

# Literature As A Potent Weapon Of Enforcing Political Consciousness In Nigeria: A Critical Study of Emeka Nwabueze's Parliament of the Vultures

<sup>1</sup>MOSES Africa Adakonye; <sup>2</sup>BABA Dahiru Jen & <sup>3</sup>ABUBAKAR Yakatun

<sup>1</sup>Department of Languages  
The Federal Polytechnic Idah, Kogi State, Nigeria  
[mosesafrica42@gmail.com](mailto:mosesafrica42@gmail.com); 07031897355

<sup>2</sup>Taraba State Polytechnic, Jalingo, Nigeria  
[babadahiru2@yahoo.com](mailto:babadahiru2@yahoo.com); 08064323525

<sup>3</sup>Department of Languages  
Niger State College Education  
[abubakaryakatun@yahoo.com](mailto:abubakaryakatun@yahoo.com) : 08030071954

## ABSTRACT

In a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria, it is very difficult to change the mindsets of majority of citizens that are gullible and charged with deep spirit of complacency towards discharging their civic responsibility. Citizens of such a society are what they are, because their leaders are not what they should be. The moral imperative in literature remains the only antidote of such a society because of its potentials of making people become good citizens. The paper therefore, adopts the social realism as its theoretical frame-work to explore Emeka Nwabueze's *A Parliament of the Vulture* as a potent drama that enforces political consciousness as well as directs the consciousness of the readers towards cultivating a desirable political attitude. The paper concludes that if Nigerian electorates are politically conscious it will help reduce their gullibility and vulnerabilities to the elites' political manipulations and maneuvering as it subtly unveils to them the difference between propaganda and facts. It also recommends among others the needs for political awareness as it spurs the politicians and their followers to be politically responsible in order to deepen the nation's fledgling democratic ethos.

**Keywords:** Literature, Political Consciousness, Political elite, Electorates, Complacency

## INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has suffered pervasive setback in her quest for political advancement as a result of its undemocratic intrigues among the political class and the followers. It is expected that having practiced democracy for more than twenty years (First Republic-1979 to 1983 and 1999 to date) the country should have by now made some remarkable achievement in terms of politics but the crass undemocratic attitudes of Nigerian electorates and the so-called political actors have become the bane of the nation's political advancement. According to Omodia (2012); "Nigeria in this transformational period witnessed ethicized political parties, mutual suspicion especially between the North and South, political thuggery and intolerance among others." To Sagay (2012) "The fourth republic is a complete failure in the sense that the very thresh hold that constitute democracy has failed. That is free, fair and credible election..." Obafemi (2011) lends credence to this when he observes that:

The Nigerian elections has been defined and characterized by an orgy of blood-letting, mindlessness violence, incivility, muck-raking, thuggery and wanton destruction. Everywhere in the country, electioneering campaigns have been converted to bizarre war theatres, a rage of cannibals and a feast of jackals. The immediate future, even for the incurable optimists like us, is gloomy and uncertain. The

Sun newspapers reports that “at least five Nigerians die from politically motivated mayhem every day since the year began” totaling more than 205 death from political violence. The perpetration of violent politics and the imminent death to our fledgling democracy by their unpatriotic political rascality, every politician, including those political parties without any known ideologies find politics as veritable lucrative trade item –a highly rewarding business.

Omodia (2006) also added that:

As a matter of fact in recent time there have been provocative statements made by political leaders which have threatened the survival of the Nigerian state. Such provocative comments no doubt fueled the Nigerian civil war and have resulted into spate of ethno-religious crises in the country today.

