



**THE
NIGERIAN
CRUCIBLE**

**Politics and Governance
in a Conglomerate Nation, 1977-2017**

RICHARD JOSEPH

PART ONE
Appendix

1. February 24, 1977 letter to Dr. A.Y. Aliyu confirming attendance at the “Issues in the Draft Constitution” national conference, March 21-24, 1977.
2. New Nigerian newspaper report on the “Issues in the Draft Constitution” national conference, published March 21, 1977.
3. October 24, 1977 letter to Professor Robert M. Wren regarding the November 1977 annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) of the United States.
4. April 15, 1977 letter from Dr. A.Y. Aliyu requesting permission to publish the paper on “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles” presented at the national conference, “Issues in the Draft Constitution.”
5. October 28, 1977 letter to Professor Patrick J. McGowan regarding the 1977 ASA annual meeting.
6. December 15, 1977 letter from Professor Peter C. W. Gutkind requesting a copy of the paper on the African State initially proposed for the 1977 ASA annual meeting.
7. December 20, 1977 letter from Professor Patrick J. McGowan commenting on the paper “Affluence and Development: The Nigerian Experience,” presented at the 1977 ASA annual meeting.
8. Book Cover and Table of Contents of *Issues in the Nigerian Draft Constitution*, 1977, edited by Suleimanu Kumo and Abubakar Aliyu.

24 February, 1977

A. Y. Aliyu, Head,
Department of Research and Consultancy,
Institute of Administration,
P.M.B. 1013,
Zaria.

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that Dr. Bayo Adegson, and myself, will be attending your Conference, "Issues in the Draft Constitution", on 21-24 March, 1977. We are both lecturers in the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan.

He will contribute a paper in area 5, "The Judiciary, the Public Service, the Armed Forces and the Police" concentrating on Military-Civilian relations, and I shall contribute one in area 1, "Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy and the Principle of Public Accountability".

Because of the late date of arrival of your notice, we cannot despatch our papers to you at the stipulated time, although I shall attempt to get mine to you shortly before the Conference.

We look forward with enthusiasm to the discussions. Enclosed please find the forms for our accomodation.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. R. A. Joseph

Enc.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

VITAL TALKS

A MAJOR national conference on "Issues in the Draft Constitution," starts in Zaria this morning with a keynote address to be delivered by the Military Governor of Niger State, Commander Murtala Nyako.

The conference, which will last four days, is the seventh in the series of national conferences on issues of national policy being organised annually by the Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

According to a programme issued in Zaria at the weekend, the conference is aimed at providing an "opportunity and a forum for in-depth discussion and appraisal of the Draft Constitution."

It is also hoped that the conference will come out with fresh ideas and criticisms which would prove useful to the constituent assembly in its deliberations.

Perhaps the most famous conference in the series was the third one held in 1970. The conclusions of that conference, it has been suggested by several commentators, had a tremendous impact on the formulation and articulation of Gowon's famous nine-point programme.

In particular, it has been claimed that the conference recommendation that the 12-state structure should be left unchanged for five years, provided a measure of stability for the country up till 1974.

But the fact that Gowon and his team failed to implement the nine-point programme is not the fault of the organisers of the conference.

Today's conference, as with the past conferences, is expected to attract a cross-section of the various interest groups in the country; old and aspiring

START TODAY *Traditional rulers, politicians and scholars to participate*

politicians and trade unionists, theoreticians and practitioners in the field of politics and public affairs, business executives, students, traditional rulers and those trudging the corridors of power.

The programme of the conference shows that participants would include Shettima Ali Monguno, Alhaji Inuwa Wada, Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, and other former politicians. The scholars include Dr. Bolaji Akinyemi, Director General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs; Dr. C. Uche of the University of Benin; Dr. Ibrahim Ayagi; Dr. J. Elaigwu of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Professor E. Emovon of the University of Benin and Dr. E. Nwosu of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Commissioners expected in Zaria include Alhaji Yunusa Kaltungo, Dr. Aminu Dorayi and Alhaji Hassan El-Badwy. Alhaji Muhammadu Carpenter (SMG, Sokoto); Alhaji Maccido Dalhat (SMG, Kaduna) and Alhaji Abubakar (SMG, Plateau) will be some of the civil servants at the conference.

And from the private sector, the organisers are expecting M. Aliko

Mohammed, Chief Sobo Sowemimo and Alhaji Sule Katagum. Altogether, about 60 participants will attend.

