

STRATEGIES FOR NIGERIA LABOR CONGRESS IN MOBILIZING THE CITIZENRY TOWARDS SUPPORTING CREDIBLE POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE AND PEACE BUILDING

 \mathbf{BY}

Adamu Ahmed: Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Gombe State University, E-mail: neoahad@gsu.edu.ng

Arafat Ibrahim: Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Gombe State University, Email: arafat200912@gsu.edu.ng

&

Mohammed Ahmad: Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Gombe State University, Email: Mohdauwal9@gsu.edu.ng

Abstract

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has, since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999, been the platform for the Nigerian people to query government policies, actions and inaction, not only for the Nigerian working class, but the entire Nigerian peoples. Such policies include: privatization and commercialization of public institutions and services, incessant fuel hikes, retrenchments of workers and implementation of prescribed conditions and unfavourable policies of international monopoly finance capitalist institutions, etc. This paper investigates the activities of the Nigeria Labour Congress, as a credible opposition to the ruling party in Nigeria. It examines the conditions that necessitated this additional responsibility on the NLC as well as the nexus between credible opposition and workers' welfarism. The paper argues that the emergence of the Labour Party in the country's political landscape and its relative acceptance is underpinned by the functionality of its platform as the "mouthpiece of the masses and also The NLC on their own part need to understand that the tensed atmosphere been created by the current political intrigues requires nothing short of objectivity, balanced and value-free understanding and explanation. One sided and biased argument is only going to heat up the polity and leave the stage volatile susceptible to violence. And lastly it is crucial for NLC to build a strong network with relevant, specific, trusted and visible bodies that can support their efforts. These bodies should be development partners, foundations, media houses, NGOs and individuals. This is to reach all relevant parties and local groups who have the will and civic responsibility of supporting the idea.

Keywords: Citizenry, Congress, Labour, Mobilization, Peace building, Strategy, Support,

Introduction

Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) as a union is located between individual worker and a State; it helps in promoting and coordinating public action among their members, other citizens and the State (Coleman, 1964). A fundamental aspect of NLC is the mediating role play between individual and the State. These indicated that NLC is a mediator and mediator is a peace builder. For NLC to be able to win the heart of most of the citizen towards supporting a credible political alternative the union must first understand the dimension that primarily dominated the political sphere (Essack, 1971). There are two major positions regarding what dominated the Nigerian political sphere; issue based or person based politics (NLC, 1993).

According to Hoffman (1996), issue based politics assumes that both politicians and electorates are focused on solving issues of general interest, therefore, the representatives of the people go to the public service arena with the issue as a key agenda. Whereas, the personality dominated political set up is a situation where people support an individual because of his or her personality or affiliations regardless what the candidate can offer, especially in terms of quality leadership that can improve the living condition of the citizenry, this usually breeds distrust, disaffections and conflicts because ultimately, people would decry the self-serving representative as someone who has turned the collective mandate into a tool to serve a personal agenda (Hopkins, 1966).

Trade unions as represented by the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) in the contemporary times have been the subject of considerable research and commentary, in terms of its nature, role, functionality, and effectiveness in ensuring the welfare of the Nigerian worker and the protection of her rights in industrial disputes with the public

and private labour employers (Aiyede, 2004). The apparent puzzle of its longevity and continued survival despite attempts to emasculate and undermine it by succeeding regimes especially the military has often depicted it as the proverbial cat with nine lives. Despite the founded fear of its collapse into oblivion or disintegration into autonomous parts as a result of the mounted challenges confronting not only the organizational structure, but also the mechanism of its operations, the organization has demonstrated a high degree of elasticity and resourcefulness in domestic industrial relations as well as political sagacity in the Nigerian political landscape. From the colonial period up till the contemporary times, trade unionism in Nigeria has combined industrial agitation and political activism in varying degrees dictated by the political gladiators and the exigencies of the times. Unlike in other parts of Africa, the Nigerian workers are highly organised as a result of the existence of a strong trade union consciousness (Hughes & Roben, 1971).

