CHAPTER II

Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years: The Odyssey of the Spirit

As suggested in the introductory first chapter Soyinka the literary artist and Soyinka the political activist cannot be viewed separately. The postcolonial Nigerian situation has degenerated so much primarily because of the power hungry politicians that writers and activists are required to take up the cudgels on behalf of the beleaguered people and try their best to stem the rot and set things straight in order to achieve goals, while people like Ken Saro-Wiwa focused largely on their activist politics and writers such as John Pepper Clark-Bekederemo endeavored through their literary works Soyinka combined political activism with literary productions and achieved remarkable results. It is for this reason that critics have often noted how he has employed literature as an instrument of social change and how he offered his commentary and criticism on the Nigerian policy, polity and politics. His rise to international fame consequent upon the Nobel Prize has not alienated him from Nigeria in the least. He continues to be seriously concerned with and a keen observer of the evolving Nigerian situation and readily involves himself with it in whatever way the situation warrants.

It is thus important to understand that Soyinka’s activist stance and his involvement in the Nigerian social and political life provide the staple for his works, especially his two novels The Interpreters and Season of Anomy because they are structured around real life experiences of the Nigerians. These works mean a lot more
when read against the backdrop of the Nigerian history. Soyinka’s life experiences and his philosophy which are all faithfully recorded in his several books of memoirs starting with *Aké: the Years of Childhood* (1981), and ending with the latest *You Must Set Forth at Dawn* (2006). However the memoir *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* is of particular significance since it contains the basic tenants of Soyinka’s philosophy and his experiences which shaped his mind and eventually his literary works as well. Above everything else, it describes his experiences as a writer-activist and Nigeria’s throes as a newly independent nation which contributed to the shaping of both his novels. It can thus be read as a prequel to both his fictional works. This proposition gains additional strength and legitimacy from the fact that *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* has been conceived in the spirit of a fictional work in spite of it dealing with hard facts. Soyinka in fact creates a fictional character called Maren who serves as his alter ego or doppelgänger and goes through experiences that closely resemble his own and expresses views that are not at great variance with his own.

As the full title *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years - A Memoir 1946-1965* states the book concerns itself with Soyinka’s life and the Nigerian history between the years 1946-65. During these years, as a person, Soyinka had undergone a transition from an obedient school boy adhering to the liberal Christian doctrine bequeathed to him by his parents to an angry young man impatient with the peculiar mess (penkelemes) that Nigeria landed itself in as soon as it became independent. His impatience eventually assumes the shape of his constant fights with corrupt politicians and public servants, his objection to the abuse of power and resultant violation of rights, and his faulting the degeneration of institutions and all pervasive lawlessness. For a deeper understanding
of *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* and its importance to Soyinka’s fictional works it is important to go into the details of Soyinka’s life and the Nigerian history from 1946 to 1965 in a matter of fact manner since in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* itself is only a fictionalized version of the historical developments of the period. It is said that Soyinka felt it necessary to fictionalize facts in order to protect the identity of his friends who figure prominently in the book and also perhaps because the Nigerian reality was so sordid that it could not be presented without modification or dramatization in the interest of not offending our finer sensibilities.

By 1946 Soyinka completed his studies at Abeokuta Grammar School. He demonstrated his literary powers already winning by then many prizes for composition in 1946. He joined Government College in Ibadan which was then the nation’s most sought after secondary college. At this college Soyinka had to face several difficulties because of abusive seniors. He was therefore happy to complete his studies at this college as soon as possible and to seek employment as a clerk in Lagos. While working in Lagos he wrote several radio plays and short stories for the Nigerian radio. But he always wanted to study further. The opportunity came in the form of admission to the University College in Ibadan which was then affiliated to the University of London. Soyinka’s association with Ibadan began thus as a student and continued well into his life. With a population of more than 2.5 million according to the 2006 census results Ibadan is the second largest city in Nigeria and an important commercial centre at that. It was founded in 1830 as a Yoruba city state in 1893. Ibadan came under the British protection and made the capital of the Western Region. The city’s Yoruba character is unmistakable. Although Ibadan has many important landmarks, historical sites and
cultural institutions such as the Museum at the Institute of African Studies, the Bower Memorial Tower and Cocoa House it is known chiefly for the first university of Nigeria, the University of Ibadan, which attained its autonomy in 1962. About this university Ibadan could boast of being the home for the most sophisticated scientific and cultural community in the whole of Africa. And it is at this university that Soyinka studied and later worked. However, his experiences were neither uniformly pleasant nor his life free from anxiety and protestations because of the constant and unhealthy interference of the new ruling class in the university affairs. It was while living in Ibadan that the first seeds of protestant rebellion were sown in the mind of Soyinka.

After graduating in English Literature, Greek and Western history from the University of Ibadan Soyinka relocated himself to Leeds in England in 1954. At Leeds University he worked under the world famous literary critic George Richard Wilson Knight (1897–1985) and successfully defended his M.A. Simultaneously, his engagement with fiction and plays continued. His study of Greek drama eventually led to his merging of Yoruba modes of presentation with Western theatrical traditions. This resulted in his first important play titled *The Swamp Dwellers*.

Soyinka’s interest in the native dramatic traditions earned him a Rockefeller Research Fellowship in 1960. He proposed to study the Nigerian traditions of public performances by returning to Nigeria. Once back in Nigeria, Soyinka plunged himself into hectic dramatic activity and extensive travelling across the country apart from producing major plays such as *The Trials of Brother Jero* and *A Dance of the Forests*. This latter play was accepted for performance on the occasion of the Nigerian Independence Day but was unceremoniously dropped because of its perceived satirical
and critical contact. In *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* Soyinka returns to this and to several other disturbing experiences and offers a detailed account of the inside stories.

