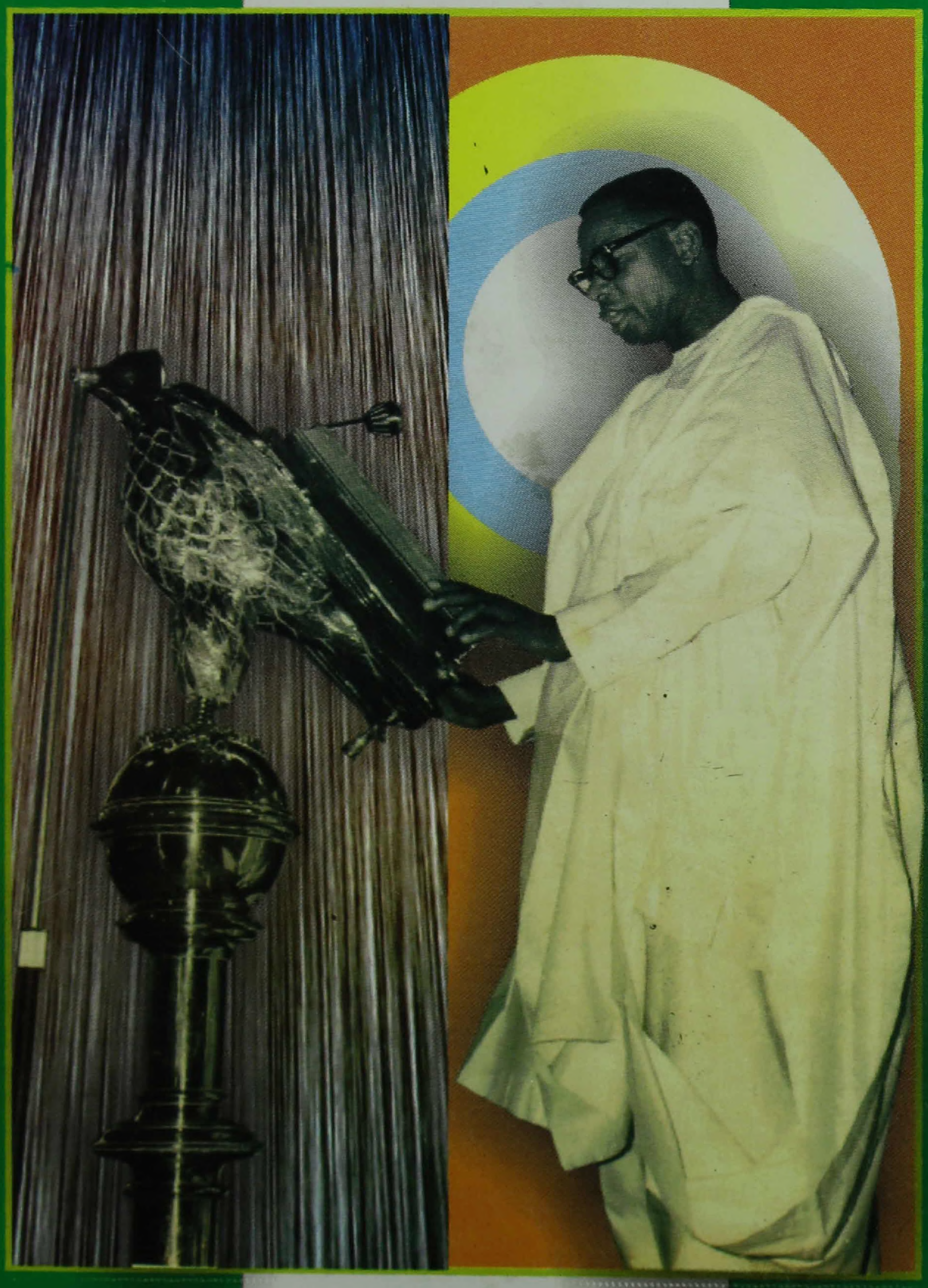
THE VOICE OF FREEDOM

(SELECTED PRE AND POST INDEPENDENCE SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES FOR AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE 1940 - 1984)



A. A. NWAFOR ORIZU

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(Selected Pre and Post Independence Speeches and Addresses for African Independence 1940 – 1984)

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PREFACE

The Voice of Freedom contains thirty selected speeches of the Rt. Hon. Dr. Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu. These cover a period of 44 years, from 1940 to 1984. In it, the man Nwafor Orizu manifests himself as a dramatic and melodious voice who at the same time played the role of a prophet and a fearless advocate of freedom for whom no price was too great to pay for the emancipation of sprawling Africa whose citizens groaned under the merciless weight of colonial imperialism, and whose resources were freely exploited as a matter of course by foreign invaders. The peering eyes and menacing presence of European imperialists could not stop him from singing the song of freedom. At only 26 years of age, he had no illusions on what lay ahead of the path he had chosen to tread. He concluded in "I Have One Thing to Give" page 2 that he was prepared to pay the supreme sacrifice for what he preached. He saw no option to the continued march to freedom. This resolve was encapsulated in "Toward Freedom We March" page 6.

