

UNIVERSITY OF PORT HARCOURT

**LIVE BODY, DEAD SOUL:
The Anatomy of Discipline,
Corruption and Leadership**

An Inaugural Lecture

By

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INAUGURAL LECTURE SERIES

NO. 134

SEPTEMBER 29, 2016.

University of Port Harcourt Press Ltd.,
University of Port Harcourt
Port Harcourt
Nigeria
Email: uniportpress@uniport.edu.ng

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ISSN: 1119-9849
INAUGURAL LECTURE SERIES NO. 134
DELIVERED: 29TH SEPTMEBER, 2016

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Designed, Printed and Bound By UPPL

ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS

- 2:45pm: Guests are seated
3.00pm: Academic Procession Begins

The Procession shall enter the Ebitimi Banigo Auditorium, University Park and Congregation shall stand as the procession enters the hall in the following order:

ACADEMIC OFFICER
PROFESSORS
DEANS OF FACULTIES
PROVOST COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES
REGISTRAR
ORATOR
LECTURER
DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR (ACADEMIC)
DEPUTY VICE- CHANCELLOR (ADMINISTRATION)
VICE-CHANCELLOR

After the Vice-Chancellor has ascended the dais, the congregation shall remain standing for the University of Port Harcourt Anthem. The congregation shall thereafter resume their seats.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S OPENING REMARKS

The Registrar shall rise, cap; and invite the Vice-Chancellor to make his Opening Remarks.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR SHALL THEN RISE, CAP AND MAKE HIS OPENING REMARKS AND RESUME HIS SEAT.

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE

The Registrar shall rise, cap and invite the Orator, **Professor Boniface Enyeribe Nwigwe**, to introduce the Lecturer.

The Lecturer shall remain standing during the introduction. The Lecturer shall step on the rostrum, cap and deliver his Inaugural Lecture. After the Lecture, he shall step towards the Vice-Chancellor, cap and deliver a copy of the Inaugural Lecture to the Vice-Chancellor and resume his seat. The Vice-Chancellor shall present the document to the Registrar.

CLOSING

The Registrar shall cap and invite the Vice-Chancellor to make his Closing Remarks.

The Vice-Chancellor shall then rise, cap and make his Closing Remarks. The Congregation shall rise for the University of Port Harcourt Anthem and remain standing as the Academic (Honour) Procession retreat in the following order:

THE VICE- CHANCELLOR

DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR (ADMINISTRATION)

DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR (ACADEMIC)

LECTURER

ORATOR

REGISTRAR

PROVOST COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES

DEANS OF FACULTIES

PROFESSORS

ACADEMIC OFFICER

DEDICATION

TO GOD
AND
TO MY WIFE AND CHILDREN

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is proper and fitting to begin these acknowledgements with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty God, creator and preserver of us all. He not only created me but also adopted me even when I was still too young to know Him and appreciate Him. He followed me through as I grew and when He knew I was ripe He gave me the knowledge of His Son Jesus who with the Holy Ghost has been my stay through the vicissitudes of Life. It is difficult to state all the very special assistances He has given to me from primary school through to the writing of this lecture. Thank you my Father.

I wish to appreciate Professor Ndowa E.S. Lale Vice-Chancellor of this university for granting me the opportunity to appear on this public square.

I remember with deep gratitude my parents the Reverend Canon Lawson Ngbachikwere and Esther Adanma Ndu for all the sacrifices they made on my behalf. I just wish papa that you were here to see that the little fellow you took by hand to Owerri for the interview into Government Secondary School Owerri has put the title of Professor behind your name. I remember for thanks my siblings, successful men and women all, whose own success and encouragements moved me on. How can I forget my late brother Chief Dr. Ndumati Lawson-Ndu who in league with my wife Linda dragged a protesting me to university.

My thanks go to my teachers from primary school through to the university level I remember my first Headmaster Mr. Otonna of Rumuoro, Ogbakiri. I remember Prof. Eboe Hutchful who not only taught me political theory at Uniport, but also paid the application fee which led to my admission into University of Toronto in Canada. I remember Professor Kimse Okoko who not only saw to it that I was admitted to study Political Science instead of Economics in Uniport in 1980, but hung around to

assess me for Professor. I remember Professor O.J.B. Ojo my undergraduate adviser and pilot when I became a lecturer. I remember Professor Eme Ekekwe who gave me his friendship though he had a Ph.D and I had nothing. I remember Professor Joseph Carens my Ph.D dissertation supervisor for his friendship and patient guidance. God bless you all.

My thanks go to my colleagues in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies and in the Faculty of Social Sciences. I remember Professors Nwaorgu and Alapiki, I remember Dr. Sample Okey Amadi, Dr. Chimaroke Ngba, Dr. Eddie Obomanu, Dr. Timothy Nteh, Dr. Emma Wonah, Dr. Uche Onyenkwu, Dr. Doris R. Chuku, Mr. Richard Adah and the rest of us for their encouragement and unalloyed support. I must mention the current Dean of the Faculty of Social Science Professor Okey Onuchuku for cheering me on when the going got tough.

I wish to appreciate Mr. Peter Chuks Onuoha and Miss. Ngozi Elenwo for being both my hands and my eyes when I was down and almost out.

Now I wish to pay tribute to my wife and children who in any real terms have paid the price for my standing here today. I remember my children, their suffering, hardship, deprivation, and derision, so that daddy might get some book learning. I look at my wife with awe for her perseverance. Here is a very beautiful young girl who marries a virtual nobody and has turned him into a professor. My God will continue to keep and sustain you, come rain come fair weather, as long as I live and after I may have moved on, until the end of time.

Finally, there are many whom I have not mentioned here or referred directly to. To them I want to say that you are not forgotten. My God remembers everything and has certainly remembered you.

Thank you and God bless you all.

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THE PREAMBLE

When at the end of the 133rd inaugural lecture my name was announced as the 134th inaugural lecturer my heart trembled. I was still in a daze when I left the lecture auditorium. This is because, for those who do not know, I am the fourth in line from the same department, the department of political and Administrative Studies of this university, to stand where I now stand. Coming after the first three I suffer the disadvantage of the late comer. But I also enjoy the advantage of the late comer. Right away I am waxing philosophical. You see every coin has two sides, head and tail, different from each other, but yet cannot exist without each other. Thus my disadvantage and my advantage come together in a mystic whole, struggling against each other and yet depending on each other. Hegel would applaud this insight from his dialectics. Long before Hegel Aristotle touted as an empiricist (a definition which I do not accept entirely) had stated that all the truths had been discovered, but then he steps back to say that may be there are still some truths that have not been discovered which still require to be discovered. In effect my predecessors may have covered the squares, terrorist, and principalities and powers, yet I believe there is still something left for me to think and talk about.

In preparing this lecture my greatest worry was how to say what I want to say, which I must say, without being unduly offensive. But then I realized that inaugural lecture does not only reflect in a short and concise form that which the professor has been studying and teaching, but also the character and personal attributes of the professor. It also occurred to me that true as it is that all disciplines and areas within disciplines pursue knowledge in a broad sense the presentation of knowledge may just differ. In praise of political philosophy and political philosophers I must state that while most disciplines, knowingly or unknowingly, shy away from the truth or try to cover the truth with sterile

statistics which hide the truth in the name of science, political philosophy states the truth, not with undue euphemism, but the truth the way it is and the way it ought to be stated. Political philosophy is critical and prescriptive. I might state here that since the 1960s political science has suffered from an unguided attempt to make political science more scientific, an attempt which has brought into being the science called polimetrics. Polimetrics much like econometrics seeks to present political phenomena with a set of sterile statistics shorn of all values. The truth is that some colleagues practice it but no one pays any attention to them. This is, because if we believe the utilitarians (and I do not see why we should not) the sole purpose of government, given the complexity of the modern state, is to provide the greatest good to the greatest possible number. A democratic principle? May be. This basic utilitarian principle cannot be achieved if we do not know “who gets what when and how”. Besides it is impossible to pursue science, natural, social or otherwise without philosophy. Where philosophy goes logic goes, where logic goes mathematics goes and where mathematics goes science follows.

In Ikwerre land we say, when you climb the iroko tree collect all the wood you need to collect because you do not climb the iroko tree every day which is to say that when you meet the public tell them your mind in as many words as the opportunity affords you. The inaugural affords the professor that rare opportunity to share his thoughts, his views, and his appreciation of the world around him/her in as many words as the limited time affords him.

Vice-chancellor sir, it is with great modesty and humility that I present myself to this august assembly.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

My singular contribution to knowledge that is to political theory is the original development of the concept of DISCIPLINE as a social and political category. My point has been that discipline is a sine qua non for the success of any social enterprise. As a political category I have divided

discipline into internal and external discipline. When discipline is internal it is the property of the single individual citizen, and is that quality of character which leads us to define a person as self-governed, self-regulated, self-restrained cooperative, self-disciplined and other such adjectives which describe a well-adjusted and law-abiding citizen. When discipline is external it the property of the community organized in political terms as the state. It is that power, which the state has to discipline and or punish its erring members, and comes into effect when internal discipline has begun to fail or is nonexistent. Both, internal and external discipline, work together for effective social control.

BETWEEN TRUTH AND FALLACY

Between truth and fallacy there is nothing. Every fact or statement or proposition has one value. It is either true or false, but not both. The paper on which I am writing now is either white or it is not. As it is white I am constrained to use black or blue ink or some other colour of ink which would make my writing readable. If it were black paper (not that I know any such paper) I would be obliged to use another colour of ink. The contrast between paper and ink produces that positivity which one might call rational reality. By rational reality I refer to that specific standard by which all things might be measured or examined in their genre. Any thing between truth and fallacy is just simply untenable. In the world of reason there is no such creature which would be both true and false at the same time.

Over time political philosophy and political philosophers from Socrates have in different ways striven to establish the fact that the object of this discipline is the pursuit of the TRUTH. The sophists believed and taught that truth was relative. By this was meant that each person had the right to determine what was true for himself. If one believes this paper to be white then for him/her it is white. But another was free to believe that it is black or any other colour. This was a laissez-faire attitude to social reality. Surely no one seriously believes that any society can exist for any length of time on

the basis of such creed. Consider the traffic of a modern day town. Consider what would be the result of each person deciding for themselves on which side of the road to drive. It seems to me that the result would be chaos. Spread this to other spheres of life and Hobbes would be justified in his depiction of the state of nature. Over time the struggle of political philosophy to overcome this sophistic relativity and establish truth as an absolute category has cost the exponents dearly. Many lost their livelihood, some their freedom and at least one paid the ultimate price. Socrates lost his life in the quest for truth – the absolute truth. The absolute truth, because all its variables are true it is at the worst a tautology. But it is the truth. The relative truth is a self-contradiction, and because it is a contradiction, it is false and cannot therefore provide a basis for rational social interaction and interchange.

