

The Philosophical Import of Obafemi Awolowo's Theory of Mental Magnitude

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Abstract

The paper examines Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude and how it can contribute to the debate on the achievement of good governance in Nigeria. The theory harps on a person's ability to subvert the human desires that crave selfish interest and crass materialism. Basically, it is about good governance which is defined in terms of transparency, accountability, social justice, fairness, equity and selflessness. It says that leaders engage in corrupt practices and selfish acts because they lack complete education, which Awolowo links with the development of mind, body and brain, an embodiment of mental magnitude. It is the belief that leaders need to tame their appetite and emotion, and embrace discipline as a value in order to achieve effective governance and development in society.

Keywords: mental magnitude, leadership, corruption, self-discipline, good governance.

1. Introduction

The greatest challenge that faces Nigeria today is that of good governance, though this may not be a peculiar problem to Nigeria as some countries in the Middle East, Asia and Africa are currently facing political storming sessions. For Nigeria, there is something that makes its problems unique. In spite of the abundance in both material and human resources, Nigeria remains one of the poorest countries in the world, best illustrated by its institutional and structural decay and represented by high level of poverty, diseases, ignorance and superstition. Nigeria is a typical example of a country with this problem of poverty, ignorance, disease and superstition. At present it ranks second in the UNDP Low Human Development index (2007/2008) in spite of the fact that it is currently occupying the 8th position among the countries producing oil in the world. Thus, in the country poverty has virtually become a culture, while a handful of elites are living in affluence. Indeed, Trask (2004, p. 10) captures the situation when he says that those leaders entrusted with the resources of their countries prefer to enrich themselves using political means, thereby increase their wealth. Here it is right to conclude that self-interest remains stronger, in the mind of Nigerian leaders (politicians), than the need to meet the basic needs of the citizens. It is this kind of experience that informs Nyerere's (2009) conclusion that bad government is not generally interested in eradicating poverty. On this note, Plato is justified to have observed that one of the evils of political life is the material greed of politicians. Awolowo reaches the same conclusion in his analysis of leadership and good governance in Nigeria. This paper examines Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude and its connection with the issue of leadership and good governance in Nigeria and argues that to achieve good governance Nigerian leaders and the citizens alike, must tame their appetite and embrace discipline as a value now that the country is struggling to attract international business partners to Nigeria.

2. Awolowo's Theory of Mental Magnitude and the Human Nature.

Awolowo identifies corruption and selfishness as the major factors that have brought a decline to Nigerians' living condition; incidentally, this condition has recently brought about political instability in the country.

Awolowo seeks to establish an egalitarian society, *the People's Republic*, where in each case, good governance becomes a desirable value. Interestingly, Awolowo's society, just like Plato's, in his own time, consists of different social classes each represents different value interests. The three classes in Awolowo's Nigerian society are the educated class which consists of professional people, teachers and clerks; the enlightened class, consists of traders and artisans and lastly the ignorant masses (Adegbesan: 1988). Awolowo believes that government is meant to ensure the well-being of these various groups in the society; hence, the reason for the notion that Nigeria deserves the best political order that will promote social justice and engender equity. Awolowo expresses this notion in his theory of mental magnitude.

In Awolowo's view, the theory of mental magnitude rests on the philosophical belief that the mental (*reasoning*) is superior to the physical element of a person, a belief that places reflective thinking at the heart of human actions. Given this basic belief, therefore, commonsense holds that human desires and actions can only be defended reasonably when they follow the dictate of reason. This theory emanates from Awolowo's attempt to understand the nature of man which Rev Fr. Ogunmodede (1986, p. 56) believes that Awolowo acquires through his "close observation, and personal study and experience of human nature itself." Indeed, it reflects in Awolowo's conception of the nature of man as indicated by Ogunmodede in his interview with him. According to him, Awolowo postulates two different conceptions of the nature of man, namely, "the Grecian dualist descriptions of mind and body and the Judaic tripartite description of mind, body and spirit." He believes that Awolowo seems to be using it for political strategy. In his contention, Awolowo uses the Grecian model among the freethinkers while he uses the tripartite model among the Christians. It is obvious that Awolowo's main objective, in either case, is to show that man has a complex nature.

