Power: Its transient nature and the lessons of history; an appraisal of Nigeria's Second Republic Political elites (1979-1983)

<u>Authors:</u>	Abstract
Udochu Eke <u>&amp;</u>	It is well established that Power is transient. This by implication means that every position of power and authority ultimately has a start and an end. Thus, after
Are Tajudeen Abiola	sixty-two years of her post-independence as a nation, Nigeria has experienced eight (7) democratic and eight (8) military leaders and political transition which are respectively unique and distinctively underscores the intringence of power and government in Nigeria
<u>Affiliation:</u>	the intricacies of power and governance in Nigeria. This paper beams search light on the transient nature
School of General Studies Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike Abia State	of power and lessons it offers through history as a subject matter. The major plank for this searchlight is Nigeria's Second Republic political elites. This paper aims at inquiring and appraising Nigeria's second republic political elites and gladiators (1979-1983). Thus, the paper tends to unravel and underscore the transient nature of their held power. This research paper is based on combined qualitative and quantitative research methodologies and included distinct political elites of the past, after forty four years of their holding sway as members the ruling class in Nigeria. The paper seems to build theory around the concept of elite theory. Key findings of the paper include that: there exists a strong and unarguable
	stance to such extent that Power should be underscored at all levels of leadership to be transient to such extent that it should remind contemporary leaders that every position of power and authority ultimately has a start and an end, which confirms the saying that no condition is permanent and as such should advisably live to serve and add value to humanity than become elites amongst that fellow human beings as if tomorrow will never come.

**Keywords**: Power, Transient, History, Authority, Democratic, Military, Leadership

## Introduction

This paper on Power: its transient nature and the lessons of history; an appraisal of Nigeria's Second Republic Political elites (1979-1983) engages in an inquiry of power and its transient nature with regards to holders of Political office and Nigeria's political elites. It investigates and gauges the incumbency capital and influenceof Nigeria's past leaders, this is with the view of unraveling and bringing to the fore the ephemeral nature of power. The paper is therefore anchored on three considerations:

First is that the fundamental essence of the study of traditional and contemporary political institutions is substantially premised upon power. Cartwright posits that Power is a fundamental aspect of everyday social life (Cartwright, 1959). Russell seemingly seemed to corroborate the Cartwright stance as he maintains that "The laws of social dynamics are laws which can only be stated in terms of power". (Russell, 1938, p. 10).To this end, Nigeria is considered as a major arena for political contestation of power and power struggle. Hence, the paper in essence offers a historical hint of Nigeria's political elites of the second republic which lasted between 1979 and 1983.

The second consideration is anchored on our choice of periodization. The beginning of the period of our study (1979) marks the beginning of the second republic of Nigeria as are-uniting nation after a civil war experience as independent nation.

Thirdly, the period spanning forty years after the end of the republic prided over by Alhaji Shehu Shagari affords enough time and opportunity to determine changes and continuities in Nigeria's foreign policy. In essence, these considerations will enable us determine the factors that are transient and those that are enduring on the basis of lessons learnt and conclusions drawn.

## **Concept of Power Theory**

Traditional and contemporary considerations posit power as epicentral to political institutions and systems (Cartwritgt, 1959, Russell, 1938). The traditional conception of power relations as (Foucault, 1969) postulates are as could be seen in all aspects of society... all social actions involve power relationships whether it may be between employer and employee or between husband and wife or between

political parties in elections. Politics according to him involves power and influence and what men seek in their political negotiation is power. The power and influence to which Foucault referred to are to a large extent the element that constitutes power in power relations. Depending on the manner in which persons conceptually create their idea of power is chiefly dependent on their need for and the way they use power. No wonder, scholars such as Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001; Sassenberg, Ellemers, & Scheepers, 2012 & Torelli & Shavitt, 2010) alludes to the fact that the availability of power does not only provide the opportunity to use power for one's own benefit but implies the opportunity to help and be responsible for others.