When Socrates asserted that "the unexamined life is not worth living" he made a pitch for the truth, the absolute truth. How is this? If every person must examine their life, they must do so against a specific standard. That standard is the same for all men, thus making it the absolute – the truth. Socrates paid for his endeavours with his life, but he had established in contradiction of the sophists the parameter for all political philosophic enquiry for all ages thereafter. Socrates, a modest man, considered himself ignorant. But the oracle at Delphi knew otherwise and informed Socrates that he Socrates was the wisest man in Athens, Baffled Socrates set out to empirically find out why the oracle considered him the wisest man when there were people whom Socrates thought had better claim to that distinction. His research brought him in contact with the high and mighty in the land. Though his search led to danger, accusation and death he was to prove the oracle right. The high and mighty were ignorant but did not know that they were ignorant. Thus to the extent that Socrates was ignorant and knew himself to be so, he was one step ahead of the leaders of the day. These ignorant leaders had not come to the knowledge of the truth, namely, that men ought to examine their lives. Would it not be nice if the men and women of today were to appreciate this need for each to

examine their life? Socrates went further to set an example in law abidingness. When sentenced to death for his pursuit of knowledge he refused to escape though his friends had made good arrangements to get him away to another state, away from the laws of Athens. He stated that the laws of Athens which had protected him while he was a free man would be weakened and become incapable of protecting Athenians, if he were to escape. “The unexamined life is not worth living”.

Plato, one of the foremost disciples of Socrates observed these things and turning away from the intension to pursue a life in politics, pushed and extended the frontiers of the Truth. He avers that the truth is not variable but is a constant reality akin to wisdom obtained through a lengthy process of the dialectic. By the dialectic Plato refers to the scientific method of enquiry which created knowledge through the analytical method of argument which opposes fact with fact. Hegel was going to expand this idea later in what is now known as the Hegelian dialectics – the basis for understanding both Hegel and particularly Marx. Plato distinguished the dialectic from the eristic which is the process of obtaining knowledge from existing facts of history. This is probably the basis for what we know today as formal theory.

Plato sees the truth as food of the soul, providing discipline thereto. It is an ingredient of the Good and in the Laws he describes truth as the first among goods. The truth is intelligence begotten by the philosopher out of reality. The truth is eternal and to deny it is to be impious. Men are not easily convinced of the truth and the multitude is not made up of men who know the truth. The point here is that there are not many who know or understand the truth. But the philosophers who know it love it and it forms the virtue of the philosopher. The philosopher though must be of the ilk of Socrates believing in absolute truth and shunning relative truth which amounts to fallacy.

Plato’s design for education is geared to produce this sort of philosopher who would ultimately know the Good which is the whole of which the truth is part. For Plato the Good is the

highest point on the scale of intellection. It is absolute, being itself or not at all. It can be apprehended only at the level of pure thought untainted by physical pleasures. It is given only to the philosopher to know. It is achieved thus.

Plato's plan for education consists of three stages. The first stage which we may call the primary stage lasts till the age of 18 years. Thereafter all the children perform military service for 2 years. The second stage for those who perform well lasts for fifteen years terminating at the age of 35 years. The final stage lasts for a further 15 years ending at the age of 50 years. This last stage is for the few who have distinguished themselves from the beginning. Those in the last group are the philosophers who spend their time after education contemplating the form of the Good until they are called up for rulership positions. They participate in rulership because they understand the Good and are partisans of the truth.

It is not difficult then to see how these ideas lead to Plato's notion of the divided line; that is the separation between INTELLIGIBLE knowledge and SENSIBLE knowledge. He/she who knows the form of the Good and the truth processes and operates at the level of intelligible knowledge. The rest being unable to ascend beyond the dividing line are trapped in the realm of the sensible, moved by passions of pleasure and other calls of the senses. Plato actually instituted a school, the Academy, in Athens in which he tutored youths, including Aristotle, in the art of governance and of the unalloyed Truth.

The main thrust of Plato's political theory is to establish the Truth concerning rulership and the art of governance. To pursue this Plato divides society into three functional groups based on the assumption that each person must perform one function and one function only – that one in which Nature has endowed him/her and in which society has trained her/him. Let us note that Plato founds society and other social organisations on the principle of reciprocal satisfaction of social and economic needs. Platonian "Society is then a system based on complementary differences in which each member performing one specific function only that one in

which he/she excels based on natural aptitude and education and experience contributes to the building of a perfect system” (Ndu 1998:25) This theory of society and politics imposes on the philosopher the function of ruling. From the above we can distil the fact that for Plato politics is a science based on exact knowledge which is why Plato and his kind had no use for democracy. The philosopher is expected to rule because his long education has opened his/her mind to the truth, that is the truth of the form of the Good.

One point that needs to be stressed is Plato’s teaching with regard to the IDEAL and to REALITY. Many especially the uninitiated, and there are lots and lots of them including many who claim to specialize in political theory, fail to understand Plato’s profound teaching. Plato produced three forms of the state. The first and the absolute best was in the *Republic*. The second and second best form of the state occurs in the *Statesman*. The third and third best which is infact closest to the contemporary state systems in Europe he produced in the *Laws*. Now the best system, that is the absolutely best system is described as the IDEAL state. Now the use of the adjective ideal leads many to describe this state at best as unattainable and at worst as Utopian. For Plato this ideal state represents the truth which as we stated above is a “constant reality” obtained through a lengthy process of the dialectic. Politics is an exact science and the ideal state is produced when the exact process is followed. Plato was infact asked about the possibility of this state occurring and his response was that if he had a population of children below the age of ten years, he would produce this state. Here we see the importance of education and the study of the dialectics. The ideal then is to be understood as that constant reality which is to be found in and distilled from the world of forms where the form is the real and the empirical only a reflection of the real. For instance, who doubts that if you can describe ten different-looking women as beautiful then there must be something which justifies such a description – This thing is the form of beauty. Out there in the world of the abstract is the form of beauty. Each of our ten women relates to this form. The real big point in the consideration of Platonian reality is that the

form is constant and eternal. The reflections as embodied by our ten women are transient. That which is eternal, like the Lord God Almighty Himself, is real and the reflections like man empirical though they are, are transient and do pass away. Thus the ideal is the constant reality and therefore the Truth. In saying these things which amounts to a thorough – going critique of Athenian society Plato had to hide behind Socrates, putting his most controversial statements in the mouth of Socrates. He wrote in dialogues. Socrates was dead and could not die a second time.

I shall skip over Aristotle with only a few comments. I have stated somewhere else that the untutored like to see Aristotle as opposed to Plato. But his personal opinion of Plato and the direction of his thought and teaching do not accord with that assessment of Plato Aristotle says “he was a man whom the bad have not even the right to praise – the only man, or the first, to show clearly by his life, and the reasons of his discourses, that to be happy is to be good” (quoted in Ndu 1998:38). In his own regard he “tells us that all the TRUTH has already been discovered. Note that his antecedents in this regard were only Socrates and Plato. It is difficult for a student to wander too far from his teacher. He took off from Plato of the “Laws” and in the end went on to prescribe an “ought to be” as distinct from the “is” which empiricist like to hang unto. His attempt to deviate from that which ought to be, the normative, produced one of the monstrosities of the ancient world. His protégée, Alexander son of Philip of Macedon, was to become Alexander the Great who ravaged the then known world. He Alexander contributed to what we have come to perceive as Africa’s backwardness. That man looted the first library in the world. This was in Cathage in Egypt (Egypt at that time was a very black place. As Heredotus says Africa means the land of the blacks). The library contained 20,000 volumes. He subsequently gave his name to Cathage. It is today known as Alexandria. When a people is cut off from its past, especially its knowledge accumulated over time, its culture etc, it finds it difficult to plot its future.

The thread of philosophic truth runs from Socrates through Plato, Machiavelli, Rousseau and unto Marx. It is interesting that those who comment on these philosophers today describe their ideas as utopian, that is that they lack empiricism and run against reality. But a more careful examination will show that each of them engaged in carefully calculated research to reach their conclusions. Socrates employed the interview method to gather information leading him to accept the verdict of the oracle concerning him and his wisdom. When Plato prescribed the rule of philosophers he did not think it ended as speculation. When questioned concerning it he stated that it was achievable through the process of education, as long as the pupils were caught early, that is before the age of ten years. The point for Plato is that before the age of ten years, the human mind is malleable and can be moulded in particular lines of thinking and behavior. Critics will say that Plato's system is indoctrination, but that is infact what education for moral growth is about. contemporary society ought to learn from that. In our tradition here education which is socialization produces a rounded individual who is trained to fit into his/her society. This is infact that education which produces a civilized society. This differs from formal education in which the individual is taught to read and write without affecting that core of him/her that makes for a rounded personality fit for life in society. Little wonder then that contemporary society produces "educated" persons who turn out to be little better than brutes, men and women who have no idea of law – abidingness. We will return to this.

Machiavelli is today touted as the first "political scientist" because he engaged on a study of existing facts of politics and of rulership. But because he told the truth exactly as it is he is vilified and given a name akin to that of the devil. Critics refer to him as "old nick" which is the Englishman's nickname for the devil. But Machiavelli took care to study what goes on in the political activities of kings and potentates and was able to reveal that behind the pomp and pageantry of rulers was a great lot of blood. The hidden message in Machiavelli's revelations is that what passes for politics today is an abuse of that concept. In original form politics was a

process of settling disputes, disagreements, and contradictions which occur endemically in the economic life of any group of persons. Politics is thus a process, not a thing and not a thing in which all kinds of characters can venture into. Certainly it was not a means of accumulation as it has turned out to be in Nigeria. This understanding of politics as a process of settling disputes, (and this can be gleaned from the political practices of African primordial systems) is in fact what lies behind the philosophic understanding of civilization. My point here is that it is possible to have an environment with all the modern artifacts which practical science has invented and still not have a civilized environment. This is to say that these artifacts – good concrete buildings, motor cars, phones, television and other things that make life comfortable and enjoyable – are signs of modernity but not signs of civilization. Civilization can lead to the production of these goods but these goods cannot lead to the institutionalizing of civilization. I conclude then that modernity is physical and civilization is moral – a product of education (socialization) and the practice of obeying the law. When we see any large group of people who have learned to relate with each other in a rational way we can conclude that that group is civilized. This would lead to the inevitable conclusion that, given the present condition of both state and society in Nigeria, our ancestors in the primordial environment were without question far more civilized than the current inhabitants of this hapless region. It is important to point out that to be primitive is not to be barbaric. Barbarism is the opposite of civilization and primitivity is the opposite of modernity. Primitivity and modernity are matters of time. But barbarism and civilization are matters of morality and law.