As a Rockefeller Foundation Research Fellow, Soyinka was tenuously attached to the Department of English Language of the University of Ibadan. But he quit the University in protest against the interference in its affairs by the politicians in positions of power. He moved in 1962 to the University of Ife when he started working at the Department of English Language. During this time Soyinka vehemently opposed government policies, especially censorship, that sought to rob people of their basic rights. He was also simmering within himself with impatience and irrepressible anger at the way things were shaping up in Nigeria after Independence. He had many hopes and aspirations for his nation and he thought of himself as a part of the Renaissance Generation. But this much dreamed of Renaissance on the social, cultural and political fronts was nowhere in sight. The new ruling class of politicians continued with the colonial policies and in most cases proved themselves to be far worse than the colonial masters. Soyinka found his peers and fellow intellectuals either acquiescing or despairing. They were no match to the raw power wielded by the political class. Soyinka therefore described them as the lost generation. Nigeria came to be a nation where mediocrity ruled, greed took precedence over reason and the vision of postcolonial nation turned into a nightmare. Power and control came to be concentrated in the hands of predators and maniacs out to inflict any damage on the nation, any injury on the collective psyche of the people, and cause any harm to the interests of Nigeria as a nation so that their own selfish interests are served and their own psychopathic needs are met.
From out of this disturbed situation, not frustration and helplessness but a strong will to protest emerged in Soyinka’s first novel *The Interpreters* (1965). This novel brilliantly captures the mood and the spirit of the time by focusing on five idealistic Nigerian intellectuals who have freshly returned to Nigeria after their long stay abroad. They immediately find the post-Independence Nigerian reality to be completely different from the Nigeria of their dreams. They then make their efforts, individually and severely, to actualize their dreams for Nigeria.

For Soyinka things were not greatly different at the University of Ife either, nor were they for others like him. The government sought to impose its own policies on the university, oblige the university authorities to toe the government line and to ensure pro-governmental behavior on the part of the university teachers. For Soyinka this was totally unacceptable because he had a high concept of university autonomy. He therefore quit the university in protest. He was also utterly unhappy with the way elections were being conducted and the fraudulent practices that crept into the system. In a dramatic act of protest Soyinka forced to radio announcer to replace the tape of the Western Region premier Chief Akintola with his own that contained a message asking Akintola to get out and to take with him his shameless followers. The radio station hold up resulted in his arrest, but because of the intervention of the community of writers across the globe he was released a few months later. Around this time Soyinka came out with one of his most famous plays *Kongi’s Harvest* which in most ways codifies his criticism of the Nigerian politicians. He also relocated to the Lagos University and began his career there as a senior lecturer in the Department of English Language. He put the freedom offered to him by Lagos University put to the best use. He started
giving political speeches in which he criticized personality cult, official and political corruption and dictatorial African regimes. In the process Soyinka emerged as a true activist-writer, combining his writing with activism and using the experience and popularity gained in one field to buttress the other.

By 1967 the political situation in Nigeria considerably worsened and the country stood on the verge of a civil war. The Biafra region inhabited mostly by the Ibo tribe to which Soyinka himself belongs, wanted to secede from the rest of Nigeria. The demand for the Republic of Biafra had a long history of discrimination, prejudices, misrule and political corruption. The Ibos of the region patiently put up with all this for a long time but finally decided to end it. They saw their final deliverance in separating from the rest of Nigeria and form an independent nation of their own called the Republic of Biafra. For obvious reasons the Nigerian rulers and Lagos found this demand unacceptable and even outrageous. They let loose violence on the Biafra people on a large scale. There were rumors of both the parties equipping themselves with lethal weapons for a final show down and spending their scarce resources on the acquisition of weapons. Soyinka found these developments very unpalatable, and in keeping with his practice of acting alone he paid a secret, unofficial visit to Biafra and met the leader of the Ibos Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. He used his persuasive skills to stop the Ibos from pressing their demands for Biafra in the interest of Nigeria and its future well-being. Soyinka’s mission was a failure since both the parties to the Biafra War misunderstood him. The Nigerian president General Yakubu Gowon ordered the arrest and imprisonment of Soyinka. No final charges were ever brought against Soyinka and so he languished in jail for more than two years without trial and most of the time in a
solitary cell. He had to make extraordinary efforts to gain access to reading and writing materials. He regarded his experiences in jail in his prison diary *The Man Died*. In fact writing was his means of staying alive and keeping his mind intact. He was freed from prison in October 1969 when the Biafra War for a separate homeland for the Ibos ended in defeat. Soyinka spent the months following his release from prison on a friend’s farm in the South of France trying to recuperate his physical and mental faculties. It has to be said to the credit of Soyinka that the prison experience, instead of weakening his will power, helped him in emerging stronger and more determined to fight injustice by whatever means possible when he came back to Nigeria.

Although *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* technically stops with the recounting of events in Nigeria and in the life of Soyinka up to 1965 it contains enough material that serves as the staple of Soyinka’s second novel *Season of Anomy*. Every earth shaking incident usually has a long period of incubation. The Biafra War, and the consequent violence in which thousands perished, too had a long history of invisible violence perpetrated on the Ibo people in the form of denial, discrimination and prejudice. The actual war itself was only the culmination of this long process of violence. Soyinka recounts most graphically some of these forms of violence towards the end of *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years*. That way it may be reiterated that the book *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* forms the basis of *Season of Anomy* as well.

As it has been already pointed out in this chapter *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* is a fictionalized version of Soyinka’s autobiographical experiences. Soyinka’s experiences, especially those that have been described in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years*, were too public to be dismissed as being unique and personal. They have great
social, political and even historical relevance and therefore they should be viewed as characteristic and typical of every Nigerian citizen, conscientious intellectual, committed literary figure and political activist. It is precisely for this reason that Soyinka sufficiently distances himself from his experiences by, among other things, calling himself by a different name, i.e. Maren. This device seems to have helped Soyinka in viewing his own life experiences from a detached perspective and with a measure of objectivity. It also perhaps helped Soyinka in effecting a catharsis of his pent up feelings, accumulated anger and suppressed emotions. He has been able to make a clean breast of himself and portray his tormentors in the right light. The Nigerian situation itself seems to have called for this technique since it was so bad that if the writer lost his sense of humor in fictionalizing it he would in all probability descend into insanity.