In sociology palace, the concern is to analyze the diverse nature of power and the complexities it creates in human relationship especially between the state and society. To them, power is the ability to exercise one's will over others or in other words, power is the ability of individuals or groups to make their own interest or concerns count, even when others resist. Power involves sometimes the direct use of force which is actual or threatened use of coercion to impose one's will on others. (Puja, 2016)

According to (Max Weber, 1947) power is 'the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. He further writes, that positions of power can 'emerge from social relations in drawing room as well as in the market, from the rostrum of lecture hall as well as the command post of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussion or athletics'. It plays a part in family (husband and wife) and school (teacher and the taught) relationship also.

Thus, for Weber, power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action. Spectacularly, the studies of some great social scientist such as (Easton, 1953 and Harold, 1936) contributed to the understanding of the concept of power. Their studies postulate that politics is about the authoritative allocation of values and the action that determines who gets what, when and how. Indeed, it is critical effort at who makes the decisions and who are those allowed participating in the decision making that will reveal where the power lies and those that benefit the most.

The general proposition that emerged from the foregoing could be summed in the postulations of Anifowose, wherein he posits that political power is seen as the capacity of an individual or groups of

individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which he desires. Thus, political power is based upon the relationships to the legal structure, party affiliation and extensive bureaucracies. There is to this extent, a persistent idea by scholars that political power is controlled by elites, that is, small select and privileged groups(Anifowose, 1999).

## Situating the concept of power within the elite theory

Higley John (2009) considerations highlights that Elite theory's origins are deeply rooted in the writings of Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), and Robert Michels (1876-1936). As succinctly cited by Higley, Mosca emphasized the ways in which tiny minorities out-organize and outwit large majorities, adding that "political classes" – Mosca"s term for political elites – usually have "a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority" over those they govern (1923/1939, 51). Mosca's contemplation can be well explicated as could be discerned within the observations of (Olusegun, 2011:268) in his discourse of the days of 'cabal' in Late President Yar 'Adua regime, He thus posits:

> It was sometime in 2009 when an aide who was closer to the President than I was came to my office to seek a favour. He wanted me to help him intervene to save the job of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Director General, Mr. Yomi Abolarinmwa. He said he had it on good authority that some powerful people in government had conspired to have the man removed because he refused to bend the rule for them on the issuance of radio and television licenses. I knew why this aide had come to me: the President had contempt for people who dabble into areas outside their purview. Since my portfolio had to do with communication, the president would respect my view, he must have concluded.

Olusegun however recanted that his findings was that the NBC Director General's travails had to do with his decision to stick to principles in the discharge of his duties as documents handed to him backed the claim because they contained official correspondence. Apparently, it was clear that it was a cabal who were finding ways in which they the cabal who were trying to oust the Director General of NBC. In Mosca's conceptual words; It is a about a tiny minorities wanting to out-organize and outwit large majorities or others.

He further maintained thus:

When I met with the President, I went straight to the point. I said I had been alerted that the DG of NBC had problems, but I also knew the root of it. I presented the matter and the documents before the President, who after going through them shook his head and said, Shegun, I cannot thank you enough for this. You know what you just did for me? You prevented me from taking an unjust decision. I have just approved the man's sack. He brought out a copy of a memo and tore it in my presence before now going into an exhortation of the challenge confronting leaders in the face of officials (Cabal) whose vested interest most often override the national interest.

Pareto in another direction, suggested that in a society with truly unrestricted social mobility, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals; but in actual societies elites are those most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections.. Pareto sketched alternating types of governing elites, which he likened, following Machiavelli, to lions and foxes. Michels rooted elites ("oligarchies") in the need of large organizations for leaders and experts in order to operate efficiently; as these individuals gain control of funds, information flows, promotions, and other aspects of organizational functioning power becomes concentrated in their hands (1915/1962; see Linz,, 2006). Emphasizing the inescapability and also the relative autonomy of elites, all three men characterized aspirations to fully democratic and egalitarian societies as futile. Thus, within the considerations of the writings of the foregoing authors with regards to elites, it is unarguable to note that happenstances in the political leadership trajectories of Nigeria Many democrats and social radicals have rejected this as "futility thesis" (Femia, 2001). They have sought to demonstrate that particular elites are not those with superior endowments or organizational capacities, but merely persons who are socially advantaged in power competitions. Adherents of this view have argued that the existence of elites can be terminated either by removing the social advantages that some people enjoy or by abolishing the power concentrations that spur competitions among them - remedies that often go hand-inhand. There are no historical instances, however, where these

