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Title:	THE CHALLENGES OF SURVIVAL
Keyword:	
Description:	
Category:	
Publisher:	
Publication Date:	
Signature:	Nwamarah Uche Digitally Signed by: Content manager's Name CN = Weabmaster's name University of Nigeria, Nsukka OU = Innovation Centre

AFRICA: THE CHALLENGES OF SURVIVAL

BY

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CHAPTER ONE

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

Imperialism is the policy of state aiming at establishing control beyond its borders over people unwilling to accept such control. Because of this unwillingness imperialist policy always involves the use of power against its victims. Therefore the logic of imperialism is power. It does not stand to reason. Power has no limitation. It is a victorious psychology. It longs for conquest.

The term imperialism as defined here dates back to the last half of the 19th century, but the phenomenon it describes is as old as civilization. Ancient and modern imperialisms have in common not only the end but many means. The ancient Roman Empire developed from the imperial strength of Rome vis-à-vis its weak neighbours. The Communist Russia and USA are using their ideological and technological weapons to spread imperialism over the world today.

In the 15th century A.D Portugal and Spain were the two most powerful countries in Europe. It was in order to avoid conflict between them that the Pope by his Bull divided the world into two parts between Spain and Portugal. With the Papal Bull Spain was given a freehand over South America while Portugal was free to colonize Asia without any interruption. But when other powers in Europe like France, Britain and Holland, felt themselves sufficiently powerful enough to challenge Spain and Portugal, they asked the Pope if God had given the inheritance of the earth to Spain and Portugal alone. This commercial challenge led to the decline of Spain and Portugal, and prepared the

way for the struggle for the mastery of the earth among France, Holland and Britain.

Holland went down. But the world did not change. The struggle continued between the two giants- France and Britain. This battle was fought in the high seas, in continental Europe, in America, in the Far East and lastly but not the least in Africa. Here other European powers emerged and joined in the struggle. This is imperialism or domination of the weaker outside world in its nakedness.

European imperialism in Africa had confirmed the assertion of Bertrand Russell, a world famous philosopher-critic and an opponent of modern war, in his book- The Principles of Social Reconstruction published in 1916 that is during World War I “Much of the vital energy of the world runs into channels which are oppressive. The Germans have shown themselves extra- ordinarily full of vital energy, but unfortunately in a form which seems incompatible with the vitality of its neighbours. Europe in general has more vital energy than Africa, but it has used its energy to drain Africa through industrialism, of even such life as Negroes possessed. The vitality of the Southeastern Europe is being drained to supply cheap labour for the enterprise of American millionaires. The vitality of men had been in the past a hindrance to the development of women, and it is possible that in the near future women may become a similar hindrance to men”. European imperialism was not restricted to Africa only. Towards the end of the 19th century Poland was portioned between Prussia, Austria and Russia. And in Africa British imperialism swallowed even white settlements like the Orange Free State and Transvaal in South Africa.

At this juncture it is pertinent to ask the following questions.

- What factors led to the imposition of European imperialism on Africa? Why was this successful?
- What was the African reaction to European conquest?
- What was the motivation behind the European political and economic policies in Africa?
- Were European imperialisms the cause of African underdevelopment? Or were they the reasons for the political instability in Africa today?
- Was European racist theory a mere justification of their imperialism? Or can it be supported by any existing historical and sociological explanations? These are the questions to focus attention on.

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION OF AFRICA

The factors that led to European colonization of Africa were political, economic, social and strategic. Before the 1800s the relationship between African States and European powers was on an equal basis. But as from the beginning of the 19th century, this relationship underwent a dramatic change. The Europeans were no longer contented to trade with the coastal states of Africa. They wanted to occupy and dominate the continent in order to ensure the effective exploitation of Africa in an age of industrialism. European occupation of Africa was carried out with such a haste and speed that it was known as the scramble for and partition of Africa. Before the end of the 1890s the whole of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia had been divided among the European powers- Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany and Belgium.

Liberia was saved from European expansionism by American influence that protected the free slaves from America who were settled in Liberia.

The survival of Ethiopia from the onslaught of the European invasion was due to her own strength and diplomacy. Menelik II Emperor or the king of Ethiopia during the period had an agreement of protection with Italy which was written in both Italian and Amharic languages purported Italy's right to protect Ethiopia. This treaty of protection was one of the tactics that the European powers used to claim territories in Africa but in the case of Ethiopia the strategy backfired. Instead Menelik II used the opportunity offered by the treaty to acquire sufficient arms and ammunition from Italy to equip and train a strong army.

Later when Italy attempted to execute the terms of the treaty by imposing her domination on Ethiopia, there was a misunderstanding in the interpretation of the treaty. In the one written in Italian there was protection while in the one written in Amharic or Amharic language there was no protection.

Consequently, when Italy wanted to carry out her own side of the agreement there was a stiff opposition from Ethiopia. With a well trained army, equipped with European weapons the Ethiopians defeated Italian forces. The defeat of a European power by an African kingdom reverberated throughout Europe. This made it easy for Ethiopia, an independent and powerful kingdom, to be reckoned with by other European powers.

Notwithstanding, Menelik II was not contented in preserving the independence of Ethiopia but he also took part in the

scramble and partition of other territories in Africa. He said that he could not sit idly by if distant European Powers came to scramble and apportion Africa, Ethiopia, an ancient kingdom should take part in the scramble. Therefore he was regarded as a scrambler for Africa who happened to be an African. His action contributed to the expansion of Ethiopia. He signed treaties with Britain, France and Italy which defined the boundaries of Ethiopia with British spheres of influence in the Sudan and Kenya and French influence in French Somaliland and Italian influence in Italian Somaliland.

The causes of the scramble or European imperialism need a close examination. One of the factors which led to the scramble was political change in Europe. The emergence of Germany had destroyed the balance of power in Europe. Because of Bismarck's fire-eating diplomacy and Prussia's military skill, France was defeated in 1870 and lost Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Otto von Bismarck was the Prussian Prime Minister and architect of the brilliant scheme to unify Germany under the aegis of a dominant Prussia. It was largely Bismarck who engineered the circumstances which led to the Franco – Prussian war, the total defeat of France, the emergence of a powerful German State and the forging of a German empire.

This defeat temporarily dimmed the prestige of France in Europe and Asian states especially Japan. The rise of Germany was also a challenge to British sea power. Italy was compelled to take shelter under the new nation. Austria was afraid to move. France wanted an empire in Africa in order to make up for her loss in Europe. At first Bismarck encouraged France in this design so as

to distract her attention from Europe and to increase the chances of her collision with Britain in Africa.

Furthermore, the possession of an empire was regarded as prestigious, the sign of a first-class power. Even Italy, a small power wanted to play big, and, therefore, looked forward to empire -building in Africa. Imperialist historians were writing and praising the importance of empire-building. Therefore imperialism became once more fashionable.

But some writers maintained that the economic factor was at bottom the most important that led to the European occupation of Africa. The Industrial Revolution in Europe had led to mass production of goods; accumulation of surplus capital and need for raw materials to feed the industries. The European market was saturated. Therefore, the Europeans needed markets elsewhere for their manufactured goods and an access to raw materials; land for the investment of surplus capital which was accumulated by financiers and bankers. Even Bismarck, who disliked the possession of Empire, was forced by the German businessmen to take part in the scramble. Consequently in 1884 Germany sent out Nachtigal to occupy Togoland and Cameroon, while in 1884/1885 when the Berlin West African Conference was underway, Carl Peters was busy occupying Tanganyika now Tanzania for Germany.

The discovery of gold in 1886 in South Africa in the Witwatersrand, the richest gold deposit in the world then hastened the scramble and partition. European prospectors

thought that more of such treasures might be hidden inside the bowels of the continent.

Moreover, Europe had feelings of guilt of the crime they committed against Africa through the Trans Atlantic Slave trade. Empire builders thought that they could compensate for this by bringing the benefits of European civilization to Africa. This feeling of humanitarianism was entertained by the missionaries and traders who were the fore-runners of European imperialism in Africa. This social factor was also aided and abetted by the theory of racism. Although this myth of European superiority had no historical or sociological basis but it made the Europeans feel that they had a mission of carrying world history on their shoulders.

The Industrial Revolution had caused mass unemployment in Europe. This problem in addition to criminals and prostitutes had constituted a social problem in Europe. One of the quickest solutions was to find colonies in Africa where the European undesirables could be dumped. In 1820 some Africans were removed from- their homes in South Africa to create room for the five thousand British Settlers. This was the root of apartheid in South Africa but nobody could foresee it that time.

The last factor which led to the scramble for Africa was the need for the possession of strategic points in Africa. Places like Egypt, Morocco and South Africa had extra advantages for commercial and military reasons. In the event of war any foreign power that controls these strategic points would have an advantage over her enemies. The occupation of Egypt by Britain in

1882 was motivated by the strategic consideration of the Suez Canal which linked Britain with her possessions in the Far East.

AFRICAN RESISTANCE

The European occupation of Africa was an act of aggression and international brigandage. Consequently, the Africans did not sit idly by while the European powers seized their land. There was a violent reaction and resistance to European expansionism. This opposition led to many wars between the intruders and modern Africa's ancestors.

The traditional opposition to the European colonization of Africa was the first expression of modern African nationalism. Therefore such men as Samori Toure of the Mandika in Guinea, Prempeh 1 of Asante in Ghana, Kosoko of Lagos, Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri, Attahiru of the Sokoto Caliphate, all from Nigeria; Lobengula of Rhodesia, Abdel Qader of Algeria, Urabi Pasha of Egypt and Menelik II of Ethiopia were traditional nationalists.

Traditional African nationalists failed to prevent European occupation of Africa because of the technological gap in military and industrial efficiency. Moreover some Africans did not fully grasp the situation and its future implication. They were preoccupied with present time orientation. No wonder why some allied with the Europeans against their fellow Africans. And an agricultural community like Africa could not fight a continuous and prolonged war with an industrial society, where specialization and division of labour were highly developed. Nevertheless, the traditionalist African reaction was very important in many

respects. It was a source of inspiration and pride to the twentieth century African nationalists. The European won the war but they did not win the heart of the peoples whose nationalism was driven underground to erupt again in the twentieth century, which eventually led to the emergence of African independent states.

THE EUROPEAN ADMINISTRATION OF AFRICA

After the occupation of Africa, the European powers started to rule the areas which they colonized. There were two main systems of colonial government. They were called direct and indirect rule. The British used indirect rule in their colonies, while France, Germany, Portugal, Spain and Belgium used direct rule. In both systems the colonial powers appointed African agents to act as chiefs or intermediaries between the indigenes and the colonial officials. The main difference was that the British tried to find the traditional chiefs while the other powers were not so much after the appointment of traditional Chiefs but appointed anybody or even straw Chiefs that helped them to maintain their colonialism.

Nigerian Historians disagree strongly among themselves in the terminology or concept of Indirect Rule. Some maintain that Great Britain used Indirect Rule in the administration of her colonies in Africa. But others argue that there is nothing indirect in the Indirect Rule. In other words, all the systems of the colonial administration in Africa including French, Portuguese, Spanish, Belgian, Italian and German systems were direct rule.

With careful analysis there is more logic in the terminology of direct rule because the colonial administrators dealt directly

with Africans whether they were African traditional rulers or chiefs or subjects all of them are Africans. They were not foreigners like the Lebanese or Greeks or Syrians who were agents of the European companies in Africa.

Professor Obaro Ikime, a specialist historian of the British colonial administration in West Africa is throphet of indirect Rule. While Dr Uzoechi, a great historian of international standard is the Angel of direct rule. History is an argument without end. Whatever system directness or indirectness what is certain is that Africa was colonized, dominated and exploited by the imperialists for about one hundred years (1880-1960).

The important thing was that the Africans had lost their freedom. Most of the so- called traditional chiefs or colonial agents had lost their hold on their subjects because the basis of their legitimacy had been eroded. However, they continued to stay in power because they were propped up by the colonial officials, the police and . the army.

In the colonial system the educated elite had no place. In the British colonies the so- called indirect rule which operated in the villages was in the hands of the traditional rulers while the central government (the legislative Council and Executive Council) was monopolized by the British officials. The French wanted to make their subjects French citizens, which could be achieved through education. This citizenship could win the elite a place in the French National Assembly in Paris. Some elite in the French territories at first believed in this bogus theory of assimilation and aspired to achieve it. But later they found out that this was like a

pie in the sky. Assimilation was a failure. In all the colonies the educated elite were frustrated by the colonial system. No wonder that many of them turned to be professional agitators and radical nationalists from the early stage of colonialism.

THE IMPACT OF COLONIZATION

The political situation was aggravated by the economic policy of the colonial government. The colonial economy was geared towards the effective exploitation of Africa. Some of the features of the economic policy were that colonies must be self – supporting; the import and export trade of the colonies must be handled by the colonial powers and the colonizers had subsoil rights. The export and import trade were monopolized by European big businesses like the SCOA, CFAO and UAC, while the internal wholesale and retail trade was in the hands of the Lebanese and Syrians in British West Africa; and in British East Africa and South Africa, It was handled by the Indians and finally in the French West Africa, It was managed by Greeks and Italians. Consequently the indigenous business men were discriminated against in shipping, banking and internal transportation. The colonial situation was worsened by forced labour, heavy taxation, land alienation and conscription into the army during the First and Second World Wars in which Africa had no stake. The system of forced labour and heavy taxation was more drastic in the French, Belgian and settler colonies. Between the forced labour, conscription and heavy taxation there was nothing to choose. They were all cruel and bloody.

Agricultural development during the colonial rule was geared to the development of cash crops which were to feed European industries. Much emphasis was placed on this to the negligence of food crops. Some colonies depended on the growth of one kind of cash crop, mono culture, which had a serious implication for the colonized.

Even the colonial system of communication was aimed at the effective exploitation of the colonies. Railways and harbours were built to connect the mines and cash crop producing areas in the hinterland in order to ensure quick evacuation of the raw materials to Europe. Many of the railways were of single track and were built to run from north to south in each colony.

There was no attempt at competitive industrialization in the colonies. To encourage the growth of industries would be detrimental to their metropolitan industries. Even the traditional industries in the colonies were discouraged. The weaving and blacksmithing in Mossi were suppressed by the French colonial officials in Dahomey now the Republic of Benin. And the establishment of groundnut oil mills in Senegal in 1927 was opposed by the French business men who owned oil mills in France, just because they feared competition.

Worse occurred in education. The colonial powers were mainly concerned with the production of clerks to help the European firms, interpreters who would help the colonial officials in the administration and finally catechists and teachers who would help the missionaries in spreading Christianity.

Imperialist historians asserted, however, that colonization was a blessing to Africa. But in the light of the above analysis, it can be argued that European imperialism was one of the greatest misfortunes that Africa had suffered in history. The Europeans after enslaving the body seized the land in Africa. The loss of freedom is worse than any misfortune because foreign rule, no matter how benevolent, is very humiliating. . The wave of coups and political instabilities in Africa recently is not unconnected with the shackles of imperialism.

Before the occupation of Africa there were so many empires and kingdoms- Asante, Dahomey, Oyo, Benin, the Sokoto Caliphate, the Zimbabwe, Buganda and Lozi. In each of these kingdoms political life was stable and there was much economic prosperity and progress. Even in segmentary societies like the Igbo and the Tiv where egalitarianism reigned supreme there was increasing social and economic progress. But the imposition of European imperialism had arrested such developments. The Western parliamentary democracy which replaced them was not broadly based. It was grafted. The national politicians were not given sufficient apprenticeship in the politics of Western style democracy. The upshot was that immediately after Independence that system collapsed. This failure was accentuated by corruption, effete leadership and neocolonialism. All these were mere appendages of imperialism

. To begin with, the colonial powers had no plan to educate Africans in the real sense of the word. Colonial education was geared towards producing small scale manpower that would help in effective exploitation. This colonial education produced people

who despised agriculture and preferred white-collar jobs, which appealed anti-nationalists. Education which aims at winning the Nobel peace-prize without contributing to the wealth of the nation cannot be admired. Knowledge is knowledge for a purpose. The validity of the purpose justifies the validity of that knowledge. In the light of this, the education which the European gave the Africans was a useless anti- African form of education. It had no wide practical utility. Most educated Africans during colonial rule did so on their own initiative. So whatever benefits the Africans derived from imperialism was, according to Dr Karl Marx, as a result of the unconscious instrument of imperialism. In other words it was not altruistic. Therefore citizens should not confuse the cause with the effect.

Imperialist writers had argued that colonialism was beneficial to Africans because it saved them from barbarism, cannibalism and superstition. But it can be remembered that barbarism and cannibalism were not new to Europe herself. The argument is a mere subterfuge to justify their imperialistic inclination. After all, Europe could save Africa from some of these evil practices without interfering in her political system and carrying away her wealth.

Whatever the European propagandists may write about the so-called benefits of imperialism the true impact of imperialism had been highlighted by three radical and revolutionary authors. Dr. Walter Rodney, an exile from Guyana, who taught in East Africa's Dar-es-Salaam University and maintained a Marxist stand, in his book; "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", revealed through many examples how the European colonization of Africa

caused the economic backwardness of Africa. By this , the technological gap and the distortion of the African economy was the outcome of imperialism.

Lenin, the Communist leader of the Russian Revolution of 1917 in his book, "Imperialism, the last stage of Capitalism", pointed out that European capitalism had reached a stage of crisis and contradiction which would eventually lead to the collapse of European civilization. Therefore, it was in a frenzied attempt to postpone the Doomsday that Europeans occupied Africa and, thereby, exported European contradictions and conflicts to Africans. By implication, the political instabilities and conflicts in Africa today are the byproducts of imperialism.

The third author and the most aggressive is Frantz Fanon, a West Indian Negro psychiatrist who had spent most of his time working in North Africa. In his book, "Black Skins, White Masks", he analyzed the social and psychological impacts of imperialism on Africans. He maintained that imperialism was the cause of African syndrome. This was the effect of the accumulated grievances and frustrations. This syndrome of boredom for working for the colonizers according to Fanon was more acute in the settler colonies where imperialism was more brutal.

By way of conclusion, European imperialism in Africa, motivated by enlightened self-interest, was the greatest calamity in the history of Africa. Because of the loss of freedom and economic exploitation of Africa by the colonizers, some African nationalists were uncompromising in their fight for Independence. As a result of this continuous and aggressive nationalism,

European imperialism in Africa was toppled at the middle of the twentieth century. This was aided and abetted by the emergence of two world powers, the USA and Soviet Russia. They supported decolonization so as to have room for spreading their own brand of imperialisms. Theirs did not rely on occupation but on subtle economic, political and ideological influence. The decolonisation had led to the emergence of Africa on the World scene. Yet many independent states of Africa are suffering from political instability and economic backwardness. These double diseases are aspects of colonial heritage and neo-colonialism which is a new form of imperialism, according to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of the Republic of Ghana, and Pan –Africanist.

In retrospect, the Black Man has a problem. Something is wrong with him. Citizens cannot continue to attribute economic backwardness and political instability since independence to European enslavement and colonization. Therefore they should search themselves, and look inward to rediscover themselves. Negative attitude to life, to neighbours, to duty, gross indiscipline, selfishness, individualism, lack of commitment to anything, lack of time consciousness(Africa time), ethnicity, religious bigotry, entronement of mediocrity instead of meritocracy and corruption- these are the ills that have vitiated African development and progress. All of these Africannesses are the greatest obstacles to advancement.

Time and again, European imperialism and colonization was not only restricted to Africa. There was once in history when North and South America and Asian countries except Japan tasted the fire of European imperialism and colonization. Yet the USA,

Canada, Brazil, India, China, North and South Korea, and Iran have modernized and could compete favourably in economic and political advancement with any European countries because they refused to be deterred by the past shackles of history. Therefore, the time is ripe for Africans to wake up and take up their destiny through effective leadership and enlightened followership. This is supported by William Shakespeare when he said, 'Men at times are masters of their fate, the fault is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are under sling'.

In the final analysis Africans cannot continue to accuse Europeans of enslavement, imperialism, exploitation and even of, neocolonialism after independence. It is true that Europeans are guilty of all these crimes. But in retrospect, Africans are not completely innocent because of their complicity. During the European enslavement of Africans their ancestors were active participants in the human business without any qualm of conscience. It needs no stretch of the imagination to realize that any form of trade requires two parties, the buyer and the seller if it is an internal trade or the exporter and the importer if it is international.

With regards to the Trans- Atlantic and the East African slave trades the Europeans were importers while Africans were exporters. It could be recalled that communication into the hinterland of West Africa and East Africa was very difficult. Therefore, it was the African slave barons that went to the hinterland to bring the slaves or their fellow Africans down to the coast where the European slave merchants were waiting for them. More so, the African chiefs and slave dealers who were

living in the hinterland readily supplied the slaves which they obtained through community wars and intrigues. And the slave system was part and parcel of the African tradition. No wonder that Africans were not averse to the trade though they were ignorant of the fact that African domestic slavery was quite different from the Atlantic in terms of hardship and deprivation in the plantations and mines in the West Indies and America. Therefore, the logic is that if the African slavers did not participate in the inhuman trade it would be very difficult for European slave merchants to penetrate the hinterland and hunt down the slaves.

Even when the Europeans, especially Great Britain wanted to abolish the slave trade because of humanitarianism and economics, some African chiefs and other European countries like Portugal, France and Spain opposed it because their economic development still required slave labour. Britain at that stage wanted legitimate trade for the supply of raw materials for her industries and markets for manufactured goods and investment of surplus capital in Africa. This desire was also supported by humanitarianism which was pioneered by European missionaries and philanthropists who wanted to carry European civilization to Africa so as to compensate them for the evils of enslavement.

But the other countries in Europe whose economy still needed slave labour opposed the abolition. It required time, persuasion and bribery in terms of compensation and diplomacy to win their support.

At that stage when Great Britain, because of the high development of her industrial revolution was determined to stop

the slave trade from its source in Africa, the African chiefs and their slave agents were biased and confused. They could not easily distinguish between the British and the other Europeans. They regarded all as white men. Consequently while some whites were demanding slaves others were arguing for its abolition. At Lagos, the British used the pretext that Oba Docemo, the king of Lagos was slow to stop the slave trade, to occupy and conquer Lagos. And in Northern Nigeria when Lord Lugard wanted to bring the region under British influence, the abolition of Slave trade and slavery was used as a pretext for extending British imperialism. One of the Emirs in the north- the Emir of Kontagora told Lord Lugard when he was asked to stop the slave trade; "You cannot stop a cat from mousing, when I die I shall die with a slave in my mouth." This reply is characteristic of many African chiefs and slave merchants to the British abolitionists Therefore, owing to their level of understanding then some forefathers did not see anything bad in that trade which provided them with revenue for state craft. That fact is the irony of the slave trade and its tragedy too.

The same logic is applicable to European imperialism and its exploitation of Africa. During the European conquest of Africa those foreigners relied on superior diplomacy to turn the table against Africa. First and foremost, the Europeans planned the Berlin West African Conference of 1884/85 in Germany to ensure that their scramble and partition of Africa did not cause wars among their nations by defining the rules of the game. This policy enabled them to peacefully partition Africa. And whenever there was any fear or threat of breach of peace between any European

countries they would quickly settle the problems on a conference table.

Ironically the African chiefs and kingdoms who had conflict among themselves thought it expedient to ally with Europeans against their fellow Africans. Naturally the Europeans exploited the weakness to their greatest advantage by helping their African allies conquer their fellow Africans. And later the Europeans turned against their former African allies and conquered them, notwithstanding. For instance, in Lagos Kosoko allied with the British to drive away Akitoye from his throne. But later the colonizers attacked Docemo the successor to Kosoko because of his inability to stop the slave trade. They thereby, occupied and made Lagos a British colony.

Even after the conquest of Africa, European administration was difficult if not an impossibility if the Africans did not cooperate. The Indirect Rule which the British adopted and the Direct Rule which France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Germany adopted in the administration of their territories were tactical methods in which they used African chiefs or straw chiefs to achieve their domination of Africa. In other words, they allied with traditional rulers while they discriminated against the educated elite.