The fictionalization of Soyinka’s life and times in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* also served the purpose of historically, politically and socially contextualizing his two novels *The Interpreters* and *Season of Anomy*. Had Soyinka not thought of publishing *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* in 1994 more than two decades after this second novel *Season of Anomy* was published and retrospectively dealt with the experiences of the period of their writing much of the meaning and import of these two novels would have been lost on the reading public. When read in tandem with *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* these two novels emerge as the authentic fictional accounts of the Nigerian history. Soyinka’s dramatic works, none of them, has a one to one correspondence with real life experiences in Nigeria of the immediate postcolonial period. It thus so happens that *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years, The Interpreters* and
*Season of Anomy* form a continuum one supplementing the meaning of the other and one evolving from the other.

Attempt has been made to study closely of *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* as the main memoir that provides and contains rich material that has been later shaped into the two extraordinary novels. It shall also be our endeavor to view *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* as a work of fiction and as a forerunner of Soyinka’s novels even if in temporal terms it appeared decades after the novels themselves were published.

*Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* is a massive 382 page long if somewhat loosely structured volume. Its value and worth lies not in its bulk or structure but in its relevance to Soyinka’s fiction. As we have already mentioned earlier *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* reads like a fictional work. In fact, in some ways it reads even better than a novel because it seeks to tell the truth thinly disguised as fiction rather than transform reality into something unrecognizable for the sake of maintaining literary values. In the foreword to the book Soyinka admits:

*Ibadan* does not pretend to be anything but faction, that much abused genre which attempts to fictionalize facts and events, the proportion of fact to fiction being totally at the discretion of the author. My adoption of the genre stops short of the actual invention of facts or events, however, or the deliberate distortion of the history or character of any known figure. (ix)
Soyinka found the Nigerian reality so sordid and repulsive that he could not think of presenting it except in a fictionalized form.

Soyinka mixes personal experiences with public events all through the book and what emerges from the exercise is a very faithful, thought provoking and highly entertaining account of Nigerian history and polity during the crucial years preceding and succeeding the Nigerian Independence. It was a period of transition from the colonial rule to independence and self-rule but in qualitative terms there was hardly any difference. The native politicians who replaced the colonial masters were far worse, intent as they were on holding on to power, maintaining their own hegemony and furthering their own interests rather than evincing any interest in public good. Because of misrule corruption became all pervasive and started affecting institutions and individuals leading finally to violence of the worst kind. For Soyinka this state of affairs was absolutely unacceptable because it meant trampling on the dreams he and other intellectuals like him had for independent Nigeria. The disturbing experiences that Soyinka goes through harden him as a fighter for the cause of public. They also have an educational value since at the end of every such experience he has an epiphany. The Soyinka that emerges from this book is a non-conformist critical insider and a crusader who is utterly uncomfortable with and saddened by the mess that Nigerian landed itself in following Independence.

Soyinka does not describe his experiences, more correctly the experiences of Maren, his alter ego, in chronological order. There are innumerable flashbacks and digressions which appear to draw our attention away from the main argument of the book but on deeper thought we find that they certainly contribute to our overall
impression of Nigeria which was in penkelemes or peculiar mess. The phrase ‘peculiar mess’ draws our particular attention to the title of the book. It has an interesting genesis which is edifying to note. As Biodun Jeyifo explains in his book *Wole Soyinka: Politics, Poetics and Postcolonialism,*

The word is a corruption of “peculiar mess” and was coined by the popular supporters of the demagogic, charismatic and populist politician, Adегоke Adelabu who had used the phrase “peculiar mess” in the regional assembly to characterize the violent and volatile fight-to-the-finish, take-no-prisoners political culture of the country’s postcolonial rulers. … the word signifies the national political space as one that more or less makes exile as much an interior, spiritual condition as it is an experience of external, physical removal from the national homeland. (208)

In the first chapter of *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* titled “Homecomer” we meet a somewhat surprised Maren when he sets foot on the Nigerian soil after a five-year stay abroad. He has returned to Nigeria armed with a research fellowship awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation to study the native forms of dramatic presentation. His reputation as a dramatist has been already established in Nigeria since two of his plays were already staged at the University of Ibadan. From his conversation with Komi his friend who has come to receive him at the Lagos Airport we learn that Maren is expected to take to civil service and become a part of the corrupt Nigerian establishment. However, he is averse to the idea of joining the Nigerian mainstream which proves that right from the beginning Maren is critical of the corrupt practices that
Nigeria as a nation was getting used to. Instead, he wishes to work at the University of Ibadan as a researcher since he believes that the universities have not been corrupted by the politicians and other wielders of power. Ibadan, the city also has a sentimental value for him.

The feeling was that it would not be Lagos, where he had first earned a living and which might therefore claim to have turned him into an adult; and that it would not be Abeokuta where, after all, he had been born; nor Isara, his second home and birthplace of his truculent grandfather; nor indeed any place that he had yet to visit, but Ibadan itself, with its rusted arteries, its ancient warrens and passions and intrigues, that would confirm what he had begun to be apprehensive about, in himself. Others might give it different names, but he was inclined to see it as having a preternatural affinity to a lightning rod. (17)

It is from Ibadan that Maren launches his crusade against corruption. Contrary to his expectations the University of Ibadan, and all other Nigerian universities for that matter, come under the close scrutiny of the corrupt politicians and eventually lose their autonomous status. The universities are no longer allowed to function as alternative centers of ideas and as conscience keepers of the nation. The politicians seek to lord it over the universities so that the lost bastions of resistance are kept under check.
The belied hopes of Maren for the universities and the resultant frustration, instead of weakening his will, strengthen his determination to fight the corrupt rulers and their autocratic and anti-people policies. In fact, his brush with the power hungry and megalomaniac Nigerian politicians started even when he was still in Europe. A powerful politician, believed to be the Prime Minister of Nigeria, actually it is the premier of the north, Ahmadu Bellu, was on an official tour in France and Maren wished to see him in order to solve a problem that he had with the French immigration officials. He seeks an appointment and visits his Excellency at Claridge Hotel. Maren is received with much hostility and suspicion and then subjected to a series of probing questions concerning his motive in visiting the premier, his stay in Paris and his intentions. Maren ends up feeling like a common felon in the court of a feudal lord. The Prime Minister’s demeanor and the courtiers’ fanning on him strengthen this feeling. In order to bring in a note of friendliness and patriotism and to bank upon his skill with the guitar Maren offers to promote the interests of Nigeria in Europe by the following statement:

I take it that you need to promote the nation in your travels. My field happens to be cultural, maybe I could assist you with some ideas in that direction. And if you decided to throw a party, you know, a touch of Nigerian music would not be out of place -- I accompany myself on the guitar, in fact, that’s the business that brought me to Paris. So, please consider me entirely at your service….’ (54)
For all his good intentions his words are immediately misconstrued and the protocol officer snubs him by asking, “Do you think His Excellency had travelled abroad just to give parties? Do you think he has time for such frivolities?” (54-55). Unfazed by this outburst Maren tries to draw the Prime Minister into a conversation about communism but it only further vitiates the situation. This politician is no different from the other African politicians whom he encountered in London. They were all Flamboyant, egotistical and extravagant, they turned up with or without reason, with baggage and entourage far in excess of their mission, cultivated students who would bring them girls to sleep with, whom they would reward extravagantly -- one was actually paid with a cheque, signed by a famous national leader…. Those politicians wooed student leaders with material gifts and promises, exhorted them to return, not so much for service as to ensure that they were first in line for the vacated positions of colonial officers. Their children were spoilt, elitist brats who infested the British public schools with their loutish manners, imitation accents and a moneyed condescension towards the talented children of less privileged families. (57)

Maren has already formed, on the basis of his encounters with the politicians, the opinion that his return to Nigeria and his engagement in public life in whatever capacity would almost certainly be devoid of nobility that characterized the African liberation struggles and therefore his task would be a lot more arduous.
Even when politicians who were known for their integrity and sincerity during the independence struggle have transformed themselves into pompous and power hungry men as soon as Nigeria became independent and made every possible effort to flaunt their power, wealth and influence. This is most flamboyantly demonstrated by the ‘Zik’ of Africa, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was appointed by the British government as the Governor General of Nigeria at the time dismantling the colonial edifice in the country. It was a ceremonial office owing allegiance to Queen Elizabeth of England. In spite of a long experience of public service and in spite of his reputation as an elder statesman charged with the responsibility of arbitrating the contentions attending upon Independence Azikiwe takes to asserting his own power and living a pompous life. At his installation ceremony, which more or less coincided with the Nigerian Independence itself in 1960 several cultural events were organized. Maren’s play *A Dance of the Forests* was chosen for presentation on the occasion. It was however dropped from the official ceremonies on charge that it “struck a discordant note in the Independence suite -- subversive, cynical, iconoclastic, that it mocked the glories of the past and was pessimistic about the future. The writer ‘had been too long away,’ lacked the patriotic spirit of hope and confidence that was needed for a nation that was taking the first step into a rose-tinted future” (67). The real reason however was that the play sought to underscore the many failures of Nigeria’s new rulers and their uninspiring leadership. Following this incident Maren’s work was blacklisted and it was excluded completely from the ceremonies.

Azikiwe has by how transformed himself from a nationalist hero into a ceremonial surrogate for the British Queen and in the true fashion of the colonial
masters he takes to disliking any sign of dissent from within Nigeria. He demonstrates his contempt for Nigeria and its culture by patronizing the American concert performer Madame Evanti at the official ceremony. Although she has been allocated only fifteen minutes, which itself is disproportionate time, she takes double that time for her three songs she then announces that she would sing a specially composed song in honor of the Governor General. In spite of the protestation of Maren in his capacity as the master of ceremonies she is allowed to sing the special song to the discomfiture of the other artists. Maren’s objection to Evanti is promptly misinterpreted as an insult to the Governor General and he is marked off as a writer to be ‘watched.’ Maren’s ordeal does not end there. T.O.S. Benson, Minister of Information seeks him out and persuades him to write a letter of apology. Maren obliges the minister so that the matter could be put to rest but swears to himself that he would never attend official ceremonies again, not even as a spectator. His parents learn about this incident and visit him in his flat. His father advises him to “keep out of the way of all these politicians” (84). His mother also tells him; “Can’t you just keep off the politicians?” (85) Their fears are not unfounded - they stem from the fact that the Nigerian politicians have become a dangerous lot and the common people should be on their guard.

Maren soon finds a position as research fellow at the University of Ibadan. When he last heard about it five years ago the University of Ibadan was still a college affiliated to London University. It has since moved into its new campus on Oyo Road and supposedly attained its autonomy. For Maren the word autonomy is a magic word. It represented:
The hallowed prism of a general ‘university’ idea through which the university community -- staff, students, alumni -- and the literate public viewed the elegant structures, the precision lawns and seductive landscaping of an institution that appeared not only to have attained maturity after several metamorphoses, but remained an only child of the long-gestating giantess that was called Nigeria.(173)

He is however greatly disappointed now that the university idea has undergone a radical change. Autonomy is no longer the ruling principle of the University of Ibadan nor academic honesty. It has already suffered the ignominy of having on its faculty a certain Dr Anieke who used a fake University of Toronto certificate to get into the Medical Department.

The certificate proved to be the authentic material, that is, it was a science doctorate parchment, duly embossed with the seal of the University of Toronto, only it was never issued to one Dr Anieke, and the signatures it bore did not belong to those by whom such certificates were signed. Further enquires revealed that a Dr Anieke had indeed qualified as a normal medical physician, taken the Hippocratic oath and been duly presented with the corresponding certificate; beyond that, the University of Toronto did not know him. (178)
Instead of being ashamed of this fraud, Dr Anieke brazens it out but finally he has to resign his position to avoid dismissal. He goes on to sue a journal that described him as a quack and ‘maligned’ him professionally. He wins the case and feels vindicated by it. By now he has already set up his own clinic in Lagos and has gained wide acceptability among the social and political circles. By using his influence with politicians Dr Anieke gets his name proposed for to the chairmanship of the Governing Council. As the chairman he would be entrusted with the responsibility of framing policies, overseeing the university’s curriculum, making appointments to teaching and non-teaching positions, controlling its budget and finally looking after the general administration and welfare of the university. This Governing Council has already become subservient to the new political class, and is only too willing to carry out the dictates of this political class, including the nomination of Dr Anieke as its chairman. Dr Anieke’s heading the Governing Council would only spell doom to the university because he has already defrauded it by producing a fake certificate and in future he would not hesitate to indulge in more corrupt practices. The Anieke episode also establishes that corruption has crept into the academia and not just the political order. The university community vehemently opposes Dr Anieke’s heading the Governing Council and it seems to successfully prevent him from becoming the chairman in the first instance. Maren writes to Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe a letter in this regard and tries to distribute copies of it to the newspaper in spite of being warned against it by his well-wishers. In the end nothing works.