The pursuit of TRUTH in the early days had often led the partisan into grave difficulties ranging from the loss of livelihood to the loss of freedom and the Ultimate loss of all – the loss of life. Socrates was prosecuted on trumped up charges, convicted and killed because he discovered the absolute truth. In order to pursue the line of enquiry to which Socrates had introduced him Plato had to hide behind Socrates employing his voice to express the truth. Machiavelli

was vilified and he died in abysmal poverty. Hobbes for daring to tell the English the truth was driven into exile. The same was true of Rousseau and Marx. Rousseau had to flee from France after his truth on equality. Marx fled from Germany and died in abject penury in England.

OUR TOPIC – THE EXEGESIS

The topic “Live body, dead soul” evokes the picture of that creature(?) known to the movie industry as the Zombie. It is also known as the “Living dead”. The zombie moves with slow, shuffling, and stumbling steps and is most of the time unaware of its environment and the dangers existing in or are posed by that environment. It is alive but lacks consciousness. The body is moving by whatever impetus but the soul, the source of consciousness, is dead. The human person possesses a body energized by the soul. Here I borrow from the creation story which I believe entirely. The Holy Bible in Genesis chapter Two and verse Seven tells us that the Lord God took earth, moulded it in his image and breathed the breath of life into its nostrils and man became a living soul. Thus it is the soul that makes the difference, it provides life and consciousness. The zombie is alive but has no soul, the soul being already gone at the point of initial death.

Human society can be likened to the human body, having parts and quickened by the soul. The society to the extent that it has its functioning members is alive. It is quickened by rules, regulations, laws and even mores. But these laws, rules, regulations and mores are useless unless they are operative. When they are obeyed and or implemented it can be said that there is discipline within that society. When the laws are not working then there is no discipline. It is then discipline which makes the difference. It is discipline that keeps society alive. Discipline is then the soul of the society. The society/state is alive when there is discipline. Discipline is the quickening element which provides consciousness to the society. For the avoidance of doubt the laws and other regulatory and social control measures are taken together, the substance of the state. When they are observed, that is when there is discipline, then the society is functional and the state is effective. But

when they are not obeyed, that is when there is no discipline, then the soul is dead though the body, that is the society, is still alive. This would lead to such expressions as failed state, the irrelevant state, and other similar expressions which indicate a condition of lawlessness. This leads me to say a few words about what I believe the state is. I am aware that some commentators including Marx believe that the state appeared at a point in the development of society – specifically when the antagonism between classes could no longer be resolved by other means. It appears to me that this view is inaccurate. This is because it seems to me that it is difficult for any society to exist for any length of time without the state, when the state is in fact the aggregation of the rules which mediate the interchange between members of any society. The Marxian view relates to a society already divided into classes. But society, even as Marx acknowledges has not always been so divided. The primitive communal system quite clearly had regulatory measures, system of social control. Without these we would have a more or less Hobbesian state of nature which defines absence of society anyway. This means that if there are rules, and there were none in the Hobbesian state of nature, then there is society and to the extent that there is society, the state is present. No society can exist for any length of time without the state. If there is society with governing measures of control and regulation then the state is present. I have stated above that the regulatory rules, regulations laws and mores are the substance of the state qua state. This argument does not therefore leave any space for such an expression as “state in formation” because the state is either there or it is not. If there is society then there is the state as qua state and conversely if we find the state we also find society. Both would appear to be contemporaneous. Thus we can talk about a developing state, a developed state or even an over-developed state, whatever that may mean. These last descriptions of the state may be indicative of the development of the laws and systems of discipline in relation to the development of the productive forces and the general configuration of social forces. Now when these measures are obeyed and maintained then there is discipline. When there is discipline the society is alive in the

full and real sense. When there is no discipline the society though alive is dead. That is it is alive without its soul. It is a zombie – living but dead. What then is discipline? How may we conceptualize it? And how does it redound on society to produce life or death and corruption?

I begin with the premise that society is made up of disparate individuals who are naturally free and independent and whose primary concern is for themselves and their personal well-being. However since these individuals are not self-sufficient they need society in order to attain their well-being. Seen this way, there exists then a symbiotic relationship between the society as a group and its individual components. From this it would follow that the common good of society as a group makes sense only in so far as the private good of the disparate but integral individual members whose preservation and well-being are the principal aim of their forming a society in the first place, is protected and preserved. On the other hand (and here I acknowledge a paradox) the private good of each member in society can only be preserved if the common good, that is the good of all, is constantly kept in perspective. It does not matter in this analysis whether the common good is achieved through the pursuit of individual private goods as is the case in a capitalist system, or whether the private good is achieved through the pursuit of the common good as would be the case in a communal system. This is because in society both ways require co-operation in one form or another at a certain point or another. What is important is that the paradox is that individual members of society should recognize the necessity to balance their interest with the interest of other members of their society. This paradox also implies the principle of give and take because the contradiction between private and common interests involved in membership of society calls for sacrifices (and here I refer to the loss of the individual's natural freedom evident in cooperation and in the obedience to laws) from each member who in recognition of these sacrifices which are necessary for the success of the social enterprise in which he/she is a member should agree to observe the regulatory measures (norms, customs, rules, regulations, mores and laws) which constitute the only means of meditating between these various interests. The fact of

agreeing with other members to form a society is to consent to be a member. It is this consent which obliges each member both to cooperate with others and to obey the regulatory measures. This obligation to the society calls for discipline in the individual members, at the same time as it grants to the society as a body the right and power to enforce the agreements either by legal means or by other forms of public disapprobation.

Discipline is then that attribute of the individual and of society which facilitates orderly social interchange among individuals in society. Seen in this way discipline has two dimensions, both of which acting together produce social order in a political society. The first dimension of discipline is internal and relates to individuals as that attribute which defines them as self-controlled, self-restrained, self-governed and other similar adjectives which qualify a sociable and law-abiding person. The second dimension of discipline, external discipline, is external relative to the individual and is an attribute of the society or the community organized in political terms as the state and refers to the right and power, actual or potential, which the society as a group has to sanction its erring members. In terms of the individual citizen internal discipline or the absence thereof determines the quality of the relationship between one individual and the other individuals in society, and the relationship between the individual and the society as a group, that is the relationship between the individual and the state. These relationships may be either complimentary or conflictual. Thus internal discipline is an inner disposition of character which in the relationship between individuals in society manifests itself as cooperation, fairness, and reciprocity. This manifestation is not altruism but is based on a more or less rational calculation of the benefits to oneself of being part of a community. (This is not to deny that more personal and intimate relationships based on love and friendship do develop among people in society. But I will let colleagues in sociology worry about that).

As a socio-political category internal discipline is the distinctive mark of a cooperative, that is to say, a sociable and law-abiding person. In society individuals have a double relationship. On the one hand they are related to each other. This relationship which we may call inter-personal relationship is both complementary and conflictual. It is complementary because it is marked by mutual aid and assistance as in when a neighbor runs to a child's cry for help because its father has become trapped in a pit in their backyard where the dirt has caved in on him. It is complementary when two neighbours jointly build a fence that benefits both of them or pave a driveway which they both use in common. But the relationship is also conflictual because they may not agree on where the fence should be located or what share of labour or materials each of them should contribute for paving their driveway. Secondly individuals also have a relationship with the group as a body, that is with the society. Again this relationship with the group is both complementary and conflictual. It is complementary as in when the group pulls together the energies of its members to rebuild a house for one of their members after a storm or when they give their time in moments of distress, such as a bereavement to provide emotional and moral support for a mourning and grieving neighbor. But the individual-group relationship is also conflictual because each member has an interest which may and often differs from the interest of the group at any given time. For instance a member may have planned to travel on business the same day or period when the group requires that they assist in the rebuilding of a neighbours house or go to a funeral. These relationships are conflictual because of private interest. These relationships (inter-personal and social) arise from the fact that the individuals in question are members of a group. It is because they are members of a group that they cooperate and give their time and persons for the benefit of each other. It is because they are members that they expect other members to behave in cooperative and other specific ways. But as is obvious from the differences of interests and intensions cooperation involves some loss in terms of time and or benefits. The member who had planned a business trip suffers

some loss when he has to stay back to fulfill a social obligation such as staying with a bereaved neighbor or assisting in the rebuilding of a stricken neighbour's house. Similarly the resolution of some conflictual situation also involves some loss to one or both participants. If two people disagree on where to place a boundary fence one of them must accept some loss of ground if the conflict must be resolved. Even when an arbiter divides the disputed area in equal halves (as often happens in traditional society) someone still loses. The ability to willingly accept these losses which arise from cooperation (social obligation) is to show self-restraint, self-control and sociability. It is to show self-discipline. It is to bring the private interest in tune with the common interest. This attribute in the individual is internal discipline. Now these relationships are regulated by norms. Cooperation and the resolution of conflicts do not just happen. The norms find expression in rules, in regulation, in laws and in mores. Society inculcates these norms in the individual through the process of education, that is through the process of socialization.

The ability and willingness to observe these rules, regulations and laws, without being forced is internal discipline in the members. Thus we see that as the individual members have a double relationship, internal discipline manifests correspondingly in those relationships. In inter-personal relationships it manifests as sociability with all the concomitant implications. In the relationship with the group as a body, internal discipline manifests as obedience of the rules, regulations, laws and other measures of social control. But the political obligation of obedience, as I shall show presently, is a fall out of the social obligation to cooperate. The rules, regulations and laws secure the sociability and cooperation of the members. Thus to be unable and or unwilling to obey is to be unsociable and uncooperative, it is to lack internal discipline. Any member who has this anti-social disposition is brought in line by the application of the sanctions prescribed by the rules and laws. He or she as Rousseau would say is forced to be free; for freedom inheres in the ability to act within the confines of the law.