Trade Unionism in the Colonial Period

As early as 1861 when the Lagos colony was formally declared a British colony and the consequent replacement of the trade in slave with the "Legitimate Trade", an urban labour force was created. The new exports of palm produce and imports of manufactured goods and the creation of large-scale public works in the Lagos colony necessitated a corresponding work force. The increase in the labour force in Lagos in the late 19th century brought with it several disputes between the workers and the colonial government which was the largest employer of labour during this period. One of the fallouts of such labour disputes was the Lagos strike of 1897 (Hopkins, 1966). Skilled European workers, who arrived during this later decades of the nineteenth century to work in the new railways, mines and factories, or as government servants seemed to have brought the idea of trade unions into Africa (Orr, 1966). Consequently, the unions were almost exclusively unions of European workers, located either in North or South Africa (Orr, 1966:68). However, it would appear that before World War I, workers' unions had become established in the territories of British West Africa, for example, not later than 1905; the civil servants in the Lagos colony and the southern Nigeria Protectorate had organized into unions (Orr, 1966:65). This seemed to be as a result of the emergence of an urban wage labour force in the colony.

Similarly, the Nigerian Civil Service Union, whose first meeting, mentioned similar institutions in Sierra Leone and in the old Lagos Colony and Southern Nigeria Protectorate, which existed from 1905 to 1912, in their minutes of meeting held on 19 August 1912 (Orr, 1966:66). Most significantly, was the United Kingdom's membership of the International Labour Organisation, ILO, and her status in the organisation which necessitated the extension of the ratified conventions of the organisation to her non-metropolitan territories (Anonymous, 1960). Following the conditions stipulated in the revised Constitution of 1946, the ILO conventions and recommendations were introduced into colonial Nigeria by the metropolitan state that is Britain, (Article 35), which through the colonial offices, had been implementing labour conventions in this colonial territory as early as 1929 (Adeogun, 1967). From this period, the formulation of labour policies was influenced by the ILO instrument which was largely for the exploitation of the colonial state of which indigenous labour was to form the bedrock.

However, the Nigerian workers organized themselves and employed labour union techniques which derived from experienced European workers. Some three major processes by which the techniques of union organisation were transferred from foreign workers to Africans have been identified as; literary contact, job contact and contact with outsiders (Orr, 1966). Despites arguments that trade unions were not in the forefront of nationalist struggles, apart from those in Guinea and Kenya,(Coleman,1964), the history of trade union activism in Nigeria, from the 1919-22 when the Nigeria Civil Service Union led-agitation for equal pay for African workers and higher posts for Africans suggests the contrary. The cardinal objective of the establishment of the labour department by the colonial office in Nigeria and within it the Trade Union section was to "promote the development of Trade Unionism in Nigeria along traditional British lines." (NAI, No 4151 Vol.79).

Based on this fact, it would appear that in spite of the advice in this same directive that in ensuring the latter, that "local customs or traditions are not overlooked and should be adapted to fit industrial conditions wherever suitable" (NAI, No 4151 Vol.79), the development of trade unionism took essentially British outlook. From 1912 to 1922, the Nigeria Civil Service Union, (NSCU) was the only major union in Nigeria. It was not until the 1930s, that the Nigerian Union of Teachers and the Railway Workers Union came to challenge this status. The

1938 Trade Union Ordinance robbed off the NSCU of this position. For the NSCU did not fulfill the requirement that all trade unions should register as provided by the ordinance until 1948, losing the premier position in the trade union movement to the Railway Workers Union, the first to register and their president, Michael Imoudu, the first recognized "Nigeria's Labour Leader Number 1." (Okonkwo, 1993). This lateness in registration was not unconnected with the little significance that trade union movement attached to the registration as observed by the Governor of Nigeria in his Saving Telegram No 212 of 3rd March 1947, to the Secretary of State, London ((NAI, No 4151 Vol.84). Though criticized for its "hollow intellectualism and Victorian respectability" (Yesufu, 1962), NSCU agitation nonetheless constituted the first of its kind in this British colonial territory and a renaissance of colonial labour policy resistance, "one strand within the broader anti-colonial struggle." (Hughes and Cohen, 1971) The corollary general strike of 1945 and the colliery workers' strike in 1949 were prelude to the independence struggle and had a nationalist flavour which was welcomed by both political movements and the press. (Okonkwo, 1993).

