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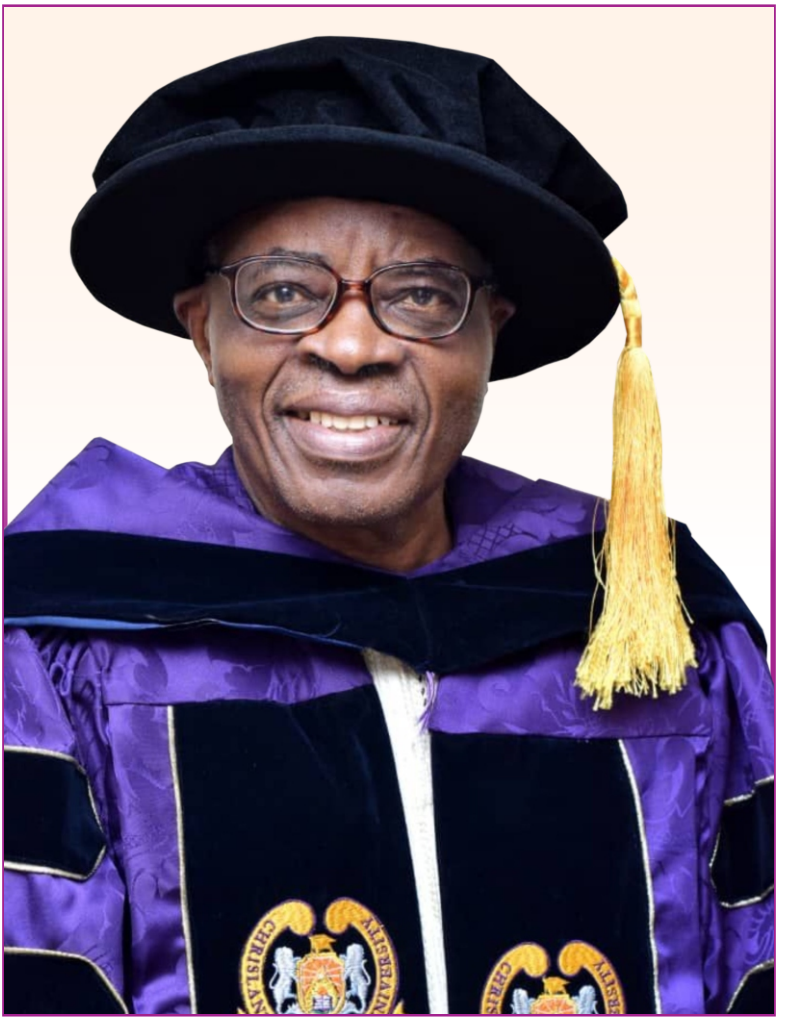
LECTURE TITLE:

INTERESTS

BY:

PROFESSOR BABAFEMI ADESINA BADEJO

(Professor of Political Science and International Relations)



Prof. Babafemi A. Badejo

B.Sc., (Pol. Sc. Unilag); M.A., M.Phil.,
Ph.D., (Pol. Sc., UCLA); LL.B., (Unilag), BL

(Professor of Political Science and International Relations)

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(Professor of Political Science and International Relations)

First Inaugural Lecture Delivered at
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Owode, Abeokuta, Ogun State

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Prelude

My debts are humongous. My mother, Madam Lydia Ajoke Badejo-Dada, a petty food vendor, constantly regretted how circumstances robbed her of access to Western education. My father, Mr. Albert Badejo Dada, a tailor/bicycle renter, lived with the disappointment that he wrongly opted out of school too early as a result of poverty. Both, united with strong purpose, resolved that Adesina or if you like, Babafemi, would acquire Western education. This task became easier, as the Obafemi Awolowo-led self-government of western Nigeria blazed the trail on compulsory free primary education at about the period of my birth. Failing to qualify for admission into Ijebu-Ode Grammar School (JOGS), in 1966, I spent a year at Ibefun with my mother's cousin, Mrs. Aderiyike Ibrahim, who was a Grade II teacher for more coaching to enter the premier Secondary School in Ijebu Province.

Secondary-level education involved payments, even if considered minimal by the standards of the well-to-do in Nigeria. Petty food sales, tailoring, and bicycle rentals failed to meet the minimum payments required. Through the late Engineer Jubril Andu, my father, became a daily paid worker at the Western Region's Public Works Department. He was always fatigued every evening, but persevered for some months until he became a water rate bill distributor for the Western Region/State Water Corporation. Mum continued

waking up at about 04:30 to cook meals that she and I sold to realise some proceeds to contribute to housekeeping and her share of my school fees. The other part of her share – attracted a third contributor, my only maternal Uncle, Olabode Adesanya.

Delays in gathering the total sum normally led to interest-free borrowings from community members. The lenders included Anthony John Finch, British, and a mentor usually styled "school father" those days, and a teacher at JOGS, who significantly contributed to the questioning mind in me resulting in my constant striving for freedom of thought. Besides, Tony Finch exposed me to practical and theoretical ideas of a bigger world in which a greater Nigeria (that is larger than Ijebu-Ode), is situated. The Onabolu family had more resources, such that their children: Rotimi, Ronke, and Bukunola, as neighbours, shared some with me. I had access to electricity to study with them and even watched the news on television. Egbon Rotimi Onabolu and the late Vincent Ikechukwu Ozar, as my seniors at JOGS, reduced the burden of the paucity of funds for my secondary school level education fees by freely giving me their used textbooks which came in as valuable inputs for my classwork.

What I lacked in material wealth was compensated for by the constant drumming of the Yoruba *Omoluabi* (good character coupled with integrity), ethos into my head by my parents and my mother's Uncle, Chief Emmanuel Alaba who we

simply knew as "Happy-Man" and, though a poor tailor, he was integrity personified. Rev. N.E. Ade Osisanya, as he then was, our school Principal, and his team of moulders of men, including Segun Osiboye, at JOGS added their respective and collective contributions to my persona.

Finally moving away from home as a newly independent young adult, and having the freedom to own a room at last, at age eighteen at Sagamu, as a secondary school teacher, was a great allure in 1973. So, I decided to abandon my last-minute supplementary admission to the great University of choice: UNILAG, as one of the few so offered among the school-year change Higher School Certificate graduating students. But mum's first cousin, late Mr. Samuel Adenola Alaba, though not much schooled himself, refused to endorse my decision. He convinced my dad, and I was willy-nilly dragged out of Sagamu to Lagos where he called a family meeting of my maternal relations to reinforce his decision that I must go to UNILAG without waiting for another year.

The help from Mr. Adenola Alaba was a significant non-pecuniary push. Indeed, there was no family pecuniary support. But thanks to the Western State Government which provided Bursary and the Federal Government for the Federal Merit Scholarship. I am grateful to Omo-Oba Segun Omolayo, a brilliant third year student of Political Science, who provided me soft landing on arrival at UNILAG by sharing knowledge encouraging me not to be afraid about

passing Statistics, donated his used books as well as provided a place to nap in between lectures. I felt a little lost in my first year, but gladly accepted my lot. I went on to graduate with the best result in Political Science at age 21.

My National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) year, serving at Ikot-Ekpene in 1976/77 was fun. On August 1, 1977, I resumed at UNILAG as a Graduate Assistant recruited by the Council of the University before that arrangement changed. With my girlfriend being pregnant from the celebration of my convocation in January 1977, I got married to my heart-throb Adejumoke Odusanya, who has remained a pillar of strength and has put a lot of lifelong sacrifice into our beautiful family. Happy birthday to my dearest. We had Adeyinka who arrived about the same time as my first car, a superb maroon Volks-Wagen 1500 Beetle or "Ijapa" car that was valued at about my annual salary of 3,600 Naira, numbered LA 1502 W. The car was from a generous car loan from UNILAG. The extent to which Nigeria has been internationally devalued can be calculated from the comparative annual salary of a young lecturer today and the value of today's new cheapest automobile.

I had received admission to the London School of Economics (LSE), as I assumed office as a Graduate Assistant and could have proceeded to England right away. However, Associate Prof. Opeyemi Ola, insisted I must get rid of my "colonial mentality" of wanting to read at the LSE.

Actually, it was not "colonial mentality" that made me want to read at the LSE. I had wanted to follow in the footsteps of Dr. Benjamin Amonoo, a role model whose brilliance had inspired me at UNILAG just as Anthony John Finch and Segun Osiboye had done while I was at JOGS.

But Associate Prof. Ola won since part of the compromise for him to sign off for me to be a beneficiary of the University of Lagos staff development programme, instituted by visionary Professor Jacob Festus Ade Ajayi, the Vice-Chancellor, was for me to study in an American university. I waited for an extra year to apply to UCLA.

I arrived at JFK in September 1978, really scared of stories about the treatment of African-Americans in the United States. My fear was very palpable. But it was a relief that Dr. Henry Olajide O. Coker, my former lecturer, mentor and friendly colleague at UNILAG, was outside waiting to welcome me. He had preceded me in arriving in the US on a short visit.

My aspiration as a young academic was to become a Professor of Political Economy. But I was made to understand that the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) did not have a discipline called Political Economy and I must take Political Science. Late Prof. James Coleman who wrote a seminal study on the background to nationalism in Nigeria was very understanding. He encouraged me to

design one of my areas of focus as political economy. This encouragement was liberating. I took courses in the Department of Economics and especially on Economic Development as well as International Economics, and in the Regional and Urban Planning school under a great scholar, the late Prof. John Friedmann who was creatively teaching a course he had tagged: "The Good Society".

I do not know who was more understanding and kinder towards me between James Coleman and Richard Sisson while I studied at UCLA. My areas of focus in graduate school were: Comparative Politics; International Relations; Political Theory, and my designed area of Political Economy. Richard Sisson took me under his wing on the understanding that my country case-study would be on South Asia. I chose Pakistan that was like Nigeria as a country under military rule (militocracy), at the time.

In spite of the two years delay before starting at UCLA, and six months of field study in Pakistan, I completed my Ph.D. at 27. I returned and taught at UNILAG, and within this period, I also studied law, including attending the Nigerian Law School. After many years of what is lately tagged as "pracademics" (academic life, practical hands-on experience at the UN on conflicts and return to academics), here I am before you to give the first inaugural lecture at Chrisland University, Abeokuta.