The rules, regulations, laws, and other unspoken forms of pressure, which convey public disapprobation are the essential elements of external discipline. External discipline is then an attribute of the society as such. In political terms it is the attribute of the state. This is why the state is said to have the monopoly of the use of legitimate force. Any individual or partial society within the state can use force but only the state uses it legitimately; by which we understand that the state embodies the lawful force of the community. The use of the sanctions prescribed by the laws, that is, the use of coercion to achieve social order is to exercise external discipline.

A skeptic may object to this positive image of a political community and ask why an individual who is described as independent should be sanctioned for pursuing his/her independence. To this I will reply that experience teaches us that a persons membership in a community creates expectations in other members, not only with regard to how individuals should behave towards each other and towards the rules, but also with regard to how the group should behave towards its members. For instance the traffic law in Nigeria says 'drive right'. A law abiding motorist drives right and expects others to do the same. He/she does not expect some other motorist to come tearing down the lane illegitimately before him; thus endangering everyone else using the road. In sanctioning the erring individual the group is taking from him what he/she should have given willingly by dint of his consent to become a member, and which the group expects to give back to him/her in their turn when they will be in need. For instance if the rule of the group is that all members should pay a condolence visit to each bereaved family, by punishing a recalcitrant member who fails in this duty, the group is avowing its intention to condole with that member should he at any time be in need of condolence. This reflects the interaction of duties and rights in society, both arising from the consent to become a member of the society. Thus consent is the root of all obligation.

I had stated the intention above to show that the political obligation to obey is infact a fallout of the social obligation to

cooperate. Membership is the basis of the individual's obligation to society. Individuals consent to become members. As soon as they become members they assume the double relationship with other members of the group and with the group as a body. This double relationship creates expectations in other members and in the group as a body. The duty of meeting these expectations is what I mean by social obligation. Other members of the group expect their fellow members to behave in a certain way which they would not expect from a non-member, that is a member of another group. The members of a group severally expect from each other cooperation, fairness, restraint, self-control and general goodwill, responses which they would not expect, as of right, from an outsider. These reciprocal expectations create a sense of solidarity, security and belonging in the members. This sense of solidarity, of security and of belonging is the essence of fraternity which is the belief in the goodwill of fellow citizens. In a state where this sense of belonging is absent, suspicion, distrust and dissention take its place and democracy cannot flourish (Heater 1960:149). Membership then obliges individuals to meet these expectations, and entitles them to have similar expectations of other members of their society. These reciprocal expectations are the very essence of social obligations.

The political obligation of citizenship, that is, to obey, to participate, and to contribute to the success of the social enterprise, derives from the social obligation of membership. This means that the political obligation of obedience is a secondary derivative of consent, where consent is defined in terms of membership. It is in this sense that individuals do not consent separately to obey the law or to obey a specific regime of government. To take this further, membership confers on citizens the right as well as the obligation to participate in the political processes, that is to say, to participate in the formulation of the rules, regulation and laws which govern their relationship with one another and with their state. The right of participation is thus the ethical basis of the obligation to obey. Thus consent defines membership

which determines social obligation, and social obligation implies political obligations.

Political obligations are then in this sense an attribute of active citizenship and do not mean passive obedience. This form of obedience is to be distinguished from conformity. Active citizenship requires internal discipline both in obedience and in participation. In participation, since every point of view cannot be the basis for public policy, internal discipline is called for when one's point of view is defeated. This is the soul of the majority decision making process. In a democracy every point of view is heard and discussed. Thus dissent is broadly tolerated in the decision process. But after the decision is made, to refuse to obey because one was opposed to the proposition is no longer dissent but lawlessness, and it is this antisocial attitude that calls for external discipline. Thus dissent is not the opposite of consent since individuals are not required to consent to decisions. These are required in voting to assent to or to dissent from a proposition. This is clear from the practice of plebiscites and referendums. These forms of direct political decision making on important political questions by the entire voting population reveal what the democratic process is all about. Between assent and dissent the majority decides the question one way or the other. The voters have the right and opportunity to assent or dissent because they had previously consented to be members of the society. The argument for the majority decision process, from this point of view then, is that consent confers a moral equality, which is the essence of membership, on the consenting members. The rules of fairness and justice require that the more numerous equals should carry the decision. These more numerous equals are what Locke calls the "greater force". The majority may not be right, but their error can only be discovered by the failure of their decision to meet the common good, that is, failure to achieve the desired result for the people jointly and severally.

What I have sketched above is a philosophic and conceptual ideal which is not a problem for traditional primordial society, but is difficult to discern in modern society. But to show that

it is not far-fetched let us consider a concrete and possible scenario from a modern setting. Let us illustrate with actions of motorists at an uncontrolled four-way intersection. Let us say that four drivers arrive at this point from four different directions at roughly the same time. In a society of rational calculating persons all four would stop and take turns crossing the intersection according to the approximate order in which they arrived, with the first to arrive going first, or according to a previously agreed upon order known to all four actors. The point here is that these motorists stop and go in order, not because they love each other, but rather because by stopping and going in order each person avoids injury to him/herself, damage to personal property and possible death. They also avoid liability for damage to each other's property and harm to each other's person. We see fairness in the picture in that the first to arrive crosses first and or in that each person respects the rights of others by adhering to a previously established order. Reciprocity lies in the fact that each stops in the belief that others will behave in a similar way. It is not difficult to see that where the belief in the reciprocal intention of others is lacking individual self-assertion becomes the rule, thus destroying order. In other more concrete areas of social intercourse such as in economic relations fairness comes through in exchange relations.

In the second relationship, that is the relationship between individuals and their state, internal discipline manifests as the act of obeying the law. In the example above the "previously agreed upon order" would represent a rule or law, the violation of which is tantamount to a disruption of social order which calls for external discipline. As a manifestation of internal discipline the act of obeying the laws of one's society should come from an inner disposition of character motivated by a sense of identification and of shared interests with the community and its other members, rather than from the fear of punishment for deviance. A citizen who has that inner disposition of character which I call internal discipline would obey the rules with or without the presence of a police officer guarding the intersections. Those who are not so disposed would obey only when they have to and therefore

out of fear of sanctions. It is actually because of this second set of citizens that the external dimension of discipline, that is external discipline, becomes a necessary factor for the success of the social enterprise. There is thus a necessary and intimate link between internal discipline or the lack of it and external discipline. As I have tried to show above, both arise from membership through consent. It will bear to show this in another way, again using a hypothetical but plausible approach. This approach requires me to abstract an individual from society, place him/her in a possible scenario outside society, and later bring him/her back into society.

Let us assume that an individual finds themselves accidentally cut off from the company of other human beings, lost in the forest. In this situation it can be presumed that as a person already used to the company of other persons in society he/she would desire and strive to reunite him/herself with them. But in the meantime before the hoped for reunion he/she has to contend with the physical conditions in which he/she finds him/herself. Their concern in the forest would be for food, protection from the weather and protection from wild animals. This is to say his immediate concern would be for his/her survival within the environment in which he/she is cast. The difficulties which confront him would be those which arise from the environment. His ability to cope would be determined and limited only by his/her personal ingenuity. In this situation if his/her life is threatened he/she alone logically would determine whether to fight or flee. If to fight he/she would have to rely solely on his ability and on what implements he can improvise for his own defence. If he chooses flight he alone would determine in what direction. If he is hungry, he must make do with whatever his present circumstances and environment afford him. But he does these things and makes these choices without reference to any other person or persons, and this is the critical point. We see here a pure individual removed from the company of others without the restrictions, assistance and support which we take for granted in society. I have by abstracting this man from society given him an independent will to decide his options and a full freedom to put these options into action. In this scenario his

survival is his primary concern, and he has to face these difficulties which arise from his situation all by himself. However, he has unrestricted freedom of decision and action, and is not held back or slowed down by other opinions and viewpoints. He is in spite of the difficulties posed by the hostile environment, a law unto himself.

The scenario above is a perfectly possible one and has been known to happen. While it may be true that this man's isolation may not last for any prolonged period, it is also true that while it lasts the picture of his existence will be as I have painted it above. In his circumstance it seems clear to me that his survival while he was alone in the woods was entirely up to him. It seems also clear to me that he had an absolute unrestricted freedom to determine his actions. This freedom is unrestricted because in making his decisions and putting them into action he neither received inputs from anyone else nor considered any other interests or points of view but his own. Now if we reintegrate him with other persons in society we remove from him the problem of facing his difficulties alone because he is now in a position to receive the support and cooperation of others. But secondly he will not receive the support and cooperation on the same terms that obtained while he was alone lost in the forest. He now needs to adapt to the conditions of social existence, just as he adapted to the conditions in the woods. We see that as soon as he rejoins society his life conditions – aloneness and freedom – are modified. This modification which includes support and cooperation with others in society as well as obedience of the rules is a consequence of his membership in society. The fact of agreeing to become a member under these modified conditions is to consent. This is to accept the conditions of social living, conditions which require our man to restrain the freedom of decision and action which obtained while he was alone in the forest. This restraint is what I call internal discipline. The fact of accepting to be a member and part of society obliges all individuals in a society to restrain themselves. Restraint comes through as cooperation, and as the observation of the norms, rules and regulations of their community. The principle of give and take which is implied

here means that the individuals give up part of their freedom in exchange for the advantages of being part of a community. Restraint and cooperation however are not automatic, given the strength of the concern of individuals for themselves. They are the product of education and socialization. And consent is not a solution for the conflict of interests and freedoms. But it is in my view a first step in finding solutions, a process which leads to the norms, rules, regulations and laws. The use of these regulatory measures to make individuals do what they ought to do, that is to coerce, is what I call the exercise of external discipline. Consent is therefore that factor which brings individuals together in societies, and is thus prior to law. It is commitment on the part of individuals to belong and to cooperate with each other in a common endeavor. It is the act by which the community comes into being. As Ernest Barker puts it “in it, and by it, the people have given themselves the basis of political action by a first democratic act of creation”. (Barker 1952:205).

However while consent brings individuals together in society, it is the institutions, which include particularly the laws which keep society together by imposing discipline. This is to remind us that it is in fact discipline which manifests in the willing obedience and the enforcement of the laws that energizes the society. In the next section I will try to show the relationship between discipline, or rather the absence of it, and corruption.