Trade Unionism in the Postcolonial Period in Nigeria

At independence in 1960, the structure and control of trade unions in the country was guided by the 1938 Trade Union Ordinance, (as amended), Labour Code Ordinance No.54 of 1945 (NAI, No 4151, 1944). Also in force was the Trade Disputes Act of 1958, which legalized unions and allowed government intervention but with the consent of the parties involved (Nelson, et al.1972). This background provided an enabling environment and umbrella under which unions flourished as well as their collective activity. Consequently, the period between 1962 and 1971 witnessed a tremendous growth of union membership and the attendant increase in labour disputes (Sonubi, 1973). Indeed, just as labour actions increased, so also was their politicization. Nagel (1981) argues that "in the 1960-65 periods, 23.7 percent of all action was enacted by labour organizations compared with 53.2 percent during the 1970-75 period." Suggestively, "the percent of labour action that was political climbed from 70.1 during the first period to 85.9 during the second." (Nagel, 1981). Immediately after independence in 1960, one of the foreign policy issues that took the contribution of trade unions to abate was the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Agreement. Both the publication and the ratification of the agreement were trailed by severe outbursts of public outrage all over the country, particularly in the South (Idang, 1970). Although the Defence Agreement was viewed by the then Defence Minister, Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu as a "reaffirmation of the friendly and cordial ties which already exist and are known to exist between Nigeria and the United Kingdom", it was in reality a source of discontent in Nigeria until its abrogation in 1962 (Idang, 1970). This was traceable to the document content which lacked clear and precise definitions and from the emotions which attended its various interpretations. It was generally held that the Defence Pact was a part of a master plan by Britain both to preserve her political and economic influence in Nigeria and to ensure the NPC's hanged on to the control of the country. It was believed that since the articulate pressures against the NPC-dominated Federal Government existed mainly in the South, that the British armed forces based in Nigeria would be employed by the NPC government to suppress any uprising against the ruling party (Idang, 1970).

At home and in Britain, public outcry and opposition to the pact took the form of "open letters in the newspapers; written protest to the Prime Minister, Regional Premiers, the British Colonial Secretary, and other Nigerian leaders; leaflet distributions and mass demonstrations; newspaper editorials; and public lectures and debates."(Idang,1970). But more decisive were the actions of the protesting groups and individuals of which labour organizations featured prominently, in particularly the two factions of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress and other ideological groups. It exposed for the first time the Nigerian Trade Unions to the use of contentious political action in reversing unfavourable government foreign policy in the post colonial period. More significantly, the consciousness of the highly organized trade union shielded the Nigerian state, economy and working class from the exploitative vestiges of the colonial capitalist structure inherited by the elite class trained to man the civil service and local petit bourgeoisie and comprador capitalist class which organized as trading companies, oil monopoly firms and subsidiaries of foreign corporations, involved in Mining, Manufacturing and Processing, Transport, Trading, Building and Construction. Indeed, the early 1960s witnessed the organisation of trade union movement into two powerful federations; the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) and the United Labour Congress, (ULC) (Essack, 1971). This division might well be on ideological grounds as it is argued that by 1964, there were approximately 300,000 trade union members organized into about 300 unions. Unions were organized into four super-ordinate central labour body organizations; the United Labour Congress (ULC), the Nigerian Workers Council (NWC), the Nigerian Trades

Union Congress (NTUC), and the Labour Unity Front (LUF) (Melson, 1971). It would appear that the two federations earlier mentioned, the NTUC and ULC were only the dominant factions and were cross-cutting the other central labour bodies and imposing their dominant ideologies. While the NTUC had sway over the LUF, with the anti-federalist, Marxist, and pro Nkrumah ideology, agitating for the formation of a labour party (Melson, 1967),the ULC and NWC on the other hand were generally apolitical and not explicitly Marxist (Melson, 1971).