Even in this age where it can be assumed that Africans are better educated and more enlightened than their forefathers, the situation is basically the same. The problem is not with the Europeans but with Africans. Corruption which is the greatest problem confronting African states today is not caused by Europe

but Europe is benefitting greatly from African corruption. Most of the monies which the corrupt African politicians and top civil servants loot from their nations' treasuries are stacked away in European banks. Europeans legitimately use them in development. They can even use such to give loans to Africa at very high interest to the detriment of the national economy. People cannot expect such huge monies to lie idle in European and American banks. That idleness is against the principle of a modern economy. It could be wiser if corrupt politicians had left the monies in African banks to make the economy very strong or else used the monies to establish industries to provide essential commodities and also reduce the unemployment problem shaming African countries.

But fear would not allow them to leave their monies in home banks or use them to establish Universities and industries in their countries because such huge establishments could expose them. And if any radical government emerges in future those assets could be confiscated to benefit the masses.

Again most of the few industries some African states and individuals have established are finding it difficult to survive because of mismanagement and corruption. The top management and Board members of many companies and corporations are not committed to ensuring their profitability and survival. Greed, selfishness, ignorance, individualism and short sightedness could not allow them to perform their role well. So Africans are on the horns of a dilemma.

Therefore, imperialism is not restricted to white imperialism. AFRICANS have been suffering under domestic or black imperialism since Independence. In fact the situation has not basically changed. The only change is in NATIONALITY and not in substance. Consequently the suffering of the masses has been intensified and not minimized despite bogus freedom and Independence.

CHAPTER TWO

NIGERIAN NATIONALISM

Nationalism is the state of mind in which the individual feels that everyone owes his supreme secular loyalty to the Nation or State. Nationalism is a recent modern movement. Throughout history men have been attached to their native soil, to the tradition of their parents and established authorities, but it was not until the end of 18th century A.D that nationalism began to be a generally recognized sentiment molding public and private life and one of the great, if not the greatest single determining factor of modern history. Because of its dynamic vitality, and its pervading character nationalism is often thought to be very old. The American and French revolutions may be regarded as its first powerful manifestation. From Western Europe and North America, modern nationalism spread to Latin America in the first half of the 19th century AD and to central and Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century. Nationalism came to the Ancient world of Asia and Africa during the 20th century AD. Nationalism in Africa and Asia started as a movement against foreign rule.

In the foregoing paragraph the origin and spread of nationalism is treated briefly merely as a point of departure For the purpose of this symposium attention shall be focused on the Nigerian Nationalism. In order to make this topic understandable to the students of Nigerian history, and any person interested in the rise of Nigerian nationalism. the following sub –headings will be discussed

1. Traditional Nationalism
2. Cultural Nationalism
3. Pan- Africanism

4. Political Protest or Lagos Local Nationalism
5. The Influence of the Second World War
6. The Growth of Modern Political Parties and Mass Propaganda
7. The Attainment of Independence and the Problems of Nation - building
8. The Army in Politics and the Emergence of Mohammed Ramat and its Implication.

There is no hard and fast line of demarcation between these sub-headings. In other words, there is great deal of overlapping. And one event flowed naturally from and dovetailed into the other.

Rise of the traditional Nationalism.

The major factor that led to the rise of traditional nationalism was the imposition of imperialism. Before the beginning of the 19th centuryAD the relationship between the European adventurers and the Coastal chiefs in West Africa was on an equal basis. But as from the 1880s and as a result of the economic, social and political changes in Europe, the European powers during the Berlin West African conference in Germany in 1884-1885 decided to divide and occupy Africa. This was an act of naked aggression and international brigandage. However, the scramble for Africa led to African reaction and resistance. Men like Kosoko of Lagos, Nana of Itsekiri, Jaja of Opobo, Attahiru of the Sokoto Caliphate in Nageria, and Samori Toure of the Mandika in Guinea resisted the occupation of their kingdoms. They were the traditional nationalists.

In the final analysis, the European powers defeated them and occupied their land. This is possible because of the European technological superiority and an agricultural community like Africa

could not fight a prolonged war with an Industrial nations like Europe where the division of labour and specialization have reached an advanced stage. More importantly, the European powers were more diplomatic. They called the Berlin conference to patch up their conflicts in Europe. Furthermore, they exploited the internal and external disputes within and between African kingdoms by supporting one faction against the other and later turned against their former African allies to achieve their imperialist designs. Nevertheless, traditional nationalism was important in the sense that it was a source of lesson and inspiration to the twentieth-century nationalists.

Pan- Africanism.

The next stage of nationalism was Pan- Africanism. The settlements of freed slaves from the West Indies and America in Sierra Leone and Liberia had led to the rise of an educated elite in West Africa at the beginning of the 19th century. At first the elite were encouraged by the Europeans to take an active part in the political, social, religious and economic affairs. But as from 1896 after the Hut Tax Uprising in Sierra Leone and when the Europeans decided to colonize and exploit West Africa effectively, foreign rulers turned against the elite. They were discriminated against in economic, political and social activities. It was in an attempt to forestall this racial discrimination that led to the formation of the British West African Congress [BWAC] in Accra in 1919. This was spearheaded by W.E.B. Dubois and Marcus Garvey from America and the West Indies, Nana Ofori Atta, Danquah and Casely Hayford from Ghana.

The aims of the (BWAC) were to ensure African participation in their government; control of taxation by Africans; appointment and deposition of chiefs by their own people; abolition of racial discrimination in the civil service and the establishment of a University in West Africa.

The members of the BWAC sent a delegation to London but the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, treated them with disrespect. He despised the educated elite – the products of Colonial institutions. To him the concept of a West African nation was an absurdity much like the idea of a European nation then.

Cultural and Intellectual Nationalism.

Pan- Africanism also took another aspect popularly known as cultural nationalism. European powers in an attempt to justify their imperialism in Africa maintained that Africa had no culture, no history, and did not contribute anything to World civilization. Therefore, imperialism would allow Africa to benefit from European advanced civilization. It can be recalled that in 1859 when Charles Darwin expounded his theory of evolution in which he maintained that humanity evolved from the lower animal to the ape and from the ape to a human being, European racists assumed erroneously that Africa was at the lowest stage of evolution- a sub-human, a savage, a missing link. It was in an attempt to expose the absurdity of this assumption that the Pan -Africanists resorted to cultural revival, to writing African history that European historians had twisted and distorted. African arts, musics, songs and religions were being revived. The Ancient Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, the

champion of Africa Freedom was praised. It was then that Casely Hayford wrote his wonderful book "Ethiopia Unbound."

In the French West Africa, cultural nationalism took the form of Negritude which aimed at asserting the African Personality. Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal was the founder of Negritude. The West African students Union in London in 1925 founded by Ladipo Solanke, a Yoruba scholar added a new fire to the explosive issue of Pan- Africanism.

Political Protest or Lagos Local Nationalism.

While Pan- Africanism was very active in West Africa, in Lagos political protest was underway. This was spearheaded by Herbert Macaulay. The aim of the Lagos politicians was to fight for the participation of the elites in the government of their country; to entrench the position or authority of the Eleko and the Red cap Chiefs vis-à-vis the British officials at Lagos and to abolish the water rate. In the 1922 Constitution, a Legislative Council of 46 was created in Lagos with three members to be elected from Lagos and one member from Calabar. The rest were British. This led to the formation of Parties to campaign for the seats. There were three parties formed in Lagos. Herbert Macaulay's Party – The National Democratic Party won the three seats in 1923, 1928 and 1933.

This Lagos politics was localized only in Lagos. And its weapons depended on press war, protest and petition. The British government was not so much worried about the activities of Macaulay in Lagos but about South Eastern Nigeria where Indirect Rule was not working well. The Warrant Chief system which was established by the colonial government in Eastern Nigeria was

contrary to the traditional system of government in Igboland. The people were not accustomed to the system. This mistake was aggravated by the introduction of tax especially during the world Depression of 1929-1932 when the prices of the agricultural products were very low while the prices of the imported goods were still very high. It was under these conditions that Warrant Chief Okugo of Oloko near Aba, with his servants were going from house to house counting goats in anticipation of the assessment of income tax. Nwanyelugo, a woman in Oloko in an attempt to prevent the Warrant Chief from counting her goats, sparked off the Aba women's Revolt of 1929. Warrant Chiefs, court buildings and Government residences were the targets of attack. This spread easily to Owerri, Opobo and Calabar. Government police were called to stop the rioters. Thirty-one women were killed and thirty-two were wounded by the police. This was a form of protest against colonialism.

Though Lagos politics may be regarded as local nationalism but it was important in many respects. It kept the mantle of the Nigerian nationalism burning, though it was burning very low in its sucket. It was in Lagos that the first pan -Nigerian Nationalist party was formed. In 1936 the Nigerian Youth Movement was founded by Samuel Akinsanya, H.O. Davies, Ernest Ikoli and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The support of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe when he returned from America in 1937 gave it a wider scope and added fire to it. The Youth Movement dominated Nigerian Politics till the outbreak of the Second World War [1939-1945].

The Influence of the Second World War.

The impact of this Second World War is remarkable in the history of Nigerian Nationalism. War is a catalyst. The Second World War changed the drama of World politics. Africans and Europeans alike learnt that European Empire was not an immutable monolith in the landscape of world history. In 1941 Japan invaded South East Asia – India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Indo China and drove the British, Dutch and French imperialists from South East Asia. This was possible because the European powers concentrated their forces at home where the struggle was very keen. After the war these colonies gained their independence and Europe lost their Empire in Asia overnight. This change was an inspiration to the African freedom fighters and nationalists.

That war had destroyed Europe as a world power and consequently led to the emergence of the United States of America and Communist Russia. In the United Nations Organization [UNO] which was formed after the war two of them supported African nationalism for their different reasons. The super powers opposed European brand of imperialism for their own selfish interests. They wanted decolonization to give way to their form of imperialism that is based on subtle ideological, political and economic influence without any need for outright invasion and occupation.

Moreover, the world war had projected Nigeria out of a colonial backwater into a modern world in which Nigeria because of the exigencies of that war became important as one of the strategic links in allied defences, as producers of primary goods, as providers of

indispensable troops for the Burma Campaign. The right of Empire was being challenged. The World War had exploded the European myth of invincibility. The Nigerian soldiers who took part in the war had not only seen that Europeans cried in the battle field but they had also conquered the European women in bed. The impact of the ex-service men on nationalist movement was overwhelming. This was accentuated by the emergence of the jumped-up moneyed-men of business who became rich through the inflation created by the war. The new men added to the rank of the nationalists.

The Development of Modern Political Parties and Mass Propaganda.

Nigerian nationalism took a new form after the Second World War. This was the formation of broad based political parties which employed mass propaganda as a political weapon. The effectiveness of the NYM was undermined by internal disputes. In 1944 the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun but later was changed to National Council of Nigerian Citizens [NCNC] was formed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe with himself as Secretary and Herbert Macaulay, the father of Nigerian nationalism as President. In 1945 a cultural party, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, was formed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. It later became the Action Group. It was not until 1949 that Aminu Kano and Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa formed the Northern Peoples Congress [N.P.C]. The formation of political parties was a turning point in the history of Nigerian nationalism. The major objective was to obtain Independence through constitutional means. This led to major constitutions and round table conferences.

The Richard's Constitution of 1947 was criticized by the N.C.N.C because it introduced regionalism against unification; it was unilateral; and it neglected Morel and Temple's suggestion for seven States which was later advocated by Dr. Azikiwe Far and away, the 1947 Constitution was short of the nationalist expectation. Therefore, the N.C.N.C. organized a nation-wide campaign against it. The support of Nigerian workers was won by the N.C.N.C. when Dr. Azikiwe supported the nation-wide strike of 1945 organized by the Nigerian Trade Union and thereby made himself a hero.

The history of the Nigerian Trade Union was remarkable. In 1940 there were only twelve Unions with 4,337 members. Before 1944 the number of the Trade Union had risen to 85 with 30,000 members. In 1942 the Nigerian Trade Union Congress was given official recognition. The Trade Union Movement was established in order to improve the conditions of the workers. In a colonial situation this was not possible unless there was a measure of political Independence. With this argument the workers were politicized through the propaganda mechanism of the N.C.N.C. The support for the nationalists by the Nigerian Trade Union transformed Nigerian nationalism into a mass movement. It was irresistible. Newspapers, strikes, lookouts, holdups and petitions could be used with more effectiveness.

The N.C.N.C. sent a delegation to London in 1947 to express the Party's disappointment over the Richard Constitution. The delegation was headed by Dr. Zik. The labour Colonial Secretary, Arthur Greech –Jones ignored them and paid little attention to them. Nevertheless, the struggle continued.

The inadequacy of the Richards Constitution led to the Macpherson Constitution of 1951. For drafting the Macpherson Constitution the nationalists were consulted. But unfortunately, during the Ibadan Conference ethnicity reared up its ugly head. The three years during which the Constitutions were debated, was dominated by ethnic nationalism.

Only the Zikist Movement could legitimately call itself a Pan - Nigerian Party. It was the most radical. It wanted a strike and the refusal to pay tax to the colonial government. In 1949 nine of its members were imprisoned because of the 1949 Enugu Coal Miners Strike which led to shooting the miners. About twenty-nine miners were killed. There were sympathy riots in Aba, Port-Harcourt, Calabar and Onitsha. In 1950 the Zikist Movement was proscribed to silence the agitators.

The Macpherson Constitution merely balanced the power between the Centre and the Region. The forces of regionalism were still strong. The Western Region members attacked the proposal that Lagos should be separated from the Western Region and threatened to secede. The Northern members wanted its representation on the Federal Legislative Council to be half of the total numbers; wanted the distribution of grants on a per capita basis; and desired no change in the regional boundaries. In their Minority Reports, Professor Eyo Ita and Mazi Mbonu Ejike wanted more states to be created in order to satisfy the aspiration of the minorities in the [Middle Belt, Mid Western and COR - Calabar, Ogoja, Rivers State). Again the Macpherson Constitution like its

predecessor fell below the expectations of the radical nationalists. One of the main features of the Constitutional struggle of Nigeria is that before any Constitution could come into being it would be outdated and overtaken by events. There would be an immediate move for the next constitutional talk to redress the inadequacy of the former. In reality excessive reliance on Constitutional conferences was a delaying tactic, a classical diplomacy of imperialism.

Nevertheless, after the Macpherson Constitution, Nigeria held its general election between the dry season of 1951-1952. The N.C.N.C. programme and policy during the election campaign was Unitary Nigeria, while the Action Group wanted to maintain regional interest but later took up a National Character. The N.P.C. wanted to secure the North for the northerners. The N.C.N.C. won in the East with a large majority; the Action group won in the West with 49 out of 80 seats (members of the AG members who had stood as N.C.N.C. candidates but subsequently crossed the carpet); and the NPC swept the North.

The Macpherson Constitution was followed by the 1954 Constitution. This recent 1954 Constitution confirmed Macpherson's Constitution. Power was shared between the centre and the region. The three region-structures were maintained, thereby failing to satisfy the minority problems. Lagos was declared a Federal Capital. East and West expressed their readiness for self-government and earned it in 1957. The Northern Region gained her self-government later on in 1959. Then, after the general election of 1959 Nigeria gained her Independence on October 1st 1960. It is important to note that inspite of the differences which were shown during the

constitutional struggle, Nigeria was able to emerge as one United Sovereign State. This is due to the Statesmanship, political maturity, foresight and understanding which were demonstrated by the political party leaders at that critical period. The burning question is why can't the present Nigerian leaders and politicians learn from history –that is learn from their predecessors such important lesson of co-operation and understanding. The problem is not with history but with men who always behave like a person who is dumb, blind and deaf.

The challenges of nation-building.

After Independence, Nigeria was faced with the problem of nation-building. This task was made more difficult by the fact that Nigeria was only politically independent. Economically, most of the newly independent African States, including Nigeria, operated under the influence of their former colonial or socialist powers. This is what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the wise Ghanaian President called Neocolonialism, a new form of imperialism. This was aggravated by political instability, corruption, irresponsible leadership, inefficient bureaucracy and minority problems.

All the African Governments whether they profess radical socialism or were empirical and conservative in their approach to these problems, experienced great difficulties in fulfilling the expectations aroused in their citizens by the ending of the colonial rule because of economic backwardness. No wonder why Basil Davidson in his book Which Way Africa, argued that some African states did not know whether to adopt Capitalism or Socialism in order to solve their problems.

After Independence the Western system of Parliamentary democracy failed to work in most African countries including Nigeria because of the policy in which the winner took everything while the loser went home empty-handed and thereafter resorted to irresponsible opposition. Some established One-Party State system in order to ensure economic progress and political stability. The failure of both the One-Party State and the Multi-Party State led to a wave of coup d'état in Africa. But whether the Man on horseback could solve the mighty problems facing Africa is a matter of opinion.

THE MILITARY INTERVENTION IN NIGERIAN POLITICS

The first Nigerian coup d'état of January 15th 1966 was ideologically motivated but it was vitiated by bloody execution. The young army officers who planned the coup d'état had a very clear plan of solving problems facing the nation.. But the top army brass stole the show from the junior army officers. Because of the strict tradition of absolute obedience to seniority and command in the army the young officers surrendered power to their seniors. This action was a serious setback to the ambition and determination of the coup plotters Major Aguyi Ironsi was made the Head instead of Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu. Major General Aguyi Ironsi did not comprehend the gravity of the critical situation of the nation's volatile polity. He was living in the air like a fighting cock.. Consequently, before he could realize himself and settle down to confront the problems of nation-building he was toppled by the

worst bloody coup'detat of July 1966 which brought General Yacubu Gowon on to the centre of the stage of the power game in Nigeria.

It was a measure of success that General Gowon was able to rule the country for ten years whatever might have been his shortcomings. This service was possible because of the Civil War which he successfully brought to an end without allowing the country to disintegrate. But as time went on some people started to forget his successful war effort or creation of States. They wanted more from him. In politics as well as in any other human affairs stagnation causes decay, anxiety and restiveness. In fact nature abhors any vacuum. An astute politician must keep moving or leave the stage when the ovation is very high or else his political career would end like a badly- managed drama in which the anti-climax follows the climax and everybody waxes happy when the curtain finally falls. The most defect of the Gowon regime was that it failed to face the Nigerian reality . The major problems facing the country were not solved but postponed indefinitely. At last, people were frustrated and lost confidence in the ability of the regime.

He was basking in the euphoria of winning a great civil war. After all who started the war. Gowon could have made a greater history if he did not embark on the war. A greater statesman could not have embarked on the family war after the Aburi Accord. But the cheap popularity of starting and winning a war was too much temptation to a soldier-statesman than Aburi Accord which was astutely and intelligently presided by the former Head of state of Ghana, General Ankrah for the gradual restoration of peace and tranquility in Nigeria.

Unfortunately, that opportunity was lost due to bad advisers. The greatest problem of modern democracy and rulership is that the Head of state is often surrounded by good and bad advisers and hangers-on that hover around. It is his ability and intelligence to arrive at wise decision after weighing all the suggestions that makes him an outstanding statesman. It was under these circumstances that the third coup'etat of September 29th 1975 was carried out.

THE EMERGENCE OF RAMAT MOHAMMED

Nigeria's coup'etat number three was very neat and scientific. There was no loss of blood. It was widely acclaimed. The third coup led to the emergence of Ramat Mohammed. Immediately Ramat came to the throne, he started to solve most of the vital issues confronting the country since Independence. His approach and method were highly appreciated that he was nicknamed the man of 'Action'. The bureaucratic aristocracy which had rendered the Civil Service useless because of its red-tapism and inefficiency faced a surgical operation. "Dead woods" were removed without hesitation. Selfish individuals who refused to retire by falsifying their ages and entries into the Civil Service were kicked out without fear or favour. Throughout the short period of Mohammed's reign Civil service and corporations attended to their customers with urgency. .

The recent extension of the retirement age of the University Professors to seventy years and the consequent agitation by the ASUU and medical practioners for the same favour is unthinkable and unacceptible. Sooner or later the Nigerian Labour Congress, NLC would join in the fight for such extension because what is good for

the goose is also good for the gander. Nobody thinks seriously of the hapless and unemployed graduates who are crowding the labour market every year.

The policy for the extension of the retirement age of any group of government workers, no matter the importance of such group is counterproductive. It is inimical to the nation's economy and the survival of the nation. There is no rational or logic for the double- spectacled- half blind old men and women to continue to fumble in their offices while their dynamic and vibrant sons and daughters are wasting away at home or are loitering in the streets seeking for jobs that are monopolized by their parents with impunity. It is an irony and a contradiction to agitate for job creation or generations while a few djob openings are blocked by those who are so vocal about job creation and critical of the unemployment situation which they caused. This is hypocrisy.

The idea of pegging the retirement age of civil servants at 60 or 35 years of service whichever one that comes first was consciously and intelligently planned to allow smooth entry into the service by the up and coming young men and women without tears. It was also aimed at encouraging the retirees who are healthy and capable to utilize their experiences and expertise to establish private enterprises or consultancy services. By so doing they would help to become employers and at the same time double their earning power by enjoying their retirement benefits and the gains from their business ventures. The only hindrance is the fear of jumping into the unknown business world after enjoying so many years of calm office life of the routine civil service.

Mohammed introduced the committee system for performing a specific duty within a given period. Such important committees were the Committee for the creation of more states chaired by Justice Irekefe, Committee for the location of new capital chaired by Justice Aguda, Committee for the implementation of the indigenization program chaired by Committee for the drafting of constitution chaired by Rotimi Williams and Abandoned Property Implementation Committee chaired by Major David Mark. It is a bad policy and inimical to national unity to tolerate abandoned property in one's own country.

Within the few months of Mohammed's rule, he tackled the vital political, economic and social problems confronting the country since Independence. The program for the quick return to democracy, the creation of more states which solved the age-long minority problems, his dynamic foreign policy, the implementation of the indigenization decree and his surgical operation on the bureaucracy that was growing into a caste are shining examples of his dynamism and greatness.

The impact of his two hundred days had awakened national consciousness, gave citizens a sense of direction, purposefulness and oneness. To stress its full historical and sociological significance, his reign is comparable to a revolution. But it is most regrettable that the revolution was not allowed to go its full cycle by the forces of reaction and conservatism. The assassination of Ramat Mohammed was among the worst calamity in this nation.

If change is too quick, many people find it too difficult to adapt themselves to the new situation. Mohammed's attempt to change

Nigeria's social order won him the support of the masses because of his dynamic leadership. But he did not reckon with the stooges and agents of the neocolonialists whose entrenched interests were being undermined. Because of this background, the tragedy which destroyed Ramat can be fully appraised. His position had demonstrated the conflict between the forces of evolution and those forces of revolution. Whatever the merits and demerits of the two forces, Ramatism had shown one method of solving the gigantic problems confronting the nation's social system.

Whether people agree with his method of approach or not is a matter of opinion. But one thing is very clear; Ramat had awakened a strong spirit of nationalism in Nigeria. What is crucial is whether citizens are capable of sustaining it, this is a burning question. In retrospect, Mohammed Ramat had made history. And according to Prof. Tamumo, the former Vice Chancellor of Ibadan University, "it is better to make history than to write it." Ramat Mohammed was a brave soldier, a redoubtable general, a pragmatic statesman, a radical revolutionary and a great nationalist, all rolled in one personality.

RAMATISM

The history of modern Nigeria will continue to hang in the air until Ramatism dominates the centre of the stage. "Great men are not created by propaganda, they grow until their deeds are recognized by history," according to Alan Bullock in his book – Hilter: A Study in Tyranny. American greatness is not based only on the American resources and skilful management but it is also rooted in the successive greatnesses of their leaders right from their first

President, General George Washington down to their present one, Barack Obama. All regarded, the USA as their constituency. Once they were elected Statism disappeared and Americanism took its place. That is the bedrock of leadership, greatness and statesmanship. Most African leaders are finding it difficult to develop to that level. Though there are few amazing examples like the former historian President, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and the former lawyer-agitator, President Nelson Mandela of South Africa. Mohammed Ramat could be classified among those great men notwithstanding, that he reigned for only two hundred days.