DISCIPLINE AND THE CORRUPT SOCIETY

I suppose that the first effort here should be to establish the link between corruption and discipline or the lack of it. Every time the word corruption is mentioned most persons think of politicians and police-men. There is no doubt that, within the Nigerian context, these two groups are entirely corrupt. In relation to the politicians the mind goes to the looting of money through various means from the state treasury. For the police, that institution has become synonymous with bribes, collecting of money from motorists (it seems that the sole function of the police is to check vehicle particulars and every police officer is a traffic policeman) and fabricating false charges against innocent citizens. But can they be different

given their embeddedness in Nigerian society?. I shall show in this section that Nigerian society in itself is not only undisciplined, but is corrupt through and through. (This is not to deny that there are still elements, individuals, who are different, and do manage to operate above the general rottenness).

I have defined discipline as that attribute of individuals, of the society, and of the state which creates and makes order possible in the society and the state. In general it shows the society to be law-abiding when it is present, and lawless when it is absent. I have described discipline to be of two dimensions – the internal and the external. Internal discipline is a unique property of the individual citizen which shows up as that internal disposition of character which leads us to describe that citizen as law-abiding, and sociable. Law-abidingness reflects the citizen's relationship with the state, and sociability shows the relationship of the citizen with other citizens. External discipline is the property of the society/community organized in political terms as the state, and is that right and power which the state has to sanction its members who have carelessly or intentionally allowed internal discipline to flag or in whom internal discipline is entirely absent. The absence of internal discipline defines the general notion of criminality. External discipline marks the effort of the group to make the social and political environment livable. Without discipline we see a palpable Hobbesian State of Nature – a fact of the existence of an aggregation of biological human being without the ontological element of civility. It seems to me, and that is the argument of this lecture, that Nigeria has attained that unsavoury distinction described in the immediate past sentence. Most Nigerians (without realizing it) lack internal discipline and the state is ineffective to correct them by the use of the corrective (punitive) prescriptions of the law. This is because those elements of the aggregation called Nigeria who are employed to apply the corrective force of external discipline (the coercive agents of the state) themselves lack internal discipline being as they are drawn from the undisciplined aggregation. The Holy Bible says that the blind

cannot lead the blind. In Nigeria that is the case and both are in danger of falling into the pit or more exactly are in danger of falling over the precipice and smashing into pieces. You cannot make a dirty piece of cloth clean by washing it in dirty water. The effect will be to make the cloth dirtier. I contend that the problem is the unbounded quest for money. Now please there is nothing bad with money itself. The Holy Book makes this clear. The problem does not lie with money, because it “answers all things”, but with the inordinate love of it, which we may call greed.

In the light of the above it would appear that corruption is not only just a matter of stealing money from the coffers of the state or collecting bribes which lead a great many to think of corruption only in relation to politicians and the police, it seems to me that every act of indiscipline which has money for its end is an act of corruption. I therefore define corruption as every act of indiscipline engendered and maintained by the desire to acquire money.

It requires now to show by empirical facts that every facet of Nigeria’s social action accords with the definition of corruption which I have stated above. This will help to convince those who have fallen into the habit of making excuses for Nigeria and for Nigerians. It will also may be help to persuade those who like to compare Nigeria’s history with that of some more developed places like America, with the conclusion that “we will get there someday”. What I want to show now is that, no you will not get there someday because you are not even moving in that direction – the right direction. All facts point in the opposite and wrong direction. The zombie is stumbling to the edge of the precipice.

Consider the mushrooming of ethnic nationalities in the past four/five decades. The sad part of this is that people in their eagerness to establish an identity cannot differentiate between an ethnic nationality and a tribe. It is so very painful to hear people touting their ignorance, to the extent of attempting to invent new languages and new spellings of existing words and making claims which run against all logic. The extreme

effect of this is the development of little fiefdoms where every small village is now a kingdom. This means that people and groups that were originally republican have taken a step backwards into the retrograde world of feudalism. It is such that even titles are increasingly mistaken. For the populations of the erstwhile Eastern Nigeria the ward EZE (with its correlates in other languages of the region) has become the supreme title of these mini kings of the mini village kingdoms. But in its original usage eze was not a political title considering that the peoples of this region had no rulers in the first place, being republican as I have stated above. Eze was an economic title much like the English “Sir”, denoting the recognition of a youngman who has attained success in some area of endeavor. If we consult Ikwerre ethnic usage this should be abundantly clear. These creations of kingdoms and ezes stems from the desire to create autonomous communities and using them to seek the recognition of the government, with all the perks and largesse that go with it. Then while it is true that the other regions had somewhat centralized systems with feudal arrangements and feudal lords that paraded different titles, there has also been a rash of creation of autonomous units, all geared towards recognition from the relevant governments with the perks and largesse that go with recognition. There would appear to be in some places more royal fathers and royal children than ordinary citizens.

Consider the traffic situation in most cities of Nigeria where people routinely use the roads with utter disregard for the regulatory rules, for the men and women in uniform charged with the duty of maintaining order on the roads, and for pedestrians and other road users who pay taxes. Check out in Port Harcourt what happens at Rumuola junction or Rumuokoro roundabout and other junctions and roundabouts where there seem to be permanent traffic jams. The cause is easy and simple to identify. Drivers of commercial vehicles, minibuses and taxis (which have no marks indicating that they are commercial vehicles) routinely park in the roads to pick and drop fares. The government has made good effort to build and beautify these points on the roads, but rather than ease the traffic it creates bottlenecks. The commercial drivers

take up two lanes of a three lane road and three lanes of a four lane road and all other motorists are left to crowd into what remains with horns blaring and the harassed drivers cursing and swearing at each other. The sad part is that these happen under the nose of uniformed policemen who go about collecting money from the commercial drivers. This driving situation gives an ugly and negative impression of the country. The point is that the lawabidingness of any country can easily be discerned from its driving culture. It is the first fact that hits a visitor to that country. The motive factor behind the state of the traffic is the quest for money on the part of both drivers and policemen.

Consider the use of sirens and bullhorns in Nigeria. In rationally organized societies the siren indicates the state rushing to provide relief for the private citizen. It signifies the police hastening to respond to a distress call from a citizen, to check crime, or to prevent a crime. The fire truck uses the siren to clear the way while it rushes to douse flames and to save citizens trapped in a burning building. The ambulance uses the siren to rush an ailing citizen to the emergency. In Nigeria the siren signifies the state rushing to harass the tax payer going about his legitimate business.

Consider a situation where high profile murders go unsolved, which means that lesser murders routinely go unrecognized. I marvel when I watch the activities of agents of social control in more rationally organized societies and see how, assiduously detectives and investigators pursue the killings of citizens, even when such citizens may be considered insignificant, to a logical conclusion. Think that an investigator assigned to a case follows all leads and keeps plodding away at the case even if it takes him/her more than twenty years. It is humbling to see how forensic experts use insects to determine time of death, use dirt or skin tissue caught under the finger nail to determine the possible culprit and are able to determine how the victim died from looking at the eyes. Think for a while about a victim who dies in a fire with his whole family and yet there is no sign or evidence of smoke in their lungs. Even to a lay man like me this shows

that they were already dead before the fire. The investigator from a rationally organized society knows from this evidence that the whole family was murdered and pursues his/her case from there. In Nigeria the case dies without much ado and the zombie goes stumbling on.

Consider a situation where the executive routinely disobeys judicial orders, carrying on as if the judiciary does not exist and finds men of letters who make every attempt to rationalize the irrational even when the constitution has been violated; a situation akin to dictatorship rather than a democracy. In this situation the ideas of separation of powers and of checks and balance are thrown out of the door and the zombie goes stumbling on.

Consider a situation where the judiciary flip-flops on issues with scant regard for judicial precedent even when that precedent is coming from a pronouncement from the Supreme Court. When judicial officers fail to adhere to the dictates of law which include the observation of judicial precedents the body politic is in danger. Think of the judiciary making political decisions which cannot be validated by any theory of politics. Take the instance of ordering that a man who did not contest an election should be sworn into office even when that was not the prayer before the court. The justification for that judgment was that the voters voted for the party. In the Nigerian system, this was a great error. In the Nigerian system political parties present single candidates for single positions and the electors vote for or reject the individual presented. This is the practices in most systems which operate the presidential system of democracy. It is possible for supporters of a party to dislike a particular candidate and to not vote for him/her, as is the case in the current election process in the United States, where the polls show that the candidates of the two main parties are not liked by significant proportions of their party supporters. However people vote for parties in systems which run the proportional representation system as is the case in Israel. In this system the parties present slates and the electorate votes for the parties on the basis of their manifestoes. Each party has its

candidates elected on the basis of the proportion of the votes it secures at the end of the election. The judiciary ought to know this which is why lawyers should be grounded in political sciences, since political philosophy is infact the basis of all law. An act of indiscipline of this kind when it comes from the supreme court, for whatever political or ideological reasons, opens the gate for large scale corruption. It could and did lead to a candidate so favoured to claim that he/she owes the electorate no responsibility considering that he was put in office by the court and not by the votes of the electorate. This was and remains an abuse of the democratic process. I might point out that it is in this kind of regard that the traditional democratic process is far superior to what is today touted as democracy. The traditional system, when it is not corrupted by corrupt elements from the modern system, sticks to age old tradition, dispensing justice as the tested traditions of the past prescribe. These traditions are infact what the modern system describes as judicial precedents. The failure of that particular set of justices of the Supreme Court gave some impetus to the zombie and still plagues the soulless stumble of the Nigerian state towards the threatening edge of the precipice.

Consider a situation where sensitive and strategic positions in government, in business, in commerce and industry and even in institutions of education are made on the basis of ethnic affiliations, religious/cult affiliation and on the basis of plumb plain cronyism. People who have no adequate training or life experience are put in positions which they naturally cannot handle. The effect can be seen all over, for they serve not the good of the institutions but the good of their pockets and the profit of the appointing principals. This is true of Nigeria and is not surprising considering the nature of Nigeria's civil society. In more rationally organized places the civil society is made up of interest groups, organisations whose concerns must always be held in view. Nigeria's civil society is made up of clumps of ethnic units whose concerns are limited to the ethnic unit. Therefore in Nigeria when appointments go beyond the ethnic concentration they fall upon cronies who share the same concern with the appointer – their pockets.

Consider the activities of a lecturer who accepts to teach a course, appears in class twice or thrice in a whole semester and then sets an examination which cannot be answered from the lecture notes, such as they are, or from the textbooks recommended and sold to the students. Think of a lecturer who sets an examination allowing the students two or three hours to write the paper then stops them and collects the papers after 30 minutes or one hour and sends the course representative on his/her way – a practice which also creates room for unscrupulous course reps to fleece their wool. Then think of teachers in secondary and primary schools who create special centres within their schools for “special candidates” who have paid to be “special”. I wonder who invented the word “sorting” in relation to examinations and grades in the Nigerian education system. In the light of this practice is there any reason to ask why the standard of education is falling or why the country produces graduates who can hardly write their names or leaders who do not understand the word inclusive.