In the Regions where agricultural produce such as cocoa, palm oil and the likes were harnessed, the peasants also organized, all directed their demands at the governments, and the local bourgeoisic controlled by the indigenous capitalists. In 1964, the strike wave against the interest of the imperialists climaxed with the joint strike action by the dominant unions. The thirteen days strike was led by the most vibrant and militant of trade union leaders in Nigeria during this period which included Michael Imoudu. Apart from organized industrial actions, there were also pockets of peasant revolts by farmers in some regions of the country. The most prominent of these was the one of 1965 when the Yoruba farmers in the Western Region attacked Kulak chiefs and cocoa buyers with the help of migrant workers (Essack, 1971). The nationwide strike of June 1-15, 1964 apart from exposing the Nigerian workers to an unprecedented political prominence, presented a future embryonic representation of the future Nigerian state. It would be recalled that the federal elections of December 1964 were five months away and Nigerian politicians became aware of the labour movement and keenly contested for their votes in the aftermath of the strike. The timing and exigency of the strike contributed to this development and this was of great implications;

Firstly, unlike the political parties which were based on tribalism and sectarianism during this period, lacking focus and ideologies, the trade unions were the exact representations of a genuine and non-sectarian struggle built on class and ideology. Secondly, the strike was considered an important catalyst that led to the collapse of the parliamentary system of government in Nigerian history. Thirdly, it clearly delineated and foretold the intrinsically important role which organized labour was to play in the future Nigerian political landscape, as a platform for powerful alignment and a possibly potent radical political force. And lastly, the intractability of the growing class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat demonstrated the weakness of the civilian government to forestall the use of the Nigerian economy as the arena for muscle flexing as well as the inevitability of the emergence of the military in the domestic politics of the country. Over a million Nigerian workers were involved in the two weeks strike that abated only after the government promised higher wages and better working conditions. In the aftermath of the strike, the government tried three Nigerian unionists and a visiting British professor, Dr. Victor L. Allen, a student of African trade unions. The three men were sentenced to one-year prison terms on charges of "subversion" in connection with the general strike.

However, the adventure of the military into the governance of Nigeria did not abate the wave of radical trade unionism as the period after the Nigerian Civil War witnessed. By 1969, the Gowon administration enacted the obnoxious decree 53 which imposed an outright ban on strikes as well as froze wages (Essack, 1971). This decree legitimized the employment of state instrument of coercion in crushing strikes. The immediate reaction of the Nigerian workers was the formation of an alliance to present a formidable opposition to this retrogressive and repressive policy of the Nigerian military government. Consequently, the United Committee of Central Labour Organisations, UCCLO was formed and was headed by Imoudu. The aftermath of this crisis expanded more the interest of the military government in the activity of labour. Several commissions were created to investigate such issues as the establishment of a minimum wage, working conditions, salary increases, and grievance procedures (Nagel, 1981). It was within this government course of action which aimed at a greater incorporation of the labour movement that the Nigerian Labour Congress, NLC was formed in December, 1975.

The Nigerian Labour Congress and Contemporary Politics in Nigeria

The Nigerian Labour Congress, an amalgam of the four existing central labour unions (NTUC, LUF, ULC and NWC) was an attempt to rid the labour movement in Nigeria of the external influences which to some extent was the reason for the ideological dichotomy and the cold war unionism of this period. Indeed, after the revocation of the registration of the four central labour movements, the Nigerian military government appointed an Administrator to oversee trade union affairs while all international labour organisations apart from the ILO



and the Organisation for African Trade Union Unity, were banned from operating in the country(Otobo,1981). Similarly, a new policy on labour was put in place with these among others as its provisions:

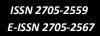
- i. guided democracy based on limited government intervention in trade union matters;
- ii. the creation of a new image and sense of direction for Nigerian trade unions;
- iii. eradication of ideological and external influences from Nigerian trade unions;
- iv. restructuring of Nigerian trade unions into industrial unions;
- v. financial self- sufficiency to be based on the check-off system of collection of union dues, and;
- vi. the promotion of trade union education as a means of improving the quality of trade union leadership (Otobo, 1981).

