act ever carried out by any government in Nigeria, civilian or military, since 1st January, 1914, when the contraption called Nigeria was forcibly contrived through the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates. The desperate act of a sit-tight president constitutes a direct suspension of the Nigerian Constitution and the entire democratic process. It has finally removed the remaining veneer of pretension to democratic credentials by Buhari and his all-conquering cabal. Welcome, Nigerians, to full blown dictatorship, absolutism, authoritarianism and fascism ... Nigerians now know that we have now become an endangered species. It means that the next election is nothing more than a ritualistic outing to illegally confer life presidency (not just 4 years) on Buhari. There is no known basis, legal, constitutional or moral, to hurriedly bypass courts of law, the judicial process and court orders, to illegally remove the CJN and swear in an Acting CJN. The provisions of section 292(2) of the 1999 Constitution are quite clear on how the CJN can be removed from office.

The UN has also added its voice to the unconstitutionality of the CJ's removal. The UN Special Rapporteur, Diego Garcia-Sayan (2019) reasons that the suspension of the CJ fell short of international human rights standards on the judiciary independence and the doctrine of separation of powers. He argues that:

International human rights standards provide that judges may be dismissed only on serious grounds of misconduct or incompetence ... Any decision to suspend or remove a judge from office should be fair and should be taken by an independent authority such as a judicial council or a court.

This study, therefore, posits that with such ugly incidents happening in Nigeria of 2019, it is just proper to enliven the memory of the acts of a man like Awolowo, who could have abandoned Shagari and his team to continue to wallow in their failure but who decided otherwise. He actually gave the government several warnings, which, if heeded, would have put the government back on course and prevented another military takeover of December 31, 1983, in the order of the 1966 takeover. In fact, this study about Awolowo actually represents a genuine effort at situating his several invaluable selfless inputs that could have stabilized democracy in the Second Republic. I like to submit here that no amount of research on Awolowo can be too much. The more we learn about him, the more we garner the materials that are relatively necessary to move Nigeria forward. The study of the relationships between this study's independent and dependent variables may also tend to turn our assumptions to scientific reality.

1.3.1. The Impact of the Study within Its Discipline

It is our expectation that this study will add to a plenitude of investigations centring on the repeated failure of countries to learn from history and the implications of such negligence on the progress and development of the society. It is, therefore, expected to be of special value to the disciplines under humanities and the social sciences. Particularly, the study will appeal to students and scholars in the areas of Political Science, International Relations, Communication and Information, Sociology and History. Besides, the review of relevant literature will expose the credibility of the study and address the originality embedded in it as the researcher's candid contributions to current themes in political communication. Most importantly, it is expected that future researchers will be willing to adapt or adopt the methodology for their future research.

1.4. Research Question/Hypothesis

The problem of this study is centred on the certifiably revealed pessimism that the focus of researchers only on the president of Nigeria and the rhetoric of party formation and development to the exclusion of the post-military rhetoric on the economy, socio-cultural values and education, during Nigeria's Second Republic, is bound to be half-hearted and unproductive. This is because such approach to research will miss out very vital thought-provoking aspects of the era that will stand the test of time. The effect of this is that lessons to be learnt and templates to be copied from the volumes of work of serious-minded statesmen and researchers will be lost to posterity.

This, inevitably, calls for a more rigorous perspective to research on Obafemi Awolowo's post military rhetoric of Nigeria's Second Republic. This is with a view to rectifying the lackadaisical attitude of researchers to the oratory of true change that is able to bring a country from the dead end to the foremost platform internationally. There is no doubting the fact that a prophetic leader, like Awolowo, whether holding the reins of power or not, will be better equipped to deal with

the problems of the country than his opponents. It is submitted that, with Awolowo coming out, during the Second Republic as better informed and more sufficiently equipped than his earlier attempts at advocating democratic socialism, as a form of governmental control, this type of research would be beneficial to the cause of improved democracy. Thus, the researcher endeavoured to answer the question: Does any significant difference exist in Awolowo's reactions to the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, during the second republic? Transposed into a hypothesis, H_0 states: There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues: the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, during the Second Republic

2. Literature Review

2.1. Nigeria's Second Republic with Its Historical Antecedent and Development

Nigeria's Second Republic was inaugurated with the 1979 Constitution. Following the ban on party politics, five major parties were eventually registered by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) headed by Chief Michael Ani. The five parties, which, largely, took their identities from the major parties of the first republic, included: the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), an offshoot of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello's Northern People's Congress (NPC); the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), an offshoot of Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group (AG) Party; the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), which took off from the erstwhile Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC); Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim's Great Nigeria's People's Party (GNPP), a splinter of the NPP and People's Redemption Party (PRP), a spin-off of Alhaji Aminu Kano's Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU).