The above buttresses the fact that Nigeria’s present body polity portends serious threat to her fledgling democracy because since its inception in the country, it has been characterized by despicable acts, desperation, political manipulations, violence and electoral frauds. For example God-fatherism has also taken the center stage of the nation’s politics unless an individual has successful gladiators backing and bank rolling his expenses else he/she is a loser. According to Ake (1996); “the elites show no restraint in manipulating the people to capture political power...as a result of political competition tends to assume the character of warfare and the struggle for political power is regarded as a matter of life and death...” No wonder, Nigeria’s democracy from 1999 till date has not witnessed any sustainable growth. It is in view of this, that Obafemi (2011) posits that:

... in the wake of recent elections which Nigerian politicians love to conduct like warfare, you saw mindless hysteria explode once again in burning streets and gruesome murders,. Indeed, how can you forget, when some of you here are still in mourning over the friends and relations you lost. Remembering just how many times you have experience such chaos in your life time: and how even as we are sitting here, the violence and wanton slaughter may erupt again abruptly, just outside there; (through kidnapping) and considering how you and your dear ones have survived this war only by the sheerest circumstance and not by any official provision for the citizen’s protection – knowing all this. You will need effort of persuasion to agree that our dear country is indeed a jungle of disturbing dystopia!

Omodia (2012) also asserts that:

The present democratic dispensation of the Nigerian fourth republic is one which has been characterized by heightened socio-economic, ethno religious and political conflicts which poses threat to national security as seen in recent time in different parts of the country...

The fact is, the continuous crass behaviour of the members of the political class and supporters has been worrisome to the Nigerian writers. Consequently, most writers write to address this alarming situation. For example Obafemi (2011) admonishes that; “This is the time for sober reflection. The political class should pause a bit and think of the nation itself, its survival, its health and it stability. Otherwise, there will be no country to lord their victories over after the ruins of violent politicking.” For Achebe (1985); “... we have stood too long on the side-lines and too many of us have adopted the cynical attitude that since we cannot beat them we join them...” It is against this backdrop that this paper explores Emeka Nwabueze’s *A Parliament of the Vultures* as one of Nigerian drama that poignantly encapsulates the dramatists’ vision to create political awareness in order to wean Nigerians off their dangerous complacent attitude towards a new politics of peace and fair play in Nigeria.

### **Conceptual Clarification**

The political realities of a society cannot be isolated from its literature as they feed each other and reflect on one another. Ngugi (2007) avers that:

The way power in the society is organized, affects writers and their writings in several ways. The writer as a human being is a product of history time and space. As a member of the society, he belongs to certain class and he is inevitably a participant in the struggle of his time.

Urama, (2010), defines literature as:

Literature is a representation of life, therefore, every literary writer; critic and reader have in mind that literature is an effective instrument for national consciousness and development. Literature helps in the information of a national awareness. It expresses the nation’s worldviews, its past and present which in turn lead towards its future. Therefore, literature expresses economical, political, psychological, moral and social aspects of the people’s life.

Kehinde (2009), also defines it as; “a moral force that aesthetically directs the reader’s mind-sets towards the cultivation of what is good and desirable.” This affirmed the potential of literature in the issue of politics.

Political consciousness on the other hand is always the outcome of the way one thinks of political situation. It describes a person’s awareness of the true nature of politics and in a politically charged sense, being politically conscious is to be awakened to ones’ political roles as stakeholders in politics. Karl Marx (1848) defines political consciousness as; “a person’s political sense of self consciousness while false consciousness is the way in which material ideological and institutional process in capitalist society is used to mislead members, proletariat and other class actors.”

#### **The State of Political Consciousness in Nigeria**

The political stability of a democratic system is a function of the level of political awareness and positive involvement of the citizens in civic political matters. Appadorai (2004), declares that; “...democracy demands from the common man a certain level of ability and character; rational conduct and active participation in the government. According to Itse (2012) since the inception of the fourth Republic we have not had any election that can be describe as a free, fair and credible. What we have had are very bad elections extremely fraudulent overwhelmed by rigging...” Looking at the recent political behavioural manifestations in the country one will agree that the populace have not been able to free themselves from unwholesome spell of the political elites It is in view of this that Achebe (1985); declares that:

The Nigerian electorates by now should have sunk deep into the ground under the sheer weight of its electoral shame; for it allowed itself to be fooled not twice but twice-two hundred times... They must wake up to the danger of the politicians’ ethnic and divisive tactics...our inaction or cynical action are a serious betrayal of our education...our holistic mission and succeeding generations will have no future unless we save it now for them. To be educated is, after all, to develop the questioning habit to skeptical of easy promises and using past experience creatively.