Dr Anieke does become the chairman of the University Council. He has been obviously patronized by the politicians who happen to be his friends. Dr Anieke
immediately sets about dealing with matters that would yield him rich financial dividends such as awarding university contracts. He also becomes busy making arrangements for the convocation ceremony marking the full autonomy of the university. He would like to not only officiate at this ceremony but also deliver the Convocation Address. The University of Ibadan was the first university in Nigeria and it could have become one of the best as well, had the right people managed its affairs. But with Dr Anieke and others like him managing it, it can only be heading for a disaster. Maren now finds this portent translating into reality. He has deliberately chosen to work at this university rather than enter the civil service because of the belief that the university enjoys autonomy and that it would be untouched by the politicians.

Because of them, because of the dangers that he knew they posed, he had consciously made the University his base; it was the obvious space, just manageable in dimension and with a mission that imposed a different code of conduct from whatever might be the norm in the larger society. He had long accepted the need for a kind of reference point, a reservoir for whatever virtues society chose to jettison in its headless competition for power and material acquisitions. Without consciously phrasing it, he had seen the University as a kind of monastery, but one where wine and other fulfillments of the flesh were not forbidden; a monastery of the mind, however, and of the kind whose inmates took their discoveries into the outer world to seminate its grounds
where barren, and to be recharged in turn by such immersions in
the real world. (192-193)

Maren is by thoroughly disillusioned with the University of Ibadan. The great
promise the university held for him -- of autonomy, of intellectual freedom and of
academic excellence -- is now completely unfulfilled. It appears to Maren that he can
do nothing to improve the situation by staying at Ibadan. He therefore decides to move
to the University of Ife not because this new university would bring any material
benefits to him but because he has a gut feeling that things might be better there and
that he would be able to practice what he believes to be good and true.

It has been adumbrate earlier in this chapter that Maren’s experiences, which
themselves are thinly veiled autobiographical experiences of Soyinka himself, form the
basis of Soyinka’s two seminal novels, namely, *The Interpreters* and *Season of
Anomy*. The former novel is in many ways a campus novel and it offers a critique of the
academic institutions of Nigeria in the 1960s. The academic institutions, primarily the
universities, which should, ideally speaking, generate ideas, provide intellectual
leadership, give a direction to society, offer unbiased criticism of official policies and
programs when they are not serving the interests of the people and finally attract and
keep the best minds in the nation so that they retain their preeminent position in society,
have now become subservient to the power wielding politicians and in the process lost
their very identity. It is the same situation which disturbs and infuriates the academic
intellectuals of *The Interpreters*. Soyinka deals with the university politics and political
interference in its affairs more elaborately and sensitively in *The Interpreters*. 
In *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* Soyinka is more interested in presenting facts after colouring them only a wee bit by his imagination. Maren goes through the experiences he does sometimes with an air of resignation, sometimes feeling impatience brewing within him, sometimes venting out his anger on others even if they are well meaning, sometimes defying established conventions and traditions, sometimes taking to histrionic behaviour but most importantly by openly and vehemently denouncing the people who are responsible for landing the universities in the mess that they find themselves in. Maren is also an optimist and die hard believer in a better future. It is this hope for future which propels him to relocate to the University of Ife.

At Ife, to his utter surprise and dismay Maren finds the situation to be hardly any the different from the University of Ibadan. The ruling party and its political bosses are, like always, interested in keeping the universities in their iron grip. Psychologically speaking, they seem to be a little apprehensive about and unnerved by the intellectual leadership provided by the university intellectuals. They further understand that universities could pose potential threat to their power and privileges because they preach and practice subversion and encourage people to question authority especially when it is exercised indiscriminately and unjustly. A case in point is Samuel Ladoke Akintola who leads the rebel faction within the Action Group party then ruling the Western Region. He is bitterly opposed to socialism and socialist policies because he thinks that such fashionable ideas would eventually corrode his power base. It is also his apprehension that this kind of ideas are disseminated from the universities. Quite predictably then one of his first moves after assuming the mantel of the premier of the Western Region is to give the marching orders to the Vice-Chancellor of the University
of Ife Professor Oladele Ajola. He then imposes what he calls the *Credo*, which primarily means a code of conduct, on the university. The chief component of the *Credo* is that the university must support the government of the day. It implies that any university teacher who does not support the government will run the risk of inviting its displeasure.

It is against this backdrop that Maren joins the University of Ife and immediately finds himself at loggerheads with the powers that be, especially Chief Akintola. Maren’s disapproval of his attitude towards the university results in Akintola’s daughter Modele’s visit to him. This frail woman has the best of intentions but is bound by her filial duty to her father and therefore cannot find fault with him on any score. She tries to persuade Maren to fall in line and give up writing against the government in the newspapers. Maren responds by saying that her father is needlessly apprehensive about him and that he should stop regarding him as a socialist or anarchist. By publishing articles in the papers, he tells her, that he is merely acting as a conscience keeper of the nation. When she continues to argue with him he describes her as naïve and asks her to go home and tell her father “to keep his hands off Ife University…. Tell him Ife is not his private property. We are all work for our salary and we do not owe any one personal loyalty. Our loyalty is to the university.” (205).

Chief Akintola’s interference in the university through his *Credo* speech so infuriates Maren that he offers his resignation to his teaching position. He even expects that others would join him by quitting the university. Having tendered his resignation he is at last on his own now -- free to do what he likes, but also without any institutional protection. He shows great spirit in extricating himself from the
institutional shackles because he is endowed with great psychological strength. Modele does not have these mental resources and so she is torn asunder by the weight of her filial duty on the one hand and her patriotism on the other.