As circumstances forced me to give up on a relationship with UNILAG while I served the UN, I decided I was not returning to any University but will keep doing what academics do: read, think and write. Many like late Profs. Oyeleye Oyediran, and Adeoye Akinsanya, Profs. Ade Kukoyi and, Funso Akere, repeatedly counselled that I return to formalised scholastics at a university, to attain the exalted position of being a full University Professor. I was not keen. On retirement from the UN, I started building my consultancy outfit: Yintab Strategy Consults (YSC). Through this outfit, I designed the framework for the operationalisation of the African Union Humanitarian Agency (AUHA), as requested by the Summit of African Presidents. Using the same YSC, I also came up with a framework for understanding conflicts in Africa and which framework – the Situational Quadruple Nexus (SQN) – could also serve as a comprehensive operational approach towards addressing why we remain poor in Africa. In addition, I was a Senior Adviser at the Kingdom of Bahrain. So, I did not have an allure to return to any university system.

Then came Covid-19. It ended many of my consultancies, especially as a Senior Adviser to the then President of the Court of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bahrain. For the opportunity to serve again as a multilateral diplomat, I thank Sheikh Hussam Bin Essa Al-Khalifa. I also thank the Timorese President and Nobel Laureate for Peace, Jose

Ramos-Horta who I had accompanied as his Senior Adviser to a meeting of Nobel Laureates for Peace in Bahrain. President Ramos-Horta further exposed me to the diplomatic world, in a similar way that former President Olusegun Obasanjo had done in my earlier career, and for which I thank Baba Obasanjo. And still on exposure to the world at large, I owe a lot to Prof. Ibrahim Agboola Gambari who facilitated my entry into the United Nations where I served humanity on peace support operations for twenty-three years and ten months.

With Covid-19 shutting down multilateral diplomacy, I could not travel to join the Bahraini delegation in New York on April 5, 2020, for the inauguration of the International Day of Conscience, an achievement of the Kingdom of Bahrain that could not hold elaborately as we had planned. With my speaking engagements in Addis Ababa and Johannesburg also cancelled as a result of Covid-19, I decided that I should return to the university, after all, I had been publishing while I was on my academic career hiatus. I mentioned my new desire to my teachers: Profs. Adele Jinadu and Alaba Ogunsanwo as well as my long-term "sibling", (as children of Oyeleye Oyediran), Prof. Adigun Agbaje. These trio made some moves towards actualising my new goal. I thank them for their encouragement.

However, in the immediate circumstances, I owe a lot and express my profound gratitude to two people: Ambassador

Julius Ajasa Sodipe, (my friend since our younger days at Gege/Ekotedo, Ibadan from about June 1973), as well as the visionary and inspirational leader, Prof. Chinedum Peace Babalola, the Vice-Chancellor at Chrisland University and the Chairperson of today's event. They both concluded from my CV that I belong at the University of Intellectual Radiance and was subjected to a thorough assessment process. I thank them. I must acknowledge also, the visionary contribution of Mama, High Chief Winifred Adefolahan Awosika, whose eternal legacy to mankind in the form of Chrisland University has given me the honour of being appointed as a Professor of Political Science and International Relations.

Of course, I must not end this prelude without mentioning again, my indefatigable pillar of support, Adejumoke Olubukunola Badejo, who for over 45 years has continued to dedicatedly tolerate my foibles, especially with respect to being around but not present even when I am physically present as well as our children and our sons/daughter-in-laws who took time out of their respective busy schedules to tolerate my wandering mind as they read through my writings and put my thinking into more friendly renditions, when necessary, as well as my indefatigable Special Assistant nay Special Adviser, Mr. Abraham Ameh who has remained with me since 2017, his year of National Youth Service Corps at my Yintab Strategy Consults (YSC) outfit.

Let me also use this opportunity to especially thank the Chancellor and other members of the Board of Trustees, the Pro-Chancellor and the Chrisland University Council, the Vice-Chancellor and the Chrisland University Senate, the Registrar Mr. Samuel Omotosho, my Dean, Prof. Temidayo Akinbobola, my friend of many years, Prof. Olufemi Onabajo, my colleagues at the College of Arts, Management and Social Sciences (CAMASS), as well as other academic and non-academic colleagues for their presence. I acknowledge as well as immensely thank my siblings, other family members, my devoted friends, scholars, students, and the media for your time in attending this gathering physically and virtually.

Introduction

My Inaugural Lecture adopts a Gown to Town style in explaining what my professorship is about. So, I will start my lecture with a specific experience with my 2022/2023 third-year undergraduate students.

I entered my class on "Theories of International Relations", on December 6, 2022 with the intention of discussing with them the topic: National Interest. National interest is constantly bandied around as the rationale for the behaviour of States in the international system. It is the basis for the foreign policies of countries. But then, how do we define

national interest? What does it entail in any complex country? How do we agree on its parameters?

It occurred to me that I could try to deal with the complexity of the concept of national interest by asking my students to think deeply on what their respective individual interests are. I posed the question and was amazed that only a very few put up their hands. So, I asked all the 22 students present to take a piece of paper and without disclosing their identities, write one to three sentences on their respective interests. The responses I received are the following:

1. My interest is to finish this school with good grades and also start my business at a very young age. I want to become a young millionaire/billionaire with the help of hard work and the support of my parents. I want to leave this country and travel to the United States and also like to be part of the political leaders of my country Nigeria.

2. To make easy money, live a soft life, marry a rich man, and eat goat meat pepper soup. To have plenty of money to take care of my family. To meet my Korean Oppas. To have first class, to sing with Davido, Burnaboy, and Ed-Sheeran. To have access to any type of food.

3. To be making money, to be a businessman, and to be famous.

4. To make good money by all means and also have the respect I deserve.

5. To be able to do my masters abroad, to become an ambassador, to become a senator, build a mansion for my mum, someday become a respectful leader, buy a Rolls-Royce, work in the United Nations, be able to help people, build a good legacy.

6. Let's fast-forward to my convocation, I want to leave this country and I want to leave Chrisland.

7. My interest is to travel around the world and also to be an ambassador. Also, my interest is to make a lot of money so I can make Mama proud. Also I want to be a philanthropist.

8. My interest is to have more than enough money and help people financially. Also, I would like to become a pro coder and hacker. In addition, I'll like to visit all countries of the world, explore new cultures, and believe.

9. Although I have many interests, one of the major ones is to be successful in life. I have a strong desire to do whatever it takes to be up there. In doing what I love and portraying it to the world. I don't know if that is an interest or a desire but I want to be one of the greatest, I hope this answers the question

10. My current interest is to be able to have a stable and healthy relationship with those in my life. Also, to move

from a second-class upper to a first-class and eliminate anything causing me to lose peace of mind

11. I want to be a professional footballer. I want to be watched all over the world and achieve more than the greatest footballer and break their records

12. My own interest is to make money after my studies and plan ahead for my future and I wish to have good grades in my studies

13. Nothing

14. To come out as a first-class student, to make cool and legal money, to make my parents proud, to travel to Korea, to travel out of Nigeria, to make money money, to buy a new phone and laptop, to attend BTS musical concert, to take pictures with my Korean crush, to see Jung kook's real life.

15. My current interest is food, although the class choke, chicken can make everything feel better!!! Plus I need money XXXXXXXXXX GTB.

16. To be able to make life better for Africans and stop us from looking at our colonisers like a god and help us look away from religious intimidation.

17. Let's just forward to my convocation, I'm also interested in leaving Nigeria to study more in my course of study.

18. To make money in order to be able to skip classes, buy luxury cars, and watch movies all through. To be influential and to be able to travel anywhere I want. To have access to different types of foods and all types of phones and to be able to enjoy all the rest of life.

19. To make money, to make Nigeria a better country, to spend a holiday in Germany, to have a religious family of My Own, to excel academically, to have a good and unshakable relationship with God. To go back home! To have a fan in our room, we are tired of suffocating!!!

20. My interest is having a first class, having a better life, finding a good job, being a successful entrepreneur, be happy, find a good family, be safe and secure. Working towards my dreams, change the world if not the world, and make a great impact on my family and the generations yet to come.

21. I have multiple interests, most of them are confidential, the ones that aren't are the basic common interests e.g. making money, good grades, and others.

22. My interest is to 'Japa' out of this country, sign for a professional football club, and be on a private island chilling without worrying about the bills.

The variegated responses reflect society at large. The most fundamental interest to most human beings, to stay alive, was

taken for granted, and emphasis was placed on other issues like "japa" luxury/comfort, and mobile phones. Also expressed were other lofty goals like finishing education at Chrisland University as a first-class student as well as wanting to support family, make "Mama proud" and contribute to the building of a better Nigeria.

Food featured for two of the students. That represents one percent. But without necessarily using Pavlov's hierarchy of needs, food is a major one of the three crucial interests for the human being to remain alive. The other two are air and water. While the three may appear mundane, they are crucial for life.

Conceptualisation of Interests

How best can I figure this out except conceptualising the word in Yoruba (my mother tongue), before thinking of it in English, our borrowed official language. But this is a problem. Political Science books, unlike the Bible, were/are not translated into Yoruba. So, there are no continuous and consistent efforts to build on the philosophical and political outlook in the corpus of knowledge in Orunmila's Ifa, not to talk of the philosophical depth in Yoruba Proverbs.

It is a shame I failed to follow through on my Graduate School zeal to study the political outlooks inherent in Ifa. I failed to complement the late Professor Sophie Oluwole who,

among other efforts, looked at Orunmila and Socrates. My failure, however, is a societal failure. Many in today's Nigeria are very parochial with shallow knowledge that makes it impossible for them to differentiate between Ifa as a corpus of knowledge and cultural guidance for life and living, from Ifa as religious guidance. The religious brainwashing, especially from Christianity, introduced from the west, and Islam from the Arab world, has led many Yoruba people astray from a rich guidance that should set a proper Yoruba apart from the colonised Yoruba that most of us are.