Consider a situation where importers commission producers in foreign countries to produce for them inferior goods which they the importers present and sell to their unsuspecting countrymen as the real McCoy at the price of the real thing. Consider the array of products of different grades and quality. You are told this is “original”, this is “Taiwan” and this is whatever other name. Why do we not have one product which is the real thing, the “original”? Can we have a greater degree of indiscipline or a greater show of corruption? consider the erratic and irrational changes in prices of goods in the markets and stores. In better organized places prices rise and fall ever so slowly by pennies and cents; guided by supply and demand such that the private citizen is able to plan his/her life. In Nigeria prices are increased according to the whims and caprices of traders. The tragedy is that when the prices go up they do not ever come down again. All this goes for good business. Nigeria defies all theories of economics, all in the name of money. When apprentices are taught business they are taught how to tell lies, how to deceive and how to cheat.

Consider a situation in which little girls in Junior Secondary School visit a native doctor so he prepares charms for them which they put in their special area, so that if any man in the event of a storm docks his ship in that haven he will be obliged to return again and again to that haven whenever a storm threatens and as he docks he pays the requisite rent. Of course if his ship over-stays he pays for extended mooring. Think of the degree of indiscipline and corruption in that society which drives its youth in the ways of such vices including cultism (actually youth gangs turned violent) and kidnapping for ransom. These would appear to have become the norm in Nigeria and I mean in Nigeria and nowhere is safe. The sad part of kidnapping is that children kidnap even their parent to make the other parent cough out the desired amount. The devil will rejoice at the state of perversion in this hapless realm. Consider a situation where a group of young brigands hire a bus, drive into a motor park and gather a group of fare-paying travellers who become kidnap victims. The sad part of this is that where the police manage to catch these criminals they the police are unable to distinguish between the criminals and the victims perhaps for their own purposes. It is disheartening that infact even when the police, after extensive torture that lasts for up to two weeks, are convinced about the innocence of the victims, they the victims who are headed for lengthy stays in hospital on account of the torture, are made to bail themselves for large sums of money. The victim's friends and family pay for fear of the victim being sent to prison, branded a kidnapper.

Consider a situation where men and women use their parent, siblings, wife/husband, and child or children for ritual sacrifices in order to acquire wealth. And when this fails they resort to plain robbery, killing and maiming innocent citizens with careless abandon. If any here is offended by my words, think that uniport has just lost a very handsome, very senior non-academic colleague and his driver to highway brigands, products of a society gone terribly awry.

Consider the entertainment scene. In societies from which the film industry began they first learned to put their right foot

forward. That is they presented a positive image of their societies. There were satires alright, but they found a way inspite of the failings of their system to present their leaders, their army, and their sports man as heroes. But in Nigeria what we see on the screen all the time is a grotesque parody of the illustrious traditional past. You see quaint looking juju priests with grotesque facial markings looking downright silly. The language reflects a distinct ignorance of the social and religious usages of the past. The true juju priest of old recognized the truth and primacy of God Almighty and the truth of His creative work, hence the names Chukwu (Chiukwu), in Kalabari Oputamuno, and Chiokike. The real juju priest made obeisance to this Great God, and even while touting the potency of his god; proclaimed his fealty to the only true God. What has happened to Nigeria's history, at least in sports? How many people of the present generations know that Nigeria has produced world boxing champions? How many know that a Nigerian team led by Kanu Nwankwo won the Olympic gold medal in the USA. How many know of Hogan kid Bassey later Hogan King Bassey after he won the world title? What of Dick Tiger who was the world champion in two different weight divisions? It is on record that the Great Mohammed Ali had said in his hay days that "Tiger and I are the greatest boxers in the world". But money is the language and as long as it comes in there is no point exploring other and new ideas. The current ideas though present Nigerians as an unbelievably fetish people. It is so bad that even neighbouring countries like Ghana ask whether Nigerians are really as fetish as this. When money takes the stage art goes out through the back door. This is also true of the music scene. Much of what goes for music here is any cacophony of sounds from clashing instruments and lyrics of frightening lewdness rendered from voices that were never intended for singing nor trained to sing. When the artist who sang "Osondi Owendi" did his bit he gave us a message of tolerance, that essential element of social reality which I have described as give and take, a veritable element of internal discipline. Literally the title of that music reminds us that there are two sides to every matter. It will please some, but it will also vex others. Figuratively it reminds us of different

strokes for different folks. But when the young artist of this generation remade that music he rendered it as a message of antagonism, of division and of spite. “Onye onaso ya sogbue ya, onye onewe ya wegbue ya. This might be translated as whoever it pleases let him enjoy it to the fullest, and whoever it offends can go to hell.

Throughout history love and sex have been the subject of poetry and song. In the past, with only few deviations here and there, poets, song-writers and minstrels have rendered these two passions with sensitive nuances and euphemistic verbiage in order not to offend public morality and sensibility. But not the Nigerian musician some of whom care little for what the public thinks or feels. To listen to the lurid and uncouth language that is used one wonders if this singer has a mother. But may be since the act brings in money, the mother could not be bothered with niceties. Clearly vice pays since it appeals to the animal pre-social instincts in all men. Plato avers that there is a little devil, an arrant spirit, in all of us. But human and social development does not inhere in giving free rein to this spirit, but in the control of it through education of the socialization variety. A child who has had good home-training will be a little chary in the use of language even in the hunt for money and other good things of life.

Consider a situation where religion has become a business and incorporated companies have become churches, while well educated and polished conmen as well as half educates who are unable to appreciate the language of the King James Version of the Bible, for which reason they preach heresy, masquerade as men of God. I recall a conversation with a colleague who spoke so illustriously of his G.O. He was thrilled that this good G.O. had vowed that he was not going to build his personal house until the house of the Lord was completed. What my adoring colleague does not realize is that the house of the Lord is infact the G.O.’s personal property and his means of production which must be developed if the business must go on and continue to yield profit. I did not tell my colleague this. Why disillusion him? This of course does

not exonerate the organized churches to one of which I belong. About this I will simply say that it is sad that the priesthood has become a profession in which the priest develops a career, rather than a vocation. These days when people lose their secular jobs they become “called” into the ministry of the church; where their hundred percent attention is on money for which they are ready to do unpriestly things.

Consider the attitude of trade union leaders and the use of strikes. Sadly when some people read the communist manifesto they think they have understood Marx, not realizing that that slim volume is what it says it is, a manifesto. The full title is *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and it states what this party intends to do if it gets into office. Marx’s later understanding of strikes, given the development of capitalism, he called “economism” which translates into actions by trade unions to better the welfare of their members. In more rationally organized places the strike is used to bring the employer to the negotiating table. The strike is not intended to destroy the organization which employs the members of the union. The union going on strike keeps the strike as short as possible for three reasons. The first is of course that the union does not intend to destroy the employing organization. The second is that immediately the union calls out its members on strike the salaries and wages of the union members come to a stop and there will be no question of going back to ask for it. Workers are paid for work done. The employer accepts the loss of production during the period of the strike and this does not include payment of wages for work not done. The third reason for keeping the strike short is that the “strike fund” is limited for its purposes. The strike fund is that money checked off from the workers pay. The major purpose of this fund is for the union to provide a living stipend to its members during the period of the strike. That is why it is called the strike fund. It is not a fund which the union executive spends on itself during the period of the strike. Think about it. The fact that in Nigeria the union executive spends the strike fund on itself and its activities serves as an obscene incentive to call strikes at the drop of a pin. For the same reason the executive has an

interest in keeping the strike as long as it can, all the while refusing to engage in meaningful negotiation. On the other hand the longer the strike lasts in Nigeria the more the workers suffer and go into debt. During a strike that lasts as long as six months some workers die out of stress and those who survive by borrowing continue to pay for years afterwards. It is a sad fact of a zombie population that they have a few yes-members pushed by misguided radicalism who support them. These provide the noisy “rabble”, as Hegel would say, who shout down all attempts at reason in the union meetings. The truth is that if there were no strike fund there would be much fewer eager union leaders. Like every other thing Nigerian any man or woman who aspires for office from a course rep to the top-most office has an eye on what they will get; not on service. For workers in Nigeria let me say this word, it is next to impossible, given the structure and composition of Nigeria’s civil society, to bring down a federal Nigerian government through a strike. Infact experience has shown that the effect of a strike on the government is minimal. The striking workers if they are not industrial workers end up hurting the general public and, if they are teachers, the wards entrusted to them. It is futile pretending that you are fighting for them. The general public has a different view.

Consider the quality of industrial products, especially products of the import substitution variety. Let us look at two only. Take the most popular soft drink. Place the product that comes from the plant in Nigeria beside the foreign product. It is contained in the same bottle as that from Europe, America and other parts of the world including Africa. Take a good look. It is different in colour, in texture and in taste. In colour, it has a lighter hue, in texture it is more watery and in taste it is more sugary. Then take the toothpaste. It is contained in a similar looking tube and why not the local tube and the foreign tube are produced outside hence the similarity. But look at the contents. The paste from outside is different in colour, in texture, and in taste. In colour the foreign product has a darker hue, in texture the foreign product comes out as a firm gel, in taste it is more pleasant to the palate. This

comparison can be replicated for many other products. But the fraud goes for good business. After all the profits are coming in.

I have tried in this section to touch upon different spheres of Nigeria's national life. It is of course impossible to deal with every particular and detail. But I believe that I have produced enough evidence to show that there is a high level of indiscipline in Nigeria and that this indiscipline is in the main generated and sustained by the quest for money and wealth. The individual private citizens show to a high degree that internal discipline is absent. This lack of internal discipline reflects in the weakness of the state and the ineffectiveness of the laws, for those operatives of the state who ought to apply the force of the state to inflict external discipline, themselves lack internal discipline. This means that the soul of the state Nigeria is dead. What is left is a corrupt society strictly speaking without direction. In the next section I shall try to show how this corrupt entity redounds on the quality of leadership which it produces.