Maren hires new accommodation and immediately plunges himself into theatrical activities which has always been dear to his heart. His first project is the political revue *Before the Blackout*. His theatre also comes under the ruling party’s scanner because the party views his Orisun Theatre as being guilty of playing a subversive role. For a while, the party representatives attempt to win him over by influencing him through friends and colleagues but soon learn that he would not be deterred. They are therefore determined now to disrupt his theatre by whatever means, including especially violent means. Even if there is the slightest chance of the author and the activist being arrested for sedition they would not loose time to act. Maren knows this only too well and so prepares his group of actors mentally to face government action. He even teaches them elementary self-defense apprehending physical assaults.

Maren’s criticism of institutions and institutionalized practices is not limited to only the political and public spheres nor confined to newspaper and speeches. He actually practices what he speeches even in his personal life. When, for example, his parents visit him in his apartment around this time, having learned about the dangerous situation that their son is in and hoping to wean him away from politics. He responds to them in his typical irreverent manner. He refuses to be persuaded by them, and to give up his political, theatrical and other public activities by marrying a girl of their choice settling down to a routine, predictable lifestyle. He has been a non-conformist all his
life and he does not want to suddenly become a conformist by marrying the traditional way. For him marriage is a union of two minds and there should be no interference of society in their union. Formal marriage has no meaning for him. He puts forward his idea of marriage.

I meet a woman, fall in love with her or we simple find we’re compatible; she agrees to love with me. A child comes or does not come in the order of things and that, for me, is marriage -- by whatever name. (225)

As expected and feared the police come raiding his house one night, well after midnight, establishing the fact that the government has taken to suppressing all opposition to it by violent means. Maren however proves to be too difficult to deal with. He fights off the police by firing a rifflle and by various other means. The police flee for their life. Maren has been a lone crusader all along and now he has to fight his battles with the government too all by himself. Some of his former friends, especially a gentleman called F.R.D. turn his enemies probably because of the threats meted out to them by the government. F.R.D. informs the Prime Minister that Maren and his associates were planning an assault on people close to him and the Prime Minister acts swiftly by ordering the ransacking of Maren’s house. Maren cannot be done in all that easily anyway.

In the meantime the ruling Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) government’s interference in the university affairs becomes unbearable. NNDP’s view of the academic sector is that it is the main obstacle to the complete control of popular
thought. Therefore this dissident sector has to be controlled and people should be made to understand that their champions within the universities have been muzzled and incapacitated. For their part, the large majority of university intellectuals too have become complacent and inactive, having been thoroughly cowed down. Maren decides to teach these acquiescent and complacent academics a good lesson so that they would be jolted out of their slumber. But this was not to be. Not everybody has the will power and courage as he himself. Collective action such as strikes hardly produce intended results in situations such as the one prevailing in Nigeria because the nation is plagued by feudal oligarchy and a venal political class which are still actively controlled by the former colonial masters.

The NNDP government is persistent in its pursuit of Maren. It puts in place an elaborate surveillance mechanism to monitor his activities, especially his theatrical activities. They send spies to report on what he is doing. And when not much evidence is found to warrant an arrest the government stoops down to arresting him on trumped up charges. He is picked up from his residence and charged with allegedly possessing a revolver and keeping the black magic equipment *juju* in his wardrobe. In reality these incriminating objects have been placed in his house by the government agents themselves. As if all this is not enough he is also accused of attempting to bribe a police officer. His lawyers are denied access to him, making things further difficult for him. Apart from all this he is sought to be incriminated for his alleged belief in violent revolution. The investigating police officer produces a newspaper clipping which appeared in an Egyptian newspaper. The report states that Maren called for a violent revolution in all former colonies, including Nigeria. All these are formidable charges
but all are false charges all the same. Maren protests spiritedly by denying every one of
these charges. The Egyptian newspaper report was in fact a plain case of forgery.
Things that Maren never said have been attributed to him. It was true that he travelled
to Cairo to attend an international conference but he did not actually attend it at all
because of an unfortunate development at the airport. It is therefore ridiculous to accuse
him now of calling for a violent revolution. He tells the police officer:

I never join those who call for a violent revolution, in spite of the
fact that I accept violence as a sometimes necessary component
of positive change. Yes, a sometimes necessary component, and
one that I am always ready to endorse, instigate and even partake
of, where circumstances leave one no option. (315)

He thus makes his stand clear on the employment of violence to achieve
political and social objectives. It is never indiscriminate or destructive. In this context
we are immediately reminded of the Dentist in *Season of Anomy* who selectively
employs violence to set things right in postcolonial Nigeria. The Dentist does not find
any other means viable because things are beyond repair and peaceful means would just
not work. His agenda and programme of action are endorsed by the chief protagonist of
the novel Ofeyi and by extension by his creator Wole Soyinka.

In the meantime the last of the important Nigerian universities, Lagos
University, too descends into a cesspool of corruption, nepotism and mismanagement
largely due to the unhealthy and unwarranted interference of the political bosses ruling
the country. This development, Maran understands, completely defeats the idea of
university. He thus loses all hope of the universities ever acting as deterrents to the political corruption and other maladies plaguing the Nigerian society. He is not keen to join the English Department of Lagos University precisely for this reason. To add to the other problems, tribal loyalties surface and atavistic tendencies enter the university campus as well. The Ibos are accused of subverting the University of Ibadan, and quite legitimately so. The Yorubas are faulted for emulating the Ibo example and inflicting a mortal wound on the Ife University. These two tribal entities have now shifted their battle ground to Lagos and are fighting it out with each other on every conceivable matter, sacrificing in the process the idealism and activism which should be characteristic of the university, ideally speaking.

The unrest and degeneracy within the university system is symptomatic of the deteriorating security situation and general fall in public morals in the society at large. The battle between the Ibos and the Yorubas within the universities, for example, reflects the already prevailing mistrust between these two tribal groups in Nigeria -- a mistrust which culminated in the Biafra Civil War, and all the destruction it caused.

The Ibos, living largely in the Western Region, feel that they have been subjected to deprivation and ill treatment for a long time by the Yoruba dominated ruling class. The Federal Government has, over the years, callously withdrawn resources from the Western Region so that the local governments, schools and hospitals are starved for funds. Given this situation the people are left with no option other than open rebellion. The Government responds by unleashing violence on a large scale. Villages are torched and bulldozed. Crops are destroyed so that the people are deprived
of food. Curfew is imposed on towns and cities night after night. Censorship is clamped on newspapers so that hardly any news leaks to the outside world.