Rotational presidency which some Nigerians advocate is not an ideal because great men and women are not rotational in any country. The idea portrays the low political culture, social intelligence and economic development. More importantly, great men are rare in any country. Once they appear they should be allowed to develop to their full potentialities for the benefit of humanity, instead of using a rotational policy to hinder them and consequently slow the progress and development of the nation.

Ramatism is weeping bitterly for the ambivalent attitude of Nigerians to their duties and responsibilities in the Civil service, in the education system, in the police, in the banking sector, in the insurance sector, the Power Holding Company of Nigeria, the corporations, the industries, the Judiciary, the NNPC, the hospitals, and the ministries. The philosophy of Ramatism is that everybody is important in national development program and therefore, everybody matters. In return everybody should do his duty without

fear or favour, without persuasion or force and with the true spirit of patriotism.

Lastly but not the least, the Abuja Capital territory which is the pride of the nation is the product of Ramatism. By the same token, it needs no stretch of the imagination to appreciate that the consequences of positive or negative actions are to be enjoyed or suffered by the future generation yet unborn. In the final analysis nationalism is a continuous process. Its dynamism determines the progress of any country.

By way of conclusion, Nigerian nationalism started from the middle of the 19th century A.D. It culminated in winning Independence. But nationalism is not static. It is highly fluid. It rises and falls like a thermometer according to the style of leadership. Leaders are the makers of civilization since the dawn of history. They determine the tempo of events. As an important factor in modern politics, they are most critical to the political stability, economic prosperity and soSocial progress of nations.

CHAPTER THREE

PROLIFERATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA

Forty days after the ban on politics had been lifted thirty five political parties arose in Nigeria in 1979. This number is unprecedented in the annals of any country. The political development in Nigeria after a long period of military dictatorship, and after the military had indicated its intention to hand over power to the civilians, had attracted world attention. The reason for this is that, it is rare in history where the military having forcefully gained power, agreed to relinquish it peacefully to the civilians. Since Nigeria is regarded as the giant of Africa [a giant with clay feet] that is a first- class power in Africa, power must always behave like power, if it must continue to enjoy the respect of power, and if it must remain as a force in the international diplomatic chessboard of power politics.

Therefore; her political development should naturally be of great interest, since her destiny is connected with the destiny of Africa and indirectly with that of the world. It is in view of this world destiny, in view of the destiny of Africa, and the future of Nigeria that the proliferation of political parties demands an objective appraisal.

Eventually the thirty five political parties were consolidated and merged into five parties through horse- trading. They were;

- The NPN with Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a Northerner as its Presidential candidate.
- NPP with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Easterner as its Presidential candidate.

- UPN with Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a Westerner as its Presidential candidate.
- GNPP with Alhaji Waziri Abubarkar Ibrahim, a North Easterner as its Presidential candidate.
- PRP with Mallam Aminu Kano, a Central Northerner as its Presidential candidate.

But in the 2007 general election in Nigeria fifty political parties were registered to contest. The establishment of fifty parties in one country or even if it is in ten countries suggests low political unity and divisiveness within the political class.

The PDP in its own political strategy deliberately tolerated such a situation in its ambition to become a mega party while the rest of the 49 parties would naturally be reduced to lilliputians. This is possible because the leaders of other parties were apparently more interested in financial deals, since each party that met the requirements of the Independent Election Commission [INEC] was given some financial support by the state .

Under normal circumstances two political parties are an ideal for any country that practices either parliamentary or presidential democracy. They are the party- in- government and the party –in- opposition. More importantly, it makes the opposition strong and credible enough to perform its role well while the party in government must be more responsible bearing in mind that the electorates have a possible alternative in the next election. Under this circumstance, a healthy competition would be created between them. But in Nigeria the circumstances are not normal. Nigerian politics is the politics of poverty. People go into politics in order to

amass wealth while in advanced countries people who are in politics are motivated by the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. They are agitated by what they could do for their countries and not by what their countries should do for them.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE TYPE OF GOVERNMENT IN A COUNTRY.

It is necessary to explain briefly the factors that help to influence the type of government in a country. They can be grouped into three, namely - the stage of economic development, historical background, and the

inclination to catch up with the more advanced countries. The stage of economic development or what some writers termed economic determinism or materialistic interpretation of history can be better appreciated practical example. During the Middle Ages in Europe feudalism was the predominant economic system. Consequently the form of government was monarchy which is part and parcel of feudalism. The two systems were indispensable. It is not easy to separate them. It was a sort of symbiosis.

But at the end of the 18th century feudalism was challenged by the emergence of industrial capitalism as a result of the Industrial revolution. Because of this revolution in Europe, monarchism was unable to contain the changing social order. In England this change had led to the rise of a constitutional monarchy. While in Russia, Prussia and Austria absolute monarchy gave way to enlightened despotism. But in France where the Ancient Regime was too slow to change, too inefficient, too autocratic and too irresponsible, the effect was the French Revolution.

The second factor is the historical background of a nation. If a nation has undergone a crucial historic change in any period, such a great event might influence its government. A good example is the United States of America. The Thirteen States that originally formed the United States of America were made up of European colonizers, adventurers, fortune-seekers and religious dissenters in search of freedom. But unfortunately, they were being ruled without representation by imperial Britain from Europe, a distance of about one thousand miles.

Their attempt to regain that spirit of freedom that had motivated their migration to America led to their Great Revolution that caused the American War of Independence (1776-1783). After Great Britain's defeat, the thirteen states still cherished their freedom but had seen the need for a stronger Union. They therefore, adopted federalism as their system of government.

The last factor, the inclination or propensity to catch up with the more advanced countries leads to what can be termed an "Imitation government". This means a wholesale imitation of the political system of another country prepared under a different historical and economic situation. Like an imitation in fashion and music, it will never attain the level and standard of its model. The example of countries that are practising an "Imitation government" are the Soviet Russia and many new independent states of emergent Africa.

Russia since 1820s during the reign of Alexander 1 and after the failure of the Decembrist revolt of 1825 was in search of a viable political system. The government of Russia, the Czarist regime was not only autocratic but also unable to solve the problem of Russian

backwardness and serfdom. The young Russian revolutionaries who wanted to overthrow the Czarist regime were not united in their choice of the type of government to be adopted. There were two schools of thought the Slavophile and the Westernizers. The westernizers wanted to imitate Western Europe. They wanted to adopt European capitalism which they argued had created European technology and had made Europe great. But Capitalism has its inherent contradictions. It breeds the urban poor, poor sanitation, low wages, inflation and unemployment. More importantly, it had divided society into two hostile camps- the middle class called the capitalists or bourgeoise vis-a-vis the poor workers or proletariat. The Slavophile hated it. They wanted Russia to improve Russian traditional system known as the *obschina* or the *Mir* system which is original so as to avoid the ills and the contradictions of capitalism.

This controversy continued in Russia till the French and English socialist writers like Charles Fourier, Proudhon, Blanc and Owen started to preach socialism as an alternative to capitalism. In 1848 when Dr Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels published The Communist Manifesto, that is destined to knock out Capitalism, the Russian revolutionaries started to advocate the adoption of Socialism mutatis mutandis as a modus operandi, so as to bypass Capitalism. But the struggle continued between the revolutionaries and the Russian government till the defeat of Russia in 1917 by Germany during the First World War[1914-1918] weakened and discredited the government of Russia. Because of this weakness and discredibility, the Bolshevik party under the leadership of Lenin overthrew the Czarist regime in October, 1917. This led to the establishment of Socialism in Russia. The adoption of socialism which

was nurtured in a different environment under a different social order, created so many hardships and upheavals in Russia. Though the Russian Communism had lasted for 76 years before its collapse in 1993, its chequered history had demonstrated the effects of an "Imitation government".

The last example is the new independent African States. European imperialism in Africa had made it possible for Africans to be integrated into the Western system of parliamentary democracy. But some wanted to go socialist. Whichever way is an "imitation government".

Then, it can be asked what leads to such an imitation? Does it mean that the imitator country is incapable of evolving her own political system? Is there anything bad in adopting a foreign political system that is sound and efficient? In fact there is nothing bad in adopting an efficient political system that had been tried, tested and found sound and workable. There are times in history when a particular nation is endowed with wonderful political philosophers whose political ideas may be beneficial not only to their nation but also to the world at large. Ancient Greece was blessed with such political geniuses like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Their political ideas like monarchism, aristocracy, republicanism, democracy and philosopher-king are still influencing modern political thought. Therefore, imitation may be good provided it is not blind.

What leads to such an imitation in Africa appears is lack of Intellectualism or serious thinking that are necessary in evolving a suitable and authentic ideology. Moreover, there is a tendency in the third world to imitate advanced Western cultures. Time and again,

the constitution which determines the nature of government to be adopted is often prepared by the elite in the society. They use the constitution to protect their interest. Their economic interest is often tied to that of their foreign mentors. Therefore, the agents of neocolonialism always adopt the political system of their ex-colonial masters.

The most important reason that causes the adoption of "Imitation government" in Africa is the colonial situation. To understand the effects of the colonial situation a brief survey of British colonialism in Nigeria is necessary. Before British occupation, Nigeria as people know her today did not exist. What existed were many independent kingdoms like Oyo kingdom, Kanem Bornu Empire, the Sokoto Caliphate and Great Benin. These States were free and autonomous with highly sophisticated governments.

But British imperialism had swallowed all the kingdoms. They were replaced by the British administration. It was not until 1914 that Lord Lugard, the British High Commissioner, amalgamated those autonomous states because of political and economic expediency. But there was no conscious effort made to integrate the country. Instead the British time honoured method of divide- and- rule was used. Even in 1922 when the Legislative Council was created only Lagos and Calabar were represented.

In other words, there was no common political forum where Nigerians were given any political training that would prepare them for independence and greater unity. It was not until 1946 that the Richards Constitution which created the Northern, Eastern and Western regions, made a feeble attempt to bring the

Nigerian politicians and nationalists together. Even the Richards Constitution was divisive in its outlook and practice

It was the rise of Nigerian nationalism that was a strong integrative factor. After the Second World War anti-colonial nationalism became a formidable force. The two World Wars had weakened Europe. Europe was no longer regarded as the centre of world civilization. The centre had moved westwards to the United States of America which was rapidly becoming the newest workshop of the world. Great Britain and France were not ready to fight again for the retention of their colonies.

And the emergence of the two super powers- Russia and USA had upset the balance of power. The super powers for their own national interests were against colonization. In short the right to the empire had been challenged. The British Empire was no longer regarded as an immutable monolith in world history. The effect was that Independence was gained without the elite getting political training in the exercise of the Western Parliamentary democracy.

It can be remembered that the Indirect Rule which Lord Lugard introduced in Nigeria had no room for the educated elite. That system was an unholy partnership between the colonialists and the traditional rulers. But ironically enough during the struggle for independence and after it was the educated elite that had seized the mantle of leadership because of their education. The traditionalists were elbowed to the background. Having displaced the traditionalists, it was not possible to adopt the traditional system of government and the wisdom of adopting it, in view of the rapid

change in the social order, remains doubtful. Therefore, the elite had no alternative than to imitate the Western system of government.

THE WESTERN SYSTEM OF DEMOCRACY

This Western Parliamentary Democracy had certain characteristics. It is a delegated democracy. People exercise their political right at the general election. In order to campaign for the election political parties are formed. Politicians with similar ideology form one party and with this ideology or program, they appeal to the electorates to vote for their party. The party that wins a majority of votes forms the government, while the other party forms the opposition. The opposition party is an important mechanism of government. It does not oppose everything. It supports the government to carry out important and good policies and also helps to bring the government to its senses.

The opposition party is also ready to form an alternative government if the party in power is discredited and failed during the next election. These are the essentials of the Western Parliamentary Democracy. The normal number of parties expected for this style of government is two. Anything more than this is redundant. Let us apply this to the Nigerian situation.

THE FEATURES OF NIGERIAN TYPE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

The political parties of the post Independence Nigeria were ethnic or regional parties. The Action Group belonged to the Western region. The Northern People's Congress belonged to the North. While the National Convention of the Nigerian Citizens formerly known as the

National Convention of Nigeria and Cameroon [NCNC] which was at first national in outlook, later belonged to the Eastern Region. Their political ideology was ethnicity or regionalism. It was this that they used to campaign for votes. None had anything new or different to offer to the people. Naturally the party, the NPC that belonged to the most populated region always won the majority and, therefore, formed the government. It was a game in which the winner takes everything, while the loser goes home empty-handed. The government was partially responsible and fully sectional. The opposition appeared to oppose everything. In short the opposition was destructive and not constructive.

The hopes of the people that were raised during the heyday of true nationalism were not realized. A wave of frustration swept over the country. It was under this condition that the man-on-horseback seized power. The coming of the army into the political arena has extended Nigerian politics to another field (militarism). Whether the army would solve the mighty problems confronting the country was debatable. Unfortunately, that united force had been politicized. It seemed as if nothing had happened. In the streets the cars were the same. Only their drivers were changed. Thirteen years of military dictatorship had moved the country to nowhere. No wonder that the army wanted to hand over power back to civilians. Moreover, military rule, no matter how much benevolent, is humiliating. The spirit of liberty is always suppressed. In preparation for that a new Constitution was necessary.

THE 1979 CONSTITUTION

The new Constitution is crucial at this stage of Nigerian history. It is to spell out clearly the type of government; the spheres of influence of the different organs of government; the relationship between them; the system of election; the type of political parties to be formed; the rights of the citizens and the rule of the game. One is inclined to be optimistic about the future of Nigeria if the new Constitution is to be observed by the politicians and the people. But it does not make a good history. The Constitution is one thing and human nature is another. It was Plato, the philosopher in ancient Greece and the master who knows, who says, "There can be no rest from troubles neither for states nor for all mankind, unless either philosophers become kings or kings by divine providence turn philosophers". By this token, it can be said that the new Constitution is not perfect. Nothing is perfect in this world but good citizens always aim at perfection.

It is lamentable that the new Constitution was silent over the ideology to be adopted by the post- military Nigeria. This is one of the major problems that had been confronting twentieth- century African politicians. The new independent African states did not know whether to adopt capitalism or socialism so as to solve the political instability and economic backwardness. The two ideologies had their merits and demerits. It has been asserted beyond any reasonable doubt that neither Socialism nor Capitalism is a panacea for the ills of society. Utopianism which socialism claims to bring about is still a pie in the sky.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT WITH SOCIALISM

Therefore, it is the caliber, the maturity, the integrity and the dedication of the ruling elite that operates any of the systems that matter. This is not to discredit socialism which in theory appears to be sweet, and which many of the so-called radicals advocate. The problem is that many people who claim to be socialists are not socialists at heart. They only use the word as a political gimmick in order to capture power. A peep into the lives of the founding fathers of socialism like Karl Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, is enough to illustrate this point. They regarded socialism as a religion. Their actions, their speeches and writings show this. They had suffered many hardships and deprivations because of their faith in socialism. Their whole life ambitions were animated for the realization of socialism. The missionary zeal with which they propagated it touched chords of memory and of faith and is the expression of a socialist political realism.

Many people supported them because to them example is better than precept. Preaching without practicing what one preaches is only hypocrisy. When scholars contrast them with modern socialists, the reverse appeared. They were political opportunists who wanted to win cheap popularity. Far and away, the problem is not with socialism as an ideology but with the so-called half-baked socialists, who used socialism as a smokescreen to climb to the high seat of power.

THE 1979 CONSTITUTION DOES NOT CHECK CORRUPTION.

Another defect of the new Constitution is that it did not attempt to check corruption at the high places. Arguably corruption to some had eaten deep into the fabric of society and no Constitution can

check it easily. This is a defeatist attitude. There is no room for defeatism. Does it mean that what has eaten deep cannot be checked? If the new Constitution had made it imperative for any politician or any highly placed official to declare his assets before and after his tenure of office, this would help to bring more dedicated and public-spirited men into power, instead of fortune seekers.

The idea of compelling public officers to declare their assets immediately after assuming official position is to determine at the end of their tenure if they are corrupt. But where there is no declaration of assets at the end of their tenure the exercise is meaningless. Because it is the difference between the assets of the first and second declaration that should be used to determine if the officers are corrupt or not. Where the difference is out of proportion with the officers' remuneration there is enough evidence to suspect corruption. In view of this fact it is suggested that the two declarations are necessary in checking corruption in Nigeria.

It can be remembered that members of the Constituent Assembly are the same politicians, the same fortune seekers who were aspiring to be leaders of the country. How do you expect them to put in the Constitution a clause that would militate against their ambition to get rich quick? Whatever their reasons for the omission, the idea of public accountability is very necessary. In more advanced countries Ministers resign when they see that the public has lost confidence in them. Even government is brought to a premature end by the pressure of public opinion. But African politicians stick to their guns no matter how unpopular they become.

However, in future people will not believe that Nigeria was once blessed with crude oil wealth that was wasted by their corrupt governments and political class. Since 1958 when the black gold was discovered all successive governments had failed to establish an Agro-based economy and industries so that when the oil wells would dry up sooner or later the strong industrial economy would bail the nation from wide-spread poverty and mass unemployment that is looming in the air.

By then, citizens and armchair historians would blame imperialist oil companies instead of blasting their former governments, short-sighted politicians and some unpatriotic citizens. It is most unfortunate to assert that thousands of years will pass before Nigeria is given a second opportunity equal to this oil wealth to establish her prosperity and greatness.

LEADERSHIP COMPLEX.

In the light of the above analysis, the proliferation of political parties in the country is not surprising. The logic behind this is leadership complex. In any organized community, or in any government, leadership is an important factor. Where this leadership is not forthcoming the development of such a state is very slow. This is because a state is like a locomotive engine while leadership is like a spark. The engine will not start to work unless there is a spark which ignites fire for combustion. It is leadership that acts as a spark in a country and launches into motion the political, economic and social systems of the country. In Nigeria this type of leadership is lacking because of various reasons. The country

is not yet blessed with an outstanding political wizard who is above board, and could command the loyalty of the majority.

In other words, most leaders appear mediocre. And mediocrity is incapable of pulling Nigeria forward. The old brigades or old politicians where such leadership would come from had been discredited because their actions led to the failure of the first republic. The new brigades or young aspiring politicians are still in the making and untried. And some of their public utterances show signs of political immaturity. When any mediocre leader forms a party, he fails to pull a crowd and all the mediocre members want to be leaders. It seems as if the whole nation is suffering from a leadership mania.

Moreover, the problem of conflict of personalities helps to delay the emergence of an ideal leadership. Most prominent men in this country have their rivals who feel that they are equal and so see no reason why they shall succumb to his leadership. This conflict of personalities overlooks the idea of Primus inter pares which concentrates political leadership in one person and at the same time recognizes the importance of the others. The happy combination of a right man in a right country at the right moment is very rare in history. Peter the great of Russia[1672-1725] and Sir Winston Churchill of Great Britain[1874-1965] were realizations of this ideal in their countries during the momentous periods of their history.

Peter the great brought Russia from underdevelopment and backwardness to European modernization. The former Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill saved Great Britain from German conquest during the Second World War [1939-1945]

By an unhappy coincidence, Nigerians like the French are not free from the past. The French always remember some important events in their history. Years like 1789, 1793, 1799, 1830, 1848 and 1870 evoke certain memories which influence the actions of the French people. In Nigeria years like 1914,1947,1951,1960, 1964, 1965, 1966 , 1967 and 1993 are still fresh in the memory. In those years many of the aspiring politicians had played certain role which had injured certain personalities or some ethnic groups. When such a politician forms a party it will be difficult if not impossible to get the required support of his old political enemies. Such enemies will prefer to form a different party without any difference in ideology. This is the crux of the matter. But there is no need to resurrect and stand trapped in the past. The future is for the living and the dead should mind their business.

Here the famous words of that great psychologist, Carl Jung come to mind, "Look forward for the morrow and not backward. The happiness that you may have had in the past and which you wish to resurrect now may serve as nostalgia and festooned in the emotion, whereas tomorrow is still in the womb and is yet unborn. Man's fetid breath cannot blemish the hope and anticipation that lies in this virgin territory."

A critical analysis of the new political parties shows resemblances to the post- Independence political parties. Then, the country was divided into three regions and each had its political part based on ethnic support. Now that Nigeria is divided into states, the tendency is that each state is trying consciously or unconsciously to patronize a party which they feel belongs exclusively to her. Statism has taken the place of regionalism. Nigerian politics is the same. There is no

dramatic departure from the old forms. Even the setting of the political stage and the dramatis personae are the same.

Some well-placed Nigerians saw the proliferation of the parties as an expression of political awareness and enthusiasm that had been stifled by the long period of military dictatorship. They regard it as a good omen. It is not the intention here to condemn the upsurge of political consciousness, but it is the way that it is manipulated that matters. It can be argued that people can still express their political awareness and vitality by forming few parties that are broadly based, well-organized, with accepted programme and dedicated leadership and mass support. Such an expression of political emancipation in a multiplicity of parties is motion without progress. Instead it will end in political confusion and stalemate which may invite the military again and thus bring the country back to square one.

IN ADVANCED COUNTRIES PEOPLE DO NOT GO INTO POLITICS WITH THE INTENTION TO MAKE MONEY.

Nigerians are clever when it comes to money-making. Nowadays the quest for money has destroyed the essence of basic humanity. The money-minded Nigerians can turn any opportunity into a business venture. In view of this, many adventurous politicians are forming small parties so as to draw the attention of the big parties. Those parties organized by the political heavy weights will be allowed to swallow the small parties after a deal. When it is seen that after the formation of some small parties there is no serious effort made by their leaders to spread their parties to other parts of

the federation, it seems that there is an element of truth in this assertion of political –horse trading.

In a developed country people do not go into politics to make money. Politics is not even more profitable than other professions. Therefore, money is not a motivation. Those who want to amass wealth tend to go into business. Politics attracts those who are motivated to serve their fatherland and those who understand its art. Those who want to make history, and to immortalize themselves move into the political arena. This is the type of spirit that is needed at this momentous period of history.

More importantly, politics like other arts and professions needs artists and professionals. When professionals like professional drivers, pilots, teachers doctors, and engineers practice their arts, proficiency is maintained and risk of accident is minimized. But when quacks and amateurs insinuate themselves into some professions the result is debasement and catastrophe. If this is true of any profession, it is more truer of politics because if political jugglers and adventurers capture power by fair or foul means the effect will be a national calamity because what is at stake is the destiny of the whole nation.

A GREAT MASS OF NIGERIANS ARE IN POLITICAL STUPOR

It can be recalled that very many Nigerians are half- illiterate Their .political consciousness is therefore, very low. Even the literate ones are not politically oriented and vibrant. In such a situation it is easy for a political demagogue to form a party over night. Taking the advantage of the ignorance of the people he can persuade them to support his party to bring an Eldorado. It is

observed from recent addresses of the aspiring party leaders that serious questions posed to them were not answered with much expected intelligence. Some leaders manipulate the situation in such a way that there was no time for questioning. The meeting ends in confusion and noise, punctuated with musics, songs and praises for the wonderful leader that is emerging with a magic wand in his hand for solving all problems.

In a developing country like Nigeria, lack of political sophistication and maturity might lead to the proliferation of parties. Here it is not ideology that is the guiding principle for the formation of parties. Some party leaders just form parties for the mere fun of it, without any clear-headed ideology. Consequently different political parties with the same ideology are organized instead of merging. They still get their supporters. If people ask their leaders or their supporters why they could not merge since their ideas are the same, they will just make noise. Questioners will not get any logical answer from them. The nation's politics is still evolving and crude. Citizens are yet to move away from the politics of poverty.