This is the painful realities of the present times as the political class assiduously uses ethnic, religion and other divisive tactics to canvas for vote in the pursuit of their electoral goals thereby disfranchising the voters. Consequently, they are deprived voters the power to hold them accountable through common action with other voters across the nation. It is in view of this that Achebe (1985); declares that:

We have deprived ourselves of our potential power over the politicians by falling prey to ethnicity and other divisive bogeys they conjure up and harness to their bandwagon. While the electorate is thus emasculated by such instigated divisions, the successful politicians will link up even with his tribal enemy once they get to the legislature in order to promote measures of common interest to their new elite class.

The pertinent questions are; do the current antithetical political activities of the Nigerian political class reflect the tenets of democracy? Does their supporters’ crass political behaviour show that they are politically conscious? Does the unquestioning attitude of the Nigerian electorate show that they are politically conscious? No doubt, further discussion in this study will unravel the answers to the above questions. According to Adetoro, (2009):

The civic incompetency of Nigerians have become a subject of debate as a result of inappropriateness of incivility, political chauvinism, inter-religious crises, as well as inter and intra-ethnic violence in the country’s political behavioural manifestations.

Achebe (1985) captures Nigerian’s political life as; “...In every area of our national political life we perform below our potentials, like a car with a little water in its fuel tank, accumulated dirt in its carburetor and carbon deposit on its plugs.” The British High Commission to Nigeria, Paul Arkwright (2018) also recently describes the Nigerians’ undemocratic conducts in Ekiti 2018 election; “as illegal, against the law or a form of electoral misconduct like rigging and ballot stuffing.” Mair (2000) also avers that; “the political administration performed extremely poorly... with the continuing political and ominously, increasing ethno/religious turmoil which sent Nigeria into a spiral political decline.” This invariably informs the urgent need for this kind of study as vast majority of Nigerian voters today are not political conscious and do not know their civic rights.

### **The Need for Political Consciousness in Nigeria Today**

According to Omodia (2012):

The unfolding political events in Nigeria today has shown a situation where the Nigerians hope could be said to have been dashed as a result of the disconnect majorly between the political leadership and followership. This no doubt may have further propelled the heightened activities of ethnic militia especially in the Nigerian South-South, South-East and Boko-Haram in the North-East which is threatening the unity of the Nigerian state.

The political class and supporters' political behaviour from 1999 to date are completely inimical to democratic practices. One may be compelled to conclude that, as a people we learn nothing from our past experience as ethno/religious politics still flourished and enjoy sway in the nation's politics in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Odivwri (2012) avers that; "... the insistence on certain part of the country to produce the 2015 presidency has shown that ethnic and religious politics is still with us and will continue to plague the body politics and unity of Nigeria as a sovereign state." Today, the political elite use ethnicity and religion as important tools for campaign mobilization thereby breeding animosity and heating up the nation's polity. This invariable means if Nigerians are not able to free themselves from the unwholesome spell of the political class else it will be impossible for them to launch a generation of politicians that would respond appropriately to the challenges of the nation's critical times.

The fact is, no society can talk of sustainable political advancement without her citizens being politically self conscious. According to Adedayo (2016):

Being politically conscious will help to reduce our manipulative vulnerability and easily differentiate between propaganda and facts, help propel both the ruling party and the opposition parties to optimum performance of their roles in politics of the nation. Consequently, political consciousness will also help us in assisting the government in analyzing program for the vulnerable and less privileged on the street. This will also help in the spreading of the desired change to every nook and cranny of the country, and liberating our society from underdevelopment by placing our dear nation in its right pedestal among community of nation.

Apparently with the enormous benefits to be derived from being politically conscious no forward looking nation can afford to continue to watch her citizens remain political dupes. This is why Adedayo (2016) defines politically conscious as: - helping people to develop a political sense of their own right.