Elections into various offices, both legislative and executive were conducted in July and August of 1979. General Olusegun Obasanjo handed over power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the acclaimed winner of the 1979 presidential election conducted in July of 1979. Alhaji Shagari was sworn in as First Executive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on October 1, 1979. Shagari's NPN formed a coalition with the NPP, having failed to muster a majority in the House of Representatives. Again, this was reminiscent of the arrangement in the First Republic, when Alhaji Tafawa Balewa had to form an alliance with Azikiwe's NCNC, leaving out Awolowo to be the official Opposition Leader. This time around, too, Awolowo's UPN won the second largest number of seats in the House of Representatives, making him again the Official Opposition Leader, for the second time, in Nigeria's history.

The Second Republic soon showed signs of collapse. First, it was bedevilled with lack of cohesion at the centre. This was occasioned by the fragility of the alliance between the NPN and NPP. This fragility was as a result of conflicting interests that showed the NPN flexing its muscles as the superior party in the alliance. The effect was that the government, at the Centre, became ineffective. The second sign of its imminent collapse was the impetus given to corruption. The NPN government was so corrupt that the bulk of the money meant for development of infrastructures was siphoned by prominent officials of government. What worsened the situation was the impunity with which the officials addressed the situation, when confronted by the opposition, symbolised by Obafemi Awolowo. Indeed, one of the ministers, Umaru Dikko had the temerity to tell Nigerians that they could not claim to be suffering because they had not been eating from the dustbin. Another weakness of the government could be seen in its lukewarm attitude to the security situation in the country, with the effect that it was unable to deal effectively with the Maitatsine religious uproar in the North by the middle of 1981. Besides, Nigeria's economy, which was rosy at the beginning of Shagari's rule, with high prices for the Nigerian oil and an exchange rate that showed the naira as very strong, soon began to collapse. The last straw that broke the camel's back was the massively rigged election of 1983, in favour of the indolent Shagari Government.

Like the 1963 Constitution's short span, the life-span of the 1979 constitution was abruptly terminated on 31st December, 1983 when the civilian administration of President Shehu Shagari and Vice President Alex Ekwueme was toppled and replaced by the military dictatorship of Generals Muhammed Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon.

2.2. Awolowo's Renewed Effort at Promoting Socialism and His Transcendence to the Stage of Self-Actualization during the Second Republic

With his renewed effort at promoting democratic socialism; his actual supervision of the implementation of democratic socialism, by the five states, won by his party in 1979 (the LOOBO States); his passionate call for high-level performance, among the various governments of Nigeria, especially the Federal Government; his actual performance, as the Presidential candidate of the UPN twice and Leader of his party; his several postulations on how to have an enduring democracy and his numerous conditional and unconditional prophecies, most of them hitting the mark before his demise, Awolowo could be said to have reached a stage of self-actualization by the end of the Second Republic.

Self-actualization has been defined by Dictionary.com as "the achievement of one's full potential through creativity, independence, spontaneity, and a grasp of the real world." British Dictionary also defines the term as "the process of establishing oneself as a whole person, able to develop one's abilities and to understand oneself." From these two definitions, we can define self-actualisation as: the totality of the process, including the concerted effort, leading to bringing out the actual best in a man, at the end of his penchant for a desired end.

The origin of the use of the term can be traced to Kurt Goldstein, an organismic theorist, who asserts that the *raison d'être* behind self-actualization is the realisations of man's full potential. In line with our definition, Goldstein reasons that "the tendency to actualize itself as fully as possible is the basic drive... the drive of self-actualization." It is in this light we want to see Awolowo's transcendence to self-actualization. Awolowo's rhetorical behaviour was such that pointed to his premonition that the Second Republic might be his last chance at seeking political office in Nigeria. Probably cognizant of this fact, Awolowo exhibited the tendency to make his full potential come to the fore, and, in the process,

secured intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, as back-up mechanisms. He worked so much assiduously, writing, analysing, arguing, defending and speaking out, that, he was remembered, at his death, as "the best president Nigeria never had."