In Nigeria Politics is an Industry

By world standard, in spite of the so-called oil boom, Nigeria is a poor country. An oil boom in itself does not make a nation rich and great. What matters most is how that event is utilized for national development. Economic backwardness and lack of industrialization create mass-unemployment and mass poverty. This fact is aggravated by the rising inflation that is becoming a permanent feature of the economic system. Because of this politics is regarded as an industry, as a business and as an investment. Government is

seen as everything. It is government that gives employment in the Civil service; arranges promotion in the army and in the police; awards contracts; permits loans and licenses to businessmen; locates industries; and sites secondary schools and Universities. Here is the key to the mystery of the proliferation of parties. Since it is supposed, without conceding, that one giant party cannot look after all the people, the best thing to do is to organize one's party and try to know if the Almighty God will help one to capture power. "Oh! God help me to rule this country", is their political religion.

THE THIRD WORLD IS AT A TRANSITIONAL STAGE.

Third world is at a transitional stage between ancient and modern. This period of history is characterized by great upheavals in economic, social and political systems. The political institutions that are being discarded still influence the life of the people because old habits die hard. At the same time the new institutions that are destined to displace them have not taken root and are not working well. Very often economic change will move faster than social and political change. "Of all ancient arts politics is the most conservative," according to H.A. L. Fisher in his book, The history of Europe. The inability of politics to move abreast with economic development can help to explain the causes of coups and political instabilities in the third world.

Europe had passed through this phase during the 19th century. The Industrial Revolution had radically changed the economic condition in Europe. The failure of the political institutions to catch up with the rapid economic advancement created a state of restiveness, radicalism and Jacobinism in Europe. This culminated in the French

revolution 1789, the Peterloo Massacre in Britain in 1819, Students unrest in Germany in 1819, revolts in Spain and Italy in 1820, Decembrists revolt in Russia in 1825; revolts in France, Belgium and Poland in 1830 and the 1848 revolution in Europe, which was destined to be a turning point in Europe but history refused to turn.

In the light of the above explanation, the argument often advanced by racists that Africans are incapable of governing themselves is baseless. This view sounds more of imperialism than of reason. What is happening in Africa now is only a microcosm of what happened in Europe *mutatis mutandis* about one hundred and fifty years ago. The difference is only a matter of time and place. But it is not necessary and reasonable that Africa should repeat European histories or mistakes stage by stage bearing in mind the value of hindsight. After all Europe had nobody and no precedent to learn from while Africa has a great deal to learn from Europe.

The proliferation of parties in Nigeria today can be appreciated as a logical sequence of the nature and stage of society. Gladly many of the thirty-five parties formed in 1979 did not survive the test of the Federal Electoral Commission [[FEDECO]. FEDECO reduced them to five political parties as can be seen at the beginning of this chapter. It was Independent National Electoral Commission [INEC] in 2007 that was incapable of dealing with 50 political parties. The inability of INEC to reduce the parties to a manageable number is the greatest disservice of the commission to the nation. However, the final solution is the Constitution if politicians would allow it.

Nevertheless, the multiplicity of parties at this stage of political drama mirrors the type of politics to be expected. In 1975, the Head of State, General Gowon announced that, " the military was not going to hand over power to civilians in 1976 as promised because, the Nigerians have not yet learnt their lessons". Now have the Nigerians learnt their lessons? And who is teaching them Or can they learn without teachers Let history answer these questions. The only lesson people learn from history is that they learn no lesson at all. The fault is not with history but with men and women. History always teaches great lessons but people refuse to listen to wisdom.

According to Greek mythology, 'The warning of the oracle does not help to avert the crime. Salvation lies not in knowledge but in action.'" In retrospect, 'Many things do not happen as they ought to; most things do not happen at all; it is for the conscientious historian to correct the defect,'" according to Herodotus, the Father of History. Ideas do not battle with fiction on equal terms. Ideas must rule the world or else people would vegetate into primitivism.

What are required in our modern politics are ideas. To paraphrase Rivarol, "In the long run one always loses when one attacks ideas with bullets. Only ideas can successfully attack ideas." When Margaret Thatcher, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain banned Peter Wright's book -Spy Catcher- in 1988 it moved up to the top on the NewYork Times World Wide best seller list. Again, when General Yakubu Gowon banned Wole Soyinka's book- The MAN Died-during the Nigerian Civil War, the popularity of the book was heightened.

Chairman Mao's dictum that, "Power lies at the barrel of the gun," is now an anachronism. Though it is possible to capture power with force but leaders cannot retain it for long without the aid of knowledge. Knowledge is the most powerful means of human progress. A nation is great only in proportion to the advancement of its education. In view of this, politicians should be knowledgeable men and women of ideas and action. Ideas and qualitative education make a nation great.

THE Nation's Politics and Economic System Need Reformation.

In view of the above analysis the political system requires radical reform. The salaries and allowances of politicians and political officers should not be higher than that of University Professors, Chief Executive Officers of commercial banks and industries.

To achieve this the Wages and Salaries Commission that determines the salaries of Civil Servants should also determine that of politicians like the President, Governors, Legislators, Ministers, Commissioners, and local government Chairmen. The idea is to bridge the yawning gap in their incomes since they buy from the same market. It is the best approach to poverty alleviation. It would also minimize constant agitation for salary increases by the workers with consequent strikes, inflation, and adverse impact on the nation's economy. There is no country in the world where any group is allowed to determine its salary without consideration of poverty level in their society.

There is much to learn from the rich and deep political, sociological and economic doctrine of the former President of Tanzania, Nwalimu Julius Nyerere. The 1967 Arusha Declaration,

which he inspired and to which he essentially contributed, emphasizes the spirit of co-operation and mutual obligation, self-reliance and fair distribution of wealth as fundamental goals of any human society. It is the policy of Ujamaa, a Kiswahili word meaning 'family-hood'.

The logic is that politics should not be for money making. Those who want to amass wealth should go into business. Politics should attract those who are truly patriotic and agitated to make positive and selfless contributions to their fatherland. In short politics should be for those who want to make history, to immortalize themselves. It is not for those who are only interested to answer big names like President, Governor, Senator, Minister and Honorable member for self aggrandizement and flamboyance. These titles or statuses are worthwhile but they are useless when performance does not tally with them.

Nigeria's political structure should be revolutionized. Democracy no matter what nomenclature, like Parliamentary democracy or Presidential democracy or Democratic socialism requires only two parties. That is ideal and logical. That is the party in government and the opposition party. This makes it mandatory for each party to be highly responsible. In other words, the party in government should always strive to perform efficiently and effectively if it wants to continue in power. In contrast the party in opposition must be well organized and responsible if it must win in the next election.

The Independent National Election Commission should be truly independent and made up of men of integrity and courage. There should be open ballot. The election process that produced Abiola

should be adopted. This is the best way to immortalize Abiola and Professor Nwosu and also justify June 12, 1993. Those who oppose Option A4 do not have the interest of the country in their hearts. They want a system that would allow them to perpetuate election frauds and all sorts of malpractices that would catapult them to the high seats of power.

Finally any election petition should be treated with finality within six months. More importantly, none of the contenders should occupy the controversial position until the determination of the petition. In other words a caretaker committee or any individual of integrity should be appointed to hold the position for six months till the petition is determined.

Corruption should be tackled headlong. The initial declaration of assets by Public officers is not enough. They should also declare their assets at the end of their tenures. This approach would help to determine if they are corrupt or not. In addition they should be audited quarterly by independent auditors while they are in office.

There should be an Act to compel Nigerian citizens to invest a certain percentage of their wealth in Nigeria. This document would help to provide investment capital for the establishment of industries and also reduce excessive reliance on foreign loans. The resultant impact would alleviate poverty and unemployment problems. Investment is the surest way of empowering the youths instead of lip- service and propaganda which have been the stock in trade of successive governments.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture should be the bedrock of the economy. To achieve this there should be conscious efforts by both the government and individuals for mechanization. This is the only realistic way of making the youths to be interested in agricultural projects. The use of hoes and machetes as the chief instruments is now an anachronism. The impact of agricultural revolution would provide enough food for the teeming population; source exports; promote raw materials for industrialization.

INDUSTRIALIZATION.

In the same vein, industrialization should be pursued with vigour. Small scale industries that could make use of available raw materials should be the logical starting point. With eventual advances in management technique and technical know – how large- scale industries could be embarked upon. Initially young industries should be protected in order to provide local market for their products. More so, Nigerians should be persuaded to patronize the products of these local industries instead of sophisticated and imported products bearing, in mind that Rome was not built in a day.

This internal development was how Japan started in early 1950s. For an instance her population provided a home market for Japanese goods. The home support helped greatly to strengthen local industries. The next stage was to capture Asian and world markets by lowering the prices of her goods against European and American competition. In those days in Nigeria people preferred well- polished British goods to Japanese products. “Made- in- Japan” was linked to inferior goods. Today the reverse is the case.

The rapidity with which Japan has conquered the world economically and technologically after the devastating effect of the atomic bombs at Nagasaki and Hiroshima in World War II is still a marvel of history. One of the keys to Japanese economic mystery is that after her defeat and humiliation in that war [1939-1945] and the miasma of defeat hanging over her, she did not study revenge. Instead she abandoned aggressive foreign policy and an armament race. Rather she concentrated all her energy and resources on scientific, technological and economic development. The result of such a wise policy is amazing and instructive.

Education

Education is most critical to the political, economic and social development of any nation. A nation is great only in proportion to its advancement in education. It is also the most powerful means of human development. In view of this Nigeria's education system should be radically overhauled and made efficient. To begin with the curricula and courses of the secondary and tertiary institutions should be reformed to suit modern trends and requirements. Necessary and adequate facilities and instructional materials should be provided to all the levels of education in time.

Teachers of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions should be well-trained and well-paid and their welfare should be taken seriously by the government, corporations, organizations and individuals. No amount of investment in education would be too high because the efficiency and effectiveness of any education

system would be reflected in the political, economic and social affairs of the nation.

In return teachers should be committed to their duties. School inspectorates, Primary and Secondary School Boards and the Ministry of Education should be reorganized to avoid duplication of responsibilities and conflict of power so as to ensure effective Supervision and Management of the schools.

The National University's Commission[NUC] should be alive to its responsibilities. Scattering Universities all over the country with inadequate facilities and ill -qualified teachers should be controlled by the NUC. Prior to the admission of students to any new courses or departments in any University, NUC's approval should be obtained after meeting the requirements. The idea of admitting students for certain courses before accreditation by the NUC is wrong and unjust.

Because if a University does not meet NUC's requirements and as a result the accreditation is not given, it is the students that suffer. Under these circumstances they are forced to spend more years in the University waiting for accreditation or seek admission to another University. Whichever way, the students suffer psychological trauma and financial loss while the University has nothing to lose This procedure is inhuman and should not be tolerated by the NUC or any responsible government, if the NUC plays politics with its function, the government should intervene effectively to remedy the abnormality.

Time and again, the emergence of cultism in tertiary institutions is embarrassing. It is a great challenge to the University authorities,

the students Unionism and the generality of undergraduates. They should find a permanent solution to the problem. There is no gain in cultism. Even the cultists in the long run suffer. It is the duty of everybody to protect these young ignorant victims by co-operating in the eradication of the cankerworm that is undermining the efficacy and effectiveness of the University system.

JUDICIARY

The Judiciary requires an urgent and surgical operation to maintain its vital position in the society. The delays and adjournments of cases are alarming. The Judicial Council should stipulate a definite period for the determination of cases in any Nigerian Court of Adjudication. The rule must be obeyed religiously by all the courts. The period for determination of cases should not be left to the whims and caprices of the Judges and Lawyers, if the common man must continue to rely on the court of justice for justice.

There is already a bad signal and warning of crisis of confidence in the judiciary. The emergence of the alternative resolution or courtroom process is a relief but also a signal and warning that there is a crack in the judiciary system. How can an election petition last for three years in the court of justice, while the matter the litigant is fighting for is virtually over? Why should civil cases last for three years before their determination? Why should criminal cases last for more than five years while the accused are languishing in detention? And if they are discharged and acquitted at the end of the tunnel, they have already served their punishment. It is not only a contradiction but also a grave injustice to the innocent suspects. Why should land cases last for over ten years in the court of justice when many litigants die before the

determination of their cases The reality is that the judgements are for the dead and not for the living.

It can be argued that the delays and adjournments are the feature of court process. It is one of the attempts of the system to ensure just determination of the matter for the benefit of the parties. For an instance, the appeal system which is an essential feature of court process is for the benefit of one of the parties. And where there is an appeal against the judgement of the lower court to the Court of Appeal and from the Court of Appeal to the Supreme Court, such cases are bound to be prolonged. This is understandable, but the delay could be reduced by the conscious efforts of the Judges and legal practitioners who are the key players in the system. In the same vein, the efficiency and effectiveness of the legal process could be enhanced if the National Judicial Council should measure up to its responsibility by systematic supervision, strict control and co-ordination of the legal system.

Conclusion.

By way of conclusion, all the spheres of social, economic and political systems are problematic. Some challenges confronting the various institutions are corruption, ethnicity, religious bigotry, low patriotism, selfishness and ignorance to mention few. These issues are aggravated by the fact that nobody sees any fault in himself. In other words, everybody is criticizing or complaining. No body, no ethnic group, no religious group, or state is criticizing itself. It is time for everybody or every state or ethnic group or religious group to start to look inwards, to see their faults in true perspective and make positive attempts to correct them and also to appreciate each other's strength and weakness. In other words, self-criticism is the

beginning of wisdom. Wisdom begins when one finds out that one does not know what one thinks that one knows.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THIRD WORLD

When one hears the third world many questions are raised such as, who are the first world? Who are the second world?, who are the third world?.Why does this third world appear so often in print, books, newspapers, radios and televisions? The aim of the author is to attempt answers to these questions.

THE FIRST WORLD

Who are the first world? Many intellectuals have different views according to their orientations. Geographers grouped the world into seven continents, namely, Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America, South America and Antarctica. All the continents are inhabited except Antarctica because of the harshness of its climate. And all the continents were known for ages except America which was discovered for Africans, Europeans, Australians and Asians by Christopher Columbus in 1492A.D.In other words, Africa, Asia, Australia and Europe are regarded as the old world while America is regarded as the new world, new in the sense that it was not known to Europeans till 1492. Nevertheless, it was inhabited by the Red Indians, probably from Asian ancestors.

The first modern man, Homo Sapiens to modern Archaeologists originated in Kenya in East Africa between forty and fifty million years ago. This is supported by historical and anthropological evidence. The earliest toolmaker so far known as Zinjanthropus was discovered by a famous scientist, Dr Louis Leakey at Olduvia gorge in northern Tanganyika (Tanzania).By then all the continents were joined together as a single mass of land known as “Gondwanaland” before they broke up into separate continents owing to climatic changes.

It was in Africa that the art of pottery and the use of fire were discovered. The Art of Agriculture was first practiced in Asia. All these brought revolutionary changes in the growth of civilization. The ancient Egyptian civilization, to be sure, was the foundation of world civilization and modernity. In view of the above background it is tempting to regard Africa as the first world. Therefore, it can be argued strongly that Africa is the first world. Yet Africa is not given that honour

because the criteria are based on economic power, military power and power politics.

Then who are the first world? The history of the world is divided into three broad periods-the ancient history, that began from the earliest times to the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD. Before that period the centre of world civilization was not static and immutable. It was fluid and mobile. Starting from Egyptian civilization it passed through Babylonian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Carthaginian and Greek civilizations to the great Roman Empire. That Roman Empire was the greatest in the ancient world. It expanded and swallowed the whole of North Africa, the Middle East, Southern, Western and Eastern Europe including Great Britain. When Rome fell it was regarded as the end of an epoch

Then the Middle Ages started from the downfall of Rome to 1453. AD when Istanbul (Constantinople) was taken by the Turks. The fall of Constantinople led to the end of the Eastern Roman empire. The Middle Ages was a trough in the course of world history. After the flowering of the Greek and Roman civilizations a horde of barbarians-the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths and the Vandals-from north Eastern Europe invaded Rome. They destroyed and ravaged most works of civilization. That plunder pushed Europe into the Dark Ages when civilization and intellectual activity suffered a serious setback. Towards the end of this period there was a revival of learning known as the Renaissance and the Reformation through the leadership of the church. The Renaissance and the Reformation launched the world into the modern period.

The great landmarks of the modern history were the British Industrial Revolution together with the Great French Revolution 1789. The Industrial Revolution started in Britain about 1750 and spread to other parts of Western Europe. The impact of the two evolutions on Europe was far-reaching in its implications. The French Revolution had destroyed feudalism, autocracy, absolutism, and monarchism in Europe and had replaced them with democratic and aggressive nationalisms.

On Its side, the Industrial Revolution had equipped Europe with military and economic power. That enabled Europeans to expand outwards to conquer

and establish colonies all over the world. Consequently, America, Asia, Africa, Australia and Newzealand became European possessions by the right of the stronger.

The scramble, partition and exploitation of the world at various periods by the European powers increased and confirmed their military, industrial and technological superiority to the rest of the world. Therefore, Western Europe inherited and assumed rightly or wrongly the status of the first world. This position involves the leadership of the world too, because as the proverb says uneasy lies the head that wears the crown. But they are not interested in using the title of the first world often because the tiger does not proclaim its tigerness. The first question has been answered.

WHO ARE THE SECOND WORLD?

Who are the second world? Attention shall be focused on the second question. Industrial capitalism and aggressive nationalism with their consequences of colonization and imperialism had created their own problems. The enmities generated between European powers during the scramble for territories, and the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism brewed fast and boiled over. Then the table was overturned. These among other factors triggered off the First World War(1914- 1918)and the Second World War (1939-1945).The Second followed closely on the heels of the first to settle the injustice of the Versailles Treaty..

The Versailles Treaty which settled the issues after the First World War was an abysmal failure of diplomacy. "War is a diplomacy extended to other field," according to Karl von Clauzwitz[1780-1831]. In other words, when diplomacy fails war naturally takes its place. But after the war diplomacy returns to ensure peaceful co-existence. Therefore, if diplomacy had performed its role well at the Versailles Treaty the Second World War could have been averted.

However, the two World Wars had destroyed Europe and has thrust the leadership of the world upon an unprepared America . At the end of the First World War USA did not appreciate its new role in world politics which destiny had

entrusted her. Unfortunately, after the Versailles Treaty and the establishment of the League of Nations which was suggested by the American President, Woodrow Wilson, the American Congress did not ratify the treaty. Consequently, America abandoned her child and was not a member of the League of Nations because she did not want to embroil herself in European troubles. Isolationism was then a very strong factor in American foreign policy. This was epitomized by Truman's doctrine in 1923, "America for the Americans and Europe for the Europeans". Nevertheless, this policy did not augur well for world peace as shall be seen later.

The First World War had also destroyed the autocratic Czarist regime in Russia and, therefore, paved the way for the rise of socialism in Russia. But it was very difficult for the Soviet Union to maintain socialism in one country. All capitalist Western Europe was frightened by the specter of Communism in Russia. Russia was isolated by the European powers and U.S.A in international diplomacy and trade in order to destroy socialism in that country. Their aim was to destroy Russia's economy which would eventually lead to the failure of socialism.

But events are greater than men. Russia in reaction pulled out of the League of Nations. This change did not augur well for world peace because the two up and coming powerful nations, America and Russia could not play active and positive roles in world affairs. Britain and France the only two responsible members were unable to checkmate German and Italian imperial aggressions. The logical outcome was the outbreak of the Second World War¹¹[1939-1945].

The Second World War changed international relations radically. America had abandoned her isolationism and fully assumed the leadership of Western Europe. The war also saved socialism in Russia and cleared the ground for its spread in Eastern Europe. After the war, Russia imposed socialism in the war-ravaged and impoverished countries of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and eastern Germany. They formed the Communist Bloc[COMINTEN] with Russia. The Communist Bloc under the leadership of Russia could compete economically, militarily, and ideologically with the First World or Capitalist Western Europe or North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] under the

leadership of the United States of America. Therefore, the Communist Bloc was then regarded as the second world because of its capacity to compete and challenge the first.

The third World

Who are the third World?

Africa, Asia and South America are regarded as the third World but not Japan. The common factor of the third World countries is that they were once colonized by the European powers. Between the 16th and the 19th centuries AD, South America was colonized by Spain. Then all the Asian countries except Japan were occupied by European powers from the 18th century to the second half of the 20th century. And all the African countries except Ethiopia and Liberia were conquered and exploited by European powers between 1880 and 1960.

In the United Nations Organization[UNO] the third World countries are treated as junior partners. The Security Council which is an Executive organ of the UNO has five permanent members- Great Britain, USA, Russia, France, and China. Only China is from the third World. The other four members come from the first and the second worlds.

Since the permanent members of the Security Council have the veto powers it means that the third world countries do not participate actively in the task of administration and management of international affairs or diplomacy. By implication any problem concerning the third world is treated with nonchalant and ambivalent attitudes by the UNO. But if the same problem affects any of the advanced countries it would be approached with a sense of urgency and serious attention.

No wonder that the new economic order and technological transfer which the third World advocated to offset economic imbalance between the North and the South were not given serious consideration by the UNO. In the same vein, the white Apartheid system in South Africa then was not given serious attention. But

it is doubtful if technology could be transferred consciously and altruistically by the advanced world. It is also doubtful if the sort of economic order advocated by the third World could be created bearing in mind the influence of chauvinism, aggressive nationalism and power politics. Therefore, Africa should take her destiny in her hands without waiting for manna to fall from heaven.

The third common problem is the economic and technological backwardness of the third World. Most third world countries are economically and technologically backward vis-à-vis the advanced world. The effects of European colonization, imperialism and exploitation of the third world are devastating. It is the major cause of economic and technological backwardness, political instability, social unrest and internal conflicts in the third world, even after Independence.

The fourth problem is military weakness. Europe conquered the world in the past because of the superiority of her weapons over the traditional weapons of her enemies. Bows and arrows were not a match to the maxim guns which were used against African traditional nationalists. Therefore, power is the logic of imperialism. It has no limitations. It longs for conquest.

Today the situation is basically the same or worse. Most of the arms and ammunition used by the third World are imported from the advanced world. None of the African countries has an answer to the nuclear warhead. This is why military historians regarded then the proposal for an African High Command by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] now African Union [AU] as unrealistic and a mere propaganda. Any army that relies extensively on imported weapons should be weak in offensive and defensive capability. Most of the weapons the advanced world sells to their customers are outdated and were used during the First and Second World Wars. It is naïve to think that foreigners would supply their customers with the latest and sophisticated arms which foreigners would use to defend themselves in any event of war.

In spite of these challenges confronting the third World, it can be recalled that some South American and Asian countries like Argentina, Brazil, China, India, North and South Korea are fast becoming industrialized nations. China is able to

feed her teeming population. She is an industrialized country. She is regarded and dreaded as a power to be reckoned with in international power politics. None of the African countries has made a breakthrough. The Union of South Africa which is highly blessed with human and natural resources was weighed down by the Apartheid system for many years before it was dismantled recently. Time and again, Nigeria believably endowed with great human and natural resources is a sleeping giant, an elephant with a clay feet.

WHO ARE THE "FOURTH WORLD"?

The burning question now is who are the "fourth World". It is sad to recollect that Africa is relegated further to the rank of the "Fourth World". It can be recalled that Africa had suffered in History owing to many factors. Owing to the Sahara desert and the equatorial forest the black Africa South of the Sahara had little contact and communication with Europe for many years. Hence Africa was regarded by the whites as a dark continent. Dark in the sense that the Europeans did not know much about the continent till the modern period. The effect was that Africa was cut off, like an isolated backwater, from the mainstreams of world history.

Unfortunately, when Africa came in contact with Europeans the relationship between them was a master-servant one. The Europeans after enslaving Africa through the trans- Atlantic slave trade for many years (16th-19th) occupied and exploited her for about one hundred years (1880-1960). Within this period heavy taxation, forced labour, discrimination, conscription for European wars (First and Second World Wars) and exploitation of resources were carried out away on a very large scale. More importantly, African culture and personality were distorted and consequently suffered a serious setback during the long period of enslavement, colonization and imperialism. No wonder that Dr. Walter Rodney, an exile from Guyana, who taught in East Africa's Dares Salaam University and maintained a Marxist stand in his book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, argued strongly that the cause of African backwardness today is European enslavement, colonization and imperialism.