- helping to unravel the self doubt fostered by subordination and discrimination and enabling people to recognize their individual power and linking with others to address common problems.
- providing the basis for the kind of sustained and informed citizen's participation necessary to hold the powerful interests accountable.

These are absolutely critical for Nigerians to know before the next general elections across country. Miller (2002) also avers that:

...political consciousness is guided by a commitment to human rights and justice and an understanding of power and inequality in social, political and economic systems and values. It is hating injustice and the system and structures that perpetuate it but not hating people. It is an art of respect and working with one another, seeing the other as a fellow human being shaped by social forces both perverse and praise worthy joined in a common quest and struggle for dignity.

This explains why this study articulates the need for political consciousness as it does not only involve questioning current power dynamics and demagoguery but geared towards changing the psyche of Nigerians who have adopted the cynical attitude of the fact that since "you cannot beat them you have to join them."

### **The Inextricable Connection between Nigerian Literature and Politics**

Imaginative literature deals with human relationship as such the issues of politics cannot be treated in isolation. Literature permeates the political happenings of a society, as its major role is to create awareness of one's own existence, sensations, thoughts, surroundings, etc. According to Ngugi (2007); "The African writer have no choice but to be politically committed in his writings. The fact is, the writer has no choice of whether to remain neutral or must take sides with people or the side of those

forces that kept the people down.” Nnolim (2007) also clearly pontificates that politics enters literature at those times when the fate or destiny of people and classes are locked in the death throes of survival, when continuity in a people’s way of life is threatened.” Wa Thiong’o (2007) further avers that; “imaginative literature deals with a people’s consciousness and politics with the operation of power in society, are reflected in one another and do act on one another.” This shows how the two are inextricably linked.

The proliferation of the Nigerian literature (drama, poetry, prose) today is stirred up by the Nigerians’ increasing dangerous political class’ maneuverings and the electorates’ naivety and cynical attitudes. It in view of this, that Ojaide (2002) notes that; “The criticism of political leadership and ranging on the side of the masses are major concern of the contemporary African literary artists.” To Onwudinjo (2005) “The themes of political consciousness are dominant and recurrent in contemporary Nigerian literature. Such themes aim at arousing consciousness of the Nigerian masses to the political condition of the Nigerian nation.” Onowubi (2014), also affirms that; “the Nigerian writers’ disgust with the crop of politicians and supporters cut across all political parties in Nigeria...” it is against this backdrop that most Nigerian writers engaged in writing about the nation’s political predicaments. For instance Achebe’s *A Man of the People* (1986) uses characters like Honourable Chief M.A. Nanga and Odili Samalu to depict the political class’ powerful influence over the common man. He reveals in the novel that:

Chief Nanga as a born politician could get away with anything he says or does. And so long as men are weighed by their hearts and stomachs and not their heads the chief Nanga’s of this world will continue to get away with anything. He had rare gift of making people feel even while he was saying things harsh to them- that there was no ill will in his entire frame...

No doubt this depicts the perpetual power of the Nigerian politicians over the common man that the power belongs to as a result of his ignorance, greed and low sense of political consciousness. It is these unending years of Machiavellian politics of maneuvering that the Nigerian literary artists continuously write to change. As Nwokeneme (2012) puts it; “... popular writers in Africa have thrived as writers by subverting the status quo and provoking politics.” To Osofisan (2016), “Nigerian writers must use literature to question history, question environment and question people... This is the only way our society will survive.” Osofisan (2001) further affirms that; “... Literature must be used to play it role in the advancement of our society in the urgent struggle against false consciousness and propaganda...” Achebe (1975) also declares that:

Any African creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of contemporary Africa will end up like being completely irrelevant like that absurd man in the proverb who leaves his house burning to pursue a rat fleeing from the flame.