Also contributing on the subject of self-actualization, McLeod (2014), elucidating on Carl Roger's contribution to the therapeutic power in psychotherapy, identifies the propensity in man to consummate himself, by deploying all his capacities, with a view to reaching the highest point of his achievement in life. These are, exactly, the words with which to describe Awolowo's performance during Nigeria's Second Republic. Before, during and, even after the demise of the Second Republic. Awolowo brought all his arsenals out for all to see. He brought out his full potentialities and demonstrated their potency before the broad public of Nigerians and international observers. Not only this, it was during the second republic that Awolowo expanded the frontiers of his several philosophies and principles – the theory of social contract, human dynamism, the dialectic system. Mental Magnitude, just to mention a few.

In addition, Awolowo selflessly, encouraged the downtrodden to be fulfilled in the order of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Maslow, it must be noted, is another major proponent of the doctrine of self-actualisation, who sees self-actualisation as the finality of man's psychological development.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

The study of Awolowo's political rhetoric has made the researchers vary the methodology along quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The methodology for the study was perfected after an initial presupposition that Awolowo, would prepare for the Second Republic with the strength, energy and stamina of a consistent man, to do justice, once again to issues and topics of debate, calling for attention, in the polity. Thus, the study's line of argument is based on the supposition that Awolowo, the socialist-inclined leader, having sown the seed of welfarism, during the First Republic, would be readier to talk on wider issues bordering on the prosperity, happiness, well-being, freedom and equal treatment of the citizenry, in the polity; that he would be battle-ready with the people he considered as the forces of darkness, to wrench the citizenry from their claws. This philosophical hypothesis is hinged on Awolowo's rhetorical behaviour in considering the issues related to his Second Republic campaign and governance, especially as guided by his democratic socialism philosophy. Thus, it was the aim of this research to investigate Awolowo's treatment of the issues of: the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, when he was the leader of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), campaigning for the office of President under his party and strengthening his philosophy of democratic socialism which he had earlier introduced during the First Republic.

The ANOVA was used to test the hypothesis that Awolowo's handling of the issues in the polity would expose a significant difference in his assigning of prominence to the five issues discussed, using the content analysis instrument. The Neuman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison was also employed as a complement to ascertain the actual location of the differences. The study's findings were considered relevant for understanding the nitty-gritty of the study's initial speculation and were corroborated by literature.

3.1. An appropriate Contextualisation of the Research

An appropriate contextualization of the study was achieved in several ways. First, the hypothesis was tested through the One-Way ANOVA and Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison to confirm the reality and validity of the assumptions underlying the study. Second, the study's problem was objectively linked to relevant theories and empirical studies with a view to subjecting the assumptions underpinning the conceptualisation of the research to close scrutiny. Third, the psychometric properties of the content analysis instrument were guaranteed through unassailable measures. For example, the test results' consistency was guaranteed through objective reliability measures, like test-retest and high reliability coefficient. Also, the test results' accuracy was guaranteed through fool-proof valid measures, thus, enabling the instrument to measure accurately and dependably what exactly it was set to measure. Consequently, among other things, the content validity of the instrument was ensured by carrying out a pilot study whereby the test-retest measure of trained coders yielded a high 0.95 reliability coefficient. Besides, the construct validity of the instrument was guaranteed through the operationalization of the study's 25 constructs.

4. Research Findings and Data Analysis for the Second Republic: (October 1979 – December 1983)

4.1. Research Findings

The question this study has raised is this: Is there any significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues during the second republic? Transposed to a hypothesis, we have the following null and alternative hypotheses:

- H_0 : There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues during the Second republic.
- H_1 : There is a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the issues during the Second republic.

The above hypothesis was run, in order to subject to test, the assumption, that the sample estimate of Awolowo's selected speeches could be generalized to the population parameter. This was with a view to verifying whether or not there was any discovered differences in the population of his speeches. This was achieved by setting out the null hypothesis with its alternative form, clearly, operationalizing the study's constructs, setting out the significance level, making a two tailed prediction and guaranteeing that the distributions being studied were normal. Further, the relevant parametric statistical test of ANOVA was applied to test the variables. The study, conclusively, showed that H_0 was rejected at $P < .05$.

The findings of the study regarding this research question are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Source of Variation	Ss	Df	Ms	F	P
Total	370450.29	34	-		
Between	122388.29	4	30597.07	3.7	P<0.05
Within	24806.2	30	8268.73		

Table 1: Analysis of Variance for the Data on the Issues Which Awolowo Reacted To During the Second Republic

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

- H_0 : There is no significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues during second republic
- H_1 : There is a significant difference in Awolowo's reactions to the five issues during second republic.