The speeches are not arranged in the strict chronological order of their rendition. Rather, they have been arranged in a way that would make for a smooth flow of thought, the common thread that links all the speeches being freedom; freedom of the individual, freedom of groups of individuals, freedom of Nigeria, freedom of Africa and the attainment of worldwide collective security.

Nwafor Orizu, the author of the philosophy "Horizontal Education" has no apologies for the frequency with which he spoke on Education. To him Education holds the key to the freedom he advocates, but it had to be the right type of Education; – Horizontal not Perpendicular. This will ensure that the mind is not only literally liberated, but also in a way that makes man a real person. He will be inventive, innovative, adaptable, creative – able to stand on his own. Orizu's attempt at helping to educate Africans was scandalously countered by the imperialistic forces and their African collaborators in and outside Nigeria to whom he was a threat. But Nwafor Orizu

could not be stopped from giving his version of his American Council on African Education (ACAE) through which he was to achieve a massive education of Africans in America for synthetic application in Africa. For this he suffered courageously. The story is told in "The Nigeria We Must Change" page 246. After 4 agonizing years of establishing the ACAE in Nigeria 1945 – 1949, victory was eventually won when the British Government in Nigeria stated in a publication "that it was considering offering scholarships to Nigerians to study in the United States, and that financial help might be extended to some students who might not have sufficient financial aid ...". That was a moment of victory for one who had been villified for his efforts to get youths of Nigeria and Africa trained in the United States. He greeted this development with "Thank God I Have Done My Duty" page 240.

The Voice of Freedom is an unusual book by an unusual man at an unusual period between freedom and slavery on the African continent. There was no other like that. As was predicted in 1937, that Africa needed Nwafor Orizu, this book is a fulfilment of that prophecy of 1937 – "To my friend Christopher Orizu, do not loose hope, Africa needs you."

Prof. G. E. K. Ofomata
Geography Department
University of Nigeria
Nsukka.

PROLOGUE

OWE NO ONE

Owe no one the duty of service
God has duty to serve you daily
So you are bound to serve your neighbour
Not for a second, minute or hour
But for all time your exist
Not for reward or what you gain
But to answer the natural call
Life is best when service consumes.

II

Those you serve, may not respond
Most of them are blind to goooness
Pity them all without regret
Just as God supplies you life
Without asking for thanks or gift
Treat your neighbour as if a God
Silently giving, silently serving
Owe no one the duty of service.

III

Difficult it is to keep this rule
To serve others and forget ourselves
But this is not the meaning of service
Serving others is self protection
Service to others enriches our lives
Selfish men live in pains
Selfless men are forever happy
Owe no one the duty of service.

By Nwafor Orizu
March 20, 1991.

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We Mourn for Late President Because We Fear Our Own Imperfections.

1

This opening address in this series immediately singles Dr Nwafor Orizu out from the level of the ordinary into the class of great crusaders of history. Like a God sent Messiah he questioned himself very early in life, "What shall I give to man?" He then weighed the values of some of the things we cherish most and chose instead to give man one thing – his life, at the altar of service. What a supreme option. Having been so motivated from time, there is no wonder then why Orizu's chronicle is heavily punctuated with sacrifice in service to humanity at international, national and domestic levels.

– Editor

I HAVE ONE THING TO GIVE

(An Address to Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Brooklyn Branch. June 1940)

Through the vicissitudes of my twenty six years of life, I have been searching with eagerness what I can give to my fellow man. My twenty five years in my father land Nigeria, West Africa were the days of my great adventure to find me the best way to give man what I thought I had. I tried to give man my smile so that he will feel happy, but I found that all-sugar, man will soon be sucked down. I gave man my frowning, I found that all -vinegar, man will soon be spat out. I started to give my apology to man, then I learnt that man is too busy and pre-occupied to listen to or to justify my apologies. Then I changed my mind. I gave man praise, but sorry, I saw him puffed up with all the vanities and emptiness that I despised from the bottom of my heart, and I stopped praising. I gave man all blames and I found him out of stability, he became disorganised and repugnant and I stopped blaming.