THE CORRUPT SOCIETY AND LEADERSHIP

Every time I hear or read the statement that Nigeria's problem is the problem of leadership it makes me think. Over time I have come to the conclusion that this view seems wrong. The leadership of any country does not grow on a tree from which it can be plucked nor can it be imported into that country from outside, unless the country is under colonialism. This means that the leadership of a country is a product of the country and is usually drawn from that country. If this is true, and I think it is incontrovertibly true, then the leadership of a country will have the values of that society from which it is drawn. We often hear people talk about the character of the Nigerian state, a character which they cannot explain because the Nigerian state is separated from the Nigerian society as if this state is an alien entity. But it is not. During the very long ASUU strike a colleague in another discipline (outside the social sciences), a partisan of that fruitless strike, was harping on why the Nigerian state must be brought down. In doing so he kept using the expression "the state in specificity" and

would not let me put in a coherent word. To bring the conversation to a close I asked him what he knows about “the state in generality”. He is by the way a very smart man, made a first class in his discipline and finished his first degree from Uniport the same year that we did. I mention his achievement because a man with a first class ought to be sure of himself. And he was. Being sure of oneself also implies being honest, intellectually honest. And he was. When I asked about the state in generality he confessed that he knew nothing about it and the discussion came to an end, not without some heat. But if he had allowed me I would have told him that you cannot bring down the Nigerian state without dissolving the Nigerian society as it is currently constituted. You may be able to do it some other way, but certainly not through a strike. By the way the strike has been used too often to be effective or useful for any meaningful achievement.

In the course of this lecture I have mentioned the relationship between the law and the state. I have said that the law is in fact the substance of the state. Now with regard to the law the natural law doctrine teaches us that the law should be the same everywhere. But because of differences in culture and in traditions what is positive law differs from place to place. It follows then that going by the natural law doctrine what we call the state should also be the same every where. This gives way for the theory of the state qua state, that is the idea of the state in generality. By this we understand that the state is the same everywhere. But we also know that there are differences of culture and traditions, which means that human beings as collectives differ one from another. This means also that the configuration of social forces, including the forces for social control, will differ from place to place. This leads to the idea of the state in specificity. The state as a specific reflects the society from which it has arisen. Sometimes when people comment on these matters they confuse the state with the managers of the state, that is what we call the government, whom we may also call the leaders of the state. The argument here is that these leaders are drawn from the relevant society and therefore carry all the values of that society. What the society is then is what the leadership will be. You cannot

plant yams and expect to reap plantains. Like begets like. As we say in Ikwerre “agwo yomuriri ha toruogologo” which is to say that the snake must beget something long. Or as we say in Ngwa “agu ngaimu whe ndata-aruru” which is to say that the tiger, the big cat, must beget something that bites. If the society is undisciplined and corrupt it will produce leaders that are undisciplined and corrupt. The difference between one set of leaders and another will be a matter of degree. If the society is disciplined and upright it will produce leaders of the same colour. It also happens to be true that every system develops a life of its own and once developed it is difficult to change. Nigeria is not different. We have shown above, drawing from different spheres of national life, that because of indiscipline engendered and sustained by irrational pursuit of money, this life of indiscipline has become a national culture. This is why if you enter an office to see the executive you are expected to offer a bribe to the clerks and messengers. If you do not offer it willingly you are asked “are you not a Nigerian?” This culture of indiscipline and corruption has taken a life of its own. The fact that this life cannot easily be changed is reflected in the policy process of the government, who in recognition of this culture include in their project estimates what is called “the Nigerian factor”. Agwo yomuriri ha toruogologo. The leadership is a mirror image of that society that produces it, complete with all the strengths and weaknesses of that system. Nigeria, the zombie, has been shuffling and stumbling inexorably, towards the edge of the precipice.

However, it does happen that in spite of the failings of a society and its leadership the Almighty God in His divine mercy does offer a dispensation from time to time to correct the evil ways of the society. Plato hinted at this in relation to philosophy and rulers. Now when this occurs the Godsent has two problems to contend with. The first is the life of error which the society has taken on and which hardens as the days go by. The second is the possibility of this “Prince” making a certain kind of mistake. Machiavelli is particular on this point. Nigeria in my view has had four of these chances and has lost all four through a combination of the above factors.

There have been Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, General Murtala Mohammed, General Babatunde Idiagbon and Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan.



In 1966 Major Nzeogwu led a group of five majors, himself included, in a coup which removed the civilian federal government in an attempt to halt the rut that had set in. In the end General Aguiyi Ironsi formed the first military government and this government did not include any of the coup makers. Maybe because Ironsi was not a part of the coup and did not understand the philosophy of the coup he ran a most inept administration. Perhaps because Ironsi took office, this coup has been called an Igbo coup which is a factual inexactitude. I say this for two reasons. First Ironsi himself was listed by the coup makers to be killed. But the officer who executed the coup in Lagos botched the coup and Ironsi escaped. The rest of the happenings are now history. The second reason is that all regions of the country at that time were represented in the planning and execution of the coup, which makes it the first and only national coup in Nigeria. But the myth that that coup was an Igbo coup still persists, perhaps because history is written by the victor, not by the vanquished.

Nzeogwu's error was in conceding leadership to Ironsi. Not being part of the coup Ironsi could not have appreciated the philosophy of the coup. When a person does not know the source of power and the argument that brought it about he/she just cannot exercise that power adequately. Nzeogwu ought to have marched south and settled Ironsi's harsh once and for all. He had at his disposal the substance of the Nigerian army

at Kaduna, and these were already under his control. Machiavelli would have scored him an “F” for conceding power to another. The would be prince does not prop up the pretensions of another. However General Ironsi was killed barely six months, after he came to power in July of the same year in what was called a counter coup, but which had all the markings of ethnic and regional bigotry written all over it. Thus to all intents and purposes the Nzeogwu coup was a failure. This failure returned the country to the status quo. And the zombie went stumbling on.

Then enter General Murtala Mohammed, a very handsome charismatic and very well-liked leader who from the beginning made it his mission to put Nigeria’s ship of state back on an even keel. Under this prince Nigeria had begun to stand upright when fate obscenely intervened. Roman mythology tells us that those whom the gods love die young. It was the same with Gen. Mohammed. The twin factors that I mentioned above caught up with him. The system that resists positive change crept in but he would have overcome the attack if he had not made a mistake. The good general forgot, or did not know that once you become a leader of people, you no longer belong to yourself but to the cause. His mistake was that knowing he was loved he forgot that there were elements who had a different sentiment. It is not for nothing that Plato recommends special care for rulers. Mohammed’s ultimate error was to drive himself, without an escort or security detail – a good example but a misplaced one. Nigerians met him at the third mainland bridge and killed him there. Nigerians I say, did not Dimka say “we are together?” (except me, I don’t know about you). With his death General Murtala Mohammed’s dreams, plans and intentions for Nigeria perished on that bridge, throwing Nigeria back to the status quo. And the zombie went stumbling on.

General Babatunde Idiagbon. This gentleman’s prominence in this lecture requires to be explained before I continue. He was the second in commend in that administration, more like a Prime Minister in a civilian administration where the principal was more or less of a ceremonial status, having all

the powers but remaining in the background. General Tunde Idiagbon was the face of the administration and bore all the opprobrium attaching to that junta. Idiagbon is remembered particularly for that war against indiscipline (WAI) which almost turned Nigeria into an up-standing state of persons. In a short while after taking office Idiagbon had turned Nigeria into a place where people recognized and practiced the marking of internal discipline. Everywhere at bus stops, post offices, banks and other public places where people were wont to gather for their daily needs, Nigerians had learned to take their turn and to practice the principles of accommodation and of give and take, those attributes of a law-governed society. Idiagbon's war was an activity in which ALL Nigerians engaged. The war against indiscipline and corruption, (WAIC), a policy introduced by the civilian regime of 1999 ended as a policy before the ink in which the policy was drafted had dried. The current war against corruption (WAC) which has the slogan "chance begins with me" has already ended merely as a slogan. It is the tenacity and dedication with which Idiagbon pursued his vision, a tenacity and dedication for which he was vilified, and which prompted a professor now here prevent to describe his rule as "mindless authoritarianism", that earns him a place in this roll of disciplinary honour. But Idiagbon made a mistake, a mistake for which Machiavelli would like to spank him. General Idiagbon forgot that he had a state to run and went to church in Mecca. The sad part is that at that time the Nigerian economy had not undergone the current change, and could have easily afforded to build a mosque as large as this unipark campus. Before the benediction was said in Mecca he had been overthrown by men who could not so much as look at his face while he was around in Nigeria. What I think of that overthrow cannot be articulated or stated in genteel gathering of this nature. Any partisan of discipline would feel personally violated. But see the power and strength of character of that man. Having overthrown him the posh makers asked him not to return to Nigeria. His response was I have done nothing wrong, and 'I agree with him. At the end of his Hajj Idiagbon promptly jumped the plane and landed in Murtala Mohammed airport in Lagos in broad day-light. Now

the first act of them who overthrew him was to abrogate the decree which established the war against indiscipline. Many Nigerians applauded and the zombie went stumbling on.

The career of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan calls to mind the words of Mark Anthony at the funeral of Julius Caesar. The evil that men do lives after them. For Jonathan it is the good that men don't do lives after them but the good that they do dies after them. Jonathan did not build an Apian way from Abuja to Otuoke for which reason even an Ogbia man describes him as a disaster. But this lecture is about Nigeria and it is in the context of Nigeria that I situate his stint in office. Some are born great, some achieve greatness and yet some others have greatness thrust upon them. The third group would consider Jonathan their member. Here is a youngman from the smallest village in the smallest local government in the smallest state in the country lifted clearly by the divine mind to a position which he neither wished nor contended for, a position for which many would kill. He needed a great lot of persuasion to accept. Those who look beyond the physical must see that the Lord God had something in mind both to do and to teach. For those of us who believe that nothing happens without the knowledge of the Divine it is instructive to bear this in mind Jonathan made no pretense of fighting corruption. Infact he is credited with the statement that corruption is not just a matter of stealing money. This shows that he understood the intractable nature of corruption in Nigeria. This is why he is far better informed than his critics, some of whom do not have this perception. He functioned within the corrupt milieu. Not being a military ruler he did not have the instrument of raw force at his disposal. His economic transformation agenda was his focus. To keep oil, the mainstay of the economy, flowing he awarded a contract to a man who had the wherewithal to keep the entire pipelines safe. Many who are educated and should be knowledgeable criticize him for this, buying into the propaganda of a political party. But security contracts are a common place in the world. The United States of America employed security contractors in Afghanistan and in Iraq and perhaps other places where they are needed. Jonathan awarded a contract, not an underhand

deal, a contract signed sealed and delivered. By this measure he kept the oil flowing and salaries were paid, states received their allocation, and the country met its external commitments. It is on record that during his stint he and his team which included economic minds from Harvard and other star institutions raised the economy of Nigeria to the first position in Africa. In that period Nigeria's economy became the largest economy in Africa. Who knows what has become of it in the past one year. It is probably somewhere near the bottom of the barrel.