It is obvious from Table 1 that the null hypothesis is rejected. The F obtained (3.7) is greater than the F critical (2.69) at probability is less than 0.05, (i.e., $F=3,7$; $df=4/30$; $-<0.05$).

The result of a post-mortem analysis, to determine the incidences of the significant difference, is as shown in Table 2.

The Different Issues	Economics	Politics	Socio Cultural Milieu	Inter Relations	Education
	N=7 -x 1=47.71	N=7 -x = 174. 14	N=7 -x = 12.0	N=7 -x5 = 19.43	
Economics		126.43*	6.71ns	35.17ns	28.28ns
Politics			133.14*	162.14**	154.71*
Socio-culture Milieu				29.0ns	21.57ns
Inter Relations					7.43ns
education					

Table 2: Multiple Comparison of the Saliency of the Five Different Issues during the Second Republic.
N.S = Not Significant *P < 0.05 **P < 0.01

In Table 2, the difference between any two-adjacent means is shown in rows 2 to 5. Such differences were compared with the critical difference before conclusions were reached. The critical differences obtained from the studentized table are as shown in Table 3:

	0.05	0.01
Q2	99.33	133.69
Q3	119.95	152.95
Q4	131.98	164.98
Q5	140.92	173.57

Table 3: Critical Difference Obtained From the Studentized Table on the Hypothesis

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

Period	Research Question	Mean Scores Of Issues					Source
Second Republic	6	174.14	47.71	41.0	12.0	19.43	Table 2

Table 4: Mean Scores of the Five Issues Discussed During the Second Republic

Thereafter, the following conclusions were reached for the period of

- Awolowo placed a greater emphasis on politics than any of the other four issues during this period
- No statistically significant difference was found in any of the remaining pairs of comparisons.
-

4.2. Data Analysis

The date also revealed generally that Awolowo placed the greatest emphasis on politics which has a mean score of 174.14. This was followed in order of saliency by the means scores of the economy (47.71), socio-cultural relations (41.0), Education (19.43), and International relations (12.0).

The research question is answered in the affirmative. The ANOVA test revealed that Awolowo's reactions to the issues differed significantly during the Second Republic. The direction of difference was shown by the multiple comparison of the relative saliency of the issues via the Newman Keul's statistics. This posteriori analysis revealed that politics was the most dominant issues in Awolowo's agenda. There was parity of treatment for the remaining four issues. The similarity

between the findings of this hypothesis and hypothesis 2 and 3 is obvious. The pertinent question here is: Why was politics given such enhanced attention during the Second Republic? It should be noted, first, that Awolowo's UPN was a re-incarnation of the AG with the same ideology of democratic socialism. As argued earlier, by 1962, Awolowo had outlined the putative democratic socialist goals that appealed to the spectrum of the society. Such goals included, generally, free education, free health programme, rural integration and gainful employment. From 1962 to 1978, Awolowo had worked vigorously on his ideals of democratic socialism. He had elaborated on them so meticulously and suitably by 1979 that he considered them as alternative plans for the basically capitalist oriented government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. As argued earlier, at the heart of Awolowo's philosophy of democratic socialism was politics. The themes of politics also featured prominently in Awolowo's rhetoric because Awolowo saw himself as working out the political blueprint to salvage Nigeria and Nigerians from the shackles of poverty, ignorance and disease for the last time. Awolowo placed the greatest emphases on politics during this period because of the last-minute quest for power. As a man endowed with adequate knowledge, this period was his last in active politics. He, therefore, employed communication maximally to promote the themes of politics.

5. Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

As discussed in another work entitled "Between the Moment of Decision and Fulfilment: Obafemi Awolowo's Admonition that Stands for All Times" (forthcoming), data interpretation has thrown more light on the values promoted by Awolowo on the socio-politico-economic affairs of Nigeria, when he was a commentator on the military regimes of Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammed and Obasanjo. The question may be asked. Did Awolowo espouse any values during the Second Republic too? This is against the background that, for the second time, Awolowo had lost in the federal election. One would have thought that he would have become indifferent to the goings-on in Nigeria because of this. Again, the status of Nigeria's Head of State had changed. As Head of State and Head of Government, the President now wielded wide discretionary power under the 1979 constitution, albeit such powers were hedged with a plethora of checks and balances. With the presidential system of government in vogue, there was no place for Awolowo as Opposition Leader like in the First republic; and with no clear-cut role, we might wander on what platform Awolowo would espouse his values. Be that as it may, research findings have shown that Awolowo talked extensively during the Second Republic while showing his different roles as a politician, a public commentator and a statesman and placed the greatest emphasis on the issues of politics. The inevitable follow-up question therefore, is: what was the situation that called for Awolowo's comment during the Second Republic? This will form the major focus of our discussion.