What shall I give to man? Money? Honour? Long life? Power? To start with, I realised that I do not have Money, Honour, Long life or Power in my possession enough to give man. But imagine that they are within my reach, Money cannot make out of man an ideal creature for equitable life. Honour deceives man the most because it removes him from the realm of reality into the temple of illusion of being a super-human. Long life does no more to him than short life, when it is considered that age under whatever name it is baptized, is a reverse of those flowery days of youth. Happier is he who dies in the midst of life. What of power? Power is not a good gift to man because it is more dangerous than intoxicating elements.

The intoxicating elements of power can lead man to not only his own destruction, but to the destruction of others. And after a

series of trials and failures in my attempt to give man what I had, I told myself through painful experience that the obstacle lying in the way of a willing youth to please man is insurmountable.

In the midst of my dreams: the dream of man and how he should be served, the dream of the life that might be lived, the dream of man's humanity to man, the dream of limitations and handicaps of the well-intended, I resolved that I yet have one thing to give.

Yes I have one thing to give, my life to give. I have my life to sacrifice on the altar of service for the good of man. I have my life to give because whenever life is given, there is no space in the mind of one who gives the life to consider how his smile is taken or how his blame is interpreted. He only gives life and turns back facing the world with a programme containing challenge or appraisal.

The canons of world opinion will be set in front of him and behind him, shooting the spirit that is set to make man happy. But the life is already given, and come what may, the price must be paid with vigilance and satisfaction.

Under the canopy of this inspiration, I left the shores of Nigeria, my home in the quest of the "Golden fleece". The golden fleece that I am looking for is the best way to serve man, particularly the African, through my contact with the Western World.

The harvest is plentiful but there are no people to gather it. Call for service in Africa is worldwide. I mean service that will convince Africa that Christianity can be lived. Today Africa realises that Christianity can be preached, but no one has convinced her that Christianity can be lived. In fact, she cannot be convinced because the preachers of Christianity refused to give life but sword.

And I have my life to give. I have my life to give to the builders of the temple of Collective Security. I cannot give smile, I cannot give apology, I do not know the method of idle compromise. I shall only set down my bones and flesh to yield not to the fears and setbacks of the unknown future, but to yield my position in the higher departments of life where I shall refrain from giving anything but my life. That my life, I shall submit to the great arbiter of Heaven. To help me accept whatever deprivation that may be

imposed in the education of indigents, the humiliation that may be entertained in upholding the leadership of a nation, the marginalization that may accompany making room for the deprived. What might be wrong or right for these sufferings I can not judge God of Africa, the arbitrator is there to whom I now pray.

"God
Judge me now and enlighten my soul
Give me vision and spiritual power
To make humility my greatest companion
Leaving all my acts for Heaven to arbitrate
Surrendering my life for God to protect
Accepting blames for failure of others
Just to set progress in my land of birth"

2

Here Orizu briefly touches on the philosophy of man being in constant motion, marching forward, never backwards. "Africa and freedom for Africans" being his watchword in those days, he identified the specific goals towards which the continent was fast moving to bring her at par with other nations.

– Editor

TOWARD FREEDOM WE MARCH

(A Public Address to all Nigerian Tribal Unions in Kano, February 1946 to Mark the Inauguration of his missionary Programme of Horizontal Education for Freedom in Africa)

Life is a propeller. It moves steadily without concern for its expenditure. It creates and gives others only as much as it can expend from the wealth of its reservoir. We are helpless before the onward march of life which we possess. Our mortal power can only be our own in the measure we are willing to live and die in the service of others. Beyond this, our mortal frame is not our own for we have only a few years to live, after which we form the crust of the mother earth where our flesh and bones decompose and sink in silence.

In every age, a battalion of men are born. We call them a generation. They all start the march of life – moving independently and collectively. Some of them are born great, some of them achieve greatness, others among them direct their passage through the avenue of obscurity and insignificance. Among the great you find scientists, authors, inventors, millionaires, saviours, emancipators, reformers, and statesmen. Among the obscure you find underlings who accept life with apology and abandon, who question every principle of innovation and progress, who go about pointing out where great doers have done wrong. They are not doers so they never could do wrong and no one has time to discuss or think of them.

What makes life most interesting, however, is that whether one is great or small, creative or detractive, whether the angels of God praise one or the devil's band plays the music for the other, we are all subject to the inevitable force of onward march unto the state of everlasting good-bye to the bitterness and sweetness of life.

New Africa is a part of the forward march. We march toward freedom; freedom from want, freedom from repression, freedom from intimidation, freedom from jealousy and hypocrisy. We march toward consciousness; consciousness that we are a part of God, and that it is our sacred duty to create and give new life to ideals, give movement to the motionless, impose beauty and form to the shapeless, bring light into darkness, build mansions in place of jungles, generate bravery and courage in cowardly minds, and construct everlasting monuments for posterity.