remedies have been successfully applied in a large population for any significant length of time.

The writings of Mosca, Pareto, and Michels however constitute a paradigm from which a general theory of elites and politics might be derived (Field and Higley, 1980). But efforts to produce such a theory have not been conspicuously successful. Linking elites causally to major regularities in politics remains elusive; there is no accepted typology of elites and no accepted specification of the circumstances and ways in which one elite type replaces another; political interactions between elites and non-elite populations are captured only piecemeal. Nevertheless, political scientists and sociologists pay much attention to elites and their key roles in democratic transitions and breakdowns, revolutions, political regimes of all kinds, mass movements, democratic politics, globalization, and many other political phenomena. By outlining a general treatment of elites and politics, this paper seeks to provide elite theory and the attention paid to elites with more coherence and direction.

## The Regime: Shehu Shagari Second Republic in Nigeria (1979 – 1985)

The Second Republic refers to the second civilian regime in the country, to which the military transferred power on 1 October 1979, and which lasted till 31 December 1983, when it was overthrown by the military. It was headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari as President. The government of Shehu Shagari was short-lived. Under the democratically elected president, Shagari (1979-83), oil revenue peaked, then dramatically declined (Shaw, 1987). Shagari pursued a modest domestic and foreign policy. However, on the night of 31 December 1983, the military struck once again to overthrow the young republic. The chaos that followed the 1983 elections provided only the last straw for this, if justification had to be found. More powerful underlying reasons were the massive corruption, economic mismanagement and authoritarian tendencies that characterized the Republic. Panels instituted to probe governors and other official after its overthrow found evidence of widespread abuse and embezzlement of public funds, for which they were sentenced to various jail terms and/or to refund their misappropriations to the most corrupt, fled abroad.

The corruption as revealed above was largely due to the patronage basis of political elites and relations and support. Graf opines:

.....under continuous pressure to 'deliver' to these party stalwarts. In a situation of constant growth and

> surplus, this strategy had worked effectively. But in times of a shrinking national cake, the party's pay-off capacity could only be maintained at the expense of the other sectors of society. As the gap between the party elite and the generality of society thus increased and grew more visible, overall system legitimacy was undermined to a degree that would have been inconceivable had the party officials been seen to be sharing in the 'national sacrifice' (Graf, 1988:94-5).

Hence it could be seen that while politicians corruptly enriched themselves, workers were being retrenched in large number and were owed huge salary arrears, and the masses were called upon to make sacrifices by accepting the deprivation of their social and material rights. Many were forced to withdraw their children from school, reduced to searching for food in dustbins and refuse depots, and exposed to preventable disease and death. Even in the depth of the economic recession, as (Osaghae: 1989:155) observed the political class continued its reckless spending, corruption and scandalous patronage building. After the 1983 elections, no less than forty federal ministers of different ranks were appointed to a bloated cabinet.