5.2. Discussion

First, Awolowo was miffed by the destruction of democracy and democratic practices brought about by the incursion of the military into Nigerian politics. The military had proscribed all first republic parties between 1966 and 1978 thereby suspending the expression of the popular will of the people for a period of 12 years. Awolowo's preoccupation with politics then had to do with the restoration of the expression of the popular will of the people. Awolowo believed, in this regard, that the worst civilian government was better than the best military government. The second situation that called for Awolowo's comment was that he found himself confronted by the same political forces that spoilt his chances of ruling the whole Nigeria in the First Republic, i.e., the forces of feudalism and Northern Oligarchy. With these situations at the back of his mind, Awolowo prepared, once again, a well-thought-out political programme which would have a mass appeal.

The dominant theme in Awolowo's agenda during this period was the enthronement of a lasting democracy through free and fair elections. As Awolowo he echoed:

I have dealt with various aspects of democracy. I have done so because, at this juncture in the annals of our country it is imperative and in the best interest of stability and progress that democracy should succeed (Awolowo, 1981d:126).

Awolowo also worked on the thesis that all the governments in Nigeria must recognize the one and only one primary objective of developing and employing fully every Nigerian citizen. The marginalization of this objective would lead to economic backwardness, social injustice, political instability and grief. This thesis was also premised on the vagaries of nature and the acts of God which "now and again affect him adversely" (Awolowo, 1981d:143).

Awolowo went down memory lane by tracing the "feudalist-capitalist veil" which had obscured the prime importance of the developed man for centuries. While the Japanese were the first to peep seriously behind the veil, the U.S.S.R. became the first to tear the veil asunder. The result was the discovery that "the prime mover, the prime dynamic of all development or advancement be it economic, social or political – is the developed man." That explains why Japan and U.S.S.R. had consistently given the prime of place to the development of the education and health of every one of their citizens.

Man, Awolowo argued, was a manifestation of three phenomena of the soul, the subjective mind and the objective mind. In his rhetoric, Awolowo worked strenuously on how these could be developed fully in every citizen.

5.3. Recommendations

There is no doubt that Nigeria has never had a true democracy from the time of its independence, through the Second Republic (which this study focuses), up till now. Not even Awolowo's warning, during the Second Republic, that people who were much younger than him would never witness democracy in their lifetime, has prevailed on the Nigerian

politicians to consider their ways and, for once, prove Awolowo wrong. The impunity, in the land, especially with regard to the conduct of elections in Nigeria has been so pervasive that one wonders when democracy will truly take off in Nigeria. It has always been Awolowo's wish to see democracy thrive with the popular will of the people restored. The pertinent question then is: what is the way forward to having a true democracy in Nigeria?

First, it is high time Nigerian politicians treated politics like the Olympics game, where the major purpose is to participate. It should be seen as a game of football, where INEC will be free like the football referees and where the teams meet to embrace affectionately before and after the match. Politics should not be seen as a do-or-die affair, where thugs are employed and deployed to intimidate, maim and send people to their untimely graves, as is currently the situation in Nigeria. Indeed, thuggery should be outlawed and stiff penalties imposed on anybody caught in the act. As long as violence is unleashed on people, in the name of partisan politics, so long will patriotic people, with real love for the country and the wherewithal to govern run away from participating. Why must anyone want to die if he is genuinely interested in serving his country without any strings attached?

In addition, politicians should be wary of misapplication of power and their characteristic corrupt practices, financial impropriety, non-respect for the rule of law, abuse of office, nepotism, undue favouritism and double standard. Corruption, the cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of our society, must stop. The politicians must see the responsibility of the massive rebuilding and restructuring as devolving on them and not on the security agencies. Therefore, they should avoid any situation that makes them depend on security agencies to win elections. This could be very dangerous for Nigeria's nascent and fragile democracy.

Moreover, the ruling party should avoid the antics of silencing the opposition by force, especially with the instruments of state like the army, the police, the DSS, the EFCC and the National Defence Corps. Government should allow all these government agencies to enjoy unrestrained, unconstrained and untrammelled independence in their onerous duty of serving the country.