We march from the realm of intellectual slumber into the path of scientific irritabilities; from the realm of economic servitude to the stage of economic democracy; from the valleys of political impotency to the heights of unqualified independence; from the insanities of religious and social dogmas to intelligent reflections and psychological maturity.

We march like the brave soldiers of the Ancient Benin across the red rivers of western technocracy, we march like the gallant generals of the middle-age Aros through the deserts of imperialism, we march like the unconquerable souls of the Fulanis to the Mecca of Allah – our father, demanding our right to be or no to be!

Yes, Africa must march, marching with all our iniquities and beauties, with all disunities and aggregations, with all our farmers and kings, with all our coal-miners and leaders, with all our women and children. We shall all obey the law of nature which propels life to the end that unless we create we shall degenerate, unless we march we shall vegetate.

3

The myth "African Irredentism"[1] represents on end of the two-edged divine sword with which Orizu fought for African freedom, the other being Horizontal Education. In developing this universal philosophy Orizu articulates the political and social problems of Pre-Independent Africa and how Africa can be further developed. Before this philosophy was enunciated some 56 years ago, it was as if our nationalists were waging wars without direction or proper definition. "African Irredentism" therefore, served as a guide. All Orizu's efforts thereafter were geared towards the concretization of the goals set down in this philosophy. Orizu's ideas did not apply only to Africa of yesterdays, because measuring Africa with the yardstick of the philosophy of "African Irredentism" the content is yet to be completely redeemed.

- Editor

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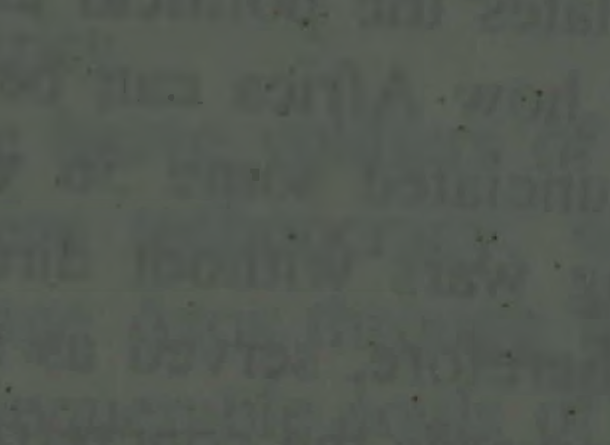
1. Orizu A. A. Nwafor. Without Bitterness. 3rd Edition. Nigeria. Horizontal Publishers, 1992, p. 306.



AFRICAN IRREDENTISM

(An Address to Business and Religious Leaders of Thought in Chicago on June 4, 1943 chairmanned by Attorney Bindley C. Cyrus)

The philosophy of irredentism can be traced to Italian soil. During the last quarter of the 19th century, a political organization termed "Italia Irredenta" sprang up in Italy. They resolved to redeem all Italian lands still under foreign rule (the Austrian, British and French). Those Italian lands were Trentino, Gors, Istria, Triester, Tessino, Nice. Corsica, and Malta. Irredentists therefore stand for any other nationalist group aiming at the emancipation of their country men subject to foreign control. I coined the phrase African Irredentism as a philosophy and ideology and a formidable myth through which all sons and daughters of Africa everywhere shall rise with courage and determination to redeem Africa from all foreign rules today and forever, at the end of this Second World War If the rest of the world wanted Fascism and Nazism then Africans must fight to be free from colonialism.

The social myth around which this new philosophy will grow and spread its branches is African Irredentism. Shall African Irredentism turn into African Expansione as Italia Irredenta turned into Italia Expansione at the beginning of the 19th Century? No. African Irredentism has a totally different objective. "It must mean the redemption of Africa from social wreckage, political servitude and economic impotency. It must also mean extricating Africa from ideological confusion, psychological immaturity, spiritual complacency and mental stagnation". We shall aim at developing a new literature to interpret African culture realistically to other peoples. We shall endeavour to understand, what forces brought about the present undesirable conditions. Some of the major causes may be listed as follows:

(1) The gradual diffusion of Western civilization and the consequent imposition of some new ways of life upon the peoples of Africa.
(2) The unpreparedness of Africans in the last few decades to accept the challenge of modern technological changes brought to them.
(3) The tendency of the European nations to take full advantage of the unpreparedness of the Africans and thereby to perpetuate the conditions which are favourable to their continued leadership and exploitation.
(4) The failure of Africans themselves to unite for common action within their respective countries. This was due to lack of established written heritage and achievement of yesterday upon which to base our resistance of cultural assimilation against outside.
(5) The absence of modern technological and commercial education which negates the possibilities for utilization and commercialization of our economic potentials and thereby abolish poverty and ignorance. These are broad general statements. There are other and secondary reasons responsible for the fate of Africa today in this year of our Lord 1943.