Like Plato, he acknowledges the existence of the mind and body, but goes further to divide the mind into two, namely, *conscious* and *subconscious* phases. The conscious phase is sub-divided into two sectors: the *objective* and the *subjective* minds. The subconscious phase is also sub-divided into unconscious and superconscious minds. Awolowo sees the subjective mind as the seat of thinking and reasoning while the objective mind is connected to the faculties of seeing, smelling, feeling, tasting and hearing. He thinks the objective mind needs an object to be able to function, while the subjective mind does not require any object since it is purely mental. Its functions include observation, imagination, inference and others. Indeed, the most active phases of the mind are the subjective and subconscious minds. The subconscious mind is physical (a network of automatic nerve), mental (because it reasons deductively) and spiritual, at least it is the essence of God. As Awolowo (1968, p. 212) has posited "the subconscious mind, being as we have described it, is not and cannot be object of instruction or education. It is the projection of the GOD ESSENCE into man, and therefore, the same as that ESSENCE in the kind and quality, and only differs from it in degree." Awolowo's reason for saying that the subconscious mind is not educable must be due to its spiritual nature.

The principle behind Awolowo's mental magnitude is that it is necessary to allow *reason* (that is, reflective thinking) to control human instincts and emotions that make us behave like animals. Thus, the theory of mental magnitude is about a person's ability to subvert the human desires that crave selfish interest and crass materialism. The theory is borne out of Awolowo's observation that most leaders lack the basic ingredients of leadership, namely, *self-discipline*. He shares this view with Plato who has earlier observed that the interests of the politicians are sometimes in conflict with the interest of the people, especially when the politicians' desire is simply to satisfy their needs. Plato sees the link between this desire and the politicians' instincts and emotions, hence his belief that *reason* should be allowed to control those instincts and emotions which push them to crave material things.

Generally, the notion held by Awolowo concerning the conduct of the leaders in the State points to the fact that, at times, leaders are ruled by *instincts*. Gen. Buhari (rtd), a Nigerian, who lost in a Presidential election conducted recently in Nigeria, seems to represent this view. Buhari, a Muslim has lost election and his faithful have gone out to incite the street urchins (almajiri) in Northern Nigeria against the Christians who he claimed 'stole his mandate' for their Christian brother from the South, leading to the maiming and killing of those perceived to have voted for Dr. Jonathan. To Awolowo, instincts like this predispose these leaders to

emotionalism and impulsiveness. Here Awolowo groups emotion into positive and negative emotions. He identifies positive emotions with curiosity, creativeness, and competitiveness and so on while negative emotions are classified as anger, rage, fury, pugnacity, aggression and others (Awolowo, 1968). Indeed, Awolowo's argument is that sometimes negative emotions may have serious impact on the life of individuals and this may result to injuries against oneself and others. At this point, Awolowo tries to forge a link between human nature and human actions which may sometimes work at variance.

To ensure a disciplined personality and transparent conduct in governance, leaders are supposed to be free from negative emotions such as fear, anxiety, hate, anger, envy and selfishness. Besides, they are to avoid indulging in wrong food, drink and immoral craving for sex. As he exclaims, a negative emotion is a real danger to health and physical well-being, and an affront to the principle behind good governance, namely, *love*. As we shall see presently love is a strong force in Awolowo's political arrangement. This is the height of Obafemi Awolowo's dialectic theory which harps on *love* as the linchpin of good governance. Love, for Awolowo, epitomizes justice and fairness; and good governance, therefore, is a translation of the dictum: "love your neighbour as yourself" to a practical action.

3. Corruption and the Problem of Governance in Nigeria.

One fundamental issue in Awolowo's thought that provokes the search for good governance in Nigeria has to do with the state of development in Nigeria. Nigeria is a typical example that can be used to illustrate the African problems. By the time the British colonial administration winds up in Nigeria three major ethnic groups, namely, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba have emerged. In spite of their differences as regards matters of national interest, one thing seems to unite them and that is the way they expropriate the nation's resources. The situation looks exactly like the current spate of Nigerian leaders' recklessness as captured by Makinde (2007, p. 221) where he contends that "everybody wants the best thing in life for himself at the expense of his fellowmen. The dividend of democracy is more hardship for the poor and life more abundant for the political elites." Because of the reckless attitude of the leaders Awolowo has to conclude that capitalism harbors selfishness, corruption, fraudulent practices and naked greed because the capitalist economic system accommodates fraudulent practices. However, later developments tend to suggest that Nigeria's and indeed Africa's problem is more of leadership than the economic system in place.