Adamolekun (1985:75) also identifies the politicians' preoccupation with winning elections and, by implication, being a beneficiary of some of the huge amounts wasted (the total cost of the 1983 elections FEDECO, rigging and all-was estimated at over N2 billions) as a major source of corruption and resource wastage. According to him, there was the rush to complete Abuja, the new federal capital, in five years rather than the ten years originally proposed. Abuja contracts' were major sources of corruption. These were the housing, constructions and other sundry contracts handed out to party members, who then executed sub-standard projects in the new capital. A similar abuse as observed were the kickbacks taken on contracts awarded to multinational firms the authoritarian tendency of the regime was strengthened by the militarization of the police force and by the 'discipline' required to implement the austerity measures introduced in 1982, and this further alienated the masses of the people from government and eroded the claim to legitimacy of the Republic's political order. The shagari administration made an effort to redress the anomalous situations, and "rid" the system of corruption. Its 'ethical revolution' which was the meant to achieve this, was launched with a great fanfare but, in the midst of the pervasive corruption of the political class it was too hypocritical to be any serious consequence.

# Weaving the past regime with the present happenstances in Nigeria: lessons of History

History as a subject matter engages in inquiry and unraveling of the past. (Brian &Janda, 2008:163) notes that the word History originated from Greek word historia, meaning "inquiry, knowledge acquired by investigation" According to them, it is the study of the past, particularly how it relates to humans. It is an umbrella term that relates to past events as well as the memory, discovery, collection, organization, presentation, and interpretation of information about these events. In a broader sense, they maintain that "history is a systematic account of the origin and development of the humankind, a record of the unique events and movements in its life; it is an attempt to recapture however imperfectly, the past which is, in a sense, lost forever. Thus, unraveling the past as a subject matter of History is often underrated.

It is predicated on the above stated stance, that (Alagoa, 1979:1-2) perhaps maintained his deep rooted stance that the past may be dead but cannot be buried. He posit thus:

'There are some people who are willing to act as undertakers and wish to see the past disposed of for good. There are others who have made it their business to see that the past does not completely disappear from our consciousness. I am pleased to count myself among this latter group. But for the majority of people everywhere, the past merely lives on in their present without any special effort or attention. For most people, the past is not a subject of special notice or interest because it is already such a normal fact of life in the present. The continued life of the past in the present is taken so much for granted that most people might even deny the fact of its relevance or significance for today. On the other hand, certain individuals or even entire communities could come to base claims to present status on the past achievements of their ancestors. Such persons would then form an exaggerated regard for the past must be condemned by those who wish to see the past buried, as well as by those who wish to see the best of the past live in the present'.

Thus, it is unarguable as it is observable that some people are actually opponents of history as could be gleaned from the foregoing consideration. Nonetheless, the reason behind why some persons

oppose history and lessons of the past raises probing question with regard to why responsible thinking people should wish the past dead and buried. The major objections to history as stated by Alagoa have been stated very well by the seventeenth century French philosopher and scientist, Rene Descartes (1596-1650):

'To live with men of an earlier age is like traveling in foreign lands. It is useful to know something of the manners of other peoples in order to judge more impartially of our own, and not despise and ridicule whatever differs from them, like men who have never been outside their native country. But those who travel too long end by being strangers in their own homes, and those who study too curiously the actions of antiquity are ignorant of what is done among ourselves today. Moreover, these narratives tell us of things which cannot have happened as if they had really taken place, and thus invite us to attempt what is beyond our powers or to hope for what is beyond our powers or to hope for what is beyond our fate. And even histories, true though they be, and neither exaggerating nor altering the value of things, omit circumstances of a meaner and less dianified kind in order to become more worthy of a reader's attention - hence the things which they describe never happened exactly as they describe them, and men who try to madness of romantic paladins and meditate hyperbolical deeds'.

One cannot agree less with Alagoa as this statement till today still contains three main issues that continue to be raised by historians themselves and problems that they cannot yet say they have solved to the satisfaction of themselves and problems or of their critics.

First, is the criticism or accusation of historical escapism. That is, that historian's lose themselves in the past and become ignorant of the present. Second, is that of historical pyrrhonism. That is, the problem historians face of falling into a state of total doubt of skepticism concerning the validity of their accounts of the past. It is to this extent, considering the foregoing explanations that it is well said that Historians need to show that historical methodology is able to produce accounts of what really happened in the past. It is in the light of the foregoing, that he maintained a plausible stance that the problem of historical knowledge requires some consideration. Is it possible for historians to know what happened in the past?