African Irredentism is the myth under which these conditions listed above can be eradicated. It can be done by loyalties which will express themselves in (1) Social discipline (2) Horizontal education (3) Self knowledge and (4) Free government.

For Africa to survive and contribute to human culture of a future age, this new philosophy must rediscover our own indispensable loyalties, scrutinize, refashion and cultivate them in children, youth and the aged. This may sound dogmatic but it is not. For only by doing so can our psychological immaturity be remedied and African youth be prepared for basic social invention.

As a universal philosophy, African Irredentism seeks the loyalty of the Africans in things African just as Europeans, Americans and Asiatics urge their peoples to be loyal to their own institutions. Every community recognizes that loyalty is indispensable for its survival. The Americans recognized it when they said that, "The continued existence of any society depends on the presence among

its members of common and appropriate loyalties", and that, "If these loyalties are not deep and abiding, a society is certain to lack cohesion and integrity. As they decay and disintegrate, society itself decays and disintegrates"

African Irredentism will be unattainable without a rediscovery of African loyalties in African society. All great movements in the past have been accomplished only by those who were loyal to a certain cause in life. That was true of the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, the signing of the Magna Carta, and the Indian Revolution under Gandhi. All religious movements and their eventual successes were due to the loyalties aroused in the people. People must love their cause. They must be ready to die for it. The strongest objects of loyalty have always been in the form of a myth. Any American is ready to die in order to defend his "Freedom" and "Liberty." These words are mythical, not concisely definable nor scientifically ponderable. This is why Patrick Henry shouted, "give me liberty or give me death." This is the myth in the inner being of every American. Is it not, gentlemen?

Great loyalties will make our freedom cause formidable and heroic under the banner of African Irredentism. "There will be neither vengeance nor brutality, but rather service and sacrifice. The African mind must be educated to understand that we live in "one world", where, as Pearl Buck would say, "we have to fight for principles of universal application and not just for those rights which would benefit us at the expense of others". It must be clear then that the African Irredentism which would conform with a new outlook does not include racial, national or class antagonism. It may resist anything that tends to retard the growth of a broad human spirit in the African youth, but it is not intended to fight any particular people for the sake of combat itself, or for the sake of unfounded beliefs based on traditional prejudices. In this struggle to generate the human mind for a new life in Africa, we beckon to generous minds everywhere, particularly in democratic nations. I believe that there are still living in our world everywhere men and women whose minds are limitlessly capable of generous work, whose hearts beat with sympathy at the cry of the oppressed and dejected, whose eyes

look with pity at the agony of the suffering and the forgotten. I mean those who do not mistake co-operation for paternalism. Those are the allies of the new philosophy in all its universal principles. Those are the people to understand and appreciate the need for the African freedom which is the surest way of making Africa useful to itself and to the world in general.

First, above all loyalties, the African must learn to appreciate his culture – political, social, philosophical and religious. By this, I am not suggesting a back-to-antiquity reaction. I mean that no people can understand the basis of their present behaviour without recalling their cultural background and making the most of its best, while rejecting the bad aspects of it by substituting for those better ways, ways compatible with the ever-changing social horizon. The African must be loyal to his manhood. There is something deep and unfamiliar about human personality. Once it is ill-handled, or ill-adapted the whole structure of man goes to pieces, while he moves around his daily life a ghost of the dead. When the individuals in a nation suffer from this disease of ill-directed manhood, the whole people are lost. The African therefore, must develop a feeling of adequacy, competence, capability, freedom and security in order to preserve those intangible ingredients that stabilize a wholesome manhood. He must strive to get out of life the materials that enrich the intellectual, moral and physical aspects of personality, and accept himself as a responsible and worthy member of a society of equals. He must reject all teachings, categories, and measurements that tend to falsify his individual capacity or pretend to put him in a definite quantitative relation to other human beings. He must exhaust all avenues towards a creative quest, making an endless endeavour to unfold his abilities. Through constant self discipline, the African can invoke a consistent self-respect, dignity and personal integrity to form part and parcel of his loyalty to his manhood – to social purposes – to the service of his fellow men, with malice toward none – knowing no enemies except those who oppose the universal principles of human equality and brotherhood..