The greatest problem in Nigeria that is militating against its development has been the problem of fraudulent and corrupt practices. This problem has become commonplace in Africa, culminating as the case may be in the crises currently ravaging, like whirlwind, North Africa where a political storm has swept the entire region and left in its trail the deposition or death of former leaders.

In the traditional African setting, democratic political succession is alien to African rulers as succession to any political office is usually done through inheritance. For instance, a king may spend sixty years on the throne as long as he enjoys the support of his people and his health is sound enough to sustain his administration; and when he dies his eldest son inherits the position. In Africa, typical examples of leaders who keep faith with this tradition include Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea, Santos of Angola and several others. These are leaders who have decided to sustain the tradition inherited from their ancestors. To those of us who may not be aware of it, Muzeveni of Uganda and Blaise Campore of Burkina Faso, Mubarak of Egypt and Gaddafi of Libya get to office through military exploit but decide to remain there in order to defend this culture of inheritance (The Nation, Nigeria's Daily Newspaper, March 6, 2011).

The myth, if there is any one at all, that surrounds the culture of political inheritance in Africa recently got shattered as a result of the death of Mohammed Bouazizi, a graduate who was beaten by some local authorities in Tunisia. Mohammed, a street vendor, whose wheelbarrow was seized by some local officials, had to set himself on fire in order to end his miserable life. The protests that followed ended the tenure of the President of Tunisia, engulfed Egypt and Libya while it consumed the latter's leader, and spread to other

Arab countries. Uganda and Burkina Faso are currently engulfed in crises because of poverty and disease which have become endemic in Africa. Most of these countries fall within the Low Human Development index with a very low GDP. African continent remains the poorest continent in the world and Nigeria remains the underdog in this respect. Its development has been stunted for years because of the attitudes of its leaders. In most of these countries, water is obtained from ponds and streams; this problem has exposed the people to deadly diseases since drinkable waters are rarely found.

In Nigeria poverty stares the faces of the masses while leaders stack money in foreign banks and build empire for their children. Ologbenla (2007, p. 107) is pathetic about the level of corrupt practices in Nigeria, that he has to remark that “in Nigeria, corruption has remained a pervasive social phenomenon. It is a universal practice found in all spheres of life.” Supporting this view is a survey on corruption index conducted by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Transparency International (IT). Among the five most corrupt countries in the world Nigeria ranked 1.9 same as Tanzania, a little better than Honduras 11.7, Paraguay 1.5 and Cameroun 1.4 (Ologbenla, 2007, p. 107). Between April 2004 and June 2006, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) recovered over \$5 billion from financial criminals (Enweremadu, 2010: 9). The regime of Olusegun Obasanjo when he was a military Head of State could not explain how N2 billion disappeared from the state account, while Pius Okigbo Report is said to have indicted Babangida on account of his inability to explain how \$ 12.4 billion accrued from Gulf War oil sales was spent (Ologbenla, 2007, p. 109). Abacha was an adept in corruption having looted a sum of \$107 billion from the state account and kept this amount in foreign banks. Many state governors had been alleged to have milked their states, notably Governor Dariye of Plateau State, and Alamiyeseigha of Bayelsa State who were alleged to have misappropriated the fund that belonged to their States. This same tradition has been maintained for years in Nigeria’s National Assembly, which is supposed to parade honorable men and women. Former Speaker of Nigerian House of Assembly, Bankole and his Deputy are currently being investigated for corrupt practices while in office

It appears Nigeria is not alone in this culture of corruption. Indeed, there are many leaders in Africa whose actions have left their countries in abeyance in terms of development. For instance, Biya is said to spend most of his time in Switzerland at the Hotel Inter Continental Geneva. In 2009 he spends \$40,000 a day on 43 hotel rooms. In 2006, Nguesso of Congo Brazzaville spends more than \$260,000 a day to accommodate his numerous family members and entourage to the United Nations General Assembly (The Nation, Nigeria’s Daily Newspaper, March 6, 2011). Many of these countries fall within the UNDP Low Human Development index, and have low enrolment rate in their educational programmes (UNDP, 2007/2008). Most of these leaders are those Awolowo think have not developed their mind and brain. Awolowo would probably conclude that their mind is underdeveloped, though they have catered to their body in terms of the wealth they acquired. For Awolowo, leaders like this are not fit to lead in Africa.