Jonathan's enduring legacy lies not in how he came to power and not in what he did or did not do while in office, but in how he left office. In conceding the election Jonathan displayed a degree of patriotism hitherto unknown in Nigeria and many countries of Africa. In doing so he brought to the fore lessons which rulers everywhere need to imbibe and copy. When he conceded the election he defused tensions so palpable that they could almost be touched and pulled Nigeria back from the brink of what might have become a physical fight with the concomitant loss of lives and property. As the incumbent president has stated several times, Jonathan could have made things very very difficult if he had wanted to for it was obvious that he did not just lose an election, it would appear that he was overthrown. He discomfited members of his own party who had fixed a meeting with him at 6:00pm, after not doing their bit for him, by conceding the election at 5:00pm. Those who watched the activities of his disengagement from office as I did must have read more from his body language than from the spoken words. While others showed clear signs of disappointment and grief he was relaxed and smiling. His message, not stated in words, was to my mind, since you do not want me to rule you then have it your way. You want change here take change. It is in this attitude of mind and mien, not expressed in so many words as I have put it here, that his legacy lies. How often have we seen rulers not just in Africa but also in Europe and elsewhere hang unto power over a people that do not want to be ruled by them. Here history is our teacher and should be to rulers all

over the world who would insist in laying the burden of their rule over people who desire freedom.

In 1648 the treaty of Westphalia brought the thirty years war to an end. In doing so it also brought the old system of empires to an end, creating the current nation state system in Europe. By that treaty Europe was broken into small manageable national communities of self-governing entities. The smallest I believe is Iceland a tiny country of about 330000 people (about a tenth of the population of Portharcourt). The 13 colonies of America wanted independence from England and they got it. Those who have watched the American war of independence will marvel at how a ragtag army of farmers and sheep rearers defeated the best trained, best equipped, most efficient and disciplined fighting force in the world – the British army. The forces of schism are still everywhere. On the British Isles Scotland desires to leave the United Kingdom. In last Year's referendum they lost by about 2% of the votes. The loss was a fallout of their connection with the EU. But now the same day that England voted to leave the EU, the first minister of Scotland openly stated her intention to pull Scotland out of the UK. The Scottish representative in the European parliament made an impassioned speech in that parliament asking Europe not to disappoint Scotland. He received a standing ovation. Sadly the current British Prime Minister Theresa May does not seem to have learned from history. She thinks that the name of her party is a sufficient argument for keeping Scotland in a union which they have struggled over the years to get out of. Theresa May says that her party's name is the Liberal Party of the Union. I think she should borrow experience from Nigeria. The NCNC was the National Convention of Nigeria and Cameroon. When English speaking Cameroon was excised from Nigeria in a questionable referendum the NCNC changed its name to the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens. Theresa May can follow this example because Scotland will go. She cannot impose her rule and the dominance of her people on Scotland forever. The same story is playing out in Spain. The Catlanders desire freedom from Spain and election after local

election they are sizing up their strength and as soon as they feel strong enough they will make their play in the form of a referendum for independence from Spain.

The point is that, as shown in the 30 years war and the result of its end, when any group of people are looking for exit from a system perceived to be pernicious to their national interest they will get it, sooner or later, but ultimately. This is a fallout of the theory of nationalism. It is that the only free people are those people who perceive themselves to be ruled by themselves. Jonathan saw this, I do not know whether by instinct or by positive knowledge, after all he has a Ph.D, who knows what and what he has read over time. Theresa May should borrow from Jonathan. However like the other three Machiavelli would judge Jonathan to have made a mistake. His mistake lies in the fact that he did not realize or forget that gentlemen do not rule states. Machiavelli would recommend that the ruler show the redness of his eyes from time to time. May be Jonathan should have laced his niceness with a sprinkle of ruthlessness from time to time. He did not and therefore fell prey to the doings of the corrupt system.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

After all, the diatribe about Nigerian society someone will ask, now what? Given the nature of the society which I have defined fighting corruption will not be a question of arresting a few people trying them and sending them to prison. If this method is followed then the prisons in Nigeria will be too small to take all corrupt people in Nigeria. Actually assuming the state builds more prisons, there will be far more people in prison than outside.

If Nigeria must change every one, man, woman, and child who calls themselves Nigerian must change one by one. This is where Tunde Idiagbo's WAI would have become useful. But Idiagbo is no longer here and Mr. Buhari is no longer a soldier, though if he were I am not sure his party members being Nigerian would let him do it. So do I see Nigeria and Nigerians changing? I think not!!!

Given the lack of discipline, and endemic corruption, the prognosis for Nigeria is dim, its future bleak. One can only hope that when the cataclysmic occurrences which have already begun will intensify and come to a head, the Almighty God in His mercy and for the sake of the remnants will lead those who hold the reins of power away from the paths of false statesmanship and politics into the paths of philosophy and truth. As the Holy Bible says, He that has an ear to hear let him hear. “The unexamined life is not worth living”.

The Greeks did not listen to Socrates and to Plato and have become toady the first industrially developed nation to go bankrupt. The Italians did not listen to Machiavelli and have brought forth a Mussolini who led them to the brink of ruin in the Second World War. The English did not listen to Hobbes (whom they drove into exile) and Locke as they preached the gospel of rights and it lost them their greatest prize possession – the 13 colonies of America. The French nobility did not listen to Rousseau as he preached equality and they experienced a period, as Hegel will say, of great frightfulness and terror and were wiped out. The world did not listen to Marx and ended up with the collapse of 1929. The Germans did not listen to Marx and their system threw up a Hitler and had their country and its capital divided into East and west for decades.

Omar Khayam says:

The moving finger writes and having writ
moves on, and not all your tears, and not all
your weeping can change one jot or tittle of it.

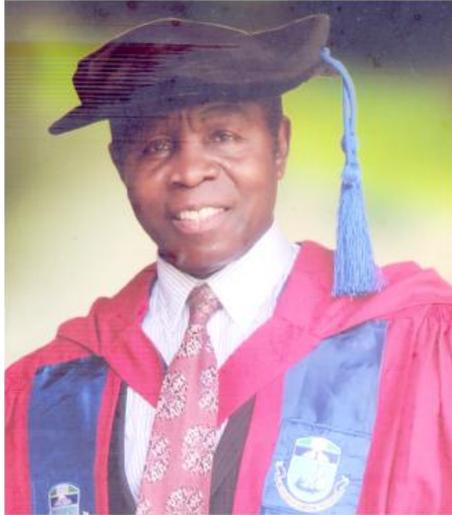
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**CITATION ON
PROFESSOR EMENIKE CHIBUIKE NDU**



Professor
Emenike

Ndu was born in Elemenwo, in Evo Clan, in Obio Akpor Local Government Area of Rivers State, into the family of the Reverend Canon Lawson Ngbachikwere and Mrs. Esther Akudinma Ndu. He breezed through primary school at St. Thomas Anglican School, Umuosu, Nsulu, in Isiala Ngwa North Local Government Area of Abia State. After primary school he was admitted into Government Secondary School, Owerri (GSSO).

While in Owerri Ndu was active in the Student Christian Movement (SCM) an organization which shaped his young mind in the direction of the TRUTH. He was also active in sports. He represented Owarri house in the sprints and once in the mile race in which he came in third (There were only three competitions). Ndu was a member of the boxing club and represented the school several times during the school's "Western tours". He was a regular in Owerri house's football and cricket teams.

In 1980 Professor Eme C. Ndu registered for the undergraduate programme here in UNIPORT in the then

School of Social Sciences, in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies. In 1984 he graduated with first class honours. That year he was the best graduating student in Political and Administrative Studies, the best graduating student in the Faculty of Social Sciences and the best graduating student in the University, of Port Harcourt. His graduating CGPA of 4.74 stood as the record in UNIPORT for close to 30 years. He was retained in the department for the one-year national service (NYSC) courtesy of Prof. Eme. Ekekwe, Prof. Kimse Okoko and Prof. Claude Ake.

In 1986 Professor Ndu was admitted into the University of Toronto, Canada's premier university and one of the best 5 universities in all of North America. He also won the UofT Open Scholarship as well as the University's Teaching Assistantship. He was adjudged and Published the best graduate student for three consecutive years and with this recognition came also the Ontario Graduate Scholarship followed by the foreign student's fee waiver scholarship which enabled a foreign student to pay the same fees as Canadian citizens. He received his MA and Ph.D degrees from the UofT, the Ivy League university of the North. Upon graduating Ph.D he was appointed lecturer in the Department of Political Science of the same University. He held this appointment until he returned home in 1994.

Since taking a formal appointment as lecturer in this university in 1994, Professor Ndu has been Head of Department, warden of Claude Ake Hall, member, university Time-Table committee, chairman, Local Organising committee NPSA Annual Conference at Uniport, member university committee on illegal lecturers, member university sub-committee for the Diploma Programme between Uniport and CASS, Faculty Time-Table Officer.

A committed researcher and teacher Professor Eme Ndu has 48 publications to his name. These include two books, seven monographs, chapters in books and articles in local and international journals.

Outside the University Professor Ndu has been Secretary/Accountant of Decon Group Ltd., Special Assistant to the Director, Rivers State Schools Management Board, on Salary Administration, secretary Obio and Port Harcourt schools management committees.

He entered the Ordained Ministry of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) in 1998 and rose from Deacon to the rank of Venerable Archdeacon. In this period he served as protocol officer and Special Assistant to the Bishop of the Diocese of Niger Delta North and later Archbishop of the Ecclesiastical Province of Niger Delta. The Venerable Professor Eme Ndu also served as Rector of St. Andrews Deanery, Archdeacon of Ikwerre South Archdeaconry and Rector of St. Marks deanery.

Professor Emenike Chibuike Ndu is married to Mrs. Linda Chigbo Ndu, an Alumna of this University. Together they have 5 children all of whom but one are alumni of this university.

Vice-Chancellor, Sir, it is my honour and privilege to present to you this committed academic, the 134th Inaugural Lecturer of this University, Professor Emenike Chibuike Ndu.

Professor Boniface Enyeribe Nwigwe
Orator