After Independence the African economy which was an imitation of European capitalism was battered to the extent that the new Independent African states were forced to rely on their former colonial masters for economic, military and technical aids. This excessive reliance on the Western powers is what Dr Kwame Nkrumah called Neo-colonialism, that is, a new form of imperialism.

To lessen the excessive reliance on Western powers some African states like Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Egypt wanted to adopt socialism and looked up to Communist Russia in their attempts to solve economic, social and political problems. The former President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere went further to adopt a new brand of African Socialism called Ujamaa socialism . Some even adopted a one- party system of government Basil Davidson in his book, Which Way Africa said that the new independent African States did not know which way to go. Whether to adopt capitalism or socialism in order to solve their economic, social and political challenges.

Whether capitalism or socialism or one- party system or two- party or fifty - party or Zero- party system is adopted the economic and technological backwardness and political instability in Africa had caused a wave of sponsored coups between 1960 and 1990 all over Africa so much so that Africa had surpassed Latin America- the land of weekend coups- in her record.

Coming into politics by the army had not solved the mighty problems confronting Africans. Rather it had compounded them. Once the army had entered into politics and tasted power, there was no guarantee that soldiers would behave with altruism and patriotism or even stay together as a disciplined and united force. It is possible to argue according to Roland Oliver, "that in Africa politics had been established in a most virulent pattern, a game of in and out played by the army against politicians, each tending to excess and corruption when in power, and so provoking a violent reaction."

The worst effect of military intervention in modern African politics is that the most important and traditional role of the army is dastardly neglected to the pursuit of glory and political flamboyance. Though, in traditional African political system the army played an important role in propping up the government, it was

never oblivious of its traditional role of obedience to the leader as well as defence of the state.

TWO PARTIES IN AFRICAN POLITICS

The reality of African politics is that there are two parties, the 'politicians party' and the 'army party'. When the politicians mess themselves up with corruption and ineptitude to the point of exasperation the army would topple them. But if the army overstayed its welcome and refused to quit when the ovation was high without concrete solution to the challenges confronting the state, citizens would be worried, frustrated and agitated. Then, the time was ripe and wisdom dictated that the army should handover power gracefully to the politicians and then, wait on the wings for its next turn.

It can be concluded that the inability of African states to solve their problems could be attributed to so many factors. Some are the impact of European enslavement and imperialism as was mentioned above, inept leadership of African leaders who lacked the logical starting points, consistent direction, dynamism, geographical and climatic conditions. These are aggravated by psychological and cultural factors. Mc Clelland of Harvard University rejected the conventional explanation that economic growth can be explained only in terms of economic variables. According to his view psychological and sociological factors are major variables that affect economic growth. In his book, The Achieving Society, he argued correctly that the rise of capitalism cannot be explained and understood on the basis of economic factor only but psychological and sociological factors of a nation should be brought into focus.

The culture of any society is very crucial to its development. It seems that Africa has a culture of laziness. During the heydays of European imperialism in Africa some Europeans in Africa believed strongly that Africans are lazy and indolent. This is because they observed African adults, every bodied men, sitting under the shades of trees in the villages conversing for hours without end. This

habit was more frequent especially during the dry season when farm work was minimal or virtually over.

Arguably, this seemingly laziness stands rooted in African economy that was based only on peasant Agriculture, which is seasonal. But it is also observed that the first educated Africans who worked in the colonial administration, European big businesses, and European plantations in Africa also exhibited the same attitude of laziness. But Africa historians and Advocates try to explain away this sort of laziness as a form of latent nationalism against European occupation and exploitation of African resources.

But after Independence some African civil servants still exhibit the same laziness because they erroneously regard government work as nobody's business, even when the government becomes a national government and not the colonial.

Urban drift has caused unprecedented population growth in many cities in Africa due to modernization of urban centers. The impact is the over-population of cities with young and old people seeking employment, which does not exist. This available manpower is supposed to be a boom for industrialization but the few industries and the governments are not able to absorb them. The effect is that crime rate and crime wave is increasing in an alarming degree while the land in the villages is lying idle.

The sooner these young Africans realize that gold is hidden everywhere for those who are ready and prepared to dig deep the better. For an example poultry farming, fishery, piggery, cultivation of vegetables, and fruits like lettuce, tomatoes, maize, plantains, bananas, pineapples, oranges and mangoes in any small portion of land in the villages are money-spinners. The greatest hindrance is decision to plunge into the unknown and the reluctance to abandon township life with all its amenities.

In view of this, the African governments should concentrate their energies in creating an enabling environment in the villages, in order to reverse the rural-urban migration which makes a lot of people crowd into cities loitering. This is

more realizable than promising to create jobs that do not exist. The slow but steady agricultural revolution in the villages would create the basis for a solid and concrete industrialization with steady supply of raw materials from the farms.

ABJECT POVERTY IN AFRICA

Whatever is one's conviction the logic is that many African states are suffering from abject poverty. Many are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain the bogus political and bureaucratic institutions that they inherited from their former colonial masters. According to the latest statistics from the United Nation [UN] experts on Africa, some African states are not able to feed themselves. While their population is increasing their food production is decreasing.

In reality increasing population is one of the challenges confronting some African countries including Nigeria. Some people may not be impressed with the problem of increasing population because they believe that a large population has economic advantages. . Time and again, economic theorists who believe strongly in the economic concept of optimum population may argue that Africa is not overpopulated considering her large landmass and resources. To them what is needed is the effective and efficient exploitation of human and natural resources .Optimum population is a sound concept on paper. It is a sweet theory but in reality it is not realizable because populations and resources are dynamic.

Since populations and natural resources are dynamic factors, it is therefore, the skill, level of education, science and technology in any given nation at any given time that are very critical. In the same vein, the quality, quantity and value of the natural resources are also critical. Finally the efficient management or mismanagement of the human and natural resources of the nation is most critical. All these factors must be carefully analyzed to determine whether a country is overpopulated or underdeveloped. The outcome of the combination of these factors would determine the people's standard of living. Where this standard is very low and the population is increasing serious problems are bound to arise. Though, it is obvious that large population is an asset but if population is not

controlled by any means wide-spread poverty and low standard of living would result.

In every hundred years the population of the world is doubled unless there is any natural disaster or artificial check. In contrast food production and resources do not increase in the same proportion in spite of scientific ingenuity and technological innovations.

Ironically the rapid population increase is more in the third world than in the developed nations. While scientific and technological innovations are the monopoly of the advanced nations. Consequently, problems are bound to arise in the third world especially in Africa if their population explosion is not controlled.

For an instance, in 1965 Gabon, excluding South Africa, had the highest national income per head of \$280 in Africa. Five others- Ghana, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Libya and the Ivory Coast- were in the range of \$200-230. And the least developed states in Africa had between \$85 and \$40 per head. These statistics can be compared with \$1500 and \$3000 for the United Kingdom and United States of America respectively. The difference is alarming. In the same vein, Africa has the greatest number of refugees in the World. Such refugees are the byproducts of internal wars (civil wars) within African states and boundary disputes.

Since 1980s many African countries were depending on food donations from the advanced countries. By implication many African countries are debtor nations. They are not able to pay their past national debt. What they are doing in order to survive and keep going is to borrow more loans so as to repay their previous loans and their interests. It is a vicious circle, just like running fast in order to standstill or going upstairs with a running down escalator. That shows a motion without progress. Even the International Monetary Fund [IMF] is not able to save many African States from their financial mess and bankruptcy.

In retrospect, the IMF is not father Christmas. It is a banking institution and, therefore, must obey the regulations and principles of banking system. Collateral is one of such. If loans are given to many countries that would not repay them, the IMF would collapse sooner or later. Repayment of any loan depends on how such

loan is utilized. If a loan is used for consumption instead of investment the likelihood of repayment is very slim.

Even if it is used for investment the repayment is not automatically guaranteed because the investment may be mismanaged. Very often mismanagement and diversion of loans for consumption or to private pockets are some of the challenges confronting African nations. These problems are aggravated by low patriotism, lack of integrity and insensitivity to public fund.

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION'S CHALLENGES

Therefore, it is sad to reflect that Africa could not maintain its position in the third world club. Instead she is dropping into the "Fourth world" It is no exaggeration that African civilization is passing through a process of unnoticed decay. For an instance, many industries in Nigeria are closing down or collapsing, taps had dried up, instead citizens are relying on 'pure water' packets that litter the environment and block gutters with devastating consequences of mosquitoes and malaria. Power Holding Company of Nigeria [PHCN] is not functioning fully. The roads are death traps. The Schools and Universities are producing half-baked graduates and cultists through examination malpractices. Governments are corrupt and not over serious. Hospitals lack drugs and facilities and are virtually turning into mortuaries. Civil service and corporations are inefficient and corrupt. Lastly and the worst the politicians appear to be floating in the air like fighting cocks.

From the above background there is no doubt that African civilization is on trial. The important question is what is to be done to prevent Africa from further decay? What is needed most is some enlightened leadership and followership. Africa needs outstanding leaders who are committed, foresighted and above board. The followership that is African people themselves should be forthcoming. They should change their ambivalent attitude to life. Whatever they do, they should be highly committ That is the surest way to maintain their human dignity and ego , and consequently ensure rapid development of the continent.

In the light of the above explanations and interpretations it can be seen that the term the third world means economic backwardness, military weakness, and technological slowness. These are aggravated by political instability. All these defects are used to distinguish the developing countries from the advanced nations. But development is a dynamic process. Many countries that were formerly regarded as third- world have advanced beyond that status. While some countries are sinking further from the position of the third world to the position of the fourth. But nothing is permanent in this world; the only permanent thing is change. That Africa is last today in the race for economic, technological and political development does not mean that she should continue to be in that situation forever. Civilization is not static and final. The ground gained by one generation may be advanced or lost by another generation.

CIVILIZATION MOVES IN A CIRCLE.

The earliest form of civilization started in Egypt in Africa. From there it moved to Europe through Asia Minor. And after the two world wars Europe lost the leadership of the world to the two super powers- the USA and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic[USSR] now The Commonwealth of Independent States[CIS]. In the next century it may be the turn of Africa to assume the mantle of leadership of the world again. This is one lesson of History. The collapse of Socialism and the disintegration of USSR are instructive.

In retrospect, it is an irony of history and its tragedy too that to be a world power is to be capable of fighting major wars. To remain a world power it is better and reasonable not to fight major war but small wars. Time and again, small wars can escalate into major wars because events are greater than men. And because it is not feasible to plan and determine on a table with mathematical precision the execution of any war. Major wars destroy big powers. The two world wars had demonstrated this dramatically. The third world war which the two super powers were hanging upon the world during the heyday of the cold war in 1960s could have been the end of their leadership if it had occurred. But wise counsel prevailed.

Yet, war is possible as long as man continues to be pugnacious and aggressive animal.

In 1974 the two powerful Communist countries- Russia and China nearly came to a brink of war which could have triggered off the “third world war”. War was averted by the diplomatic intervention of President Nixon of the USA, who brokered peace between them. It was one of the greatest achievements of Nixon’s administration. Unfortunately, this achievement was temporarily dimmed in the same year by the Watergate Scandal that culminated in his resignation on 9th August 1974.

FEAR OF INSECURITY

Pertinently, fear of insecurity is the greatest scourge of modern man. Modern man is always in fear of terrorism, piracy, war, kidnapping, assassination, oppression and aggression. The upshot is that each nation is spending a large chunk of its budget to maintain a large army, navy, and air force and to purchase dangerous weapons. It is funny to prepare for war while there is no cause for war. And the mere preparedness and battle readiness makes the state more aggressive and belligerent. And after some years without war some of the weapons would be outdated and discarded.

Reality and Experience have shown that each war improvised and invented its own weapons. The atomic bomb which brought a sudden and decisive end to the Second World War was invented by the American and British scientists during that war. Ogbunigwe[mass killer], mini bomb which the Biafran soldiers used to fight the mighty Nigerian army for three years was invented by the Biafran Scientists during the Nigerian-.Biafran War[1967-1970]. Because necessity is the mother of invention.

Even many soldiers and Top Military Officers who were trained and maintained by the state retired in succession without fighting any war. They were fattened to fight imaginary wars. The truth is that some had never seen any battle field before their retirements. Yet each nation continues hysterically to

train and maintain a large army and store heavy weapons in anticipation for wars..

Only Switzerland which maintains neutrality in European wars and the world wars is free and secure from this universal madness. With such age-long freedom she could divert all her resources to more meaningful development and thereby enhance the standard of living and happiness of her citizenry. By implication, she is attracting the resources of other countries for her economic advantage. Some corrupt African politicians, Top Civil servants and high Military Cadres hide their monies in banks in Switzerland.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES AND DISARMAMENT PROGRAMMES.

The disarmament conferences and disarmament programs initiated and organized by powers are highly commendable. But because of distrust and fear of insecurity many conferences terminated on a minor key. Because each power after the noble resolutions at the conferences continued to arm itself. This lack of trust is bad diplomacy. "Good diplomacy must be based on confidence; and confidence can only be created by consistency and truthfulness," according to Harold Nicolson, in his book , The Congress of Vienna.

Therefore, unless all the states appreciate the futility of war it is difficult if not impossible to stop arms buildups by nations both big and small. It may not be wise and expedient in the midst of hostile and aggressive states for one country to imitate Switzerland. What is required is universal neutrality. Nevertheless, Switzerland has shown the world what is to be done if happiness on this earth is to be sustained and complete. The final solution is abolition of war throughout the world.

By waging war or wars men destroy themselves. Human being is the only specie that destroy its fellow specie. Lions do not devour lions .Tigers do not eat tigers. Dogs do not eat dogs. Snakes do not swallow snakes. Throughout history all the carnivorous animals in the animal kingdom do not eat their fellow species except human being. Most problems in the world are caused by humanity, except

natural disasters like earthquakes, flood, and volcano. If this observation is correct, then, wherein lies the wisdom and intelligence of mankind.

THE ABOLITION OF WAR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Contemporary generation is degenerating. In spite of all the material achievements like aeroplanes, computer technology, GSM, submarines, sky scrapers, expressways, and space exploration, human mind has not developed. This lack of the development of the mind is the greatest danger confronting humanity. With the twentieth first century mindset the world is sitting on the top of an active volcano. The proliferation of nuclear weapons nowadays portends a grave danger. If this gets into the hands of a mad head of state or an aggressive nation the effect would be catastrophic because the world is a global village..

It is this fear that makes North Atlantic Treaty Organization[NATO] attempt to stop the spread of nuclear warheads in the Middle East because they felt rightly or wrongly that this emerging power might misuse this dangerous weapon of mass destruction at slightest provocation. The thinking of the Western powers is understandable, but their approach to the issue of nuclear proliferation is not the best solution to the problem.

The best logical approach is the universal abolition or destruction of all nuclear weapons in all the countr because what is good for the goose is also good for the gander. Disarmament programs should be comprehensive and universal in application. This is the best realistic approach.

If the advanced world is serious in maintaining world peace by preventing the outbreak of nuclear war a Commission made up of representatives of all the continents should be established. The main responsibility of the Commission should be to prevent the manufacture or development of any nuclear weapons by any country. The body should be given full powers to enter any part of the country at any time for inspection.

Any country that fails to co-operate with the Commission for the disarmament should be visited with sanctions by all the other countries. This approach is the most sensible strategy because it will engender confidence and

faith among the member nations of the world. If there are other international crimes like terrorism, kidnapping and piracy that endanger security and world peace they could be brought under the power of the Commission.

ABOLITION OF WAR.

To think of the abolition of war throughout the world sounds utopian because every human being is naturally pugnacious. Great psychologists believe that if a favourable environment is created such pugnacity could be curbed and directed into useful channels. It can be recalled that every great achievement in history started like a dream. Before the invention of the aeroplane the person who mooted the idea of the possibility of a huge machine flying in the air, like a bird, was dismissed as a mad man. Even renowned physicists disagreed with the idea because they maintained that it was against the law of gravity. Today the aeroplane is no longer a mystery but a practical reality.

Humanity is endowed with a wonderful gift of brain. If the mind of man is bent towards achieving any feat, no matter how difficult, his brain would start to work seriously towards its accomplishment. To be sure, war does not solve any problem well. It only makes the defeated party more pliable after the war to accept the terms of settlement at the conference table. If the terms imposed on the defeated party are reasonable and just that decision could end the war conclusively. But if the treaty imposed is grossly unjust and heavy, it means that the seed for a future war has been sown.

For an instance, during the wars of German unification in the later half of the 19th century A.D under Prussian leadership, Germany defeated France in 1870 and took over from France Alsace-Lorraine, a region rich in coal and iron, including its population. France could not reconcile herself to the loss. But history did not stop. Events in Europe continued to move faster. Consequently, the impact of German unity had offset the balance of power in Europe. France was

forced to ally with Great Britain, her former traditional enemy. When Austria was frightened, Italy took cover under Germany. Russia was nervous. In order to maintain a delicate balance of power, alliances were formed. This change among other factors culminated in the First World War between the allied powers of France, Britain, Italy, Russia and later the USA against Germany and her allies, namely, Austria and Turkey.

At the end of the war Germany and her allies were defeated and the victorious allied powers imposed heavy penalties on Germany including the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine by France from Germany. By all standards, the treaty was heavy and naturally Germany regarded it as grossly unjust, calling it a diktat, a slave treaty. Though, she accepted it, she studied revenge. It was this among other factors that aided and abetted the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany and precipitated the Second World War only twenty one years after the debacle of the First.

At the end of the Second World War the allied powers- Britain, France, Russia and the USA that had defeated the axis powers made up of Germany, Italy and Japan, maintained the status quo by allowing France to retain Alsace-Lorraine, seen as the basis of troubles in modern Europe. Yet the statesmen of the Paris Conference that concluded the treaty after the Second World War did not learn anything from the mistakes and injustices of the Versailles Treaty of the First World War which preceded it. Fortunately, the formation of a European Economic Community[EEC], which later metamorphosed into a European Union[EU] had solved the problem with finality, thanks to the combination of wisdom and ingenuity of the founding fathers.

Since the end of the Second World War and the formation of the greater Europe there was no war fought among European countries. What the Western powers and the USA are doing in recent times is to export wars overseas to African and Asian countries by passive or active support and by selling weapons and ammunition to the belligerent states in order to maintain their military industries and to solve unemployment.

The only European country that still regards war as a solution to European conflict is Russia. But in reality, Russia is not Europe both in terms of culture and geography. Rather Russia is Asiatic. Nevertheless, the recent wars in Russia are caused by the collapse of socialism which led to the balkanization of the Soviet Union. Such a great upheaval is bound to cause wars in an attempt to adjust boundaries.

WAR IS NO LONGER FASHIONABLE.

Therefore, it is advisable for the African and Asian leaders to appreciate that war is no longer fashionable; to be more enlightened in their style of leadership; to embrace the challenges confronting their continents with confidence, statesmanship and good diplomacy; to look inwards for the solution of their disputes and conflicts with compromise ; to stop massive importation of arms and amunition for useless internal and boundary wars ; and finally to devote their resources and vitality for social, economic, and political development of their continents.

Nevertheless, a nation does not wake up one morning and start fighting another nation. There must be a definite dispute or conflict. Under normal circumstances there must be an attempt at settlement during a conference. If the two parties approach the conference with serious and honest intention for solving the dispute naturally a compromise would be reached. But if one party or the two parties approach the peace- talks with negativity and aggression bearing in mind their battle-readiness in terms of military capability and formidable engine of war, then, diplomacy would fail and war would take its place.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY IS STILL IN ITS INFANCY.

It is regrettable that international law and international relations have not been fully developed. State autonomy, independence and national interest hinder the rapid development of international law and diplomacy. If not it is pertinent to advocate that the UN should make it illegal for any state to wage war against another state without submitting her grievances for amicable settlement by the UN. In the same vein, any party that fails to accept the decision should face heavy sanctions by all the other member countries of the UN. It is true that the UN Charter with effect from 24,1945 enshrined this noble idea but implementation is always difficult because of veto power that is often abused.

It is also lamentable that the UN is not well organized to act as the police men of the world. The Security Council dominated by five permanent powers, endowed with veto power, makes the UN incompetent to perform this function. To actualize this noble task efficiently and effectively the UN must be democratized and veto power should be abolished .

It is an irony that the powerful members of the UN like the USA, Russia, France, Britain and China which preach and practice democracy in their respective countries adopt autocracy in the conduct of the affairs of the UN. In short, the UN should be the model of democracy to be imitated by all the member countries. Armed with this democratic principle and structure the UN would be well- suited to eliminate frequent wars all over the world. These wars are aggravated by instinct of pugnacity.

There are two major factors that determine human behaviour. They are nature and environment. By nature human beings are pugnacious and environment could either tame them or aggravate their instinct of pugnacity. Consequently, it is reasonable to argue that a favourable environment could make men more friendly with and amiable to their neighbours, and less

aggressive and pugnacious. An unfavourable condition would likely make men aggressive and criminal.

If this assertion is true and logical, the UN which is the most powerful and the greatest human organization in the whole world is competent and capable enough to create favourable and friendly conditions for all the human race to operate. Such situation would lessen the urge and inclination for war, terrorism and piracy with the slightest provocation.

By way of conclusion, mankind is living in a dynamic environment. Everything is in a state of flux. With increasing knowledges and technological innovations, human advancement would continue. Whether there is a war or a permanent peace, no nation would be a permanent leader of the world in all human endeavours because there are many dynamic variables that cause the rise and fall of nations. The most important lesson which history has taught with distinctiveness is that civilization rises and falls. Therefore, that Africa is behind the rest of the world today does not mean that she would continue like that forever.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

The Commonwealth of Nations originated from European imperialism and colonization of the world in the 18th and 19th centuries. During this period Europe was full of energy and vitality but unfortunately,; this energy was directed into an undesirable channel – the imperialism of the whole world. This aggression had demonstrated graphically the assertion of Bertrand Russell, a world- famous philosopher –critic and opponent of modern war in his book- The Principles of Social Reconstruction, published in 1916 during the First World War “Much of the vital energy of the world runs into channels which are oppressive. The Germans have shown themselves extraordinarily full of vital energy, but unfortunately, in a form which seems incompatible with the vitality of their neighbours. Europe in general has more vital energy than Africa, but it has used its energy to drain Africa through industrialism of even such life as the Negroes possessed. The vitality of South Eastern Europe is being drained to supply cheap labour for the enterprises of American millionaires. The vitality of men had been in the past a hindrance to the development of women, and it is possible that in the near future women may become a similar hindrance to men.”

The major cause of European imperialism of the world was the Industrial Revolution which gave Europe economic, technological and military power vis-a-vis the rest of the world. This imperialism was exacerbated by the Great French Revolution which led to aggressive nationalism. These two factors equipped Europe with formidable power. They used it to oppress the rest of the world that was less

fortunate. This in its nakedness is imperialism and savageness of man. Then, what is imperialism?

Imperialism is the policy of a state aiming at establishing any control beyond its borders over people unwilling to accept such control. Because of this unwillingness imperialist policy always involves the use of power against its victims. Therefore, the logic of imperialism is power. Imperialism can also be defined as the action of the powerful nations that impose themselves with force on the weak nations through invasion and conquest and exploitation of their human and natural resources for the benefits of those colonial powers. In the 20th century Communist Russia and the United States of America[USA] used ideological and technological weapons to spread imperialism over the world.

The European nations that participated in the conquest of the world at different periods were Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and Germany. This achievement created conflicts and wars between and among the powers. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Spain and Portugal were the most powerful countries in Europe. To prevent war between the two powers the Pope through the Papal Bull divided the world for them. Asia was given to Portugal while South America was given to Spain.

But towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th France and Great Britain emerged as the most powerful countries in Europe. The struggle for supremacy and for the conquest of the world started in earnest between Great Britain and France. They fought in America, Asia and the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans and lastly in Africa. At the end Britain emerged victorious. She took a lion's share by

colonizing Canada, South Africa, Australia, and Newzland. These were settler colonies.