Besides, it is high time government started to obey the law of the land and ensure the rule of law; otherwise, there will come a time when anarchy will set in and government will find the situation uncontrollable. Besides, court judgements should be obeyed by the government to the letter. The protection of individual liberty should be seen as non-negotiable. Equal treatment, as guaranteed by the social contract should be strictly adhered to. It will be very good to have a Nigeria where justice is dispensed with fairness and no ulterior motive. Situations where the EFCC, in order to impress their paymasters, will unilaterally freeze the bank account of the opposition so they won't have money to spend, during an election or arrests and puts the opponents' wives, children and strong backers, in custody for no just cause, should stop. Government should also stop encouraging opponents to run to the ruling party in order for their sin of corruption to be forgiven and the cases against them in court closed.

Most importantly, the reasons for establishing democracy, in the first instance, must be strictly adhered to. Nigerian politicians, especially those in government, must ensure that the fulfilment of the social objective basic purposes of a state becomes a fait accompli; give impetus to the existence of an implied social contract; preach peace and ensure peace, in all its ramifications; make the citizenry generally happy and free; allow the doctrine of separation of power, as propounded by Montesquieu, to work. In this regard, the executive must avoid high-handedness, ensure an unfettered independence of the judiciary and keep intact the powers and functions of the National Assembly on control over the executive, legislation, finances, elections and other constituent functions. This, to me, is the way to move the country forward.

5.4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper presents the report of a hypothesis tested to determine the issue salience in Awolowo's treatment of the issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, during Nigeria's second attempt at democratic rule. It touches on the nitty-gritty of Awolowo's campaign rhetoric, during this period and, especially, his concerted effort at convincing the electorate about the desirability of his social democratic philosophy. Awolowo's rhetoric of campaign and sundry issues actually elucidate on reverberations from his transcendence toward self-actualization during Nigeria's Second Republic. Although he did not see the two general elections of this republic in 1979 and 1983 as do-or-die events, he, nonetheless, deployed his professional and managerial expertise, in, what ended up to be his last attempt at persuading the Nigerian people to vote for him and his party, at all levels of government, before his demise in 1987.

The major problem of the study was considered to be the anomalous situation whereby Awolowo's worthy isolated instance of bringing freshness to presidential debates, through internationally acclaimed standard, has been largely shrugged off by researchers. This is even against the milieu that the Second Republic showcased Awolowo's best at articulating before Nigerians, as well as the international community, his philosophy of democratic socialism, of all times. The researcher has taken up the gauntlet of undertaking this study because it is considered inexcusable that researchers would, largely, ignore the reverberations that Awolowo's highly-rated sublime rhetoric would have had in Nigeria, during this period and beyond. This is against the backdrop that Awolowo's rhetoric, of the period of study, was seen, just as another rhetoric of the others, as against the rhetoric of the Nigerian president. This is even in spite of his avalanche of speeches, laced with principles and philosophies far better than that of any African president, then. Thus, the paper submits that, Nigerians have been denied the opportunity to learn about the rhetorical behaviour of one of the foremost orators in a critical period in their history, with the effect that Awolowo's contributions to worthy debates, especially on his promotion of democratic socialism, may remain merely legendary and doubtful. The inadequacy of research relating to the Second Republic rhetoric of Awolowo is, indeed, bound to lead to a spurious association of recorded evidence.

To ameliorate this anomaly, the general purpose of this study was to see how Awolowo reacted to the 25 themes, coined from the 5 issues of the economy, politics, socio-cultural milieu, international relations and education, during Nigeria's Second Republic. The study's bustle was anchored on the assumption that Awolowo would give fillip to his philosophy of democratic socialism through the five issues discussed in the polity. He would, therefore, be expected to accord such salience to the five issues according to his stance on the philosophy. Thus, it was hypothesised that there would be a significant difference in the salience accorded to the 5 issues during the Second Republic. The acceptance of this working hypothesis, at $P < 0.05$, via the One-Way Analysis of Variance, with the Newman Keuls' Method of Multiple Comparison, showing the actual locations of the difference, tends to confirm the scientific reality of the study's assumption. The significant difference can be seen in Awolowo's placement of a greater salience on politics than any of the other four issues, with no statistically significant difference found in any of the remaining pairs of comparisons.

The significance of this study is hinged on its pointer to Awolowo's provision of the massive templates of historical value that can move the country, Nigeria, forward, within the shortest possible time. The study, indeed, canvasses for spotlighting Awolowo's several suggestions of moving Nigeria into greatness. It is submitted that the obvious lapses in managing democracy, resulting in the contemporary fragility of civil rule, can be quickly removed by learning from Awolowo.

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