4. Leadership, Education and Good Governance.

The issue of leadership and good governance is paramount to Awolowo’s political thought. Awolowo sees the test of good governance in terms of the preservation of a peaceful and just social order with a wide range of opportunities such as liberty, fairness, good education and legal equality among others. Really, the quest for good governance is not peculiar to Nigeria; it is now a global issue. Nyerere (2009) is deeply concerned, at a time, about the level of poverty in Africa, that he has to conclude that “poverty is an enemy of good governance especially if it is shared in a grossly unequal manner.” This problem often occurs when, according to Ojomo, (2006, p. 237) “African rulers (are not) able to transcend the historical background from which many of their countries socio-political problems have developed.” The corollary of this matter is that Nigeria leaders and indeed, African leaders abdicate their responsibilities, turn the citizens to paupers because of their corrupt, selfish and fraudulent practices and enforce forceful compliance to rules in the state.

Awolowo believes that corruption arises when a leader’s mind is not developed. In his analysis, Awolowo gives us a picture of a corrupt mind that craves earthly desires, who is unable to control his/her desire and

impulse. Those individuals who possess this mindset find it difficult to control their appetite. Hence, they are swept by the tides of their desire and impulse. Awolowo alludes to this point in his efforts to explain how some individuals are sometimes enslaved by their instincts and emotions.

Awolowo does not hesitate to link the structural decay in Nigeria to the economic system in place, namely, capitalism while he holds the leaders responsible for the country's underdevelopment. Like Plato, in his analysis of the Athenian politics, Awolowo believes that leaders who lack genuine insight into what is good for Nigeria are those ruling. While Plato feels the problem arises from lack of education, which Awolowo accepts, he still thinks that the leaders' refusal to allow *reason* (that is, reflective thinking) to permeate their actions is the bane behind Nigeria's problems. Awolowo links good governance to rational actions.

Awolowo approaches Nigeria's political development from the standpoint of social transformation, namely, the removal of ignorance and illiteracy among the citizens, and the education of the leaders. Awolowo sees ignorance and illiteracy as the major impediment to the achievement of good governance, a problem that often manifests in two basic areas. These are in the areas of illiterate electorate who aid rigging and incompetent leaders who aid corrupt individuals in the society. Awolowo contends that education is required to create an educated electorate in the society; and as he aptly puts it, "I have insisted, again and again, an educated citizenry is indispensable to the satisfactory practice of democracy."

Indeed, Awolowo submits that good leadership is a necessary condition for administrative competence, though may not be sufficient for good governance. In this regard, good governance is defined in terms of adherence to accountability, transparency, the rule of law and human rights policies. Besides, good governance is laced with love, social justice, equity and fairness. Leadership, therefore, involves ability to translate these values (love, justice and fairness) into reality. At this point, he decides to conclude that any leader that is desirous of leading his/her country must be educated and highly disciplined.

Awolowo defines true education as the development of the mind, body and brain. At this point, Awolowo distinguishes between education that focuses on acquisition of certificates and laurels, and education that involves the development of the 'whole person'. Education in the former sense does not involve the education of the body, mind and brain while in the latter sense education is holistic. It is a form of education which injects into an individual the ability to reflect on his/her actions, thought and deeds. In this regard, Awolowo contends, if a man's body is developed and his brain and mind are not developed he stands to be exploited. On the other hand, if a man's mind is developed and the brain and body are not developed he becomes a religious fanatic, pessimistic and fatalistic. Those who engage in terrorism for religious purpose fall within this category. Nevertheless, this is where Awolowo thinks education can forge the links required for the functions of the body, brain and mind. So, he is cocksure that those who acquire the right education are those who have cultivated the regime of mental magnitude, self-discipline and spiritual depth. Meanwhile, Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude is vulnerable to attack since it does not tell us how we can forge a link between reason and human emotions, feelings and so on, even when *reason* may sometimes need emotion to be able to perform its function.