While the nation is engulfed in civil war and chaos prevails everywhere the politicians amass wealth and take to social exhibitionism. They send their children to schools in Britain and contribute to their growing up as a snobbish and spoilt generation that has hardly any knowledge of the ground realities prevailing in Nigeria. After a failed attempt to form a political party with the young men of Nigeria in the lead Soyinka admits in an Al Jazeera TV interview that they turned out to be worse than the seasoned politicians having imbibed no idealism and having been sufficiently removed from the ordinary course of life.

I was distressed quite frankly by their recycling of old jigged material, but very well concealed, very wealthy material. Same old rogues, robbers. It was kind of a vicious cycle. They got into office to steal money which they will use to get back into office or their surrogates, their clones. And this spiral continued forever.

They rig elections and falsely claim victory for themselves. Curiously enough the former colonial master, Great Britain, savours these unhealthy developments and endorses them, directly or indirectly, perhaps to convince itself and the Nigerians as well that they are incapable of governing themselves. Britain makes no effort whatever to check the corrupt politicians. It still regards them as its protégés and, worse still, as its stooges in the postcolonial Nigeria. While on a visit to South Africa to present his
memoirs *You Must Set Forth at Dawn* in an ABN TV interview telecast on August 3, 2010 Soyinka reconfirms this fact in no unmistakable terms.

In some cases, of course, we are still suffering from the aftermath of the colonial presence because while the colonial powers were leaving, in many instances all over the African continent, [they] ensured that they placed their surrogates in position, with whom they could “do business.” Nigeria is an obvious example in which one section was manipulated into power, and it was the least politically sophisticated section in the country. And I think that disease, and we are talking about not just of English colonialism but French colonialism, Portuguese colonialism -- the totality of that legacy, also in a miniscule way, has evolved in the present dilemma of the leadership of the African continent.

It is not difficult to understand why the former colonial power does so. Britain is more interested in protecting its own interests in Nigeria than evolving the newly independent nation into an egalitarian and humane society. In fact, it is Maran’s understanding that it is Britain which has taught the Nigerians electoral malpractices, including rigging. It thus has no moral right to object to these practices now. Having leant its ‘valuable’ lessons from the colonial masters the NNDP government freely indulges in fraudulent electoral activities and even goes to the extent of declaring victory for itself ahead of the official announcement.
Disappointed, disillusioned and disgusted at all this Maren would like to stay away from Nigeria for a while so that he can recuperate his spirits and regain his lost hope. But he finds all doors closed, and all roads blocked. He has been prohibited from leaving Nigeria! He then does what nobody can imagine -- holding up a radio station at gun point and swapping the Prime Minister’s victory speech with his own. It reads:

This is the voice of the people, the true people of this nation.
And they are telling you, Akintola, get out! Get out, and take with you your renegades who have lost all sense of shame….

(362)

The police promptly arrest Maren and put him in solitary confinement. No charges are ever framed against him and no proceedings are initiated in spite of his persistent demand for a trial. But he is badly ill-treated by the police while in prison. Despite his international stature as a theatre personality and public intellectual, he is brutally beaten in his prison cell by a cruel police officer.

Earlier on, his parents failed to sympathize with his cause and faulted him for not taking to a regular life with a traditionally wedded wife and children. He is now misunderstood by the woman he has been living with. This partner of his visits him in the prison and severely reprimands him for landing himself in trouble with the authorities instead of tending to and caring for her and the children. This episode perhaps emphasizes the yawning gap which exists between an intellectual/activist and a common citizen like his partner who cannot see beyond what immediately concerns her. It also further underscores the fact that the large majority of the Nigerians tolerate and
put up with their corrupt politicians and civil servants because of their ignorance and lack of the will to fight for the larger good of the society.

*Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* serves mainly the purpose of providing the staple and experiential component for Soyinka’s two famous novels as has been stated already. Our understanding of *The Interpreters* and *Season of Anomy* would be woefully incomplete without reading *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years*. There is, in most instances, a one to one correspondence between the incidents and developments in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* and the two novels. But for the experiences he has undergone, most of which are historical and highly disturbing ones at that, Soyinka would have never written these novels and made them so appealing and so immediately relevant. Although these novels have an unmistakable autobiographical element, it is in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* that Soyinka is his candid best. He perhaps needed to write this book in order to effect a catharsis of his pent up emotions and make a clean breast of himself. In the final analysis Soyinka emerges in this book as a non-conformist, as critical insider, as one who is utterly uncomfortable with the state of affairs in his nation and above all as a brilliant literary artist who, by the exercise of the powers of imagination, transforms private experience of public events into an artistically and aesthetically satisfying whole. His novels are a living testimony to his transformative powers.

At one level *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* can be read as a bildungsroman and in terms of conception it compares well with Laurence Sterne’s *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759), Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*
(1916), Philip Roth’s *Goodbye, Columbus* (1959) and Khaled Hosseini’s *The Kite Runner* (2003). *The Literary Encyclopeadia* defines bildungsroman as a work of art that “charts the protagonist’s actual or metaphorical journey from youth to maturity. Initially the aim of this journey is reconciliation between the desire for individuation (self-fulfillment) and the demands of socialization (adaptation to a given social reality).” Like the chief protagonist in a typical bildungsroman Maran is looking for answers to his quest all through the book. The devastating experiences he has had during his stay in Nigeria and even abroad help him arrive at the true understanding of his society and the various problems it goes through. Again, like in all bildungsromans, Maran pits himself against the deeply entrenched reactionary forces controlling the destiny of his society and nation and gladly welcomes the conflict resulting from it. However, he does not allow the false values of the ruling class to overwhelm him and fiercely resists the temptations to toe the official line or follow the ‘script’ as Soyinka prefers to call it. He remains a critic, simmering within and impatient with the unsavoury developments in his country. The experiences and difficulties he goes through help him grow into a mature man at the end of the book with his resolve having been strengthened and his will steeled. From a broader perspective *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* tells the story of Nigeria’s birth as a modern nation no matter what problems it faces. Biodun Jeyifo thinks that the book—

Weaves a seamless, mutually reinforcing narrative between the “plot” of his own political coming of age story and that of the larger story of the coming into being and gradual unraveling of his new nation. (208)
Obviously thus, Soyinka writes the self as much he writes history in this book, and the two are in perfect consonance.