To answer this question, we may have to ask the further question, how do historians operate in their search for knowledge of the past? Like other scholars, historians become active when they develop curiosity about something. Such curiosity should lead to the formulation of questions to which answers have to be found. The enquiry or search for answers takes the form of a study of documents, which are the evidence of past human activity. Historical documents or evidence appear to the historian in a wide variety of forms. They may appear as written information on paper, papyrus, tablets of clay, on monuments, or even rock.

In Africa, the most significant documents may come to the historian in the form of oral literature or tradition, in intangible ethnographic practices and customs of communities, in the languages spoken by present populations, or in material objects such as artifacts from archaeological excavations or implements used in daily life or ritual. It is from his documents that the historian makes inferences, draws conclusions, and reconstructs or reconstitutes the past.

To the historian then, the product of his inferences from and interpretation of the documents from the past constitutes knowledge of the past. It constitutes knowledge in two senses. First, the evidence of the documents satisfies every reasonable person concerning the reality of the actions or events referred to. Accordingly, where the inferences made from the evidence are such as are compelling and convincing to the majority of historians presented with the same evidence, it is acceptable as knowledge of the past. Secondly, because the historian brings one piece of evidence into confrontation with another, and subjects each one to rigorous examination, he is able to obtain knowledge that is not immediately obvious as contained in any one of the pieces of evidence. It is in this sense that historical knowledge may claim to possess a certain amount of autonomy. In this second sense, the historian may be said to make history or create new knowledge, not merely record the past or recount it. (Alagoa, 1979)

However anyone may think about the usefulness of history most people will, however, agree that history is the study of the past. In fact, historians are a bit like detectives - using evidence to find out what happened and why. This is not an easy job. You must be able to recognise evidence, decide how useful it is and come to conclusions based on what you have found out.

However, in simple but compound definition, 'History' as a subject matter can be best described as an account of what actually

happened in the past which has a link to what is happening at present and can help in planning or projecting for the future. In other words, history is about yesterday, today and tomorrow. Thus, one could safely assert that we study important development in human existence in the past for the development of today.

In a seeming corroborating stance, Professor Siyan Oyeweso posited History as a biography of an issue, subject, peoples and events. According to him, there is the history of science, the history of money, the history of philosophy, the history of epistemology. There is even the history of religion (Oyeweso, 2006). Thus, a famous author wrote a book titled The Bible as a Story Book. All, whether Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Fulani, Bini or members of other ethnic groups, can trace our histories laced with myth. Yet we believe in the myth. A myth is not necessarily a lie. We, however, hold unto to the myth because it serves the purpose of giving meaning to our existence by conferring identity on us.

Oyeweso's idea of History is however built on the conviction that to understand a people, the historian must have a recourse to what happened in the past, why it happened and how it happened, not just through a systematic collation of beliefs and practices, but also through critical analysis of all other sources and branches of knowledge that are capable of serving historical ends and in this way, adopt a multidisciplinary approach and root explanation on the principle of causation.

It is in this direction, he had maintained that the tragedy of Nigeria is three-fold: a lack of knowledge of its history; a lack of understanding of that history and a lack of application of the examples and lessons of history. This he called the Unholy Trinity. A Trinity of ignorance packaged as knowledge, falsehood and rumour mongering that should attract intellectual contempt from the public in which the Nigerian elite are the guiltiest of the charge. They are educated, yet they have very little knowledge or understanding of Nigerian history and the lessons it handed down. Hence, rather than for history to serve an emancipative role for Nigerians it has become the original sin that is held liable for all of Nigeria's woes. Upon this sin lies the claim of "amalgamation of misfits", the "mistake of 1914" and so on. History is been blamed for a failed project and buffeted from all angles.

To this end, the Nigerian past is seen as a burden to all historians and students of society. A proper knowledge and understanding of that past is the only avenue of emancipating ourselves from it. Indeed, the

past is the father of the present. They are forged organically and in an engaging and interlocking manner. (Carr, 1961:p.21).