Since I could not tease out the word interests in Yoruba, I looked at English-Yoruba dictionaries to no avail. With Prof. Adeboye Babalola who had tried to make Yoruba a living language and build words in the modern times long dead, I turned to two minds I knew could offer some help: Dr. Femi Akinkugbe who was my friend from my Unilag academic days, and Mr. Sesan Ekisola, who has been my friend since January 1967 when we became JOGS students. Femi Akinkugbe offered two senses: "fife lati ni ipin" and "fife tokantokan". Sesan Ekisola offered "inifesi" and "anfani".

Femi Akinkugbe, it seems had a focus on human desires and perhaps fundamental desires. In a positive sense, "anfani" which literally implies benefit can also stand for interests. In suggesting that the focus is not in the sense of every day benefits/interests but deep rooted (fundamental) interests for living, I present interests as "anfani gbongbo fun igbe aiye".

While this represents individual interests, national-interest would, in Yoruba, signify "anfani fun orile-ede". I will avoid raising questions in this lecture on why the Yoruba conceptualise nation as "orile-ede", when a country like Nigeria has so many "ede", that is, languages in English.

In trying to explain interests in a very simple manner in English, I turned to the internet and found five senses. These are: "the feeling of wanting to know or learn about something or someone", "money paid regularly at a particular rate for the use of money lent, or for delaying the repayment of a debt", "the advantage or benefit of a person or group", "a stake or involvement in an undertaking, especially a financial one", and, "a group or organization having a common concern, especially in politics or business". These meanings appear to have lumped the singular senses of interest together with the singular sense of interests even though interests as being considered here could be singular or plural.

In trying to understand interests further, I asked some knowledgeable friends on what they respectively saw as interests. The response from Prof. Ade Ibiwoye, my friend since our leadership of the University of Lagos Students Union in 1974/75 was very interesting. His response in Pidgin, (a language recognised by the United Nations, in spite of our denigrating it), when translated into English runs as: "Interest in my little understanding is the 'pikin' (child)

brought into being by an amount of money, effort, etc., that was invested. The bigger the amount the bigger the "pikin". Dr. Issa Sanogo, UN Resident Coordinator for Madagascar puts this mercantile dimension as: "the interest we pay for getting a loan or the reward granted to the one who lent money". However, I would like to quickly note that this dimension of "interest" as put forth by Ibiwoye and Sanogo tends to be singular and incomplete until one adds a rate. The word rate is important. The size of the amount lent out may not be as important as the rate at which the amount will 'born pikin'.

These varying usages address different aspects of the term. However, my focus is larger than the artful robbery that was designed by some historical human beings to have money give birth to money. Money, an artificial form of exchange, was conferred with a status similar to planting and reaping of agricultural produce.

The response from late Ambassador Eloho Otobo on what interests imply was very helpful. He suggested that interest is "something that is of great value for, or likely to affect you". In this sense, interests are significant things or values that are important for living for the individual. They are goals and objectives, needs or desires of individuals.

Levels of Interests: Individual Interests

It is useful to look at the crucial things of value to human beings. The crucial things of value for human beings, we refer to, in this lecture, as core interests of individuals because there are other interests that may be necessary but not immediately life threatening.

Individuals can only remain human beings if they are alive. Otherwise, they are dead bodies and they cease to be beings. Conscious of it or not, human beings need air, water and food, perhaps in order of importance, to stay alive. Access to these core interests is important for life. Air, in particular, we normally take for granted. Perhaps in the future, the capacity to deal with issues of climate change will determine whether we may have to pay heavy prices in order to breathe. After all, when I was a baby, we got our water needs from a rivulet called Owa in Ijebu-Ode. Before I entered Secondary School, our water started to be piped from Yemoji as Owa started drying up and the responsible government of the time started pumping pipe borne water from Yemoji using taxes and derivations from farm produce. Today, those in cities in Nigeria buy water in plastic bottles or plastic sachets. In comparison with water, air is still in relative abundance although both are increasingly being polluted at frightening rates.

However, the asphyxiation of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Officer in the United States, Derek

Chauvin, demonstrated that the human being would be traumatised and die within ten minutes when deprived of air. So would anyone drowning and unable to take in air.

Robert Gerard Sands, better known as Bobby Sands, a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army led a hunger strike while incarcerated at the HM Prison Maze in Northern Ireland. He and his nine other hunger strikers fasted to death thereby further popularising the quest for freedom from British sovereignty by Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland. Sands started refusing food on March 1, 1981 and progressively emaciated as he garnered publicity for an ostensibly larger collective interest for freedom, for Catholics in Northern Ireland. As Sands starved himself in the pursuit of his interests, he was elected into the British Parliament on April 9, 1981 but died on May 5, 1981 before he could take his parliamentary seat. His experience established that a human being could go on for about 66 days without food if water was still at least available. Denial of access to water is more crucially damaging than food for human beings to be alive. Without water and food, Wikipedia suggests that death snatches the human being within 8 to 21 days.

Being alive is a core human interest. In order to realise this interest, it has been conceded that every human being has an inalienable right to life. This legal entitlement is guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and

domesticated in many constitutions. In some constitutions, clauses provide express provisions under which this entitlement to a right to life can be circumscribed. Since air, water, and food are crucial for the fulfilment of the right to life, it stands to reason that these crucial values are a sine qua non for the realisation of the right to life. They should be fundamental rights of human beings. But they are not in many societies like Nigeria. Instead, they are freedoms for human beings to pursue without interference provided that actions to enjoy these freedoms do not interfere with the freedoms of others in society. In effect, individuals, depending on their capacity in individualistic societies strive to have access to air, water, and food. These constitute freedoms for human beings. Having freedom from asphyxiation, dehydration and hunger are important interests for mankind. These interests constitute fundamental freedoms that are crucial for the realisation of the right to life.

Air, water, and food, while important as values for human beings, that is, they are individual core interests, they do not exhaust a listing of human interests. The animals confined in zoos, like human beings, equally require air, water and food to survive. Human beings require more than the right to life and the crucial three freedoms that flow from it for a rewarding life. In other words, for human beings, the real purpose of life goes beyond only survival. Survival alone in

itself does not make for a truly fulfilling human life. Human beings, over time, have demonstrated inherent values for several additional fundamental rights and follow-on freedoms that are more than freedom from asphyxiation, dehydration and hunger.

Consequently, there are several civil, social, economic and political rights that have been reasonably agreed as fundamental individual or human rights flowing from the core interests. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) largely agreed in 1948, in spite of some remaining reservations with respect to questions of universality in the light of the counter positions in some Holy Books deemed superior, sets out basic individual and some groups or collective rights that are human interests.

Levels of Interests: Group/Collective Interests

In small bands of isolated human beings, it is possible to survive as close-nit family units. However, one of the great Greek philosophers, Aristotle, in his book *Politics,* had pointed out that "man is a political animal". His position was that human beings are not lone ranging but social animals living in communities. So, many individual interests within families are articulated within larger communities and in societies.

Expressed individual interests and/or family interests are aggregated either objectively through direct processes for expressing preferences, at times involving the creation of institutions that are granted rights and obligations or simply by ascription, become group or collective interests. In the plural sense of this dimension of interests, it addresses groups - whether of the primordial or the associational types, spatial realities and classes. As per Marxist explanation, classes in this sense, are objective differences among human beings, deriving from their relationships on the ownership of the means of production in different modes of production. This social relationship is significant for the realisation of food since human beings must work in order to eat.

Of course, there are the ascribed interests of a nation-state, within its borders as well as with other nation-states as global interests. And like my students who lacked depth in conceptualising their respective interests as individuals, groups and nations hardly have agreed interests. In some instances, interests are ascribed to groups and nations. This reality has given a lot of problems to Political Scientists in conceptualising national interests. The inability to arrive at respective national interests make it even more difficult to agree on global interests.

Race and Ethnicity

Race and ethnicity both operate similarly in arrogating interests across socially defined lines. Whilst ethnicity hinges on language, tribe and cultural differences, race is based on skin pigmentation, texture and forms of other biological features. Race and ethnicity exploit the variations in the biological and human features of man in defining and arrogating interests. To be able to exploit people of African descent, the Euro-Americans defined them as less human and operated in a way that allowed them to categorise people of African origin as slaves and they easily found justifications in the Bible. The Arabs enslavement of Africans predated the Euro-Americans period. This role of the Arabs requires more investigations than currently happen. Skin colour also plays a role in the definition of people as lower castes or slaves in South Asia and justified by religions. The original Arab/Euro-American cardinal sin against people of African descent has permeated the world, including self-doubt by many people of African descent.

If we use Nigeria for illustration purposes, there are said to be over 300 ethnic groups differentiated by about 500 languages that are as far apart as Russian is to Swahili. Then, within language groups, there are dialect differences. Nonetheless, language differentiations often result in generalisations on ethnic interests. Hence, there is no hesitation in making statements like the Igbo want to own and/dominate Lagos,

and the resistance of which a Yoruba individual owning no land in Lagos should be prepared to make the utmost sacrifice.

Aside from linguistic affinities/differences, differentiated ethnicities occupy different spatial parts of Nigeria. The Yoruba concentration is in the Southwest, the Igbo in the Southeast and prior to the conquests of the nineteenth century, the Hausa in much of the Northwest and to a lesser extent in the Northeast. With the conquests, the itinerant Fulani ethnic group now control the larger Hausa group using force and religion. There is a combination of ethnic groups making up the Northcentral and the South South. This spatial differentiation has resulted in the six geopolitical zones into which Nigeria is extra-constitutionally divided. The geopolitical zones contain states as arbitrarily fixed as thirty-six states plus a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), as stipulated in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria.

Notwithstanding ethnicity and/or spatial differences, a sharp basis for distinctions among human beings, more so Nigerians, is over religious differences. Individuals, in the pursuit of freedom of religion, pursue different religions or a combination as a way of ensuring that they have a place in heaven. Religion as a basis of association and interests' ascription have resulted in the most virulent violence, in some cases within the same ethnicities.