It is in view of the above that most Nigerian writers write to expose the political realities of their times. Their works are majorly set out to expose the socio-political ills within the contemporary society and imply ways in which those wrongs may be addressed. To Angmor (1984); “the issue of literature and politics is one of continuing relevance as the writer constantly finds that the political terrain of his environment affects his output. He further notes that; “the two subjects relate because the social situation from which literature springs is very much determined and controlled by political forces.” Nwokeneme (2012) also reveal that;

...there is no way that the playwrights who use history or contemporary event as their raw material could avoid the big issues of the moment or the national circumstances of which politics not only forms an integral part, but has imposed its full weight due to the turn democracy has taken in Nigeria...

This is essentially what Nwabueze’s *Parliament of the Vultures* explicates as it attempts to influence a people’s political consciousness.

### **Textual analysis**

The play *Parliament of the Vultures* is self-image of the Nigerian nation as a result of the appalling attitude of the political class and the high level of political naivety of the citizens. It paints unflattering portrait of the hypocritical nature of the political class and followers that have infested the Nigerian political arena. It reveals the high level of politicking among the political class for personal

aggrandizement as well as their flagrant violations to human rights as exhibited by some of the characters below:

**Madam Omeaku:** What matters is the position you get in parliament, that's what determines your financial security... (9)

**Chief Habamoro:** It's concluded. Now let us repeat what we have sworn before Ogbunabani. Anyone here who reports any other member to journalists, or who accuses another member of any offence without going through the chairman, anyone who talks evil about anyone here, especially with regards to financial gratification, may Ogbunabani rub that fellow with ash. (59).

**Chief Habamoro:** You can start with a hundred million if you need supplementary funds, we can always divert from the education allocation.(67)

**Mr. Brown:** Chairman, parliament does not purport to represent anybody. It represents itself. The last speaker should be made to withdraw his statement,

**Mr. Brown:** Mr. Chairman, there's a kind of subterranean Marxism a king place in this Parliament. We have to run the parliament in our own way as long as we achieve results... And you must agree with me honourable members, that Marxism is a very dangerous phenomenon. It challenges the power of the man who has worked very hard to achieve material satisfaction. It gives a false sense of achievement to loafers who have not worked hard enough to deserve financial wellbeing. It gives the have-nots who, of course don't deserve to have, the impression that their plight was brought upon them by people who through hard work and ingenuity, have been blessed with financial satisfaction. Mr. Chairman a person reaps what he sows. A fowl does not eat in belly of a goat. There must be satisfaction in every society and anybody who preaches against it is guilty of treasonable felony punishable by death. We can't wipe out social stratification. It exist every where even in heaven... (A. P.O.V. 2011, 73-74)

**Chief Habamoro:** ...Honesty and integrity are relative. However, we shall here to the tradition of our predecessors. Board membership should be reserved for people who helped the party during elections. This should be supplemented by the addition of other people who can prove their cooperation to the members of parliament. Our people say that it is the firewood gathered during the dry season that we utilize during that rainy season. I'm sure honourable members understand my meaning.

(A. P.O.V. 2011, 73)

The above conversation distil how literature permeates into the subject of politics to expose to the readers what their political lives have being. Madam Omeaku, Chief Habamoro and Mr. Brown are parliamentarians in the play and archetype of the Nigerian leaders in the Senate and National Assembly that have perpetually continued to hoodwink Nigerian populace since the inception of democracy in the country for their self interests. Mr. Otobo and Dr Parker in the play represent the caliber of politicians Nwabueze wants for the nation. Otobo reveals that; "some of the parliamentarians did not go to school at all; but they have PhDs in political maneuverings... They manipulate even the educated ones just as they manipulate the masses..." (34) This delineates the deeply entrenched kind of politicians in Nigerian with a view to wean the politically duped off the unwholesome spell of the political class.