Today, the conference will discuss all aspects of "Fundamental objectives, human rights and public accountability". Dr. E. Nwosu, Professor E. Emovon, Dr. A. Bandipo, Mr. Ignatius Ayua, Dr. R.A. Joseph and Dr. E. Toyo will present papers under the chairmanship of Alhaji Aminu Kano.

Tomorrow, other delegates to the conference which include Dr. A.D. Yahaya, Mr. A. Fadahunsi, Dr. S. Oyoibaire, Professor Adamu Baikie, Dr. P.C.A. Daudu, Dr. J.I. Elaigwu, Dr. C. Uche and Dr. Bayo Adekson, will present papers on the "Legislature and political parties". The Chairman of the session will be Alhaji (Dr.) Shehu Shagari.

And on Wednesday, the conference will discuss "The executive and the judiciary". Eminent scholars to present papers on the topic are: Dr. Sulaimam Kumo, Malam M. Hassan, Dr. Ibrahim Tahir, Dr. A.Y. Aliyu and Malam Adamu Augie, while Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli will be the chairman of the occasion.

The conference will end on Thursday.

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p.1

24 October

77

Professor Robert M. Wren,
ASA Program Director,
106 World Affairs,
University of Houston,
Houston, Texas 77004,
U.S.A.

Dear Professor Wren,

I regret that I was unable to obtain and travel funds and so will not be present at the Conference. I drew a blank from the various foundations and other sources I tried, and the financial squeeze has now been extended throughout the whole educational system in Nigeria. Anyway, we are seeing here a clear illustration of the subject matter of my paper.

I hope the paper at least arrived safely and that the panel was able to proceed smoothly.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Richard A. Joseph

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION
ZARIA, NIGERIA.

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY

HEAD: Dr. A.Y. ALIYU, B.A., M.A., Ph.D.



TELEPHONE: ZARIA 2091/25

TELEGRAMS: INSTITUTE ZARIA.

Your Ref:


Our Ref: RCN-811

15th April, 1977.

Dr. R.A. Joseph,
Department of Political Science,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan.

National Conference on issues in the
Draft Constitution - Institute of Administration,
March 21st-24th, 1977

I hereby wish to inform you of our intention to publish your paper on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles in the proceedings of the above conference.


A. Y. ALIYU
Head of Department.

28 October 1977

Professor Patrick J. McGowan,
University of Southern California,
Von Kleinsmid Center 330,
Los Angeles, Ca. 90007,
U.S.A.

Dear Professor McGowan,

I hope Prof. Wren received my letter in time to convey my regrets at not being able to attend the conference. Unfortunately, a severe financial squeeze has been imposed on the Nigerian universities, and so I was not able to receive the travel allowance I had anticipated.

My efforts to obtain last-minute Foundation support were not successful; and I am only writing now because I was hoping that something would come true at the last minute. I hope, however, my paper was safely received and that your panel discussions went smoothly.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Richard A. Joseph



McGILL UNIVERSITY

15 December 1977

Mr. Richard A. Joseph
Department of Political Science
University of Ibadan
Ibadan
Nigeria

Dear Mr. Joseph:

I would appreciate a copy of your 1977 Houston
Conference paper on Marxist Theories of the Post
Colonial State.

I thank you.

Sincerely


Peter C. V. Gutkind
Professor

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

VON KLEINSMID CENTER 330

(213) 741-2651

December 20, 1977

Dr. Richard A. Joseph
Department of Political Science
University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria

Dear Professor Joseph:

Thank you for your letter of October 28. It was a great shame that you were not able to secure a travel allowance so that you could attend the Africa Studies meetings in Houston in November. I did receive your message and was able to arrange for our discussant, Professor Robert Curry, to summarize your paper and therefore present its very interesting findings about affluence and underdevelopment in Nigeria to the panel. All in all the panel went quite well despite your absence and I'm sure it would have been an even greater success if you had been present. Your paper was most well done and interesting and I'm sure you have already received a number of inquiries about it as a consequence of the panel. I'm sorry I did not get to meet you in Houston because of the problems you had but I look forward to doing it in the not too distant future.

Most sincerely yours,



Patrick J. McGowan
Associate Professor of
International Relations

PJM/cc

ISSUES IN
THE NIGERIAN DRAFT
CONSTITUTION



EDITED BY
SULEIMANU KUMO
AND
ABUBAKAR ALIYU

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