Individuals are born into primordial groups and they are socialised into the values of these groups and exercise some interests within them. Linguistic affinities/differentiations are easily ascribed as basis for interests and differentials of ethnicities.

Associational groups on the other hand, attract adherents on the basis of individual decisions to subscribe to the stated raison d'etre of respective groups. Individuals can easily join or withdraw from associational groups in countries that respect freedom of association.

Levels of Interests: National Interest

Organised society, (made up of individuals, families, primordial and associational groups, production classes), with sovereignty over a specific territory and government as its visible representation is referred to as a State. This is different from the subdivisions within a country referred to as provinces, regions or states. In some cases, a State or a country with a single language like Somalia or an aspiration to be a single union of many peoples can also be referred to as a nation or nation-state.

The State or Nation-State shares some of the characteristics of associational groups, even though individuals hardly come together to form a State in spite of the conjectures of social contract theorists like John Locke and Jean-Jacque

Rousseau. The Divine Rights of Kings had been conjured by some religions on the basis of which a set of human beings dominate the rest. The corpus of Ifa and the Bible expressly endorsed this arrangement in explaining the evolution of the State under a King, as the expression of the collective interests of all individuals within the specific territory. There were Kings conquering others with new States emerging. At least, that was the common evolutionary pattern of States in Europe until the social contract theorists challenged these artificial formulations resulting in the removal of some Kings as others became constitutional monarchs.

The situation in much of Africa was different from the European pattern. The majority of the African States, in spite of minor differences, started as monarchies that conquered other monarchs on expansive lands and controlled them through the force of arms and religious suasion. With the European conquests of other continents and with fraudulent "treaties" that were brutally enforced, Europeans created Colonial States in other continents, including Africa. Even Republican societies like the Igbo, (in the main), having no single ruler and initially referred to as an acephalous society, were forced into accepting the suzerainty of the British monarchy. In this situation, the interests of the British Government were the interests of Nigeria, a 1914 creation of the British. The African potentates who were not consulted became vassals of the British monarch and his/her

government. In effect, the State existed for the articulation of the interests of the British monarch and government.

In his book: *Republic*, Plato, another of the great Greek philosophers argued essentially, that what is good for the ruler is good for everyone in the society. He argued that the natural obligation of the ruler is to foster the well-being of his entire society (the bigger picture). Plato argued that the happiness of the parts (individuals' self-interest) is expendable for the common good. So, in this case, the interest of the ruler is the national interest. Or put another way as Louis XIV, as an absolute monarch, was reported to have said before the Parliament of Paris in 1655: "L'Etat c'est moi", that is, I am the State. If he had really said so (since there are doubts, he did), it meant that his will was the national interest. In Nazi Germany, Rudolf Walter Richard Hess, equally pronounced that: "Hitler is Germany and Germany is Hitler".

Efforts to reduce the powers of Kings in favour of parliamentary governance have resulted in complexities in trying to figure out the interests of the State or national interest. It is easily assumed that representatives and their respective political parties as institutions for the aggregation of individual interests express constituents' interests in Parliaments where compromises are arrived at after rational arguments have been heard. But national interests are not everyday or every other day decisions. They are enduring

standpoints based on lasting values that are as fundamental to the right to life for the individual.

In my first journal publication in 1982, I conceptualised the State "as the means of social control and class domination, a social relation which manifests in the form of brute force and/or ideological socialisation, as well as the manipulation of market forces through economic policies, all of which are designed to ensure compliance with defined property rules". These fundamental stances are crucial not only for the maintenance of domination within a territory but are equally crucial for a State to maintain its survival at the international level, that is, in seeking collaboration or competition with other States.

It is clear that interests at the state level is intertwined with politics, governance, and national priorities. States are driven by a complex web of interests that shape their policies, interactions, and engagement with other nations. States generally are expected to watch out for their national interests. But really, States represent the dominant forces in the territories that they represent.

Levels of Interests: Global Interests

Scholars and statesmen alike do attribute some interests to mankind in general. For instance, peace and security in the world as a whole is often ascribed as a value for all human

beings. This position is clearly stated as one of, if not the primary interest of mankind. Development is also added to this category.

A working visit I had at the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), was an eye-opener on the role of the climatic situation as accounting for a good percentage of the conflicts among human beings. This was a problem that Ban Ki-moon constantly brought to the attention of the world as he served as the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Beyond peace and security are problems of the worsening natural environmental situations in terms of climate change and the general deleterious accompanying situations like depletion of the ozone layer, disappearing bio-diversity, droughts and flooding, melting of the ice at the north pole, pollution of the environment constituting problems for the ecosystem and threatening the quality of air, water, and foods that human beings consume, etc.

Of concern has been the global warming of the earth and the effect of this situation on many aspects of human lives. Meetings are constantly being held on how to reduce global warming as a global interest. However, in spite of the pressures on nature, the more vulnerable countries have, so far, not been able to get the more powerful countries to change track and subsidise the weaker countries in cutting down on scientifically posited causes of global warming.

Purpose of the Human Being: Utmost Freedom

The freedoms that are of inherent values to humanity, (in addition to the UDHR goals), in the current historical situation of mankind are put together as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). And the summation of all the rights and freedoms embodied in the UDHR and the SDGs, I conceptualised as utmost freedom in my book: *Nigerians' Views on National Turmoil: A Situational Quadruple Nexus Analysis,* and expanded further in a study I am contributing to a Festschrift in honour of Prof. L. Adele Jinadu, titled: "Situating Democracy as a Vehicle for the Realisation of Utmost Freedom: An Intellectual Toast to Jinadu".

In effect, the purpose of man is the pursuit of utmost freedom. Former President Olusegun Obasanjo, like many others, challenged this position on the purpose of man in a debate at a roundtable at his presidential library in February 2023. He had countered my statement by claiming that the purpose of man is to serve God. However, the fact is that in order to serve God and pursue a modality for the realisation of that purpose, as opposed to using other modalities, the human being requires freedom(s) that must not be taken for granted.

The rights from which freedoms are derived have been debated for centuries. They have since been stipulated in the UDHR and freedoms flowing from this subsequently and

recently rendered as SDGs. These rights and supporting freedoms are as follows:

S/N	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Freedom Measure
1.	No Poverty	Freedom from poverty
2.	Zero Hunger	Freedom from hunger
3.	Good Health and Well-being	Freedom from want of quality healthcare
4.	Quality Education	Freedom from illiteracy
5.	Gender Equality	Freedom from gender inequality
6.	Clean Water and Sanitation	Freedom from lack of clean water and sanitary health
7.	Affordable and Clean Energy	Freedom from lack of clean & affordable energy
8.	Decent Work and Economic Growth	Freedom from lack of employment and sources of livelihoods
9.	Industry Innovation and Infrastructure	Freedom of access to industrialisation & innovation
10.	Reduced Inequalities	Freedom from unfair, discriminatory and unequal treatment
11.	Sustainable Cities & Communities	Freedom of access to decent cities & communities
12.	Responsible Consumption and production	Freedom of access to consumption & productivity
13.	Climate Action	Freedom from harmful effects of climate change
14.	Life below Water	Freedom of access to life in the aquatic habitats
15.	Life on Land	Freedom of access to life on land
16.	Peace, Justice & Strong Institutions	Freedom from insecurities and injustices
17.	Partnerships for the Goals	Freedom to build partnerships

Rights/Freedoms Guaranteed under the UDHR

The 30 Articles of the UDHR bear specific rights and freedoms.

1. All human beings are born free and equal.
2. No discrimination. The rights in the UDHR belong to everyone, no matter who we are, where we're from, or whatever we believe.
3. Right to life, to live in freedom safely.
4. Freedom from slavery.
5. No torture and inhuman treatment.
6. Equal right/access to the law.
7. Equality before the law.
8. Right to be treated fairly by the court.
9. Freedom from unfair/unjust detention.
10. Right/Freedom of access to trial.
11. Right of innocence until proven guilty.
12. Right to privacy.
13. Right to movement and residence.
14. Right to Asylum.
15. Right to Nationality.
16. Right to marry and have a family.
17. Right to own properties.
18. Freedom of thought and religion.
19. Freedom of opinion and expression.

20. Right to Assemble.
21. Right to democracy.
22. Right to Social Security.
23. Right to Work.
24. Right to Rest and Holiday.
25. Right to access Social Services.
26. Right to Education.
27. Right/Freedom of Cultural and Arts expression.
28. Freedom around the world.
29. Everyone is free, but subject to the Law.
30. The rights and freedoms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are inalienable or cannot be taken away or denied.

Freedoms implicit in the SDGs

It is the summation of these rights and the freedoms flowing from them, that constitute utmost freedom. It is a perfect idyllic state that can only be strived for. Such striving, however, can be allocated weight in a way to measure the extent to which utmost freedom is in existence in a particular society.

However, it is important to note that interests, beyond the individual, could be conflictual even in the family, which is the immediate arena for the articulation of interests beyond

the individual. Aggregation and management of articulated interests become essential at the family level. The modes of aggregation are essentially based on mixtures of levels of cooperation and competition under agreed leadership arrangements in the family institution.

Politics and its Study

What has the discourse on interests got to do with my position as a Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Chrisland University? My academic specialisation is in Political Science and International Relations. Or if you like Political Economy with practical hands-on experience and some publications dragging me into Conflict Studies.

Grasping national politics involves a specialised study that could be approached by a descriptive analytical method or a behavioural orientation using survey methods and statistical analysis. Such efforts benefit from received knowledge by way of reflections of many a philosopher who had paused to understand political phenomenon by way of political theory. Understanding politics at the groups/classes, national and international levels is significant towards comprehending its study as a discipline.

As earlier noted, the right to clean air, water and food are fundamental interests to human beings as well as many other

living things. In large part, air remains abundant and yet to be regularly harvested, controlled, and sold in commercial quantities to consumers. Water used to be like air, but much of the access to it is continuously being commercialised. Since we no longer have the mythical garden of Eden, human beings must work in order to eat.