Second, African Irredentism insists that the African must be loyal to his fellow Africans – their heroes and heroines. This means

that the African must be ready to accept the long-neglected principles of true leadership. It will be the function of a developed manhood to appreciate the talent, training, character and excellence of gifted individuals in African society. We have already emphasised the need for the principles of human equality which limits itself to the axiom that every man is entitled to equal opportunities for growth and for the development of his innate capacities. But that does not bring us to the conclusion that Thomas Jefferson was wrong when he said that there is in every society what he called a "natural aristocracy of virtue and talent". Every personality is unique, and some persons are better than others in different fields. There is no reason why we should suppose that all Africans are capable of being effective journalists or prominent administrators or capable mechanics. It is a part of our duty in the development of African manhood to discover the talents of individuals and direct their energy to useful purposes. The essential thing is to see that a sense of value and of dignity is manifest in all kinds of useful labour for social progress.

Third, manhood is without charm if it has no moral content. The African must develop a sense of loyalty to the idea that good has supremacy over evil. By goodness we do not mean merely the abstract aspect of the concept, but all the concrete day-to-day common good. African Irredentism is very much attracted to industrialization in Africa, but one of the cardinal inconveniences of industrial society is the propensity of the people to neglect the general welfare. The society tends to individualise everybody, and none cares for the other except in terms of contractual relations involving the giving and taking of money on a work-ratio basis. But the paradox lies in the fact that the nature of industrial society itself is such that interdependence and co-operation are more important and inevitable than they are in a self-sufficient agrarian society. African manhood should be made more attractive by the building up of personalities that are less individualistic, only moderately egotistic socially co-operative and broadly patriotic. This involves the early training of the child to appreciate what is socially good and useful and to resist the tempting but disintegrating forces of the industrial community. The original African sense of family loyalty and tribal

affinity and co-operation must not be lost in the whirlwind of aggressive competition under capitalistic regime. The competitive impulse should be encouraged so far as it promotes the spirit of the individual to discover himself, but it must not aim at cut-throat competition which ignores all social values except the amassing of wealth. When man looses all sense of "We" and thinks in terms of what "I" can get for myself, alone, the precious aspect of human personality is lost, and manhood looses its charm.

Finally, African manhood must be loyal to his duty to get an education. We may be loyal to a myth, to a common good, to our leader and all that, but unless our intelligence is trained so that we be capable of evaluating things, knowing that big things are big and small things small, our devotion may develop into a sort of bigotry or fanaticism with all their evils. The right to have an education is therefore one of the most indispensable foundation rocks of African loyalty. We have said that African Irredentism seeks to make Africa a society of free citizens, and to remain free, one must have the knowledge that will guide one's footsteps in the path of life. No point is more important in African society than this question of the right to have knowledge. It has no substitute. It is a must. Responsible people in the community have no excuse to leave African youth without education.

For an organised education to develop, other aspects of African loyalties are inseparable. The school itself has the key to all the doors opening into the realm of effective growth to true manhood. It is only in the process of learning that the teacher has the chance of developing those loyalties in the African child, before he becomes a man.

This brings up the question: "who will be the African teacher?" What kind of teacher does the African need to uphold his manhood? This is very important, since, the teacher is the fountain from which the required knowledge will flow. The method used by the teacher, his daily exemplary life, his attitude towards society and the children themselves, his firmness and the direction of his loyalties, have a great deal to reflect upon a growing child.

The teacher must be excellent himself, both as a technician and a personality. He must understand both his object and the subject. But that is not enough. He must be loyal to African culture and understand African character and mentality. He must reflect his convictions for which he should be prepared to fight. Any evidence of timidity in the presence of Sir BIG TOM or MR. AUTHORITY will disqualify him as a teacher and a moulder of African manhood, and as a reviver of our legitimate loyalties. His mind must be trained to approach problems with scientific detachment and with a creative impulse without fear, otherwise a new generation of free men will never grow in the New Africa.

The teacher must be capable of defining the intellectual basis of the African loyalties as precisely and distinctly as possible. A child growing into manhood must be made to understand the bases of his faith in life. It must be clear to him as contrasted with other ways of living, or else he will become a mere slave to a social dogma which he does not understand or be able, if left alone, to transmit to others. We must not build a dictatorship regime to instruct children distorted theories that respect no other. We do not mean to warp the mentality of the African youth in an atmosphere of hate, pride, and arrogance. We mean to train African youth to respect himself and his culture and also to appreciate others and their cultures.