Viewed purely as a work of fiction *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* suffers from really serious flaws. Soyinka puts too much of himself into his doppelganger Maren so that he is unable to distance himself from his creation. Consequently he fails to maintain artistic control on his material. At places the narrative degenerates and becomes all too predictable. And when Soyinka tries to write “positively and unambiguously about narratives of emancipation and disalienation” as indeed he does in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* it results in “aesthetic flaws and ideological solecisms” (Jeyifo 281). Jeyifo further argues:

One cause of this, it was suggested, is the distorting, simplifying over-intrusion of heroic doubles and surrogates of the self … but the main reason is unquestionably the paradoxical fact that for all his passionate pursuit of progressive, democratic causes, Soyinka writes best about the need for radical transformative changes in Africa and the global order when he writes with ferocious, searing irony. (281)

This irony is what is almost completely absent in *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years* making it uninspiring reading if not uninteresting. However, we should hasten to add that its flaws are thrown into bold relief by the fact that there is much that is comparable in merit to Soyinka’s best works, including the two novels.
Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’ Years also needs to be viewed from the historical and ideological perspectives. Recent Nigerian history reveals that Soyinka’s efforts at transforming the politics and public life have after all borne fruit to an extent. Soyinka’s most significant contribution was internationalizing the Nigerian postcolonial crisis and thus drawing the world’s attention to the issue. He put his stature as a Nobel Laureate and his international presence and prestige to good use in this process. The developments on the world stage during the 1980s and 1990s too have unmistakably helped this process. During this period, but especially after the defeat of the Soviet Bloc, the authoritarian regimes across Africa had to seriously contend with opposition within the nations concerned and the international community as well. The opposition from below emanated from the frustrated citizens and from outside from the disappointed donors. This put tremendous pressures on the regimes, including the Nigerian regime, to permit greater freedom to the citizens, and loosen the tight controls on the economy.

In Nigeria, like in most other African nations, civilian administrations replaced military rule, and one-party’s hold on power gave way to multiparty competition. Nigeria has had civilian rule for the past at least one dozen years and political transition has been, during these years, invariably through peaceful democratic means even if elections are still alleged to have been rigged to obtain desired results by both the ruling and opposition parties. In Nigeria now, apart from the ruling People’s Democratic Party of Nigeria and the main opposition party All Nigeria People’s Party there are at least twenty other registered opposition parties. That is surely a healthy sign of a functioning democracy.
The internal pressure exerted on the authoritarian regimes by the Nigerian citizens and activists led, at least in the ideological and intellectual terms, by Wole Soyinka and others like him, proved successful in the symbolic as well as material senses. Nigeria now seems to be going through a second democratic experiment. The African scholars Michael Bratton and Nick va de Walle theorized on this development in Africa in their book *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. They have argued that the African rulers had to face, all through the 1980s, a deepening crisis of legitimacy. They had to painfully realize that the people lost faith in their, the politicians,’ ability to solve problems or even offer the possibility of a better life. Protests broke out as a result and the rulers responded, as they have always done since gaining independence from the colonial rule, with violence. But this time round violence did not work. The rulers had neither the legitimacy nor the economic resources to take on the agitating masses and put down the unrest. They had to finally yield to popular demand and initiate steps towards political liberalization, end government control of the media and bring political monopolies to an end. This explains why there is virtually no one-party state or military regime now in all of Africa.

This is a dream come true for Soyinka, but it is still not sufficient cause for celebration. There are still many hurdles and hardships that Nigeria is beset with -- the chief of which are corruption, electoral malpractices, and the latest phenomenon of religious intolerance. Nigeria stands at the lowest position in terms of transparency and corruption eats away at the very vitals of the nation. Development, such as it is, is very often offset by rampant corruption and in spite of greater political freedom and
democracy, the quality of life in Nigeria has not shown significant improvement. Economic reforms and policy initiatives are bound to fail in such a scenario. Bratton et al opine that--

… a couple of decades of market reforms have yielded fewer positive results than one decade of political reforms, in good part because populous Nigeria managed to transit to electoral democracy while exhibiting “poor compliance” with macroeconomic adjustment. (22)

It is no surprise then that the Nigerians should frequently cite the three problems of unemployment, poverty, and hunger as perennial problems affecting their lives. Similarly, electoral malpractices have greatly maligned the reputation of Nigeria. It is a miracle that Nigeria continues to be a working democracy. There certainly is the will power and natural preference for democracy on the part of the people and that alone seems to keep democracy alive in Nigeria. Although tribal loyalties have always sought to divide Nigeria religious fundamentalism is a recent phenomenon. In certain parts of Nigeria the Sharia Law is in virtual operation depriving women of their natural and inalienable rights and restricting their legitimate freedom. Democracy for them thus remains a mere concept not a system governing their lives. Internecine strife between people belonging to various religious groups has become a part of everyday reality in Nigeria. There has been a large scale loss of life and property in recent years because of religious strife owing its origin to religious fundamentalism. Soyinka has been, all his life, a keen observer of and commentator on these developments on international forums. If he were to write another book along the lines of *Ibadan: the ‘Penkelemes’*
Years it would for sure incorporate all these latest developments and offer useful commentary on them.

Disappointments there have been and they keep surfacing all the time in Nigeria. The nation has experienced more than its fair share of problems and has already undergone more than its fair share of suffering. The fact to note however is that it has learnt, over the more than fifty years of its independent existence, some invaluable lessons from its own experience. It is now willing to make amends and be guided by sane people such as Wole Soyinka. Soyinka continues to be concerned about Nigeria and never ceases to make efforts to enrich its public life. Whether his contribution is properly acknowledged or not, his stand on Nigeria -- its politics, academia and society -- has been validated by the subsequent historical developments. That in itself is a sufficient tribute to Soyinka the artist and Soyinka the social activist.
Works Cited