The characters in the play reveal the major aim of the parliamentarians as their conversation is only centered on their pursuit for personal goals. Mr. Brown reveals in the play that; "...Parliament does not purport to represent any body. It represents itself." (88) It is against this backdrop that Sagay (2012) declare that; "... the politicians are just there to promote their material interest without any consideration of the country." Achebe (1998) also describes this political situation as; "...the seminal absence of intellectual rigour in the political thought of our founding fathers, a tendency to pious materialistic woolliness and self-centered politicians..." Osofisan (2001) also corroborates that; "greedy parasitic elite... who have grown increasingly vicious against one another, while they exploit the common people as mere fodder in their power grabbing tussle." It is ridiculous that a nation that

has been practicing democracy for close to two decades is still riddled with such inept political leaders.

Nwabueze also reveals the political class' callous disregards for human life in the play. Looking at this callous attitude, Obafemi (2011) observes that; "our politicians seem not to care a hoot if they must turn the guns on our heads, if that secure victory for them... They forgot that the nation belong to all of us." This we see in the conversation of the political actors in the play:

**Mr. Brown:** By the way, what does the public know?

Who tells the public what it hears? (29).

**Madam Omeaku:** They can't do anything. They can only talk. The best way to deal with a man who talks much without any action is to ignore him (28).

**Dr Parker:** Shakes his head repeatedly Ignorance, illiteracy. How can people reason like this in this twenty-first century? Sometimes one begins to get ashamed of being a black man? (39)

This obviously reveals the political class' mentality about the electorates and how the entire Nigerian populace constitutes huge, helpless electoral dupe in the hand of the politicians.. Indeed, it is time to create political awareness as no nation in the world has progress with her vast majority of people political naive and complacent about how they are governed. In the words of Obafemi, this is time for sober reflection the political class should pause a bit and think of the nation's survival

## CONCLUSION

The Nigerian dramatists have assiduously continued to use their works to expose the Nigerian political predicaments with a view to arouse the people's interest in the issues of responsible leadership and followership in the country. This is because, it is the only way to reduce political maneuverings and deepen the nation's democratic ethos. According to Achebe (1985), avers that; "the moment we can free our minds from the political actors' unwholesome spell, then we can raise a generation of politicians who have the political-will to rise appropriately to the challenge of our critical times." Adedayo's (2016) argument on the need for political consciousness unveils the rationale behind this critical study:

... being politically conscious implies getting up to date and valid information about what the government does, why such is being done, and ... by doing this, we will not only be enlightening ourselves about the latest happening, but also will be able to voice our opinions in favour or against such policies that may be anti people. That act in itself beautifies democracy. Also it will ensure we keep our government on her toes in achieving her electoral promise... By so doing we will act as a formidable check and balances to government actions and inactions

This apparently unveils why Nwabueze's *Parliament of Vulture* creates a bold picture of the urgent need for Nigerians to be politically conscious. Thus Dr. Parker in the play avers that; "...Parliament is not a secret society. It is absurd that parliament should hide its activities from the same people its purports to be representing." Indeed, Nwabueze's play re-echoes Achebe's *A Man of the People* and other literary works that educate Nigerians on how to exercise their political power and civic duty. This is by voting into power credible politicians like Dr Parker and Otoro. Dr. Parker's comment in the play ends the argument in this study; "It is shameful! ...The way things are going ..." (39)

## RECOMMENDATIONS

From the above comment, we cannot afford to be onlookers on the nation's present body polity. The study therefore, recommends the following:

- i. We must as a matter of necessity continue to use both formal and informal popular civic education to re-orientate the general public on how to resist electoral misconducts that may bring into power wrong people like Habamoro, Brown, Madam among others as seen in the play .
- ii. We must use this kind of literature to ensure that people can find their voice, contribute to national issues and choose credible and honest people who want to serve through a free, fair and credible electoral process.

- iii. We must also ensure our political parties are well institutionalized as a sustainable and sustained structure are key to an assured future of a democratic system as seen among the parliamentarian in the play.
- iv. The play call for urgent adoption of Professor Patrick Lumumba's concept of 'political hygiene' in our present political system is to ensure that the wrong politicians like Habamoro are flushed out of our political system.
- v. Finally, Nigeria belongs to all of us and as people of common destiny; we must sincerely collaborate with writers like Nwabueze in their struggle to create political awareness and ensure that the individual participation in politics is not taken for granted.