African Irredentism will rest on the rock of knowledge through organized education. A knowledge of the universe and immediate physical environment is necessary, as are comparative study of cultures, world history; political, economic and social in their relation to each other and their relation to Africa. Special emphasis will be given to African history as a pre-requisite to the study of the history of other peoples. The interpretative history of European imperialism and totalitarianism and their systematic decay in a free world should form an essential part of the African school curricular. The students will be taught not to antagonize, but rather to learn the lesson of how man struggled to curb freedom – only to learn at last, that although sometimes a lie has a long start, in the end truth prevails. This may confirm their loyalties to the belief that good has supremacy

over evil and thus eliminates any tendency to African Expansione in the future.

The African lives in a great age, pregnant with human achievements. To be a citizen of the world, he has a right to know about all great minds, scientists, artists, philosophers, visionaries, and religious leaders. He has to trace the course of the struggle for freedom of thought and action; he has to understand how men have struggled and died in order that all peoples, all races, nations, and religious sects may live as brothers. He is entitled to know what is democracy, communism, fascism, socialism, nihilism, anarchism, triple demism and satyagrahism. He has a right to know what religious and educational teachers have to say and what prompted them. He can then make a contrast between all these isms and African Irredentism which is the contemporary philosophy stemming out of African character and experience. He can then feel competent to add more to African Irredentism or to subtract from it, depending on his intellectual propensities and his environmental adjustments. Such a broad approach to education carries with it the implication that individuals must be trained to be independent, purposeful, critical, attractive, and able to co-operate with others in building a new and healthy society.

But all of this education will practically be useless if the trained youth has no guarantee of work. That makes it necessary that in closing the discussion of the right to education, for us to mention that the right to work is parallel with the right to develop the intelligence. There can be no mental capacity without physical growth, and an independent manhood implies a release from anxiety over security. You can not stand by a conviction while the stomach is empty. A youth studying in school cannot quite develop free tendencies, if he has no hope that a job is his right rather than a prize for obedience to a master. The African student while in school must not be intimidated and grown into a coward - a person who cannot say or act in his own way because he might lose his job. Let me illustrate this point. When this second world war broke out, the British Government in Nigeria closed Yaba and Umuahia Colleges - the only semi-advanced government supported institutions

in Nigeria. A few of the boys from Yaba had to go to Achimota College in the Gold Coast to finish their education. While they were there, the Achimota College Authorities dismissed one of them on charges of bad conduct. One of the charges against him was that he wore his hat at an angle, and went about with a walking stick. Another was that he was once late at breakfast. The other charges, were similar. The whole of the Nigerian student body in Achimota College felt that it was an injustice to the student and decided to return to Nigeria, with the dismissed boy. The only reason why this admirable plan failed was that the British Government in Nigeria, who held all the civil service jobs in her hands, told these students that if they returned to Nigeria – their own country, she would give them no jobs. This of course is contrary to that for which African Irredentism is striving. In the first place, students must not be trained to fit into only those civil service jobs which belong to the imperialistic structure. Second, job-getting must be based on the ability of the individual and not on the whims of a dictator.

The existence of this kind of threat justifies the emphasis which we have given to the fact that African education must produce a complete personality. The gulf between intellectual and manual activity must be bridged. A child must be taught the nature of productive industry as a necessary counterpart to his intellectual development. An African child must be brought into close contact with African industries in the first place, and he must know from the beginning the role of industry in a dynamic society. Africans also must accept the challenge and build factories and develop industries to employ their own children when they are ready to assume the position of responsibility. This will enable our teachers to be bold and objective and will encourage the new generation to dispense with fears and threats of imperialistic masters.

All these points should indicate the direction of our social discipline and the programme of African education which implies self-knowledge.

None of these factors can be fully concretized without a free government – I mean a government free from imperialistic chains – a government that is fully responsible to the peoples needs. The

choice of such government lies with each country in Africa. In countries where the British have control, the policy is definitely stated that the latter aims at self government for these areas. Now it is not within the scope of this address to make conclusions for the people of Africa who are up and doing themselves and who know what they want. The contention here is rather that any society or government which would effect the African character must be a free and independent government under Africans, working in co-operation with another friendly nation or nations. Anything else is colonialism.

Now our faith in African Irredentism is clear. African Irredentism is our social goal, African loyalties are our immediate demand, African discipline is our necessary counterpart, African knowledge our imperative quest, African manhood our legitimate claim. We need a moral awakening, intellectual dynamism, industrial revolution and political freedom. For the co-ordination of all these, we need an appreciative society which can see, understand, and follow the leader of a free people but a leader with no tendencies to dictatorship.