However, it would appear that the government policy of incorporation of labour included the undercutting of the newly formed organisation and the victimization of its official. Hence, apart from instituting a judicial tribunal to investigate the activities, finances and administration of the four central bodies that formed the NLC, Wahab Goodluck, the president of the NLC was also arraigned with two others before a Lagos magistrate court on charges of "transacting activities of a banned political party" (Otobo, 1981). The high point of this cowering of the NLC was the government's annulment of the elections conducted by the NLC and the imposition of a ban on the organisation itself. (Otobo, 1981). The Mr. Justice Adebiyi Tribunal, which conducted the probe, submitted its final report in 1977. Consequently, implementing the white paper, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria issued a life ban on eleven top trade union leaders from trade unionism while the assets of the four central labour bodies were seized (Federal Ministry of Information Release, 1977). On the 18th of February, 1978, a new fashioned NLC with Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu as the president was inaugurated by the government after several attempts to infiltrate the union's echelon with outsiders to represent the interest of the government. A riot act was read to the organisation on what the Federal Military Government considered as NLC future role in Nigeria. This included the relationship between the Federal Military Government and the NLC should be one of partnership in progress, without prejudice to the over-riding responsibility of the government to preserve the security and peace of the nation. The Congress (NLC) should adopt a rational and conciliatory approach in industrial disputes. Conflicts should not be resolved either by artificially imposed conditions or by free play of economic forces, and union leaders are warned against restrained use of economic power, and exhibitions of intransigence, violence and blackmail in the conduct of trade disputes (Otobo, 1981). The perceived influence of the government on the NLC was demonstrated a couple of months after the inauguration. Indeed, the division in the hierarchy of the NLC leaders on whether to support the student protest concerning the ill-conceived and poorly implemented educational policy in 1978 was suggestive of the infiltration of the union's camp by the government. The non-involvement of the NLC could also be seen as a safeguard to its very existence in the light of government's attitude towards the organisation.

Democratic Consolidation

This is a system where the decision of those who occupy a position of power is always in line with the expectations, needs and aspirations of the larger society, or at least most members of the society support the direction in which government is going (Marx & Fredrick, 1986). All over the world, Democracies are sustained by citizens who have basic knowledge and skills to participate effectively in how they are governed. Democratic consolidation as a major goal of every democracy is a situation where citizens especially labor leaders actively participate in governance and do not see themselves as just tools in the hands of leaders but role players in ensuring a balanced system and accountability to the citizens, general citizens also, must contribute their quota in ensuring that they maintain the discipline required to make the dividends of participatory governance workable (Melson, (1971). Therefore, NLC is a stakeholder and a key player in ensuring good governance by making sure both government and citizens did the needful that will eventually translate to the improvement of general well-being (Nagel, (1981).

Nigeria in its transition from essentially traditional society to modern technological one is currently undergoing changes in its political, economic, industrial, social, religious and educational life. Such changes often placed considerable stress of expectations on individuals and groups whose coping and adaptation mechanisms often break down when they find it too difficult to accommodate these changes. The transition is accompanied with lot of challenges thus, lack of guiding values, lack of patriotism, inter personal and communal conflicts,



corruption, kidnapping, armed robbery, insurgency, non-value attached to human lives, inefficiency and above all self-seeking leadership (Nelson, 1972). Today, even the family in which child and youth grow is not immune against these problems. Parents themselves are occupied with their problems, often leave the child to grow confused and unguided throughout the childhood life, some parents don't even have time to know who are the candidates of their other family members not to talk of mobilizing them towards making a right decision and choice.

According to Okonkwo (1993) the cumulative effect of these challenges is nothing rather than tasking the public coping mechanism to their very utmost, often, these coping mechanism may break down and if no source of help is readily available, a number of serious problems may further manifest such as poor self-concept, as it persists, is may also aggravate norm violating behavior such as lack of discipline, unrest, rioting, thuggery, aggressiveness and delinquency. With that, habit disorder among youth cannot be exonerated(e.g. Cultism, smocking, drug abuse, truancy etc.). There are various relevant stake holders who are expected to play a role in order to help the nation and the public get rid of these challenges, these may include parents, influential relatives, village elders and other traditional rulers, peers, religious leaders, teachers etc. however, most of these are inadequate in one way or the other in helping the public understand their condition and the role expected of them to play. In many senses most professional and organized sources help especially when complemented with earlier mentioned sources. One of the most relevant of all is NLC, because of their complexity, wider coverage and expertise they make a great impact in molding and influencing and changing public perception and decision of choosing a particular candidate during election (Otobo, 1981). Though, people that normally fail to support credible political alternative suffered from personal and psychological problems resulting from the failure of the previous governments and administrations to meet their expectations, this constitute social and personal problems of overall life adjustments where people always think about themselves and immediate members other than society at large.