The process of seeking water and more food has resulted in social relations beyond the individual. In effect, the individual human being enters into relationships at the family, community, and associational groups/classes arrangements in order to enjoy freedom from dehydration and hunger. These collaborative and competitive interests-driven relationships in realising water and food marks the essence of politics. Air is becoming an issue of late given concerns on environmental issues. Human beings have needs beyond air, water, and food. Meeting those other needs involves politics being at play or put another way, the juggling of interests. In effect, the aggregation of all articulated interests and processes involved in providing positive or negative (denials), reactions to interests-driven demands are politics. So therefore, politics is interests.

Power, influence and authority are modalities involved in providing responses to interests-driven demands of each individual, families, groups, classes, spatial entities, and of course, nations/States. Power is not politics as some easily suggest. Power is an important instrument needed in the

allocation of values. In effect, power (the capacity to make others do what they otherwise would not have done), is important in managing interests, that is, in the management of politics.

With power, there is the element of coercion. Influence, on the other hand, appears more subtle. It is the ability to shape the stance of others through persuasion or subtle use of pressure that does not strike the person or the entity at the receiving end that pressure is being exerted. Ideological suasion, for instance, allows religious leaders a lot of power that receivers lap up as an influence. This explains the role of religion as it constantly goes hand-in-hand with those in authority in political orders.

Authority derives from the routinised ways of doing things, even in families. It bestows a right to allocate values to individuals and processes. Here, cultures and religions have set patterns on who has the right to allocate values. At the larger level, the routinised ways of doing things have been rendered into constitutions or formal and informal laws, hence the appearance of legitimacy is conferred on those wielding the toga of authority in allocating interests or values. It becomes the right of those in authority to allocate values. It was on this limited conception of politics that the American Political Scientist, David Easton, had defined politics as the authoritative allocation of values. The fact, however, is that so much allocation of values is taking place

outside of authoritative arrangements at different levels of the striving to satisfy interests-driven demands.

Managing Interests in Society

The management of interests starts with respect to politics in the family. There are differences in how this is done even though in many parts of the world, the father is the head of the family. But in instances in which the mother is the breadwinner, the mother may be the dominant party when it comes to allocating values. Gender differences have also been a basis for cooperation and conflicts of interests in the family as well as the larger society.

To move beyond the family is to face several complex institutional arrangements for managing interests within primordial, ascribed, and associational groups. In the Nigerian situation, as a result of circumstances of birth over which people have no control, many are part of several village groups and/or wards in urban areas. In the village setting, politics in terms of the meeting of interests of individuals and families as well as groups are handled by people imbued with either the Divine Rights to be Kings (hardly Queens) or people who have demonstrated capacity as achievers in the village. Achievements may be prowess in competitive games like wrestling within age sets and groups

The rural/urban dichotomy represents an ascribed associational form that is based on interests of individuals on the basis of where they reside geographically. Michael Lipton, a British Development Economist who recently died on April 1, 2023, was a major influence, though we never met. Reading his book: *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias and World Development,* in graduate school was a major eye-opener on the relative interests of urban and rural areas in society. An examination of Nigeria buttresses his Urban Bias Theory which showed that politicians hear the cries of urban residents more than rural ones and react to please geographical areas with more concentrated votes than rural areas can yield. However, some western countries show the opposite with the more prosperous citizens residing in rural areas.

At the country level, interests are expressed by associational groups as well as ascribed primordial groups. As argued by Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and a host of others, classes emanating from modes of production also engage in conflicts on the basis of the "objective" interests of differing classes.

Complex National Institutional Arrangements

As a result of competing interests in society over the allocation of values, it is not feasible for over 200 million

people to sit and deliberate on the allocation of interests. As a result, the power and authority in a state is wielded through institutions.

The historical path of Nigeria started with the colonial conquests by force of arms as well as the incorporation of other disparate Kingdoms with no cultural affinity into colonies and protectorates that were eventually consolidated into Nigeria in 1914, not for a hundred years as some claim without documentation. The amalgamation that six Nigerians were only invited to witness was not a treaty. Vassal entities do not sign treaties with their colonising power. Nigeria was run as a unitary system of government with power deconcentrated into the hands of provincial governors, divisional and district officers.

As decolonisation approached, different constitutional arrangements were tried until a confederal arrangement was granted as the Eastern and the Western Regions had self-government with the British appearing to be in the back seat. This continued until the 1963 constitution that localised the sovereignty of Nigeria and carved the Mid-Western Region out of the West without addressing similar clamours for self-control by minorities in the East and the North. The central government was increasing in its powers of control over the regions.

The military intervention that from 1966 ran for 33 years, with a civilian interregnum between 1979-1983 bastardised

the pretence of Nigeria running a federal system of government. Though the Ironsi-Nwabueze decree towards a unitary government in 1966 was abruptly nullified, the military command system made Nigeria a unitary government pretending to be a federation. Or how else does one explain Muhammadu Buhari commanding Gbolahan Mudasiru to truncate Lateef Jakande's Metroline transportation in Lagos that was already under implementation. There is no doubt that Nigeria is unique in the world in having what I refer to as a militaristically centralised Federalism.

The Futility of the 1999 Constitution as a base for Democracy as a Pillar for upholding the Will, Interest and Power of the People in Nigeria

I have continued to reiterate that it is deceptive for anyone to suggest Nigeria and Nigerians have been practising democracy since 1999. Voting on election day, in itself is not democracy, more so when there is consistency in the ritualistic sacrifice of the bloods of one or more of the electorate during the perfidy. Technology today is at a level that the National Identification Number (NiN) would allow voting with ease without the many-sided corruptive processes that many are feeding fat on. The 1999 Constitution remains perfidious. It is not possible to build even a liberal democracy on such a constitution that endorses

federal character, emphasising state of origin as opposed to the state of residence, and focuses on alliances of thieves as the basis for the organisation and articulation of interests under an elitist economic order and all within a militaristically centralised federation as opposed to a people's confederacy. Anything resting on nothing can only fall.

Democracy as popularly defined and subscribed to by many nations, ideally reflects the most representative and people-centric form of governance. By design, it is meant to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Democracy in its ideal state seeks sustained improvement on the material and abstract life of the people and further enhances the peoples' contribution to the way they are governed. As argued elsewhere, democracy is larger than periodic elections. Improving on the exercise of liberal modalities for the selection/election of political leaders is best seen in terms of what it really is: the improvement of an electoral process as opposed to democracy.

The conception of democracy I am calling attention to is superior to a fixation on electoral processes, irrespective of performances by those in power, failures on accountabilities, and many other freedoms that are crucial for the good life in a polity. The performances of elected office-holders on all crucial freedoms is very important. Whether elected leaders fail on other important freedoms beyond the freedom to vote should be of serious concern and not left only to the

opportunity to select/elect another party at the next election. Democracy is a preferred structural arrangement or put another way, a vehicle for striving towards utmost freedom. This is by far larger than periodic elections. The current fixation on elections as democracy around the world is a deception that has unfortunately continued to thrive.

Scholars and commentators alike in many parts of the world have for a long time forged a misleading idea that once periodic elections are held, democracy is at play. Nigeria is no exception. Here, this ruse is even more devastating because it is built on a very disastrous 1999 Constitution. As a result, Nigeria and Nigerians have continued to be denied the real essence of democracy–utmost freedom - which involves the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

The illusion of Political Parties as ideal vehicles for Interest Aggregation in Nigerian Democracy

In the real sense of western conception of democracy, the role of viable political parties cannot be over-emphasised. Drawing from the earlier efforts of Edmund Burke, a political party is "a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles in which they all agreed". It has to be emphasised that Burke lived at a time when politics was seen as a male affair. Avoiding Burke's

gender insensitivity, Adigun Agbaje clarified further when he suggested that: "a political party is a group of persons bonded in policy and opinion in support of a general political cause which essentially is the pursuit, capture and retention for as long as democratically feasible, of government and its offices". In effect, a political party with a common ideology not only coordinates like-minded people that are its members as well as undertakes leadership selection for electoral purposes, it also puts itself forward for the aggregation and articulation of the interests of people within a society. Under liberal democracy, political parties are expected to be in constant competition on leadership selection and policy options for a polity. In doing this, political parties put forth their world outlook in the form of ideas that are normally wedded together as an ideology that members subscribe to for guidance.

However, in the Nigerian situation, there are no political parties properly so-called. The shifting alliances that Nigerians call political parties have an identical focus on the capture of political power for the purpose of what Professor Segun Osoba calls primitive capital accumulation, also known as the plundering of national patrimony without ideological differentiation, a situation that the World Bank calls "elite capture". This makes it easy for people to be constantly shopping for places in the shifting alliances that are only united on the zeal for primitive accumulation. At

best, political parties are only vehicles for politicians to organise themselves in the continued free pillaging of Nigeria's resources.

Nigeria is made up of 774 local governments into which the country is divided. The 1999 Constitution that was decreed by an outgoing militocracy suggests that Nigeria is a federation of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. Clamours continue for restructuring that sees nationalities become sovereign units or to have genuine devolution of powers in such a way that fiscal federalism would genuinely operate.

These restructuring positions are oblivious of the over 100 years of operating Nigeria as a single entity that became a nation-state in 1960 but went through a bitter civil war from 1967-1970 as well as running a kleptocracy also known as lootocracy for much of the period. The British looted Nigeria and handed it over to initial leaders who tried to build towards development as a way of improving the life chances of citizens. The Western Regional government showed an example of good governance that was people-oriented. Since then, it has been a rapacious pillaging that gathered pace under the period of militocracy. However, even the unbridled corruption under the military is so relatively minimal when compared to current pervasive levels.

In dealing with the pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria, it has been necessary to broaden its definition as stated in my

works on the subject-matter. In addressing the conceptual inadequacy in the existing definitions, corruption for me is "the abuse of power and/or authority, including manipulation of rules or opportunities, or extortions from another, in the public, private or social realms for self or people in the filial/friendly relations, or inducement (bribery), by another in furtherance of undue gain to the self or a desired party".