Therefore, European imperialism was not peculiar to other races of the world. It affected the whites. For an example during the 18th century Poland was swallowed by Prussia, Austria and Russia. In addition Britain conquered Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt, India, Indo China, and Persia. France occupied Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal and Guinea. Italy occupied Libya and Somaliland. Belgium conquered the area later called the Belgian Congo, while Germany conquered Togo, Cameroun, Tanganyika now Tanzania and Namibia. Portugal conquered Angola

It can be seen that in order for imperialists to achieve their ambitions they must fight two wars. First the powers- the European nations fought wars between themselves in their struggle to divide the world. Here they used both diplomacy and war. If diplomacy failed, war took over. For an example Britain and France fought for the occupation of territories in North America. Because of British naval power she defeated France and consequently occupied American colonies and Canada. France went home empty- handed. But she studied revenge which readers shall notice later in this chapter.

The second war was war fought between each power and the country she wanted to occupy. The powers invaded the country they wanted to occupy. Naturally such a country resisted the invasion. This led to war. But the outcome of most of these wars was a foregone conclusion because of the economic, political and military superiority of the Imperialists.

After the war of conquest, the next stage was that of occupation, administration and exploitation of the conquered territories. During the

colonial administration each power used its own method. Spain and Portugal used direct rule. France used direct rule and the policy of assimilation which was later changed to an association. Britain practiced the Indirect Rule by making use of the traditional rulers instead of the educated elite.

Whichever method, direct or indirect or assimilation the colonial administration was not acceptable to and comfortable for the people. The exploitation of the human and natural resources, conscription, heavy taxation, forced labour and loss of freedom made the colonized hate colonialism.

This hatred was expressed in various forms like revolts, eg the Aba women Revolts of 1929, demonstrations, boycotting of imports, establishment of newspapers to criticize the colonial administration, conscription into the army and militant nationalism. All over the world the colonized peoples were agitating. There was restiveness in America, Asia, Africa, Australia and Newzland. Every where people wanted freedom and independence.

The white colonies were the first to gain their independence. In 1776 the USA declared its independence of Great Britain. It led to the American War of Independence (1776 -1783). With French support Americans defeated Britain and gained Independence by force.

At the beginning of the 19th century the white colonies (settler colonies) in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Newzland, were no longer prepared to bear the yoke of imperialism. They were uncompromising, restive and radical in their agitation for freedom. With the experience of the American War of Independence Great Britain was not ready to fight against the agitators for independence. Therefore, they were

given their independence on a platter of gold. The remaining continents were Africa and Asia.

When the white settler colonies gained their Independence, there was need for a new form of association with Britain. This was informed by the fact that their freedom was given on a platter of gold and understanding with Great Britain. Furthermore, this co-operation was made possible by the force of racism in colonial politics. They are all whites. Consequently, they formed a Dominion with Britain. This success was the foundation of the Commonwealth of nations as shall be seen later in this chapter.

The success of the white colonies in their struggle for independence, the two world wars (1914-1918) and (1939-1945), the emergence of socialism aided the Asian and African freedom fighters. War is a catalyst. The two world wars had destroyed Europe as the world leader, as major powers and as the shopkeepers of the world. To be a world power is to be able to fight major war. But major war destroys major powers. Therefore, to remain as a major power it is advisable to fight small wars. Time and again, small wars would escalate to major wars. This is the irony of history and its tragedy too.

The experience of the USA in Vietnam had demonstrated the futility of war. "In Vietnam American diplomacy had failed. But no more Vietnam does not mean that America will not fight again. It means that America will not fail again", according to ----- in his book, No More Vietnam.

In view of the above quotation, it seems that the lesson of the debacle of Vietnam has not been fully appreciated by the leaders of the United States of America. This failure to learn from history is

demonstrated by her recent involvement in wars in Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan in the Middle East. To be a super power is problematic. American ambition and dream to dominate the world forever could not allow her to learn from History. In fact America is on the horns of a dilemma.

Nevertheless, after the Second World War the leadership of the World was thrust upon the USA. The creation of the United Nations Organization [UNO] after the Second World War, the rise of socialism in Eastern Europe with the Soviet Russia as the leader of the Communist Bloc, and USA as the leader of the NATO and Capitalist states, consequent on the emergence of the two Super powers –the USA and Russia had changed radically world power game and international diplomacy. Fortunately, these forces in the world were by implication highly favourable to Asian and African nationalisms.

More importantly, the colonizers were ready to grant independence to their various colonies peacefully because colonies were no longer fashionable and profitable. Therefore, after the Second World War Britain granted India her Independence in 1947. This retreat was followed later by the independence of other Asian countries. The independence of Asian colonies was supposed to be followed rapidly by the independence of the African colonies.

What delayed the independence of the African colonies till 1960s were the constitutional arrangements, and the idea of Pan-Africanism which later ended in the formation of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], now the African Union[AU]. The Gold

Coast, now called Ghana gained her independence in 1957. 1960 was the greatest year for Africa. More than ten countries in Africa including Nigeria gained their independence in 1960.

After this decolonization the new independent states were confronted with the stark reality of life. They were faced with the decision to break away completely from their former colonial masters or to have some links with the USA, the leader of the Capitalist nations or to join Russia the leader of Communism or Socialism or to stand firm in their continent.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

What is the type of Association? Is it that of a master/servant relationship or relationship of equals? - Was a hard nut to crack. Some radicals like Ghana and Guinea in the new independent States wanted no association. While the moderates and conservatives among them including Nigeria wanted certain forms of association because the long period of colonialism had created certain heritages like common language, the same legal system, the same civil service system, the same political system, the same system of education, the same religion and last but not the least the economic backwardness that required technical, technological, scientific and monetary aids from their former colonial masters. In view of these challenges wisdom dictated that there should be a sort of relationship or association with their former masters.

Consequently, the new independent states of former British colonies including the white colonies agreed to form on equal basis the Commonwealth of nations with Britain. The former French colonies formed Francophones with France. Britain agreed to this arrangement

because she had lost her prestige and power of the heyday of the British Empire when Great Britain ruled the world.

The emergence of the two super powers had reduced British influence in the world. Therefore, the two parties, the new independent States and Great Britain, still needed each other. Consequently, they supported the formation of the Commonwealth of nations. The Dominion which was formed between Britain and the white colonies was merged with the Commonwealth of nations. The merger gave the Association a wider scope and an international character. THE BENEFITS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

The benefits of the Commonwealth of nations to all the member nations can never be overestimated. Because of its existence it was possible for the members to organize legal conferences and workshops for the Commonwealth lawyers for the fertilization of ideas that improve their common legal system. It also helps to enrich international law and diplomacy.

At the early stage of Independence many new states were confronted with economic backwardness. Many depended on Britain for economic aids, loans and technical assistances. The existence of the Commonwealth makes it possible to obtain such aids and loans for development without many strings attached.

Some emergent states of this Commonwealth had weak armies or no armies at all. They needed organized armies with modern weapons for internal security and for the defence of their territorial integrity. Naturally, they relied on Britain and Canada for military training and equipment and for the organization and establishment of a formidable

national force. This resource is critical for the survival of the emergent states in the world of aggressive nationalism and power politics.

At the onset of independence many African and Asian States had poorly western education system. They looked on to Britain and Canada for aids and technical assistance. The Commonwealth scholarship was established for the rapid advancement of education in the member nations. This scholarship facilitates the training of the citizens of the member nations of the Commonwealth in Britain, Canada and some other countries that have Universities and facilities. It hastened the emergence of the educated elite in the member nations.

The Commonwealth Games is another benefit of the Association which helps to improve games and sports. The sporting activities of the Commonwealth held at intervals improve the skills and abilities of the sports men and women. They also help to improve their sport facilities and consequently make their athletes acquire confidence in their participation in the Olympic Games when all countries of the world meet. The Commonwealth and the Olympic Games engender unity and understanding among the countries of the world.

The greatest benefit from the formation of the Commonwealth is that it offers the opportunity of international trade between member nations with common tariffs. But owing to slow industrialization of the new states most of the international trade goes between the members and Britain and to some extent with Canada. Nevertheless, there is trade liberalization among the member nations.

The Heads of States of the Commonwealth meet every year. This meeting is very significant. Here they draw up broad policies and take decisions that have far-reaching implications. It also offers an

opportunity for first appearance in an organized international forum for the new Heads of the states of the member nations. It can be argued that such meetings because of their flamboyance and extravaganza deplete the meager resources of states. The Commonwealth can be used as a weapon of attack against any recalcitrant member. It can also impose economic sanctions against any member state whose regime is autocratic.

In the final analysis, it can be seen that the Commonwealth of nations is beneficial to both parties. To Great Britain it lessened the psychological trauma caused by decolonization after the heyday of British imperialism when Britain ruled the world. In other words, it offers a semblance of power to Britain to fill the power vacuum created by the sharp and sudden termination of imperialism. To the decolonized members it engenders a cordial atmosphere that helps to heal the animosity generated during the long period of imperialism and anti-colonial nationalism. And finally it helps them to manage their emergent states with confidence and hope.

By way of conclusion, European imperialism is the greatest evil of humanity. Whether it is worse than the European enslavement of Africa for three hundred years is a matter of debate. What is certain is that between the two evils there is nothing to choose. European enslavement of Africa led to the carrying away for many years of African youths from West Africa to the West Indies and North America for cheap labour in the mines and plantations of America. In addition, the trans- Atlantic slave trade encouraged conflicts and wars among Africans and consequently undermined their economies. On the other hand, imperialism led to European conquest, administration and exploitation of the world. It was an international brigandage.

Yet the love of freedom and hatred of colonialism resulted in militant nationalism. This was aided by other forces like international power politics and diplomacy. The logical outcome was the attainment of independence by all the colonized peoples of the world.

Since the development of modern science and technology had made the world a global village association between the former colonial masters and the new independent states is reasonable. This is the logic of the Commonwealth of nations which was based on equality of membership. Nevertheless, imperialism is dead but has resurrected in the form of neocolonialism –a new form of imperialism, according to a Pan-Africanist, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana.

CHAPTER SIX

THE QUALITIES OF A GOOD LEADER AND EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT.

For the purpose of this lecture it is necessary to define leadership and management. Leadership is the act of guiding a group of people, or community or a nation for the achievement of set objectives. A leader organizes and controls people in order to achieve a desired end. The leaders take decisions and make policies and then mobilize the people to implement them. By implication where there are leaders there must be followers. The followers are the people or group in an organization that execute or obey the instructions of the leaders by implementing decisions or policies. To achieve the objectives of any society or organization or nation both the leaders and the followers should know their duties and perform them well.

Therefore, for the success of any nation or organization like the school or industry, leadership and followership are very crucial. But many people argue that leadership is more responsible for the success or failure of any organization or community or nation- because the leaders take important decisions, initiate actions and ideas and finally motivate the followers to implement them. This is supported by the Russian proverb that says; "Fish rots from the head." In other words, the irresponsibility of the leader causes the irresponsibility of his subjects. This is not to undermine the role of followership but to underscore the importance of leadership. Actually, the society gets the leadership it deserves. If the society is bad and corrupt it will inevitably produce bad and corrupt leaders. There is no magic about it.

There are three types of leadership in Nigeria. There is the traditional leadership of the Emir, Obi, Oba, Obong, Lamido, and Etsu. Their legitimacy and authority are based on customs and traditions. Their authority is hereditary.

There is a leadership based on personal qualities. These are leaders that emerge in the society because of their ability or intelligence, or wisdom to solve the problems or crisis facing their society. For example in the Kanem-Bornu Empire in the 19th century El-Kanemi emerged as the leader because he successfully defended Kanem Bornu against the invasion and conquest of Usman Dan Fodio's Fulani Jihadists.

The third type of leadership is based on legality. Leaders here emerged through legal means or law as defined by the Constitution . The method of selection of the authority and functions and tenures of office are clearly stated. Nowadays many leaders emerge through this means. But at times two of these types or even three could be combined to make a leader. For example, a person of outstanding ability could be elected to be a leader. And it is reasonable to maintain that leadership based on ability and legality could be more effective, all things being equal, than leadership based on custom and tradition. This is because in modern society there are so many problems confronting the leaders. To solve them knowledge, intelligence, ability and wisdom are needed.

But in the traditional society where leadership was based on tradition the functions of leaders were simple. They consisted mainly of the maintenance of law and order and ceremonial functions. More

importantly, the economy was peasant and warfare in many situations was a simple affair. The weapons of war were simple and unsophisticated. But now the situation has changed radically. Modern society had grown complex. Technological and scientific innovations make war dangerous and devastating. No wonder that Fredrick the Great of Prussia said; “War is not an affair of chance. A great deal of knowledge, study and meditation are needed to execute it well.”

This challenge is aggravated by modern politics, economic and social systems that had grown more complex and complicated. Therefore, for any community to survive in this age of aggressive nationalism and economic competitiveness, leaders of outstanding ability and wisdom, full of ideas and dynamism are needed. Any deviation from this will spell doom to any organization, community or nation.

In the light of the above explanations, it is necessary to outline the qualities of leadership. In view of the importance of leadership and its complexities, it is necessary that certain qualities are required for leadership so as to perform duties effectively. Some of these qualities are-:

-  Knowledge: A leader should have wide knowledge and understanding of human affairs. He should be broad- minded enough to understand his followers. In other words, he should know what they like and what they hate. Finally he should know how to create friendship and how to motivate people.

- ✚ Intelligence: A leader should be intelligent. Intelligence and wisdom should enable a leader to deal with any emergency or issue confronting the society.
- ✚ Idealism and pragmatism: These two qualities should be possessed by a leader. A leader should be a man of ideas and also a pragmatist.
- ✚ Justice: A leader should be an honest and just man. He should not be emotional, jealous and full of hatred. Jealousy, emotion and hatred would not allow a leader to actualize his potentials. This is supported by the late President Nixon's farewell address to the staffers of his administration when he resigned and was leaving the presidency on August 9th 1974, because of the Watergate Scandal; "Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty, always remember others may hate you. Those who hate you don't win, unless you hate them. And then you destroy yourself."
- ✚ Ability: A leader should be energetic and should have the power and skill of organization. This is very crucial because the leader deals with citizens and resources. And to control people is the most difficult thing in the world.
- ✚ Good health: A leader should be healthy. The role of leadership is an energetic and active one. To perform this role effectively good health and strong physique are necessary for success.
- ✚ Self motivation: The task of leadership is a difficult affair. There are times when the situation is so critical, so depressing, so frustrating so much that the leader is at the end of his wit. He would not know the next line of action to

take. At this juncture, the leader should cool down and be patient. There is wisdom in patience. He should be self motivated in order to surmount the problems confronting him. A practical piece of advice is; "Do not quit when the situation is so critical. A quitter is not a winner. And a winner does not quit".

 **Hardworking:** A leader should be hardworking. The tasks of leadership are full of challenges. To meet these challenges there is no alternative to hardworking. This is very important to student prefects because they have two roles- the role of studentship and the role of leadership. To perform these roles effectively leaders must work hardest as students and as prefects. In other words, there is no time to waste, no time for gossip, they must be clock-conscious, and always plan ahead. They should not postpone responsibilities. Tackle them as they confront you. Do not put them off till tomorrow. Do it today and now. Tomorrow has its own problems. Procrastination is a lazy man's business.

Douglas McGregor, a psychologist maintains that there are two groups of human-being-Group X and Group Y. Group Y likes work and enjoys working, but Group X hates work and does not want to work. If you are in Group X you should change to Group Y. Change your attitude to work. Work is a noble venture. All the achievements in the world through the ages are the products of hard work.

It is the Industrial Revolution that created modernity, technological and scientific innovations that make the modern world most comfortable and enjoyable. Even nature is not

interested in a lazy person. And nobody is either. This is supported by Hesiod, a Greek historian, when he said; “Both God and men are angry with a person who does not work. For in nature he is like a stingless drone that wastes the work of bees, eating without working. Work is not a disgrace. It is idleness that is a disgrace.”

🚧 Interest in people: A leader should have a deep interest in people. He should accept people as they are. He should appreciate individual, cultural and religious differences . His understanding of these traits would help him to control his followers more effectively. According to the Greek mythology, when the oracle was asked who was the wisest man, it answered that Socrates was the wisest man on earth. Socrates replied that he was not the wisest man. But he was interested in any person he met and from that he learnt something.

This interest in followers would make leaders appreciate their problems and then feel more determined to tackle them. By this token, leaders would become servants and then practice the famous maxim which says that a leader is the servant and not the master of his people.

🚧 Discipline: A leader should be a highly- disciplined individual. IF a leader is not disciplined he would find it very difficult, if not impossible to control his followers. People are very conscious of the behaviour and actions of their leaders. And they are more interested in and influenced by, the actions and characteristics of their leaders than in their empty

promises and preaching. A leader is not supposed to be a preacher, but a man of action. A soldier is not talkative.

✚ Respectable personality: A leader should be a man of respectable personality. Many things combine to make an individual's personality- such as physical appearance . tall or short, his behaviour or character, his attitude to life, his knowledge and understanding of human affairs, his style of dress, his comportment, whether he is democratic or autocratic in his style of leadership. Nowadays, because of the degree of modernization . highly sophisticated scientific innovations, the wind of democratization blowing all over the world and the complexities of the social system, majority of people prefer a democratic style to an autocratic leadership.

✚ But while there is much talk about democracy in reality there are many autocratic leaders all over the world. Arguably, to be more successful the two styles of leadership could be combined with effectiveness. Situations are not always the same. There are situations when democracy should be applied while in another situation autocracy should be the answer. The wisdom of the leader to choose the right method at the right time is very critical to his success.

In the light of the above analysis, it can be seen that leadership is an important factor in the development of any community or nation. To be successful in the art of leadership, areas or spheres of leadership should be defined. In other words, there should be a division of labour, duties or areas of specialization for the leaders. This division should recognise ability and interest. And a leader in one area may not be a

leader in another. For an example, the head girl of the school may not be the leader of the debating or netball team. She is led as one of the players in the team. To avoid confusion and conflict where there are so many levels of leadership, respective functions and authorities of each level should be well- defined. Everyone should know and understand who is superior to whom and who should take orders from whom. This means that the rule of law should be strictly obeyed.

If this is done conflict among the leaders, which is endemic in any organization, would be minimized. This reduction could facilitate the achievements of the objectives of the organization. At the national level the division of labour and specialization is most critical. That is the function of the Constitution of the country. In the Constitution the powers, the functions, and the relationships of the officeholders are well- defined. In any country where the Constitution is taken and regarded as supreme and sacrosanct and the rule of law is respected as the guiding principle of the officials of the government, conflict and crisis would be minimized. And there would be more progress in that country. But the Constitution is one factor and human nature is another formidable factor. In less advanced countries of the world like

Africa human factor creates great problem because of the selfishness and sectionalism of the political class and government officials. Under this circumstances problems are bound to arise, because the operators of the Constitution would twist it to suit their selfish interests.

EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT

At this juncture, effective management shall be discussed. There are many literatures and many definitions of management.

Management can be defined as the art of commanding, controlling, supervising and co-ordinating all the various aspects or departments of an organization in order to achieve the aims of the organization. It can also be defined as the rational exploitation of the human and natural resources of the organization for the achievement of its objectives.

The word management is a very important concept in modern organization. In any field of human endeavour management is crucial- in the family, in the village, in industry, in corporation, in the civil service, in the army, in the insurance, in the bank, in the hospital. and in the school. Because of this fact many people operating in many of these fields assume various titles like the Headmaster, the Principal, the Chief Consultant, the Controller, the Director, the Director General, the Manager, the Managing Director. Some of the titles are big and some are small. But all are doing the same thing, that is management. Even those who cannot manage themselves are Managing Managers. Yes, it is fashionable and prestigious to answer a Managing Director even, if one cannot manage himself or his family. Whichever way people see it management is very vital in modern society. Political, economic and social systems and apparatuses had grown so complex and so complicated, so that without effective management the entire system would collapse and modern civilization will disappear and society will degenerate to primitivism and savageness.

The most important cause of economic melt-down recently is mismanagement and corruption. Capitalism which is the only mode of economic system today has grown so complex and delicate . Its delicate balancing needs efficient and effective management for its sustainability.

The present challenges confronting Nigerian banks appear to have been caused by mismanagement and corruption. Bank operators do not obey the banking regulations, the rule of law and due process because of personal interest, individualism and greed. However, the national and global fluctuations the economy contribute to the challenges facing the modern banks, but management is critical in overcoming such challenges.

It is good management among other factors that led to the rise of civilization and modernism. Conversely, bad management had contributed to the fall of many civilizations. For an example, good management is one of the factors that sustained socialism in the Soviet Russia and the other countries of Eastern Europe in the first half of the 20th century. By the same token, mismanagement among other factors had led to the collapse of socialism in Russia and Eastern Europe in the second half of the 20th century. That is the miracle of history.

.Furthermore, the failure of socialism was aggravated by the Cold War. The Soviet involvement in the Cold War between Moscow and Washington forced Russia to divert her resources and energy to an arms-build-up and armament race to the detriment of economic and social development. Management does not only consist of managing human and natural resources for the achievement of certain objectives. The real issue of management especially at the national level is taking intelligent and wise decisions that would have far-reaching implications and the correct determination of the priority and real national interest. Diversion of scarce resources to useless, bogus and prestigious ventures and wars is bad management. Determination of good policy is the test of real statesmanship.

In 1984 at the University of Jos, Professor Mazuri, a historian and visiting Professor from East Africa asserted strongly that African civilization was declining. The University Community was alarmed with that news and bombarded him with questions to force him prove his assertion. The learned scholar was able to convince his audience- the Community of scholars –that African civilization was declining. Whether citizens like it or not mismanagement and corruption are the major factors that are causing the decline.

In the 18th, 19th and first half of the 20th centuries Europe was the centre and leader of world civilization. This high position was because of the Industrial and French Revolutions. The Industrial Revolution had changed dramatically the traditional management methods in the economy to modern management. While in politics and social systems, the French Revolution had replaced the feudal and monarchical system of government with a democratic system. These two revolutions required new form of management, namely, an efficient and effective management hinged on the principle of division of labour, specialization and meritocracy. . The Industrial Revolution started in Great Britain but gradually spread to other parts of Europe. While the French revolution started in France and later spread to other countries of Europe. The efficient management of the new economic and political systems made Europe the centre of World civilization, workshops and shop- keepers of the world.

But the two World Wars destroyed Europe. After the Second World War the leadership of the World passed to the USA and the Soviet Russia. American leadership and American greatness were attributed to American resources. This opinion was the general view and belief of many people until the leader of the French Socialist party

observed and said; “ The American greatness is not based only on America resources but also on American management”.That greatness is underpinned by American spirit The importance of efficient management and patriotism can never be overemphasized. But how can the effective management be achieved? Or how can any organization or community or nation be managed efficiently and effectively?

There are certain definite procedures which managers adopt in order to achieve the desired objectives of the organization. These procedures can be outlined as follows:

- ✚ Successful managers should know or determine the objectives of the organization.
- ✚ Planning is very important in management. Planning helps to ensure the effective use of scarce resources so as to achieve the objectives. For an example in 1917 when Russia adopted Socialism all the Capitalist countries of Western Europe and the USA were frightened by and hostile to her and refused to trade with Russia in order to destroy Socialism in one country. Nobody believed that Socialism in one country could survive. But the socialist Russia survived the Western isolation and hostility by adopting a systematic planned economy. The first five - year plan by Russia was a new idea to the world. This helped Russia to manage her limited resources judiciously till after the Second World War. At the end of the war Russia exploited the confusion and anarchy to spread Socialism in Eastern Europe and thereby made them her allies and then formed the Communist Bloc with them

against the NATO powers or Capitalist nations of Western Europe and the USA. So it can be seen that planning is very crucial for effective management. All the countries of the World today are very conscious of this fact.