## REFERENCES

- Achebe, C. (1975, June 18). "The Role of the Writer in a New Nation" *Nigeria Magazine*, pp. 157
- Achebe, C. (1998). *Where the Problem Lies the Trouble with Nigeria* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Achebe, C. (1969). *A Man of the People* London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Adedayo, A, (2016). <https://consmeswordpress.com/>
- Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and Development in Africa* Ibadan: Spectrum Book Limited
- Angmor, C. (1984). "Literature and Politics in Ghana", Being a Paper Presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on African Literature and English Language University of Calabar
- Appadorai, A. (2004). *The Substance of Politics* (Fourth Impression). India, Oxford: University Press
- Dudley, B.J. (2001). *Politics in Crisis in Nigeria* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press
- Arkwright, P. (2018, July 21). *Punch*: "Ekiti Election: Vote-Buying as Bad as Rigging" <https://punchng.com>
- Nwabueze, E. (2011). *A Parliament of the Vultures* Enugu: ABIC Books & Equip. Ltd.
- Falade, D. A. (2007). The Role of Social Studies Education in Inculcating Democratic Ideals in Nigeria *Journal of Theory and Research in Education* 10 (1),16-23
- Itse, S. (2012, May 26) "Interview with Charles Adingupu" *Vanguard* [vanguardngr.com](http://vanguardngr.com)
- Marx, K. (1848). *The Communist Manifesto* <http://www.Marxist.org/archive/Marx>
- Mair, Karl. (2000) *This house has fallen: Nigeria in Crisis* Harmondsworth: Penguin; Ibadan: Spectrum.
- Nnolim, C. (2007). The Writer's Responsibility and Literature in National Development 3<sup>rd</sup> School of Graduate Studies Public Lecture University of Port-Harcourt, SGS Lecture Series.
- Nwokeneme, L.O. (2012). "Literature and Politics: Socio-political Issues and the Question of Responsible Leadership in Emaka Nwabueze's A Parliament of Vulture" *NATECEP Journal of English and Communication Studies*, Vol.8.
- Odivwri, J. (2012). Ethnic Politics in Nigeria Accessed 20 July 2012  
<[http:// www. ngex.com/news/public/article.php?](http://www.ngex.com/news/public/article.php?) Article ID.
- Ojaide, T. (1989). *The Endless Song* Lagos: Mulhouse
- Ojaide, T. (2002). *Poetic Imagination in Black Africa* Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press
- Okeke-Ezigbo, E. (1982). "The Role of the Nigerian Writer in a Carthaginian Society": *An African Journal of New Writing* 21, 28-37
- Omodia, S.M (2006). Political Leadership and Democratic Survival in the Nigerian Fourth Republic *Indian Journal of Multi- Disciplinary Research*, Vol.2(2).283-288..
- Omodia, S. M. (2007). Governance and Democratization in Africa: The Nigerian Experience, *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(1).124-138.
- Omodia, S. M (2012). *Political Leadership and National Security in Nigerian Fourth Republic* A Lead Paper Presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> National Conference of the School of General and Administrative Studies Federal Polytechnic Idah, Kogi State.
- Onwudinjo, P. (2005). "Political Consciousness in Contemporary Nigerian Poetry: A Study of Ada Ugah's Naked Hearts and Ballads of the Unknown Soldier" *NDUNDE Calabar Journal of Humanities* Vol. 6(1), 62-73.
- Osofisan, F. (2001). *Insidious Treasons: Drama in a Postcolonial State (Essays)* Lagos: Concept Publications Ltd.
- Soyinka, W. (2014, March 2<sup>nd</sup>). Why I Rejected the Centenary Award. *Vanguard*,
- Wa Thiong'o, N. (2007) "Writers in Politics: The Power of Words and the Words of Power" *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*. Ed. Tejumola Olaniya and Ato Quayson, London: Blackwell Publishing, 476-482