Complex International Institutional Arrangements

Beyond the national level, is the international level at which nation-states seek to derive optimal benefits, ostensibly for the totality of the interests in each country. This raison d'etre, as we pointed out, is based on the ascription of interests to the nation-state. Foremost in this is the protection of the sovereignty, (an attribute of a state that makes it free from the will of other states) and territorial integrity of the State. However, this conception is faulty. A State that is unable to meet the basic needs of its citizens but depends on others cannot be truly regarded as a sovereign. Many States, especially in Africa, though rich, are unable to defend their respective territorial integrity, and hence nationals are situated at the weakest point in the aspiration towards utmost freedom and often resort to migration in order to escape from the deplorable realities in their respective countries. The right to life and freedom from poverty and hunger are not

guaranteed by many African States. A State that cannot protect the lives and properties of citizens cannot be a sovereign properly so called in spite of a tokenistic seat at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).

The problem of relative lack of powers at the international level was well-designed by the victors at the end of the second world war. The relative wealth of the United States gave it the opportunity to offer grants and loans to devastated Europe. The US built a veto for itself with respect to making decisions concerning its crucial interests within international entities like the Bretton Woods Institutions as well as on the most crucial organ of the United Nations with power: the Security Council. The US shared the veto power with a few European countries that it had allied with during the Second World War, with only China entering into this exclusive club from Asia.

The extent to which these post-second world war institutions manage at the world level, in the interests of former colonies remains in doubt as experiences are showing. Leadership in some Asian countries like China, South Korea, Malaysia and others, have been able to adopt different approaches, especially in fostering development for the realisation of their respective national interests. Developing countries, in large part, and especially those in Africa, remain in unequal relationships that are really making their respective lots worse. For instance, which African country has the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) helped to avoid the situation I pointed to earlier on, with respect to the cost of my new first car in comparison with my annual salary as a young graduate?

Nigeria was a colony when many of the interests-managing institutions at the international level were being put in place. Nonetheless, it has been able to accede to the treaties that set up several institutions of international governance without the capacity to change them for its national interest, a problem that has continued even with institutions set up after Nigeria's flag independence.

Since that so-called independence, Nigeria has been trying to define its national interest. For this purpose, the country has held two major conferences involving a cross-section of its peoples to define its national interests. The one in 1961 suggested the setting up of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs to assist the Federal Government on its foreign policy goals. I was one of the rapporteurs for the 'All-Nigeria People Conference on Foreign Policy,' at Kuru, Jos, in 1986. The conference largely followed the definition of national interest proffered by the military President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida who had suggested that Nigeria's national interest is coterminous with the national security interest, which he identified as being beyond the narrow sense of military security, offering a conception with a more comprehensive sense of economic, political and social

security. This vague conception, in practical terms, has yet to result in pulling most Nigerians out of poverty. The situation may in fact be worsening.

The Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN), in 2019, came up with a document it called: *National Security Strategy.* In this document, the FGN defined the national interest when it stated:

> "Our interests are the preservation of Nigeria's sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and the welfare of her people. We will preserve democracy, guarantee human security and combat all threats to peace in our territory. As a stakeholder in the global space, Nigeria will continue to contribute to the maintenance of international peace, security and cooperation as well as the prevention and resolution of intra-state, inter-state, regional and international conflicts".

The FGN went further to state the mechanisms it would use to achieve the national interest. In this regard, it focused on multilateral institutions it belongs to. These major institutions for the aggregation and articulation of Nigeria's interests are: The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), and the norms and standards of international

law. The observance of democratic values and their promotion in Africa and beyond as well as the enhancement of cooperation in bilateral, regional and multilateral economic spheres are also in our national interest.

Political Scientists and International Relations experts have not been left out of the effort to define Nigeria's national interest. Many have offered prescriptive answers on Nigeria's national interest. One such effort was by Olajide Aluko who in his popular 1981 essay defines Nigeria's national interest as consisting of six important elements in descending order of priority:

i. Self-preservation of the country
ii. Defense and maintenance of the country's independence
iii. Economic and social well-being of the people
iv. Defense, preservation, and promotion of the ways of life, especially their democratic values,
v. Enhancement of the country's standing and status in world capitals, especially in Africa and
vi. Promotion of world peace.

Aluko suggested that the first three listed are the 'vital' national interest or if you like core interests that cannot be compromised under any circumstances. It is important, however, to note that he was not oblivious of the role that national power capabilities play in ensuring that the core

interests are realised.

Since Nigeria exists in a world dog-eats-dog world nothing stops a stronger power from compromising another country's core interests. Henry Kissinger once threatened that the US forces would waste no time to occupy other countries' oil fields if the US felt its needed oil supplies were under threat. And several examples exist in which greater powers have gone beyond threats to actually invade and compromise the territorial integrity of other countries as the world looked on.

As stated by the FGN above, Nigeria is in several national interests managing arrangements for collaboration with other nation-states in several bi-lateral and multi-lateral institutions. In some of these relationships, especially with regards to powers beyond Africa, like the United Nations Organisation with presence in its Main Organs, Commissions, Offices and Agencies like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), it plays not even a second but third fiddle role. Other entities meant to address the problems of creating abundance for Nigeria, include the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AfCFTA).

A Practical Framework for the Analysis of Politics

The political economy orientation offers the opportunity to link efforts aimed at understanding interests in society and the allocation of values to the economic base: the

management of basic needs of human beings. In trying to understand why countries like Nigeria have not been able to have relative peace in order to achieve development, respect for human rights and humanitarian resilience, four of us undertook four major studies for the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Under this, I covered West and Central Africa as two major sub-regions that are important pillars on which the African Union rests.

Executing this task involved extensive review of relevant literature, interviews with focused groups and among practitioners, as well as the use of questionnaires. The UNECA was emphasising the need to look at the nexus/interlinkages among the four pillars, in going beyond the initial focus on three pillars referred to as the triple nexus. The effort involved building towards a quadruple nexus that is crucial for improvements on the life chances of Africans. The four interlinkages/nexus pillars are: peace and security, development, respect for human rights and humanitarianism.

However, the study resulted in a conclusion that it is not enough to examine the quadruple nexus in order to come up with credible answers to the problems of Africa. It is equally imperative to look at some crucial situational foundation issues. In this respect, it was clear that there cannot be any progress without addressing four situational foundation issues: governance in terms of leadership deficit and

corruption; support/problems from external dynamics, inadequacy or the stunted nature of institutions as well as the availability of resources. The framework that allows a comprehensive focus on the interlinked four pillars resting on four situational foundation issues, I called Situational Quadruple Nexus (SQN).

The most important problem facing Nigeria, nay Africa, is the failure to have a stream of visionary leaders that could transform the country/continent. Unlike the case in some Asian countries, African leadership aside from some of the ones that played roles in decolonisation, have largely been myopic and easily contented with personal aggrandisement as opposed to focusing on the interests of society at large, as expected of Plato's Philosopher-Kings.

Adequacy in the provision of good leadership would have made the curtailment of corruption a reality. Corruption destroys much in society, more so when it is widely spread as we have shown in the study titled: "Corruption Blooms in Nigeria". Importantly, I have argued elsewhere that corruption has an inverse relationship with the rule of law. So, to tackle corruption successfully is to enhance the rule of law.

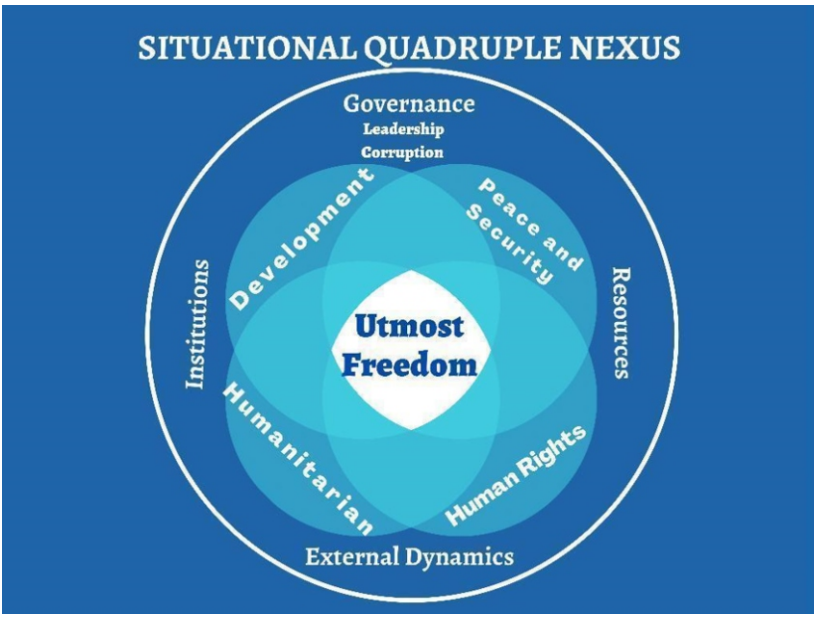
As elaborated in my book on *Nigerians' Views on National Turmoil: A Situational Quadruple Nexus Analysis,* external dynamics is the totality of influences–positive and negative

that affect the policy choices, especially from the point of the relationships between African states with major non-African States or international interests. External dynamics goes beyond neo-colonial as well as post World War II structures to include others like climate change issues and the impact of terror franchises. External Dynamics are often ignored by scholars in the liberal orientation.

Institutions are crucial for the managing of interests as well as the processing of the same into allocative decisions in society. Institutions in this sense, are more than political parties or political pressure groups. They include national and international non-governmental organisations, Faith-Based organisations, traditional authorities, and primordial institutions, the media etc. The short lifespan of Nigerian/African institutions has made it impossible to realise enduring entities that could have aided the processes of ensuring non-conflictual articulation and aggregation of interests as well as realise development, respect for human rights, and ensuring resiliency in handling humanitarian situations in Nigeria/Africa.

The importance of resources for any attempt to address the four pillars for the realisation of utmost freedom cannot be over-emphasised. In this respect, the focus is on both material and human. While Nigeria does not face shortages in human and material resources, the same cannot be said of many African countries.

Situational Quadruple Nexus



Babafemi A. Badejo., "Peace & Security Operate Within a Quadruple Nexus". Presentation at the International Peace Day town hall & community gathering, September 21, 2020.