History is the study of the past, only to the extent that the past exists up to the last micro-second. The goal of historical scholarship is to make the present more comprehensible and the past not an unfathomable mirage. Thus, the aim of this paper is to re-establishan inquiry of the second republic personalities with the eyes of history with the aim of unraveling the wedlock of their past political power status in juxtaposition with their present status and to further underscore implications for contemporary political elites for the sake of tomorrow.

#### Second republic personalities and transiency of power

The discussion on the second republic personalities and transiency of power is deeply rooted on the reminder notion. It stems from (Olusegun, 2011:3) concern with regards to Rule of law and rule of man. In his insightful discuss, he captured the political power niche that the late President Yar'Adua carved out for his administration during his inaugurations on May 29, 2007, as he stated that the philosophy of his administration would be anchored on the principle of the rule of law. According to him, he was with all lofty dreams but were unfulfilled because of his death which he captured in his 'like a thief in the night' narrative, (Olusegun, 2011: 236-265)

The implication of the above reminder notionis its inference on the second republic personalities and transiency of power when gleaned from 2023 horizon back to the 1979 start line of the regime's hold of power. An inquiry into the personalities who ruled Nigeria and dominated the news wave like no other person in 1979-1983 reveals such as : Alhaji Shehu Shagari as President and Dr. Alex Ekwueme as Vice President. In its report on the obituary of Shagari, Guadian newspaper opined that despite all his political elitism, his government was Accused of being "inept and corrupt", Shagari was arrested and held for three years. He was later cleared of personal corruption but banned from participation in Nigerian politics. His removal was the prelude to a long period of military rule. As reported and known, Shagari had four wives, two of whom are reported to have survived him then. He is also survived by many children and grandchildren. Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari was born 25 February 1925 but died 28 December 2018.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari had a Vice President as was earlier stated. Dr. Alexander Ifeanyichukwu Ekwueme(GCON) was born 21 October 1932, he became Nigeria's Vice President in 1979 but is now dead. He

died on 19 November 2017. The preceding discourse captures the personalities who occupied the executive offices with regards to the executive arm of government. (Ohwovoriole, 2017)

The Regime legislative arm had the Senate President as Dr. Joseph Wayas. He is also dead at present. A Cable news media report has it that Dr. Joseph Wayas who was a 16 days President at a point died on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2021, at the age of 80 and that the demise of the statesman did not come as a surprise to many as he had lived a fulfilled life and played a critical role in the nation's political circle (Cable news: 2021).

The senate leader at that time was Dr. Olusola Saraki . In its report on 14<sup>th</sup> November 2012, Premium time captured its report thus: 'Olusola Saraki, strongman of Kwara politics is dead. The report stated thus:

Mr Saraki controlled the politics of Kwara State for about two decades until he was displaced as kingmaker by his son, Bukola, a serving senator, in the 2011 general elections.( SaniTukur,; Premium times, 2012)

Noel, Agwuocha Chukwukadibiain a seeming collaboration of Premium times stance reflected on the life and times, political escapades and achievements of Olusola Saraki as one of the biggest names and ostensibly the widely acclaimed political godfather of Kwara politics as well as one of the greatest Nigerian's Statesman. According to him, Dr. Abubakar Olusola Saraki (Waziri of Ilorin) in History he has over 50 years of unbroken dominance of political maestro over the political affairs of Kwara State. The mention of Saraki" The Oloye" is almost synonymous with Kwara State. It is the first attempt by anybody to x-ray this political principality of Nigeria Politics. He dominated Kwara and tried several times to become President of Nigeria. He established, financed many political parties in his life-time. His strength and weaknesses was well re-established by Noel.