Awolowo does not see in Nigeria and indeed Africa such leaders who have acquired the right education, namely, (i.e. develop their mind, body and brain to be reflective enough to understand the effects of their actions on others), a principle that defines the cultivation of the regime of mental magnitude. Perhaps, Awolowo seems to be referring to Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast a Professor of History who loses election but insists staying in office and Gen, Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) of Nigeria who loses election but allows his supporters to incite his Muslim co-patriots against the same citizens he pledges to serve. Individuals like this do not fall within the precinct of Awolowo's leadership paradigm. Thus, Awolowo's argument is that for the purpose of effective governance in Africa those who aspire to leadership must be those who are ruled by reason rather than by negative emotion. It is only in this respect that leaders can understand that the central concern of any government is how to meet the needs of the entire citizens.

Awolowo's strong support for the theory of moral leadership has been expressed explicitly in his different works. From the various discussions he has had about leadership, he has tried to link leadership with individuals' ability to exercise self-discipline and self-control in their actions. Awolowo has not rest his oar on self-discipline he has also insisted that love must mediate in the actions and deeds of such individuals since love is the epitome of leadership. Awolowo probably forgets that a disciplined leader may sometimes turn out to be inefficient administratively especially when he lacks what Robbins and Judge (2007, p. 143) classify as "a highly analytical mind, a compelling vision and terrific ideas." Though his moral leadership traits represent what Nigeria leaders require today to be able to change the face of the country, nevertheless, there is still the need for such leaders to have vision, foresight, dynamism, pro-activeness, emotional intelligence and empathy to turn things around. Awolowo acknowledges the essential nature of these attributes, nevertheless, his argument is that in spite of the high profiles of Nigerian leaders many of them have refused to understand that leadership entails service to the people.

Interestingly, Awolowo introduces two forms of education, one for the masses and the other one for the leaders. His major concern for the masses is to educate them so that they can overcome the problem of ignorance, illiteracy and superstition. The leaders are to receive a higher education that will free their mind from instinctual enslavement. It is this notion that Awolowo has in mind which leads to the introduction of Universal Primary Education in Western Nigeria. He probably thinks that basic education is enough to liberate the people from ignorance and superstition while the leaders are exposed to rigorous education which bothers on his theory of mental magnitude. From this arrangement, Awolowo's Universal Education is designed to make the ordinary citizens literate not necessarily educated. Dabney identifies this vacuum in Awolowo's thought, hence he does not hesitate to remind him of the fact that "the provision of universal education does not necessarily imply that people will be educated." (cited in Simpson, 2006, p. 50). More important, however, is the fact that we are not sure whether the type of education Awolowo envisages will be capable of developing the people's mind, body and brain.

The fact that Awolowo canvasses for a special education for the leaders, indeed, shows the seriousness he attaches to their education. Ironically, Plato has earlier held a view to the effect that the State needs to have a special education for the Guardians. Awolowo's attempt to demonstrate his faith in Plato's educational arrangement vis-à-vis the training of the guardians must have informed his special education, namely, education that develops the individuals' mind, body and brain. Awolowo thinks African leaders need to avail themselves of the opportunities such education offers as it will assist them to manage the affairs of their countries effectively. Popper will probably remind him, as he does to Plato, that he confuses his theory and practice of education by linking it with the theory of leadership. The only thing, Awolowo seems to have which is not likely to be open to Popper, is that Awolowo is so passionate about his belief that he has to bring in God to strengthen his theory of leadership vis-à-vis governance. It is obvious that Popper and Awolowo do not operate on the same plane. Awolowo recurses to theodicy for a possible solution to Africa's problems, perhaps he thinks this is the only option left for him when the human factor fails.