I decided to use this framework to take a closer look at understanding the political situation in Nigeria. There were 207 responses from Nigerians to the survey instrument that was implemented online. The Situational Quadruple Nexus (SQN), is to address the challenges of governance, especially with respect to leadership deficiencies and corruption. Of

import also is the interplay of external dynamics, ineffective institutions, poor management or application of resources with resultant worsening peace and security, growing human rights violations/abuse of rule of law, impeded development and grossly inadequate response to the humanitarian crisis, misuse of humanitarian interventions.

The views of Nigerians from the survey were more important than the spewing forth of terminologies or new concepts. The survey shows that Nigeria is currently dealing with a complexity of problems, including multi-faceted conflicts making peace and security very elusive within a vicious cycle of leadership deficit and corruption, hostile external dynamics similarly faced by many African countries, institutional failures as well as the availability of abundant resources that have been turned into curses for the nation in the case of Nigeria. The inability to make progress on any of the four pillars affects all others. The end result is the failure to make progress on sustainable development goals.

One important question that I raised in the book is on the subject of democracy, especially as epitomized by the periodic charade of elections in Nigeria. My views on democracy align with those of other Nigerians' as shown by the statistics from the survey.

What is to be done?

This crisp title used by the revolutionary V.I. Lenin is useful as a guide as opposed to a justification for a revolution in Nigeria. Indeed, a purposeful revolution towards the South African Ubuntu (humanity to others) and Yoruba's Omoluabi (great character coupled with integrity, morality, and virtue) principles, which have also been reflected in the souls of other ethnic and cultural groups would have been the best option. However, it is hard to conceptualise the feasibility of a revolution, more so, when an academic is not in the jungle organising for one. The answer on what is to be done is necessarily an endless but committed search for paths towards utmost freedom, that idyllic state of a strive towards paradise on earth as opposed to the religious deception to placate human beings on earth by suggesting that paradise can only be in heaven.

Many cultures, including Orunmila's and of Plato's, are clear on the position that the first line of action for change is to build on the basis of the purposeful actions of a critical mass of transformational visionary leaders. The diversionary talks on followership as a problem in Nigeria should be cast into the dustbin of history. Though it could be argued that followership could have a lot of influence on what leadership does. For instance, in maintaining that Nigerians have been far too docile and silent about corruption and bad governance. And the background of followership not

demanding and seeking enough accountability like elsewhere. However, what this really suggests is the failure of the realisation of a counter-leadership from society at large. It is generally agreed and constantly said that the fish rots from the head. Effective leadership is necessary across society and not just among politicians.

A dedicated Philosopher-King type of leadership is able to deny itself personal interests in favour of overall societal interests. On how to get such leadership, Plato pointed to isolating children as they were being born and training them into believing the Noble Lie, that they are special and imbued with capacity to be just in the quest for utmost freedom in society. It may be late in the day to seek such leadership from among the current set of corrupt socio-political and cultural leaders in Nigeria. However, the role of deliberate dedicated training targeted at younger citizens with formative minds for such huge revolutionary leadership cannot be over-emphasised. Healthy virtues, the right orientation, and pro-human development mental moulding can be infused from the very early stages of life as part of a leadership development strategy. This suggests that Africa needs transformation away from the colonial education arrangements that have largely continued in the post-colonial period. Such cannot meet the needs of realising transformational visionary leaders from the process of educating the children being born now.

Leadership is necessary for the handling of other governance issues like corruption, ensuring of the rule of law, deft movements in nation-states to avoid being the victims of predators at the international level, the starting of the continuous process of building sustainable just institutions to assist on the articulation and aggregation of interests as well as the management of resources for the realisation of utmost freedom by all.

I have done some work on how the problem of corruption and leadership deficit, in a rough guess, account for well over half the challenges that Nigeria is facing. In "Corruption Blooms in Nigeria", which was published in 2023, I proffered some suggestions on handling corruption.

The efforts in fighting corruption in Nigeria have proven too weak to tackle the magnitude and complexities of corruption in Nigeria. There is a relationship between the level of success in the anti-graft war and the level of understanding of the complexities of corruption in Nigeria. For instance, efforts at fighting corruption in Nigeria are inadequate and poorly implemented, with nothing meaningful in terms of results to show on the anti-corruption fight, to a great extent, because there is an error of reasoning or misconception that the fight against corruption starts and ends at the federal level. This is wrong. Corruption cuts across the various levels, arms including ministries, agencies, departments of

government, of course, the private sector and business world, and the socio-religious realms. This understanding is key in fighting corruption.

Successive administrations, including that of President Buhari, have not faced corruption frontally with the full force of a political will that goes beyond mere lip service. Though possibly a hasty conclusion, I do not think the objective realities would allow President Tinubu to do any better, even if he ever wanted to fight corruption. The resultant outcome is unfruitful half-heartedly done prosecutorial gimmicks and noise, cherry-picking, and selective haphazard trials.

There is a need to ensure that in dealing with corruption, no one is immune or beyond the reach of the laws, by virtue of whatever relationships or status. This is indeed very important as part of steps by the President and those in top leadership positions, to begin to demonstrate their commitment to the anti-corruption war, through their personal examples of zero tolerance for corruption.

The fight against corruption in Nigeria requires concerted commitments and ingenuity as part of a holistic approach. The usual dramatic/impressionistic attempts at hasty punitive/prosecutorial efforts have proven inadequate. Besides, if the prosecutorial approach would amount to anything to hold on to, the entire judicial system, (including the NBA), needs serious fixing, and cannot continue to

operate like it is business as usual if any fight against corruption is to be taken seriously.

The Nigerian people have been too docile and tolerant of corruption for too long. Hence, corruption will continue to thrive until a determined organised results-driven set of Nigerians arise in a firm resistance against the current order that continues to ridicule and insult national sensibilities. Building institutions that results-driven set of people will work within is equally important or if inserted in current institutions, they are bound to fail.

The 1999 Constitution is too tolerant of corruption, and this needs to be addressed. The deliberate rendering inadequate of relevant instruments for anti-graft in the provisions of the 1999 Constitution needs to be addressed. The Constitution avoided having a short clause granting citizens access to declared assets of public office holders. It pushed the responsibility of passing a bill to the National Assembly. No such bill has been passed since 1999. In addition, the access to and scrutiny of public documents by virtue of the 2007 Freedom of Information Act needs to be fully operational. Also, the gaps for nepotism, inequalities, injustice, and mediocrity along the lines of federal character must be intentionally addressed.

Finally, there is the need to pursue a multi-pronged approach that brings along dis-incentives, punitive measures, value

reorientation, institutional (e.g. full implementation of the lapsed National Anti-Corruption Strategy), and technological innovations of course all backed up by the political will and real intentions to reduce corruption. For instance, technology is only to raise alarms on the manipulation of institutions in aid of corruption. But in the case of Nigeria, the problem is not to raise alarms since so many acts of corruption are constantly in the public space. The problem is normally the lack of the will to curb corruption as certifiable corrupt leaders are recycled in Nigeria's musical chairs syndrome.

Another crucial governance issue is to address the suffocating militaristically centralised federalism that has not worked and cannot work in Nigeria, given the differences in values, goals, and objectives or simply put, the interests of the disparate nationalities making up the aspiring nation-state. It is as a result of the unworkability of the current arrangement that some segments of Nigeria are articulating the need to operate as independent nation-states. The Nigerian situation appears to have gone beyond talks of a return to the Republican Constitution of 1963. Nigeria at a sovereign national conference (different from the 2014 National Conference in that all decisions at the meeting become operational without waiting for another ratification process), would decide to operate as it did during the self-government period and without an extractive colonial Governor-General

but a Swiss type of evasive national President who is hardly seen or heard. This is a confederation. A confederation would give the necessary confidence to work as an entity benefitting from a large scale without any part hindering the other. The case for a confederation needs to be revisited by dusting up the pre-civil war Aburi Accord.

Some Concluding Remarks

Politics is interests. It is the efforts of individuals, families, communities, geo-political entities, nation-states, sub-regional/regional blocs/groupings, global/international realities to articulate, aggregate and realise responses to interests. The dominant interests in such struggles build the rest of society in their image. To prevent an upturn of the social order that is beneficial to a minority of social forces, an ineffective welfarism is usually put forward to imply meeting the interests of all.

In some societies, the aggregation and articulation of interests are carried out through organized arrangements called political parties. It is important that there is nothing sacrosanct on there being at least two of such political parties as the West suggests. Most of the time, the so-called two parties are fractions of the same rooted liberal orientation that has identical positions on the organisation of the State in the interests of the same dominant forces. On the contrary,

the Chinese model of a purposeful mass single party has played a significant role in pulling citizens out of poverty. However, the focus on utmost freedom is necessarily more than ameliorating poverty. The human beings in society as pointed out earlier require more than air, water and food. The sustainable model for utmost freedom is yearning for realisation.

Ethnic groups of all kinds, referred to by some as nationalities in their own rights in Nigeria, also play the aggregation and articulation of interests. Though despised, even terrorists of different types (freedom fighters in some situations) are also modalities for the aggregation and articulation of interests.

Power that some define as politics is nothing but a mere instrument for the realisation of interests. Power could be in terms of brute force, judicial enforcement, or soft power that could take the shape of deployment of religion or other ideological suasion to ensure obedience. In many societies, effective and efficient governments wield power as implementation agents on the basis of agreed rules and regulations (rule of law), to ensure the allocation of resources to satisfy interests, including responding to the needs of those who are periodically incapacitated by adverse natural occurrences.

Nigeria is no exception to the juggling of contentions and compromises for the realisation of the interests of its citizens. The country itself exists within a world order in which all countries strive to realise the interests of their citizens or really the interests of the dominant social forces in respective countries. This is important. All nations are trying to realise their respective interests at the international level. In this strive, conflict, and cooperation are deployed as necessary. Crucial is the fact that no country sacrifices its own interests for another, never mind the naivety of some African mis-leaders, who erroneously expect that their respective countries' failure to develop would be solved by erstwhile colonisers or so-called multilateral "development" institutions. These multilateral institutions are no doubt, helpful in providing analgesics on the persisting pains from underdevelopment. However, these institutions are not structured to cure underdevelopment towards achieving sustainable development.