Edwin Ume-Ezeoke(CFR) was born on 8 September 1935. He died on 1 August 2011(Nmeribe, 2011) He served as the first Speaker of the House of Representatives of Nigeria during the Second Nigerian Republic (1979-1983). He held numerous positions in Nigeria such as National Chairman, All Nigeria Peoples Party. He was a 4th Degree Knight of St. Mulumba and also held the traditional titles of Ezenwakaenyi 1 and Iheanyijiri kamba of Amichi, Nnewi South L.G.A. of Anambra State. (Ifeoha, 2013).

There were as at the regime under review, 19 states with their respective Governors as at that time. However, in an insightful presentation of a 'nation' in the wilderness: corruption, elite conspiracy and the illusion of development in Nigeria; Ilufoye argued thus:

In October 1979, the regime of general Obasanjo returned power to a democratically elected government led by Alhaji Shehu Usmanu Shagari. The aovernment of National Party of Niaeria led by Shehu Shagari was riddled with corruption. Corruption was sopervasive that Adamolekun(1985: 88) describes the period between 1979 and 1983 "as the golden age of corruption". In Bangura's (1986: 52) apt assessment, "the leadership of the NPN presided over the most irresponsible and profligate government in Nigeria's history". It was recorded that Nigeria's external debt soared during the Second Republic due to corruption. For example, the Shagari administration of 1979-83 inherited 2.8billion Naira in foreign reserves from his predecessor and earned an additional 40.5 billion Naira during its tenure. Highly contracts were awarded to party loyalists. Worse still, many public buildings were intentionally set ablaze in order to cover up the atrocities of the political and bureaucratic elite. For example, the 12 storey Republic Building in Lagos and the Audit Department of the Federal Capital Territory were burnt down in1981 and 1982, respectively. Also in January 23, 1983 the 37 -story NET Building called NECOM House built at the cost of N31.9million, was gutted by fire. This was done to cover the illicit deals of public officers and prevent access to the official records. The report of the committee set up to investigate the fire incidences remain shrouded in secrecy. (Ilufoye:2022)

llufoye further opined as cited from (Bangura, 1986) that some of the governors within the Shagari regiem of 1979-1983 were indicted of corruption during the Second Republic.The Governors indicted of corruption were Governor Olabisi Onabanjo of Ogun State, who was charged for N 2.8 Million Kickback received from Bouygues Nigeria Limited. He was sentenced for 22 Years jail term, Governor Ambrose Ali of Bendel who was charged for N 983,000 Million Kickback from public contract fund and was sentenced for 22 Years jail term. Governor Sabo Bakin Suwoof Kano State was charged with N 100,000 Million Bribe from Valentin Pargov, manager of Electro Impex Limited

and was rained for 20 Years, Governor Aper Aku of Benue State was charged \$20,500 Million Jailed for buying \$10,000 and \$10,500 at 15 Years. Governor Adamu Atta ofKwara State was charged for N 16 million (2 million of which he withdrew after he lost election) and Diversion of government fund. He was jailed for 21 Years.

Governor Jim Nwobodo of Enugu State was charged for N 5.8 Million 2 count charge on misappropriation. He was jailed for 22 Years. Chief Bola Ige was Governor of Oyo State as at that time and was charged for enriching his party UPN. He was jailed for 21 Years. Governor Abubakar Rimi of Kano state N 593,000 also was charged for enriching his party PRP and was jailed for 22 Years while Governor Solomon Lar of Plateau state was charged for N 27.3 million 4 counts charge and unlawful withdrawal. He was jailed for a88 years jail term sentenece. (Bangura's, 1986)

However, considering the fore going discourse, it is pertinent to note that from happenstances, it is unarguable to state that "Power is transient", meaning every position of power and authority ultimately has a start and an end. As has been well said, no condition is permanent. From the historical past, it is well established that kingdoms and empires have risen and fallen. Factors have always been adduced to explain the causes and effect of the rise and fall of these empires. Thus the second republic empires has also risen at their time but a cursory inquiring at their status in time reveals that power is not serve alar carte such as is in a restaurants, ( a practice of ordering individual dishes from a menu in a restaurant, as opposed to table d'hôte, where a set menu is offered. The contemporary political influence of the second republic men of influence as could be no longer make news in Nigeria. Apart from the Former Governors of Anambara and Niger States; Jim Nwobodo and Auwal Ibrahim respectively, the rest of the second republic state governors of the 19 existing states governors are all dead. The other Governors that are dead are