5. Philosophical Import of Awolowo's Theory of Mental Magnitude

The theory of mental magnitude stems from the belief that a person is composed of body, mind and brain. According to Awolowo, man is a physical being that possesses a body with various organs, nerves, tissues, and innumerable cells. Apart from his faculties of senses, namely sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell, man also has innate dispositions, which Awolowo calls *instincts* (Awolowo, 1968, p. 212). Awolowo draws a line between senses and instincts. In his view, the physical senses are man's instruments for observation, analysis, judgment, reflection, and reason. The instincts, on the other hands, predisposed man to emotionalism and impulsiveness. Such psychological dispositions as anger, rage fury, curiosity, creativeness and competitiveness are classified either as negative or positive emotions; however, Awolowo is concerned with the impact of negative emotions on the life of individuals. In his contention;

at the mere sight of the object of hate...a strong emotion
of anger wells up in the mind...and the nervous processes are

...set in motion. When this emotion becomes chronic, it has a way of ordering one or more of the visceral organs into action without any specific relation to the object of anger or hate . When this stage is reached one or more of the sense organs, may be seriously and permanently injured.

For instance, emotion of anger can be transferred to a fellow human being, when this occurred among the political class the principle of love is overshadowed. Awolowo sees love as the linchpin of political activities; at this point he demonstrates his allegiance to idealism as a political theory.

Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude explores the principle of political idealism, namely, that politics should be based on moral order, political norms and natural justice in order to explain political practices. It says that there are some universal moral values that can serve as springboard for political life. It contends that as a moral agent man can sometimes rise above his egoistic nature to pursue a selfless service to mankind (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). It defends the view that human beings should be able to control their desires through reason and work for the benefit of others (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). Thus the theory represents a philosophical tradition that projects the idealist principle, namely, that morality cannot be divorced from politics. It is opposed to political realism which contends that human beings are inherently egoistic, hence may sometimes ignore moral principles in their actions to their fellow men/women.

Political realism is a theory in international relations which tries to explain political relations among nation-states. It is said "to focus on the need or ethic of ensuring that the relevant agent (politician, nation, culture) must ensure its own survival by securing its own needs and interests before it looks to the needs of others" (Moseley, 2005). Thus, realists affirm the priority of self-interest over morality (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010).Thucydides is said to be the first exponent of political realism though his thought does not follow the Machiavellian tradition of *realpolitik* or scientific neorealism (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010) and those of Han Morgenthau and Reinhold Neibuhr who represent the modern day political idealists. When domesticated political realism or idealism as a political theory explains why some individuals act sometimes with little or no regard for morality in politics. This seems to be the contention in Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude, where some individuals try to elevate self-interest above moral values, that is, values considered to be fundamental to social relations.

Awolowo acknowledges the strength of political realism in politico- economic order, especially the place of selfishness in political process. He knows that morality is a mere construct in political practice. Nevertheless, his argument is that there are still some universal moral values that should guide the political life of individuals and states. He thinks individuals should be able to draw a line between self-interest and selfishness, the latter which proves to be destructive in socio-political relations. That seems to suggest that self-interest, if not guided, may degenerate to selfishness. Indeed, in Nigeria, selfishness or self-centredness is the bane of political process, and this is what Awolowo thinks aptly defines the world of the political class. Self-centredness or selfishness breeds corruption, fraudulent practices and nepotism.

In Awolowo's opinion, corruption arises from uncontrollable desire for material wealth. He does not see how wealth or fame can define individual's life. At the political level, the theory of mental magnitude requires that individuals, especially leaders should place their actions on scales from time to time and allow such actions to be tested against ethical convictions. While mental magnitude constitutes an ethical challenge to leaders, citizens, too, require the dictate of *reason* in order to tame their emotions and instincts.

6. Conclusion

Since the exit of imperial powers in Nigeria, policies of successive administrations or governments have been designed primarily to achieve the desires of the political class. The various governments in power have had it difficult to integrate the needs of their people into their policies, thus a gap has been created to disarm the

citizens from being able to agitate for their rights. The current crises in Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorist acts, insecurity, and political assassination constitute the greatest challenge in Nigeria's political history. It is argued in this paper that Awolowo's ideals on leadership and good governance promise a great relief for the country's political process. Awolowo's concern for good governance harps on the desirability of better life for the citizens, its achievement can only come when the leaders are well disciplined and educated, and are ready to allow reason to control their actions such that justice, fairness and equity constitute universal moral values in the society. In this regard, Nigeria deserves to have responsive government, and this may begin with the application of the basic tenets of Awolowo's theory of mental magnitude.

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