A high gullibility of Nigerian, nay African leaders, make them erroneously expect that former imperial/colonial powers would push aside their interests in extracting from the African continent to meet their own objective needs and become redeemers of Africa. However, the strive towards utmost freedom is fundamentally an endogenous effort of a purposefully mobilised critical mass with an incorruptible leadership imbued with the deftness in ensuring that external

dynamics are favourable, even when the objective plans of external interests are towards keeping Africa underdeveloped.

I have tried to explore the diverse dimensions of interests at individual, filial, state, and international levels. Interests is indeed a powerful force that drives human actions and shapes the course of our world. By recognising these complexities, the dependencies and interdependencies of interests, it is possible to strive for a future where individual aspirations, national ambitions, and global cooperation could find more convergence or alignment towards the realisation of common goals. And central to these is the pursuit of utmost freedom which is the summation of the goals articulated in the UDHR and the SDGs.

Political Science and International Relations scholars are involved in trying to unravel interests shaping the allocation of values, beyond the family, at the primordial, other ascribed and associational groups, classes, spatial divisions of nation-states, the nation-state as a whole, as well as, at international levels.

In the end, politics is interests.

CITATION OF PROFESSOR BABAFEMI A. BADEJO

Professor Babafemi Adesina Badejo was born at Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria. He is a product of both the Anglican and Baptist Primary Schools at Ijebu-Ode. He subsequently proceeded to one of the foremost schools in the Nigeria of those days: Ijebu-Ode Grammar School (JOGS) for his secondary and higher secondary school education.

At the University of Lagos, (UNILAG) for his B.Sc. Political Science degree, Babafemi Adesina Badejo, enjoyed the Western State Bursary and Federal Government Merit Scholarship. He finished top of his 1976 Political Science class, with a Second-Class Upper Division result, which also earned him the Chancellor's Award. He actively participated in Student Unionism and was elected the University of Lagos Students Union Public Relations Secretary, in 1974/75.

Upon completing his National Youth Service, he returned to UNILAG to work as a Graduate Assistant, under the then arrangement as the University's Council appointee. As a beneficiary of the visionary policy of late Prof. J.F. Ade Ajayi to train academic manpower anywhere in the world for UNILAG, he proceeded on a fully funded scholarship to study Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in September 1978.

Babafemi A. Badejo obtained a Ph.D. in Political Science in June 1982 (inclusive of a Master of Arts, Master's in

Philosophy, 6-month fieldwork in Pakistan, and a dissertation on the political economy of Pakistan all completed in less than four years), from UCLA. In spite of a 2-year diversion for National Service and one-year pre-training leave service at UNILAG, his Ph.D. was attained at age 27. In between these competing academic commitments, he found time to support the worldwide anti-apartheid campaign while at UCLA as a student and continued into the early 1990s.

In 1982, Prof. Badejo returned to his classroom commitment as a Lecturer II at UNILAG, despite all the enticing opportunities for a stay-back in the USA. He attained the status of a Senior Lecturer in 1986.

He was an active contributor to policy debates on Nigeria's foreign policy, including while on a sabbatical at the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs (NIIA) as well as rapporteur for the All-Nigeria Foreign Policy Conference of 1986.

In the sheer quest for knowledge, he obtained a Bachelor of Law degree from the University of Lagos, in January 1990, winning the Abiola Ojo Best Student Award and Taslim Elias Award for Jurisprudence at graduation.

He became a Legal Practitioner in December 1990 after attending the Nigerian Law School.

He was appointed by the Nigerian Government as Special Assistant to General Olusegun Obasanjo in the General's bid

for election as the UN Secretary-General from October to November 1991 and participated as a Nigerian delegate at the 46th UN General Assembly.

Badejo was in 1992, the first African invited to be part of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), team on its flagship annual *Human Development Reports* and was part of the team that put together the UNDP International *Human Development Reports* for 1993 and 1994 and consulted on the South African *Human Development Report* in April 1995.

He started work at the UN Operation for Somalia (UNOSOM II) in May 1993 on a leave of absence from UNILAG. In 1996, he officially severed his employment with UNILAG for a career with the UN. For twenty-three years and ten months, he served the UN at peace support operations in Somalia, Kenya on Somalia, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Darfur, Sudan. He retired on the 31st of March, 2017 as Head of the Political Affairs Section, UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

Some of the other previous roles he held at the United Nations include:

- Chief of Staff, Joint Mediation Support Team (JMST), UNAMID, May 2014 – June 2015
- Chief of Staff, UN Integrated Office in Guinea-Bissau, (UNIOGBIS), September 2009 through to May 2014 and charged with the implementation of the UN-wide integration in Guinea-Bissau. He also represented the

Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General at many ECOWAS Summits.

- Principal Adviser on Regional and Sub-regional Issues, United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), Monrovia Liberia, June 25 to September 27, 2009. And before this, as Head, Political, Policy, and Planning Section, at UNMIL, Monrovia, Liberia.
- Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, (DSRSG) UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS).
- Officer in Charge, Disarmament, Demobilization, and Demining Division. United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

These roles saw him give major advisory support to the United Nations in the pursuit of peace through dialogue on many mediation efforts and reconciliation conferences in many countries as well as support post-conflict peace-building missions.

In the course of his service with the United Nations, he built leadership and mediation expertise from some programs, like the UNITAR Regional Training Programme to Enhance Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Africa, 2001; ICRC, International Humanitarian Law course, Nyeri, Kenya, 2002; UN Senior Mission Leaders' Course, New Delhi, January 2008, as well as Leadership Development

Programme, July 2008, in New York and in Switzerland, February 2009

Today, Professor Badejo wears a number of caps in his commitment to service to humanity. He is referred to as a Pracademics being a renowned, highly experienced academic who combines research on comparative and international political economy with vast hands-on practices on peace & security, development, and humanitarian affairs.

He is a member of the Nigeria Bar Association. He obtained certifications in mediation and was a member of the Lagos Multi-Door Courthouse Panel of Neutrals; an Associate of, the Chartered Institute of Arbitration U.K.; and an Associate member, of the Business Recovery and Insolvency Practitioners Association of Nigeria.

He has extensive experience in academics at the University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Lagos, Lagos, and briefly with the University of Maiduguri, Nigeria. With almost 17 years at the University of Lagos, he taught and mentored many successful students and undertook research on many issues, especially on comparative and international political economy, before leaving for peace support operations service with the United Nations.

He was appointed the first Professor at Chrisland University, Abeokuta, and assumed duties on March 11, 2021. He is currently the Head of the Department of Political Science, Chrisland University.

Prof. Badejo considers the amelioration of leadership deficit/corruption and external dynamics around which Africa is operating as very critical for the development of Africa. Beyond his pan-Africanist interests, he believes in a just and equitable world for all.

He served as Strategic Adviser to the Office of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bahrain from September 2018-November 2020 and was part of the Bahraini Delegation to the UN General Assembly for two consecutive years and supported the Bahrain Visions Forum dialogue among world leaders.

He is a public speaker of international repute. In 2018, he spoke at the Bahrain Visions Forum on at the UN General Assembly. In 2019, he spoke in Addis Ababa, Dakar, Johannesburg, and Lagos at AU and/or UN fora on either the African Continental Free Trade Area or the African Humanitarian Agency – an Agency for which he singlehandedly provided the Framework for its Operationalization. He also spoke at the Oslo Peace Center, Norway in June 2019 and the Bled Strategic Forum in September 2019 at the invitation of the Prime Minister/Foreign Minister of Slovenia.

On April 1, 2017, Dr. Badejo assumed office as the Founder and Chief Executive Officer, and lead consultant at Yintab Strategy Consults (YSC) which was incorporated in early 2017 and from where he joined Chrisland University. Through the platform of YSC, he was motivated to embrace

innovative means of knowledge sharing, research, and supporting impact-driven ideas, with no limitation to boundaries.

Professor Babafemi A. Badejo is a renowned professor of Political Science and International Relations who has contributed immensely to the academic world with over 48 publications. These include books, Team Publications, Referred Articles, Monographs, and Chapters in books, as well as other major research work in progress. He has contributed to the academic world by attending the UN Resident Coordinator Assessment Centre, in March 2002, and passing in the first category without reservation.

Babafemi A. Badejo is a Nigerian academic who has written extensively on the topic of corruption in Africa. He has written chapters in books on the State of Anti-Corruption in Nigeria: 2015-2019" The Persistence of Corruption in Nigeria: Towards a Holistic Focus", "Economic Philosophy and Constitution Making in Nigeria", "Politicization of Ethnicity, Inequities and Electoral Violence in Kenya", "Managing the Somali Conflict Post Mbagathi Conference", "Governance in Kenya after Moi", "Party Formation and Competition", "Being a Nigerian These Days", "The Associative Sector and the Poor in Africa", "The Political Implications of the African Economic Community" among other impactful articles on Africa continent at large. He is also known for his work on the Inter linkages between the Development, Peace and Security, Human Rights, and

Humanitarian Pillars in the West and Central Africa Sub-regions.

Prof. Badejo enjoys excellent relationships with many world leaders including as Senior Adviser to the current President of Timor-Leste & Nobel Laureate, H.E. Jose Ramos-Horta, former President Olusegun Obasanjo, as well as Shaikh Hussam Bin Essa Al-Khalifa, immediate past President of the Court of the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Prof. Badejo is married to Mrs. Adejumoke Badejo, a union of over 45 years. The couple incorporated Yintab Limited in 1989 and invested in providing nursery and primary education in what started in 1990 in a rented bungalow under the leadership of Mrs. Badejo who acquired and grew the bungalow into a two-story building at Shogunle – a lower-class community. The schools expanded to a larger site at Ikorodu as Yintab Private Academy, providing education from creche to Senior Secondary School levels.

Professor Badejo, and his wife are blessed with four children: Mrs. Adeyinka Abosede Sanogo, Mrs. Adetokunbo Oluwatobi Sodiya, Mr. Adebola Oluwademilade Badejo and Mrs. Abidemi Oluwadamilola Ayodele.



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