- ✚ To make decisions and policies that would help to actualize the planning and the achievement of the objectives.
- ✚ To know and select the right person for the right job at the right time. In other words, if an organization or a nation must survive, meritocracy must be enthroned.
- ✚ To co-ordinate the various aspects or departments in the organization.
- ✚ To command, control and supervise the rank- and- file workers in the organization.
- ✚ To delegate power and functions.
- ✚ To identify problems and find solutions in time before they develop into a conflict or crisis.
- ✚ In a situation of conflict and crisis the manager should face the issue and should try to resolve it justly so that it should not affect the organization adversely.
- ✚ Managers should ensure that there is a definite procedure of communication and information flow within the organization or between the organization and other external agencies. This method is to ensure a free flow of information and communication which is necessary for the smooth running of the organization.
- ✚ Evaluation or assessment, There should be a definite method and period of evaluating or assessing the progress

of the organization. This could be either through meetings of senior management cadres, conferences, workshops and seminars.

- ✚ Research: This is very important for the improvement of the organization. Research will help to discover new ideas, encourage creativity and innovation. Where the organizations are not able to carry out the research work they can use the services of other bigger organizations or Research Bodies or Universities.

- ✚ Welfare of the workers is very important in any organization. Workers should be properly cared for. If workers are treated well, if they are treated like human beings and their problems are taken care of, they will be motivated enough to give off their best. A happy worker is more productive than a grumbling one. But if you neglect them and treat them like slaves, they will work like slaves. And slave labour is unproductive. There is a development in Japanese economic system today known as “familism”. In this type of system workers welfare is seriously attended to, so much so that workers are advised to be shareholders in the company where they are working. This makes them enjoy the profit of the company and at the same time earn their salaries. Under this situation the Japanese workers are highly motivated and committed. This is one of the secrets of Japanese technological advancement.

There are two schools of thought which developed in Europe and America in the 20th century. The technical school of thought was

developed by Taylor and his colleagues. They were more concerned with the speed and productivity of the workers. To improve the productivity industry should be arranged in a way that time would not be wasted and workers must be driven to give their maximum output with less attention to their feelings. This was done but there was not much remarkable increase in the output of the workers. The failure to motivate the workers by mechanical means led to the emergence of Human Relations school of thought. It was developed by Mayo and his associates. Their idea was that workers were not machines but human beings and therefore they should be treated like human beings and not like human machines. This was done by taking more seriously the welfare of the workers. The upshot was that workers were highly motivated and their productivity increased tremendously.

In the light of the above explanations, it can be seen that modern management is not an affair of chance. It has been systematized. And any Manager to be successful and effective must follow the procedures systematically and religiously.

The general roles or duties of all the school prefects is that all should work as a team and regard themselves as leaders and managers of students. The following are their general duties and responsibilities;

- ✚ To act as PRO between the students and the school authority and the school authority and the public.
- ✚ To explain the school regulations to the students with the aim of mobilizing them to obey the regulations.
- ✚ To co-ordinate and supervise all the school activities for effective implementation.
- ✚ To maintain discipline among the students.

- ✚ To maintain the cleanliness of the school environment.
- ✚ To project the school in the best light to the public.
- ✚ To make students understand the problems of running a boarding school in this period of economic crisis and permanent inflation.

Specific duties of specific prefects;

1. Class Prefect.

- ✚ Agent between the teachers and her class.
- ✚ Get the class ready for lessons by ensuring the attendance, and quietness of the students.
- ✚ Maintain the cleanliness of the classroom.
- ✚ Co-operate with the Form Master and inform him of all the problems of the class.
- ✚ Maintain cordial relations between your class and other classes.
- ✚ Should remind the teachers politely the time for their lessons.
- ✚ To help organize the class for outdoor activities –like games and manual labour and social night.

2. House Prefects.

- ✚ PRO between the students and House Mistresses, Senior Boarding House Mistress and Matrons.
- ✚ To maintain cleanliness of the house and its surroundings.
- ✚ To maintain discipline in the house.
- ✚ To make students observe the school regulations – light out, be on bed at night, and go out of the hall at the right time.
- ✚ To see that very sick students go to the clinic for treatment.
- ✚ To report any problem in the hostel in time to the appropriate authority.

- ✚ To see that students dress their beds neatly every day.

3. Food Prefects.

- ✚ Agents between the students and the Master- on- Duty, the School Authority, Catering Officer or Head Cook.
- ✚ To assess the feelings of the students about their diet in time and report to the appropriate authority.
- ✚ To explain to the students in time any lapses in the preparation of their food or omission.
- ✚ To ensure strict discipline in the dining hall.
- ✚ To maintain the cleanliness of the dining hall and its surroundings.
- ✚ To ensure justice and fairness in the distribution of food to students, especially junior students.

4. Games Prefects.

- ✚ Co-ordination and organization of games.
- ✚ To ensure that every student is engaged in one game or the other by preparing rosters for games.
- ✚ To maintain discipline during games.
- ✚ To take proper care of the games materials.
- ✚ To report any problem to the Games Master.
- ✚ To help the Games Master\ Mistress organize and prepare Inter- House competition.
- ✚ To prepare, and lead the school team for competition with other schools for Inter- collegiate Sports.

5. Health Prefects.

- ✚ Agents between the clinic department and the students.
- ✚ Make sure that the sick students report to the clinic in time and follow up their treatment.

- ✚ Try to observe that the sick student does not mix up native medicine and drugs given by the clinic or hospital.
- ✚ Try to prevent the students from indulging in self medication.
- ✚ Encourage very sick student to take her food before medication.

6. Library Prefects.

- ✚ Agents between the students and the librarians.
- ✚ Help the library officials to prevent stealing of books in the library.
- ✚ Help in the arrangement of books in the library.
- ✚ Help to maintain discipline in the library.
- ✚ Encourage the students especially the junior ones to cultivate the good habit of reading in the library to supplement their personal textbooks.

7. Head Girl.

- ✚ PRO between the school Authority and the students.
- ✚ To co-ordinate the functions of other prefects so that there should be no conflict.
- ✚ To ensure the general discipline of the school.
- ✚ To ensure the general cleanliness of the school.
- ✚ To alert the school Authority of any problems in the school or the feelings or grievances of the students in time before the crisis stage.
- ✚ To explain and ensure that school regulations are obeyed by the students.
- ✚ To make the students understand the importance of any school regulation or policy or any school problem facing the students.

- ✚ To help other prefects in their specific duties and at the same time the other prefects should help the head girl in the maintenance of general discipline in the school.
- ✚ To ensure that the Assembly Hall is prepared for Monday and Friday assembly.
- ✚ To represent the school in any outside event.

The above duties are not exhaustive. They are guidelines to help leaders to be more effective as school prefects. You may confront certain situations which will tax your sense of judgment and common sense. In such a situations leaders' intelligence and native wisdom would help them to take appropriate action.

In conclusion, school prefects as leaders and managers of students should try their hardest to live up to the expectations. They should live active and energetic life to be able to meet the challenges of their studentship and prefectship. Your performance at the end of the session should be assessed by how far you have achieved the objectives of your dual roles. You may ask how you are going to be compensated for all the problems and the insults you would encounter. To be sure, nobody is going to compensate you and no compensation would be adequate enough for the risks and dangers of your duties. But the experience you would gain from it is highly valuable. This will be useful in your life career. The prefectship is your first experience of the art of leadership and management. This art is very important to everybody because it gives you a deep insight and understanding of human nature and human affairs which you will always encounter throughout your life. That is your compensation. It is richer and better than a gold medal because you are equipped to go out into the wider world of constant struggles and competitions with your eyes wide open.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TIDINESS, INDUSTRY AND CO-OPERATION.

Tidiness means neatness and cleanliness, arrangement of things where they are supposed to be in such a way that they are very pleasant to look at and should not inconvenience anybody. This quality has nothing to do with wealth or poverty. A poor person may be tidy always while a rich man may be untidy. Therefore, it is erroneous to think that only a rich person should be tidy while a poor man should be untidy and dirty because poverty could be used as a reason.

In fact, tidiness is a matter of habit. Some individuals have formed the habit of tidiness or untidiness and under no circumstances they are always tidy or untidy. For instance, in the uniformed professions, some officers like the customs officers, the police, the nurses, the lawyers, the armed forces and even students in the same uniform are always tidy while others are untidy and unkempt. The areas that an individual is expected to show tidiness and cleanliness are on his body, dress, home, office and the food he eats and the water he drinks. The advantages of tidiness in these areas are obvious. It ensures good health and happiness. It portrays a good and charming personality. By the same token, ones neighbours, colleagues and senior officers will have a high regard for one. And any visitor or official coming to your home or office will form a very high estimate of you. Moreover, it makes your work in the office or home very easy and less tedious. It means that everything and all the instruments and equipment are kept where they are supposed to be. For an example in the office the files and other documents are arranged systematically. And in the kitchen

the knives, spoons, and pots are cleaned and kept where they are supposed to be so that it will be easy to find them. In the store everything will be arranged in such a way that no time will be wasted to locate any of the items. In the final analysis, this habit makes people more efficient and happier at work. There is nothing that gives job satisfaction more than knowing ones work and then doing it well.

On the other hand, untidiness at home, office, body, dress, food or water can cause unpleasantness, delay, inaction, body odour, epidemic and even sudden death. European scientists for years have been searching for the elixir of life. In other words, something to stop early death. They are not successful, yet they have discovered that an individual can prolong his life span by adopting good and tidy habits of living. In comparison Europeans are tidier and neater in their life style than average Africans. Consequently, they live longer than Africans. Scholars may attribute white man's longevity to white man's cool climate, knowledge and technology. But even some educated Africans are not particularly anxious about tidiness in their environments.

No wonder that the Buhari- Idiagbor regime started a war against indiscipline[WAI] and environmental sanitation all over the country with military precision in order to inculcate the habit of cleanliness and tidiness. But it is sad to recall that the attitude of the masses to the monthly environmental sanitation was hostile at first. Many people do not understand and appreciate the usefulness of environmental sanitation. They think that they are doing it for the government. To keep one's home , surroundings and office clean and tidy is a matter of intelligence and common sense. But ironically, common sense is not common. That is why on the monthly environmental day, everybody,

both the rich and the poor, both the educated and uneducated, stay inside their houses waiting for 10.00am.

In fact this situation is not ideal. Wise citizens do not pile heaps of rubbish around their houses to breed germs and mosquitoes that cause diseases till the end of the month. Refuse and dirty materials and stagnant waters should be removed immediately on hourly or daily basis. It takes mosquitoes few days to breed and mature and start to cause malaria, the greatest scourge of this age. Malaria has defied all the efforts of scientists that produce different brands of drugs like chloroquine, art equine, artesunate, maloxine, amala cotezine and paludine. Therefore, it is advisable for the scientists to produce insecticides or gases that could be sprayed around the surroundings including bushes and forests and stagnant waters. This frontal attack would help to eliminate the population of mosquitoes in the towns and villages. This war can be co-ordinated by the states and local governments to ensure a systematic and comprehensive approach.

In the same vein, individuals should try to prevent mosquitoes from entering their sleeping rooms by netting the doors and windows and sleeping under fumigated mosquito nets. In spite of these efforts if mosquitoes still invade sleeping rooms people should wake up occasionally at night to attack them when they are resting on the walls after overfeeding with blood. This constant attack would help to reduce the population of mosquitoes in the sleeping rooms. Consequently, the frequency of malaria disease in families would be drastically reduced. Many Africans are dying because of diseases caused by dirty habits of life. In short ignorance is the worst disease. This type of ignorance has nothing to do with one's level of education but with knowing what is good and then doing it. In other words, it is

not enough to know virtue but it is the practice of it that matters. Knowledge is knowledge for a purpose and the validity of the purpose justifies the validity of knowledge.

Therefore, it can be concluded that tidiness is not only direct consequence of a person's knowledge, ability or wealth. But it is assumed that a person who is knowledgeable should cultivate the habit of tidiness in his body, dress, home and work place. But it is not always the case. A person who is less educated and less capable may dress himself and arrange and tidy his place more pleasantly than a highly - educated individual. Therefore, nobody has any excuse to live within an untidy and dirty environment.

Industry

The next topic is industry. When one hears industry one's mind runs to a place like the cement industry at Nkaluagu or the iron and Steel industry at Ajaokuta where goods are produced in large quantity by the use of the factors of production such as land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship. In English Language a word may have different meanings. Even in Igbo Language a word may have different meanings, like Egbe na Egbe[kite and gun]. It is from the use of a word in a given context that one should be able to understand its full meaning.

In view of this and for the purpose of this topic industry can be defined as hardworking, dedication and commitment to duty, the ability to finish a certain portion of work within an expected reasonable period. Psychologists in their study about human nature and their attitude to work, classified human beings into two groups –meaning group Y and group X. Group Y is interested in work, likes to work and

enjoys working. But group X hates work, does not like to work and is interested in idleness and gossip.

European colonization brought Europeans into closer contact and relationship with Africans. Some European imperialists in Africa after observing African culture concluded erroneously that Africans in general were lazy and anti-work. But Africans who were forced to work in European farms, plantations and colonial administration were merely pretending to be lazy because they were expressing their hatred of colonialism, loss of independence that has culminated in exploitation of their resources, forced labour and heavy taxation by the colonial masters. In fact such an African ambivalent attitude during the first phase of European imperialism in Africa is interpreted by colonial historians as a manifestation of latent African nationalism which later burst out into militant nationalism that resulted in African independences in the second half of the 20th century. It was this European conquest, occupation and exploitation of Africa that made Africans regard colonial administration as government work which meant to them nobody's business.

But unfortunately, when Africans gained independence they were unable to change their negative attitude to government work, even when the government becomes their own government and no longer a colonial government. This attitude was aggravated by the mismanagement, maladministration and corruption of the pioneer African politicians of the independent African states. It is sad to recall that even today the Civil Service is at the verge of collapse owing to this indifferent and *laissez-faire* attitude to public work and property.

In an attempt to stem this drift Mr.H.E. Ukpabi Asikia,the Administrator during his autocratic regime of East Central State after the collapse of the Biafran movement, tried to change the workers' attitude to government work by calling it 'Olu Obodo', meaning community work. He did not succeed in making a break- through because he was not a popular and free administrator. More so, his regime was illegitimate. And his government has no true direction or purpose. Therefore, he was not serious with his ideology of 'Olu Obodo'. He used the slogan merely as a propaganda mechanism to maintain himself in power. His 'Olu Obodo' ideology made no impact on the people. Furthermore, Asika's 'Olu Obodo' ideology was destroyed by Asika himself when he faced the critics of his bad administration with the slogan, 'Onye ube ya lulu oracha,' means that If you are oppertuned to rule enjoy yourself. 'Onye ube ya lulu oracha' was contrary to the 'Olu Obodo' ideology. Therefore, both slogans destroyed themselves.

Yet, in retrospect, Mr. Ukpabia Asika had shown what is to be done. Because the noble idea behind his 'Olu Obodo' slogan is still relevant today in modern Nigeria or wider Africa if citizens are to wriggle out of the present quagmire in which the Civil Service has been trapped.

To come down to the student level here at the Federal Government Girls' College, Lejja, Nsukka, before any officer should be adjudged as industrious ,. hardworking or not or whether he belongs to group Y or group X, two factors must be brought into focus. They are qualification and job description. To begin with before an officer is employed there should be an advertisement for the post with relevant qualifications and conditions of service, including the grade level

required and salary. This practice would enable the candidate to determine if he is qualified for the post and is willing to do the job at the conditions given. This fact is the first condition that could affect any officer's productivity, efficiency and effectiveness. If a person is employed through corruption to do the work he is not qualified for he will not do it well. Then, the onus is on the employer who recruited him without suitable qualification. For an example, if a person is employed as a messenger and he is given the work of a typist such an employee cannot perform. In the final analysis meritocracy should be enthroned in the Nigerian system to hasten political, economic and social progress.

The second condition is job description. When applicants are finally employed after the interview, the senior officer will give them a job description they are required to do according to their qualifications. It is on the basis of these two conditions that they can be adjudged to be hardworking or lazy.

There are other motivational factors in addition to knowledge, skill and job description, which could affect a person's performance in an organisation. They are orientation, culture, willingness to work, emotional factor, psychological aspect, environmental outlook, condition of health, work incentive like overtime or shifting allowances for some workers like drivers, security officers, kitchen staff and others.. All these are necessary prerequisites for hardworking and industry.

In a perfect system, these factors must be considered before an employer can judge correctly if his workers are hardworking or indolent. For an instance, in advanced countries like Western Europe,

the USA and Japan the motivational factors and incentives are consciously provided for their workers by their employers. More importantly, these workers have internal motivations. They feel as human beings that whatever work they do that they should do it well to satisfy their human dignity and personal ego. In short every great achievement in the history of the world is first stamped in the mind of the achiever. Psychologically, everybody has a feeling of being self important. To be sure, you are the most important person in your life. And I am the most important person in my life. To justify this assumption whatever work you are doing you should give off your best, even though in Africa the Civil Service system is imperfect. To be sure, the problem of the Civil Service is not work- overload but peoples' poor attitude to work. This poor attitude to work is a serious challenge to African modernization and survival.

Nevertheless, individual output or productivity differs owing to the above factors that conditioned each individual to his peculiar work attitude. More important, this difference in productivity and effectiveness could also be as a result of individual training, awareness and consciousness. This fact can be illustrated by a simple anecdote from Peter Drucker, the prophet of the principles of administration and management. According to him, "Three stone carvers were asked what they were doing. The first replied; 'I am making a living'. The second kept on hammering while he said ; 'I am doing the best job of stone-cutting in the entire county'. The third one looked up with a visionary gleam in his eyes and said ; 'I am building a nation'. You can see that these three stone carvers had different views about themselves and their jobs.

These views are crucial in understanding the differences in their efficiency, effectiveness and productivity. A simple analysis shows that the first stone carver saw his work in a narrow sense of meal ticket. While the second viewed his work in a wider sense of perfection. But the third stone carver viewed his work and himself in the widest sense of nation- building. In other words, he equalled himself to the President of a country, who is piloting the ship of the nation. In a sense he is logical because for any nation to progress well everybody must play his role. The favourite maxim of Lincoln , the former President of the United States of America is that, 'Everybody is important'. And this sentence from President Richard Nixon's inaugural address is very instructive. "Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself. No man is truly whole." This is supported by an Ashanti proverb when it says, " I called gold, but gold is mute; I called silver, but silver is mute. It is human being that matters." This is brought more sharply into focus by the 'calabash analogy' of the kingdom of Dahomey in the 18th centuryAD, now the Republic of Benin, . That analogy accorded respect and recognition to everybody both citizens and foreigners. It was this fact that made Dahomey kingdom a power to be reckoned with in the geopolitics of the West African sub region during that period.

At this juncture, it can be seen that there are many advantages in hardworking. If people are very hardworking and industrious and dedicated in their duty they will experience personal satisfaction of doing their best in a given situation. Their colleagues and co-workers should be aware of this. And if in future they are unfortunate to run into any problem in their career or office they can be justified. If that justification does not save them from the problem it will give them consolation. Time and again, their senior officers may seem to be

indifferent to their hardworking habit, while he was internally impressed with them and was planning how to help them in future by a recommendation for promotion or in-service training in their job for greater opportunity or in another career of brighter future. In case of retrenchment which is a regular feature of civil service today they can be protected from this ordeal if they are very hardworking and fortunate.

Therefore, it can be argued strongly and convincingly that a hardworking habit acquired in the civil service can be transferred into a person's home and private business with wonderful success. Conversely, the habit of laziness formed in the civil service career because people felt erroneously that it is nobody's business, can also be transferred into people's homes and private enterprises with devastating effect

Co-operation

Co-operation is working together in a group to achieve certain objectives or goals. In an industry or company the objective is to make profit. Here the objective is clearly set and made known to all the workers. Naturally, the workers should know that their career is hinged on the performance and productivity of the company. This is brought distinctly by an Igbo proverb which says, "Aka aja aja na- ebuta onu mmanu mmanu", means that hardwork brings success. . The wisdom of this proverb is self explanatory and highly instructive. Therefore, in a company co-operation, hardworking and tidiness are very important factors indeed, a watchword, because in an industrial organization all the departments are linked and chained together. Again, in a school system all the departments and classes are chained together for the

academic achievement and character formation of the students. Nobody can achieve his personal ambition or the objective of the company or any school in isolation, that is without co-operating with his colleagues. But unfortunately, some workers do not appreciate fully well this maxim until the industry collapsed. The collapse of many banks in Nigeria recently is a living testimony. And the poor performance of many schools in the WAEC and the NECO examinations is an eye-opener.

This collapse of some banks is caused by many factors including the economic situation of the country and the global economic fluctuation. But the most crucial factors are mismanagement, corruption, lack of co-operation, lack of hardworking, low commitment and frequent conflicts among the workers especially the top management. This is a fact because, while some banks collapsed other banks were economically vibrant and successful. Yet they were all operating under the same economic condition. In the civil service the situation is worse. The nation's civil service today is at the verge of collapse.

Unfortunately, the noble idea of co-operation is not given full recognition and appreciation in the civil service system in Africa. It is because of the colonial experience. Owing to colonialism and imperialism in Africa people regard civil service as white man's work that is. nobody's business or "Olu Oyibo" that is government work. Even when the African countries became independent managers of their own destiny, the idea of white man's work was very difficult to eradicate in their mind. No wonder that Mr. Ukpabi Asika tried to change the name to "Olu Obodo," that is community work in order to change the people's attitude as was mentioned earlier in this lecture.

But it was not effective because of lack of awareness. And old habits die hard, and His Excellency Asika himself was not generally seen as a serious administrator. The Russian proverb says, "That fish rots from the head". In other words, the irresponsibility of the ruler causes the irresponsibility of his subjects.

Again, the Civil Service reform of 1988 during President Babangida's regime was aimed at changing the old idea about the colonial civil service by inculcating in civil servants the principle of hardworking and co-operation in order to increase tremendously the efficiency and productivity of the workers. They borrowed heavily from the principles of industrial and business organization. The cornerstone of this innovation was target setting with professionalism. In other words, a target is set for each department in the ministry. This was to be achieved within a definite period by a certain group of people working together. If the target is achieved or not, it is noted and at the end of the year the cumulative success and failure are documented for each worker in his annual evaluation report form. This was meant to be used for considering the promotion of each worker. The logic is that in order to meet the expectation, co-operation and hardworking are very crucial. Because in any section of the civil service, even in the smallest, one must work with people. If those workers do not co-operate all of them would be affected adversely.

.Unfortunately the idea and the innovation were thrown to the wind due to the conservatism and ambivalent attitude of the top management that dislike change which would task their ability and creativity. They are more interested and comfortable in the maintenance of the routine and the statusquo which brought them

up. That is the problem of the civil service. But if the nation is to progress change is inevitable and must be viewed with open mind.

The present system of promotion based on examination interview is not an ideal because the interview is not reliable and relevant enough to measure the ability and the performance of the workers in their respective duties. Lazy workers can easily pass the interview and move up to the top while some conscientious and committed workers that performed their duties well could fail.

In 1990 Babangida's government came out again with another innovation called privatization and commercialization which shows that the former innovation of target setting has not achieved the desired result fast. Even today many of the privatized and commercialized institutions have not achieved the desired result. What are the reasons for this failure? .

In view of the above innovations and serious attempts by individuals and different governments to solve the social, economic and political problems without success or any major breakthrough, it seems that something is wrong with the society. It is ignorance and lack of social consciousness. These hinder co-operation and progress in the country. . Ignorance is the worst disease. No wonder that Socrates' first task was to arouse men from that false self-satisfaction which was by him believed to be the cause of their misery and to lead them to self-examination and self-criticism.

"Here in is the evils of ignorance, that he who is neither good nor wise is nevertheless, satisfied with himself, he has no desire for that of which he feels no want," according to Robert Rusk, in his book,, Doctrines of the Great Educator.

Therefore, ignorance and lack of awareness do not allow people to understand that no man is an island in himself in any society. In other words, a tree cannot make a forest. people must swim together or sink together. Any organization is like a train made up of many coaches. The speed of the train is determined by the speed of the slowest coach. To attain any reasonable speed by the train, all the parts must co-operate and work together.