- 1. Abubakar Tatari Ali Bauchi
- 2. Ambrose Alli Bendel (dead)
- 3. Aper Aku Benue (dead)
- 4. Muhammadu Goni Borno (dead)
- 5. Clement Isong-Cross River (dead)
- 6. Abubakar Barde Gongola (dead)
- 7. Sam Mbakwe Imo (dead)
- 8. Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa Kaduna (dead)
- 9. Abubakar Rimi Kano (dead)

- 10. Adamu Attah Kwara (dead)
- 11. Lateef Jakande Lagos (dead)
- 12. Bisi Onabanjo Ogun (dead)
- 13. Michael Ajasin Ondo (dead)
- 14. Bola Ige Oyo (dead)
- 15. Solomon Lar Plateau (dead)
- 16. Melford Okilo Rivers (dead)
- 17. Shehu Kangiwa Sokoto (dead)

### CONCLUSION:

It is intellectually acceptable to conclude with dotted note at this juncture that the philosophy of power within the philosophic considerations of two known ancient philosophers makes more sense when gleaned in the light of Immanuel Kant contemplations (Kant, 1785) with regards to the foundation of a moral community under the moral laws as against the Thomas Hobbes viewpoint of man been brutish, nasty and solitary state of nature in the politico-civil state (Hobbes, 1968).

The Kantian viewpoint which presented an ethical viewpoint on the ethical state of nature and the ethico-civil state is relevant in this direction as against the evil manifestations of man in positions of power and authority as is manifest in present political leadership of Nigeria. In the ethical state of nature as he posits, the propensity to evil, which clings to human nature, incessantly intimidates and attacks the human disposition. It would corrupt one's own as well as each other's predisposition to good. Even if each individual has good intention, the dominion of evil cannot be escaped because such state lacks a principle that unites human beings.

From the foregoing, it is proper to allude that it is politically thrilling to observe with a state of sober senses that after about 44 years past, powerful men of the Nigerian polity who called the shots have only two of them are still alive and they no longer make news. This has to a large extent re-established and underscored the truth that leadership is transient to such extent that it should remind contemporary leaders that every position of power and authority ultimately has a start and an end, which confirms the saying that no condition is permanent and as such should advisably live to serve and add value to humanity than become elites amongst their fellow human beings as if tomorrow will never come.

Perhaps the transient nature of power is most lucidly demonstrated in recent time during the funeral service of the Late Queen Elizabeth. According to Manish Mathew:

At the funeral service of late Queen Elizabeth, towards the end of the service; I was touched by the Archbishop's last words before the body was taken to the grave for burial. He said: "Now let us remove all symbols of power from the coffin (She was dethroned), so that our sister, Elizabeth (called by name) can be committed to the grave as a simple Christian". Immediately, The staff of office was removed, Then the scepter, The crown followed and all valuables were removed. The Queen was buried with NOTHING. Notice that the Archbishop did not include "Queen" to her name at this point too. Life is indeed vanity. It is transient, and that teaches us humility. Humility in power, Humility in relating with others, Humility in our acquisition of wealth, and Humility in all our endeavors, In a nutshell Because in the end, we will all go back with NOTHING (Mathew, 2023).

Thus, as a truth, it is a very instructive, for those who are holding power in contemporary times and those who intend to hold power in the future to always rethink their inhuman manifestations in the use of power for self-serving purposes and other inconsequential purposes which are at variance with public good. This is because; there is a beginning of the end to power. It is proper and fit to affirm at this point that power and authority as may be exercised by man may come to an end by a tenured system or by death as it observed in the foregoing exposition.

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