Need for NLC Intervention

The manifest role of labor leaders in Nigeria is that of protecting the interest of a common man especially the worker, while their latent role includes partnering to build and maintain peace among Nigerians regardless of race, tribe, religion, creed, or region. The general task of all trade unions is how to build dialogue, consensus, and peaceful and harmonious peaceful coexistence among interest parties, they also have the task of making a positive influence on the nation building; socially, religiously, economically and politically (Sonubi, 1973). A common ground approach to national issues and having joint efforts with all relevant stake holders to advance the cause of overall national development, this should guide the union bodies in regards to their role within Nigerian State and society. Unions need to define their roles and relationships with both the Nigerian state and society with the view of making positive impact on both.

Therefore, a comrade who is willing to change the direction of people towards a particular direction must possess some qualities, thus, rationalism and skepticism. One must employ logical reasoning, logic allow people to reason correctly, most individuals never learned how to reason logically, because, they have never learned how to do so. Logic here, is not an ability that humans are born with or one that can gradually develop and improve on its own but is a skill that must be learned. Emotional thinking, wishful thinking and hopeful thinking are more common than logical thinking because they are easier and far more congenial to human nature. Skeptical attitude on the other hand, is also a formidable quality of a comrade to imbibe. Comrades must constantly examine and reexamine the evidence, arguments and reasons for holding their stand and beliefs, this is to avoid self-deception and deception by others, as they are considered two most common human failings. Self-deception at times often goes unrecognized, the only way to escape both deception by others and the far more common trait of self-deception is to repeatedly and rigorously examine the basis for holding your view before confronting or trying to convince others to willingly drop their position and adopt a new idea (Yesufu, 1984). When these two major qualities are met then, whatever one presented people might assume the position has the high probability of being true, that can surely help in winning public trust and confidence. As in African culture dishonesty and cheating is a major taboo.

Comrades that are saddled with the responsibility of changing the mind set of people must ensure their position or stand is true. In other words, they have to make sure, their reasons and direction in which they are guiding the



citizens corresponds with basic reality (truth). Before engaging and convincing people towards a particular direction, a comrade must note that, there are sources and ways people see as a reliable way of knowing the truth, some people accept something as being true because of someone in a position of authoritative publication, here, the personality of the provider of the information matters in ensuring the reliability of the information. Second, some peoples' psychology is used by those who have the power to convinced them that happenings and the political direction is ordained by the supreme being (God or gods), here people seek or accept the truth from religious leaders (Imams, pastors, Priest, Babalawo etc.). however, with the development of human society from simple crude tradition to a complex modern type, human society start to improve in their mode of reasoning and tend to objectively begin to ask questions before taking decisions regardless of who is the source of the information (Guardian 1984). Here, what matters is the accuracy and reliability of the information. Therefore, having these in mind can help in no small measure as to how to approach the public and their mode of response to situation and events.

Conclusion

Social control is necessary for maintaining order in the society. It is necessary for every society or group to maintain its social order and this is possible only when its members behave in accordance with that social order. An important objective of social control is to maintain the existing order. Without social control, social harmony would be a mere dream. Social control regulates behaviour in accordance with established norms which brings uniformity of behaviour and leads to unity among individuals. The family maintains its unity because its members generally exhibit similar forms of behaviour, in accordance with family norms. Therefore, it is important for members of the entire Nigeria nation to have a common ground as to what constitute good governance and credible leadership and representation and must all work toward making that possible. NLC as a stake holder must play a very vital role in that regard, as it is considered a machinery put in place to control the behavior of people toward making a right decision during election for the benefit of all and for peace and development of Nigeria.