This analogy can be applied in the school system mutatis muntandis. In the school organization the aim is to equip the students with knowledge, skills, values and desirable attitudes to enable them develop into responsible citizens. To achieve this noble idea the school is divided into so many departments, such as departments of science, arts and social science, vocational studies, personnel department, administration, accounts, security, clinic, kitchen, store and environmental departments. Each department is headed by an officer.

There must be co-operation between the workers in each department, supervised and directed by their Head. There must be departmental co-operation channeled through the Heads of the departments. There must be co-operation between the Heads of the departments and the school authority. There must be co-operation between the school authority and the Federal ministry of Education, Abuja. Finally there must be co-operation and understanding between the Federal Ministry of Education and the presidency at the top of the ladder. Whenever, there is any conflict or communication gap between any of the links the whole system will be affected.

The personnel department could be used as a case study. Each worker in the personnel department has a definite job or function such

as the messenger, the cleaner, the mail runner, the person in charge of files, and the typists with the principal personnel assistant as the head. In this department there must be a modus operandi that is a specific and definite method of procedure. If a visitor or an official from outside is looking for information the receptionist should refer him to the head of the department, even if the receptionist possesses the information. She may possess the information but may not know the implication of leaking the official secret. This will cause embarrassment to the department. On the other hand, if the cleaner is absent other workers in the department should cover her duty. In the same vein, if at a given moment tracing students files is too much work for the officer in charge, if she is crowded by many students, other workers should help her at that critical moment. This would help to avoid the incident of missing files in school which does not augur well for the department in particular and the school in general.

This is a short explanation of practical co-operation by the workers

In a department. The same analysis could be made in any of the other departments like the kitchen, Clinic, Security, or the accounts. In this type of co-operation if you discover that your co-worker has made a mistake or has a certain weakness, you should point it out to him in a polite way or remedy the situation instead of descending to dirty tactics of mudslinging, rumour mongering, gossip and reporting in order to gain favour at the expense of your colleague. This type of arm twisting tactics is against the spirit of co-operation and good neighbourliness. In the light of the above explanations everybody in every department is very important in the organization, management and realization of the broad objectives of the school.

However, conflict or gossip is bound to occur in the course of performing these duties and interactions between the workers. Conflict is defined as disagreement or quarrel or fight (violent conflict) between members of a group over certain issues. The traditional view regards conflict as harmful and inimical. But the modern view is that conflict is inevitable where there are relationships and interactions between people. What is dangerous is if the conflict could not be resolved and, therefore, hinders the progress of the organization or develops into fighting. In an advanced and organized society when conflict or gossip occurs it is brought into open, discussed objectively and settled peacefully so that co-operation should not suffer any set-back and also for the greater interest of the group and finally for the achievement of the objectives.

It can be seen that tidiness, industry and co-operation are very crucial factors for the achievement of the broad objectives of any modern organization like a school. Tidiness in your home, body and office mirrors the cleanliness of your heart.

Industry is the greatest attribute of humanity. Without it all the achievements of ancient and modern civilizations would be impossible. No wonder that a Greek historian, Hesiod said, "Both God and men are angry with a person who does not work. For in nature he is like a stingless drone that wastes the work of bees, eating without working. Work is no disgrace. It is idleness that is a disgrace".

Finally, co-operation is the greatest word of the century. In the modern world of globalization, wonderful and dangerous innovations like aeroplanes, computer technology, nuclear warheads, hydrogen bombs and poisonous gas, international co-operation should be

imperative and mandatory in order to avoid war and enjoy peacefully the fruits of the innovations or else humanity will face the danger of total annihilation or destruction. Because science and technology have made the world a global village, consequently, in any event of the “third world war” all the corners of the world will be affected adversely. Therefore, it is with the international co-operation that the security of the human race could be assured in this era of globalization, chauvinism and aggressiveness. Thus, the hope of the present generation lies in co-operation. In other words, co-operation is mandatory.

Ironically physical science has developed faster than the social sciences and the humanities. The effect is that science and technology have made unprecedented advancements and innovations which social science and social engineering like sociology, political science and history are finding it very difficult to control and direct the products of science and technology for peaceful means only, instead of using them for war.

The failure of the social sciences to cope with the innovations of science and technology was demonstrated by the First and the Second World Wars. At the beginning of the 20th C A.D. science and technology have advanced far greater than social engineering. The invention of lethal weapons like jet fighters, machine guns and atomic bombs was supposed to make war out- of- date because war was no longer a child’s play, like in the past, when bows and arrows were used as weapons of war and the casualties were very few. Instead war has become mass suicide or mass destruction. But unfortunately, human mind was too slow to realize this, because social sciences and humanities were too slow to develop. Consequently, the 20th century

man still possessed the mind of the sixteenth and seventeenth century trades men that solved all their conflicts in the battle field when war was just like a game. The result of the First and Second World War was catastrophic. That has demonstrated that war is no longer fashionable. But it seems that the world has not learnt the lesson of history. The fault is not with history but with men and women..

In our own small world of lejja, Nsukka, lack of co-operation may not lead to world destruction but it may lead to other undesirable ends like gossips, intrigues, rumour mongering, seeking of unnecessary notice so as to protect yourself and by so doing you may step on other person's feet. And in the process you may destroy yourself by trying to destroy others.

Therefore, it is logical to conclude this explanation with the famous and instructive words of the former America President, Richard Nixon in his fare well speech to the staff of his administration when he left the Presidency on August 9th 1974 after his resignation because of the Watergate scandal, "Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty. Always remember others may hate you. Those who hate you do not win, unless you hate them. And then you destroy yourself".

In conclusion, tidiness, industry and co-operation are highly essential for the achievement of the objectives of the civil service system and by implication of the school system. To be sure, the problem of the civil service is not work- overload but people's poor attitude to work. This is aggravated by the inability or unwillingness on the part of the administrators to reform the system by embarking on innovations. The environment is dynamic. Therefore, the Civil service

which is operating in a dynamic environment must also be dynamic in order to survive. If favourable working environment is created, and there is a clear division of work, according to ability and specialization and workers are motivated by promotion, incentives and justice and lastly if meritocracy is enthroned, then the goals of the civil service would be greatly realized. By the same logic, workers in their turn must be forthcoming. They must be willing and ready to take challenges and make conscious efforts for the improvement and sustenance of the Civil service system for the survival of the nation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Politics can be defined as the art of government. Government is the highest authority in any country that controls decision and policy-making. Government is made up of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. In some countries there is a separation of powers between the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. But in other countries there is no rigid separation. It is the constitution of each country that defines the nature and form of its government, such as monarchism, aristocracy, parliamentary democracy, Presidential democracy, democratic socialism or communism e.t.c. It is also the constitution that defines the powers and functions of the political office holders or government officials.

There are two types of Constitution, namely written and unwritten. Whichever form, the important fact is that the constitution of any country is influenced by the traditions, historical development and the intelligence and understanding of the people. It is the embodiment of these traditions, customs, religion, history and intelligence and the degree of the enlightenment of a country that is expressed in her constitution that could determine the role of women in the politics or government of a country.

In the light of the above explanations, women were secluded from some public affairs in the past by their sex, tradition and custom. By nature women are the weaker sex. Nature also makes women to bear the burden of pregnancy and child-bearing for many years. Because of this fact it was assumed that women were not biologically suited to play the rigorous game of politics. Even in ancient Greece which was the main spring of many political philosophies, politics was regarded as an exclusive domain of men. This was brought out clearly by Aristotle when he said that man is a political animal.

Again by tradition and custom women were relegated to the background. They were not allowed to take active part in public life. Every religion of all types had no place for women. Islam does not encourage the

appearance of women in the mosque or in public affairs. Christianity does not encourage women to enter into priesthood where they could rise to bishopric or papacy. In the chequered history of Islam and Christianity there is no woman al Mumunini or a woman Pope. Even African traditional religion does not encourage women to become chief priests. They were prevented entering the shrines so that they could not understand the secrecy of the oracle and the spirit world.

These were limiting factors. To play politics well and effectively, physical fitness and exposure are necessary prerequisites. That was the situation in the past. Nobody challenged the system.

Even in certain societies not all men took active part in the government either because of lack of interest or ability or man-made barrier. For example, in some societies due to stratification into the upper class, the middle class, the lower class, and the serfs, the role of politics was assigned to the upper class made up of the monarchy and the nobility.

But in the past when women were prevented by tradition and other factors from participation in politics, there was an exception to the rule. In Kanem Bornu Empire (14th -18th) AD the queen mother, the senior sisters of the Mai (king) played important functions in the politics of the empire. They influenced important decisions. They could even punish the king who did not yield to their wishes. Here women wielded great political power. And in Zaria in the 16th AD queen Amina was the greatest ruler. She extended Zaria to its greatest size. She was a warrior who preferred warfare to marriage. Again in Czarist Russia before the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 women were given the highest rank in politics. Queen Catherine the 11 of Russia was one of the greatest Czars. Marie Theresa of Prussia in Germany and Queen Victoria 1 of Great Britain are some examples of great women in the past, who were at the centre of the political stage in their countries.

Nevertheless, those women were exceptions rather than the rule. The majority of womanhood all over the world was in political stupor or background. But in modern society the situation had changed radically.

Modern women are no longer contented to play second fiddle not only in politics but also in every field of human endeavours. There are many women engineers, lawyers, doctors, professors, scientists and pilots. And in some professions like teaching women are driving men out. More importantly, we have women head of states like Gold Mayor of Israel, Queen Aquinos of Philippines, and Dame Margret Thatcher of Great Britain.

There are two major differences between women in politics in the past and in the modern age. The number of women in the past was very few and negligible, while nowadays many women are participating in political activities at various levels in their countries. In Nigeria we have many women commissioners, ministers. The country has not yet produced woman governor or head of state but many women must be aiming at those positions.

Secondly, in the past the few women who participated in politics were forced to do so by tradition. They were from the royal families with the system of hereditary monarchy; where there was no male heir to ascend the throne a woman from the royal family would be forced to occupy the throne to avoid the extinction of the dynasty.

But the lesson from this is that those women were very effective and efficient in the art of politics contrary to the general belief that politics is an exclusive domain for men. Nowadays that idea is an anachronism. Political power is open to both men and women of talent and inclination. This has led to mass participation in politics by modern women. This is tantamount to a revolution. What were the causes of this revolution that had brought modern women into the centre of the political stage in their countries? Many reasons are responsible for this. The major cause is the development of western education.

Mass education had destroyed ignorance, certain traditions and had increased the rate of information flow, communication technology and understanding of human affairs. This means that tradition which assigned certain roles either to men or women is challenged by new knowledge, new idea and new information. Therefore, tradition is no longer a hindrance to women participation

in the drama of politics. It can be seen that not only that education had liberated women; it had also equipped them with new skills and sharpened their intelligence and understanding. This made them to participate meaningfully in the political life of their countries. Education had also changed men's attitude to women. The feeling of superiority and masculinity over women has been effectively challenged by female performance and excellence in schools and universities in comparison to their male counterparts.

The second factor that had brought modern women into the glamour of politics was the French Revolution of 1789. The French revolution was the greatest thing that happened in history. It attacked the existing political institutions that were outdated and inadequate. It destroyed the system of hereditary monarchy and rigid stratification of society and replaced them with constitutionalism and social mobility. The effect was that monarchism gave way to constitutionalism, liberalism, democracy, socialism and communism. All these types of political changes gave rise to many political innovations and increased the participation of more men and women in the politics of their countries. The influence of the French Revolution was not only in France. It influenced the political development of many countries. It influenced the Bolshevik revolution that brought communism in Russia in 1917. From Europe and America the ideas spread to other parts of the world.

The third factor that increased the participation of women in politics was the industrial revolution. Before the Industrial revolution agriculture was the main basis of the economy of every country. In the agricultural economy the functions of men and women were rigidly defined. Women were more burdened and involved in the agricultural production. This was aggravated by the extra-burden of pregnancy and child-bearing. The effect was that women had no leisure time for political activities. But the Industrial revolution had led to the invention of machines which could do the work formerly done by hand. With the introduction of machinery human beings entered the Iron Age which was characterized by division of labour, specialization, mass production of goods, increased standard of living and increased leisure. More men and women were liberated from the

burden of manual labour and consequently, they had more time to devote to the politics of their countries.

The last but not the least factor that brought women into politics was the First (1914-1918) and the Second world wars (1939-1945). During the two wars the German war machine was formidable. Germany after defeating France consequently mobilized all her forces in preparation for the invasion of Great Britain. Many important cities in Britain were harassed by the German threat of invasion. For then the German army and navy threatened to cross the British channel for the final humiliation of Britain at home. Under such excruciating situation all British efforts were geared towards the defense of the motherland against German aggression and invasion. During the two wars when Britain was under fire women in Britain played very important and heroic roles in defense of their motherland.

Therefore, after those wars women were given more recognition in public life. This led to political reforms. Formerly women were not allowed to take part in election or to stand for election. But after the two wars the situation changed. The idea of women participation in election in Britain spread to other countries. The result was that taking part in election or being elected into government heightened the political consciousness of women all over the world. More importantly it disproved convincingly the erroneous impression that politics is an exclusive domain of men because the few women who had the courage and ambition to take part in politics showed much intelligence, political genius and understanding.

In the light of the above explanations, it can be seen that participation of women in politics had undergone many stages culminating in greater participation and more agitation for women empowerment, political awareness today. The reasons for the progress and improvement were mass education, revolution, war and enlightenment. Moreover, women had demonstrated great political ability whenever they were given the opportunity. This political ability is very critical in bringing and sustaining more women in the political arena because politics is the art of the possible. Politicians are judged by their success. Failure has no alibi. Therefore, any woman who wants to play politics must be effective

and productive. This fact is the secret of success in politics. It is also its irony too because power is elusive and slippery.

Notwithstanding, many women are not interested in playing politics even if a golden opportunity is offered to them. This is not strange. It is natural. Even majority of men are not interested in the African brand of politics characterized by assassination and kidnapping of political opponents. Only the diehards plunge into politics of do or die. To be sure, many African politicians believe strongly and practice “do or die” politics. The only difference is that they do not pronounce it openly, like the soldier politician. This has greatly vitiated African politics and has contributed to our political instability with its consequent evil of economic and social backwardness. Many eligible voters do not take part in election because of fear of intimidation, violence and thuggery.

If all the general elections in Nigeria since independence are critically analyzed, the outcome will reveal graphically that the percentage of people who actually voted in each election is not up to 30% of the population of eligible voters because of one reason or the other. It means that Nigeria is operating the rule of minority. It also means that the nation has been unconsciously electing bad governments by their reluctance to vote. This is supported by Khuswant Singh when he said, “Bad politicians are elected by good citizens who do not vote”. This is aggravated by inefficient and incompetent Independent Election Commission[INEC] through its mismanagement of the election processes by act of omission or commission. Therefore, Nigerian democracy appears phoney. Nevertheless, low participation of the voters does not affect the result of the elections. For example, if only one thousand electorates participated in any election the candidate that wins the majority of the votes is always the winner.

With time more women will appear at the political arena. So far the few who have the courage, ambition and audacity to enter into politics have shown much promise, hope, and political intelligence. Time and again, participation of more women would be hastened by the constant agitation for women empowerment which is becoming an irresistible force.

CHAPTER NINE

LIFE IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COLLEGES IN NIGERIA.

It is very difficult to define life. There are many definitions as there are many people. The existing literatures, dictionaries and encyclopedia cannot agree on a definite definition of life. To me life is a mystery and there is a mystery in every individual.

The ancient Greek's view of life was that of happiness. All their efforts were geared to the attainment of happiness both individual happiness and happiness of the society. Their quest for happiness and search for the causes of happiness had created the Ancient Greek civilization that had produced great philosophers, like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and great poets and play Wrights, like Aristophanes and others. The Greek philosophers in their quest for happy life had given the world many ideas, systems of government, like plutocracy, Aristocracy, Democracy and primitive socialism, while the famous Greek playwrights had influenced the morals and culture of both ancient and modern society with their plays.

The philosophers believed that any system of government should maintain justice. Therefore, life of happiness is life of justice. In order words where there is justice opportunities for happiness would be increased and vice versa.

Then what is justice? To answer this question we must go back to the ancient Greek philosophers. Telmacus defined justice as the will of the stronger, while Aristotle concluded that to maintain justice, equals should be treated equally and unequals should be treated unequally. But Plato in his book entitled "The Republic" grouped the society into

three- the rulers, the ruled and the army. Each of these groups had certain roles to play in the society and there would be justice if each group plays its role well without interfering with the functions and powers of others. But Bertrand Russell a great social critics of our modern time, who had written so many books like “The Principles of Social Reconstruction, Why I am not a Christian, The conquest of happiness, Power etc, had different ideas of happiness. In one of his books –The conquest of happiness, he gave four variables that contribute to human happiness. They are good health, wealth, education and children. He is a modern man and many of us who assume to be modern will agree with him.

There is one important element which is missing and that is attitude. Peoples’ attitude to life can explain why some people who are healthy are happy and while others who are also healthy are not happy. The same thing is applicable to wealth, education and children. Therefore as much as the above factors are responsible for human happiness, individual attitude to life matters as much, if not most of all. I will elaborate more on the importance of attitude later in this lecture.

I want to take the above background as point of departure. Life in the federal government colleges is influenced by many factors.

- I. The geographical location of the schools. There are two different locations of the federal government colleges. Some are located in big cities like Lagos, Kano, Abuja, and Enugu etc. While others are located in interior villages like Ogulawo, Lejja etc. Therefore, life of those in the village will be different from that of those in big cities *mutatis mutandis*.
- II. One’s view of the teaching profession. Those who have positive view of the profession would settle down quickly and work

towards their professional improvement. While those who have negative view of the profession (and may have negative view) would find it difficult to settle because they regard teaching as stepping stone to more lucrative professions.

Yet at the end many do not step out. They will be preparing to step away till the end of their career. The implication is that they would fail to improve their professional competence in order to heighten the quality of character and education of their students. Therefore your attitude to your work no matter the type of work you are doing at any time and in any place and your attitude to people no matter the type of people matters most.

R.S. Peters in his book- Ethics and Education, grouped educated people into two. Those he regards as educated are those who have favourable attitude to life, to people and to their work. The second group he regards as knowledgeable are those who, though, are highly trained in their skills or highly learned in their disciplines but the knowledge they have acquired has not much impact in their attitude to life, altitude to people and their work. This is supported by Aristotle when he said that virtue is knowledge.

This can be illustrated with a concrete example. There were three stone cutters in the book –The practice of management by Peter Drucker, one of the greatest theorists of management and administration, who were asked what they thought about their work. The first stone cutter answered that he was cutting stone to earn his living. The second said that he was doing the best work of the stone cutting in the world. The third replied that he was building a cathedral. It can be deduced from the answers given by

them that they had different ideas and attitudes to their work. The same thing is applicable to any profession or group of people doing the same thing. Therefore there are different stone cutters in teaching profession.

In the federal government colleges you meet people of different characters and attitudes to their work. It can be argued that no matter what the man's education and experience for management of school, what will be decisive above all, in the future even more than in the past, is neither skill nor education, it is integrity of character. It requires that we assume responsibility for the public good, that we subordinate our actions to an ethical standard of conduct and that we restrain our self interest and our authority and naked power, wherever their exercise would infringe upon the common weal and upon the freedom of the individual.

- III. Job satisfaction: The degree of job satisfaction would influence life in the federal government colleges. There are many factors that lead to job satisfaction such as salary, staff welfare, position one occupies. Example, life of the principal will never be the same with the life of the classroom teacher or a messenger. Though all of them are operating in the federal government colleges. Another important factor that causes job satisfaction is the efficiency and effectiveness of the workers or officers. You are happy if you are competent in your work. In the federal government colleges the demand for competency and productivity is very high. If you organize yourself well, prepare your lessons well, do not dodge lessons, impress your students.

You will be efficient, effective and happy. This will highly improve the quality of life you live in the organization.

- IV. Altitude to life: One's altitude to life and habit is an important factor that could influence life in the federal government colleges. Even though, you have negative view of the profession and you have no plan of making teaching your career, anything worth doing at all is worth doing well. Therefore, it is advisable to face your work and life squarely, while you are in the service instead of being a drop out inside. There is also the likelihood that if you formed a negative altitude to your work and life in the school because you will soon quit, it will become your habit and part and parcel of you and you will carry it to your life career because habit is a second nature. This will be detrimental to your success and happiness in future
- V. Job description: In the federal government colleges one's job is well defined according to one's qualification so that one should know his/ her duty and responsibility. This would help one to determine ones success or failure.
- VI. Extra curriculum activities: This is another important factor that determines life in the federal government colleges. Some of the extra curriculum activities are;
 - Games and sports: Games and sports are very important in the federal government colleges. In some schools games are of everyday occurrence. And where facilities are available and in mixed schools different games like soccer, netball, volleyball, hockey, lawn tennis, and table tennis e.t.c. are organized in such a way that every student and some teachers who have the skill and are interested in

certain games are fully engaged during time for games. Where there are no facilities some of them can be improvised depending on the dynamism of the school concerned. Inter house sports competition every year and inter collegiate competition every two years are important features of the federal government colleges. In some colleges first term is used for sports competition while second and third terms are devoted for games.

- Students clubs and societies: students clubs and societies with masters as their patrons also enrich the life in the federal government colleges. Such clubs and societies organize meetings, debates, drama, excursions and lectures. These activities help to cushion intellectual tension and stress that is the dominant feature of most secondary schools.

VII. Staff club and staff welfare services: In some schools staff clubs and canteen are well organized especially where majority of the teachers are not living in the compound. This helps them to be more active throughout working hours without much exhaustion. Staff clubs also provide pleasant sports for the staff in the evening where indoor games, magazines and newspapers and soft drinks have their additional attraction and glamour. In some federal government colleges nursery and primary schools are established for the children of the staff, bearing in mind the necessity of good education. Where this is not possible vehicles are provided to transport the staff children to schools in the town. This is essential because it will be an irony, if those whose profession is devoted to the education of others allowed their

children by act of omission or commission to wallow in ignorance. More importantly where these facilities are not provided the staff will be compelled to carry their children to the schools in the town in the morning before going to work. And in the afternoon they will leave their work to bring them back. This will interrupt their work and adversely affect their productivity.

- VIII. Relationship between the workers: In the federal government colleges relationship between the workers is most cordial in comparison with other organizations. This does not mean absence of conflict. There may be conflict of ideas and opinions because in any human organization conflict is inevitable. Its effect may be positive or negative depending on the personalities concerned and how the differences are resolved.
- IX. The Principals' relationship with their staff. This is the last but not the least factor in shaping the life in the federal government colleges. Principals as the heads of the schools, play pivotal roles in determining the school climate. Principals are in control of power. Some principals are autocratic, while others are democratic in their style of leadership. Some are highly interested in the progress of their staff. Any principal who wants to diminish conflict and stress in his career should not hinder the professional growth and development of his staff. Commenting on the school programme, Esbree and Reuther wrote that "A sound personal programme will include the selection and appointment of gifted individuals, establishment of comprehensive programme of personal policies, the provision for stimulating and revising policies co-operatively, a clear definition of functions, a continuous programme of personal policies, the provision for

stimulating and revising policies cooperatively, a continuous programme of in service education for all employees and attention to moral building through establishment of favourable working conditions and provision of wise leadership.”

This was supported by the Anambra State School Management Board, commenting on the causes of indiscipline in the schools noted among other things that, The Principal’s failure to establish contact with his staff, both at the official and social level, for the purpose of mutual understanding, his failure to recognize and appreciate their problems and his lack of interest in their welfare, for example, when Principal conceals circular letters dealing with matters affecting the welfare of the staff, is a major cause of indiscipline in our schools.” ASSMB 1974.

In conclusion, the tone of the school is determined greatly by the Principal’s ability to create a favourable psychological and sociological environment in his school. No wonder why Davide Maclelland in his book, entitled, *The Achieving Society*, maintained that, “Economic growth is not only determined by political and economic factors, but psychological and sociological factors are major variables affecting economic growth. This is recognized by Japan where famism is the main method of their industrial organization.