Suggestions

The following are some of the specific techniques and strategies to be considered in an effort to help in the improvement of human reasoning toward supporting a credible political alternative:

- 1. The NLC on their own part need to understand that the tensed atmosphere been created by the current political intrigues requires nothing short of objectivity, balanced and value-free understanding and explanation. One sided and biased argument is only going to heat up the polity and leave the stage volatile susceptible to violence.
- 2. NLC need to sit down with all relevant and influential stakeholders in a clearly defining rules of engagement; in a manner that helps each stakeholder factor well ahead of time in their role to make sure that those who listens to them make a right choice during elections.
- 3. It is crucial for NLC to build a strong network with relevant, specific, trusted and visible bodies that can support their efforts. These bodies should be development partners, foundations, media houses, NGOs and individuals. This is to reach all relevant parties and local groups who have the will and civic responsibility of supporting the idea.
- 4. Town hall meeting as a medium allows the citizens to express their needs as individuals and as group with common bond, through this medium one can easily know the basis why people hold their beliefs, town hall meeting is an effort to bring discussions to people's reach.
- 5. Advocacy campaigns can also be used to support the cause or issue in order to achieve a desired result, advocacy campaign is an action directed and the issue at stake must be clearly stated (ie. benefits and advantages of supporting a credible political alternative). The usual time frame for an advocacy goal can take years (1 to 3 years). The message should be concise and persuasive. Here, it is pertinent and paramount to build networks of supportive individuals and organizations earlier mentioned (see 3) for efficient implementation.

References

Adeogun, A. A, (1967) "The influence of International Labour Organisation Conventions on Nigeria Labour Law". Unpublished Ph.d Thesis, University of London.

- Aiyede, R., (2004). United We Stand: Labour Unions and Human Rights NGOs in the Democratisation Process in Nigeria. *Development in Practice*, 14,(1/2), 224-233.
- Anonymous, G. (1960). The influence of international labour conventions on Nigeria Labour Legislation. *International Labour Review*. 72(1), 26-43.
- Coleman, J., (1964). "Trade Unions" in James Coleman and Carl Rosberg, eds. Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Essack, A.K., (1971). Nigeria at the Crossroads. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6(11), (March 13), 612-613.
- Hoffman, A., (1996). The policy conundrum: Foreign policy, 101(1), 146-158.
- Hopkins, A. G, (1966) "The Lagos strike of 1897: An exploration in Nigerian Labour History" in Past and Present, 35, 133-155.
- Hughesm A. & Robin, C, (1971). Towards the emergence of a Nigerian Working Class; The Social Identity of Lagos Labour Force, 1897-1939", Occasional Paper Series, D no. 7, University of Birmingham
- Idang, G. J., (1970). The politics of nigerian foreign policy: The ratification and renunciation of the Anglo-Nigerian defence agreement. *African Studies Review*, 13(2), 227-251.
- Marx, K. & Fredrick A. (1986) Manifesto of the Communist Party. Moscow: Progress Publisher
- Melson, R., (1967). Marxists in the Nigerian Labour Movement. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Melson, R., (1971). Ideology and inconsistency: The cross-pressured' Nigerian Worker. *The American Political Science Review*, 65, (1), 161-171
- Nagel, J., (1981). Politics and the organization of collective action: The Case of Nigeria, 1960-1975" *Political Behavior*, 3(2), 87-116.
- National Archive Ibadan (NAI) No 4151 "Labour Code Ordinance No 54 of 1945" November 9,1944.
- Nelson, H. et al., (1972). Area handbook for Nigeria. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Okonkwo, R. (1993). "The Nigeria civil service union, 1919-1922. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 26(3), 609-622.
- Orr, C. A, (1966) "Trade Unionism in Colonial Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 4(1) (May), 65-81.
- Otobo, D., (1981) "The Nigerian General Strike of 1981" Review of African Political Economy, 22 (Oct. Dec.), 65-81.
- Sonubi, O. ,(1973) "Trade Disputes in Nigeria, 1966-1971". *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies* 15(1), 221-238.
- Yesufu, T. M, (1984). *The dynamics of industrial relations in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press Limited