In fear of a dictator however, the African must not be afraid of his true shepherd. He must distinguish discipline from tyranny. The discipline of free men was well stated by the American Educational Policies Commission when they said that "Discipline means the putting of loyalties and knowledge to efficient use, the ordering of life in the light of understanding and towards the attainment of purpose. It involves the subordination of the near to the remote, of the present to the future, of the lesser to the greater good. It involves the restraint of the impulses of the moment, the regulation of desire, the postponement of satisfaction, the sacrifice of immediate comforts and pleasures, the choice of the harder when the easier way is open. Discipline is never indulgent. It may be rigorously exacting, but it assumes this severe form not because there is virtue in severity, but rather because such is the condition of achievement".

I am aware that there are more than 20 Bishops from various churches, successful business men and members of the Judiciary

and the News Media in this august audience. I have also been flattered by my host, Attorney Bindley C. Cyrus, who told me that he excluded women from attending this occasion because of the seriousness of my address to this sensitive audience. My humble voice is the voice of Africa declaring the redemption of Africa from European imperialism, following the end of this second world war in which we are all engaged, and insisting that Americans of African origin reject the psychology of inferiority complex, and look outward with courage and faith toward a new day when people of all races of mankind will occupy equal places in all societies.

I have been warned by informed minds in Washington and other places, that to carry this mission to Africa, will bring me face to face with crushing opposition which may destroy my programme of education and African Irredentism and mar my character. That means that I shall pay the usual prohibitive price of integrity common to all pioneers in world history. Nothing is more paradoxical than the life of a pioneer. I consider it an illusion for a pioneer to start a project or direct his life against a bad institution, if at the first counter move by the opposing forces he proposes to abandon the fight.

I now express my gratitude and appeal to my friends – the American audience here, and through them, to all the peoples of America and your government. All I need gentlemen, is the support and encouragement of you Americans, and I promise in the spirit of a pioneer, with faith in God, that Africa of tomorrow will be redeemed as America redeemed herself in 1776. So help me God.

"It is a great thing for one to be born, but a tragedy not to know why one was born". That was why while celebrating his birthday in 1950 Orizu let his guests know why he thinks he was born. Service to man and devotion to African irredentism, were Orizu's trade mark and popular dish with which he fed every audience, always lifting the spirit of his fellow Africans to ask: "Why was I born?"

– Editor

32

MY DAYS ON EARTH

(An Address to Friends and Well Wishers at His Birthday Party on July 17, 1950)

Cicero once said: "No power is strong enough to be lasting if it labours under the weight of fear." This quotation explains the philosophy upon which I was born. I was born without fear, and without knowledge of danger on our way to spread truth and good-will on earth. My mission to Africa is definite, and the God of the universe who commissioned me is for ever abiding.

Ever since my mortal frame saw the light of the day from my mother's womb, ever since I became conscious of my existence on this fast-moving world, I became conscious of my reason for being made. The angels of God have a way of telephoning the spirit of men upon whose shoulders they have rested the mantle of service.

God has given me certain laws to govern my days on earth. The first one is that: "The greatest and perhaps the only perfect gift we can give to the world, is not only the skill of our hands, the cunning of our brains, but our dreams, our finest resolutions and most solemn promise to ourselves." This law teaches me to reject the strictly human way of thinking of myself alone all the time. By trying to abide by it, I am able to resist some of the temptations of self aggrandizement, and constant self-defence in the midst of my active service to man. Very difficult this is. Quite often I find myself faltering on the way side of human emotion. I have not always succeeded to quench the flames of ambition's forest. I have not always succeeded to keep the rules of the higher order of God. In my human way however, I do understand that *service* and *love* are a part of my duties to man and my obligation to God. Failure to keep this rule, does not make me afraid or despondent to a point where I give up the fight.

The second law is that, "The richest soil, if uncultivated, produces the rankest weed." This law simply means that no matter how sound our intelligence or how solid our physical strength, they cannot be of use to the service of our fellow man unless they have gone through the acid test. Gold is earth until it is unearthened and refined. Man is a beast until he is tamed. Water is dirty until it is purified. A nation is a jungle of men, beasts, and trees, until it is disciplined, organized and cultivated.

It was owing to this law that I first gave myself away to the inclemency of the world's intellectual weather in America for ten years. There I went through the furnace, walked in the company of armed bandits and unguarded lions. I slept with both the angels and the devils among men. The fire of human indifference and inhumanities blazed before me and under the waves and jolts of circumstances, my instinct for mental and physical gymnastics was kindled, and I found me a man!

I looked upon Africa, I discovered that, it was the richest but an uncultivated soil and therefore produced the rankest weeds. I resolved to join the band of prophets and apostles of the new Africa, so that it would produce the best things from men and women, for the happiness of man on earth. To do this I must cast away all things that make men afraid. No great work is done under fear. No great nation is built on the background of fear. Africa must be built on the solid rock of faith and hope, courage and confidence. This faith becomes a part of my life.

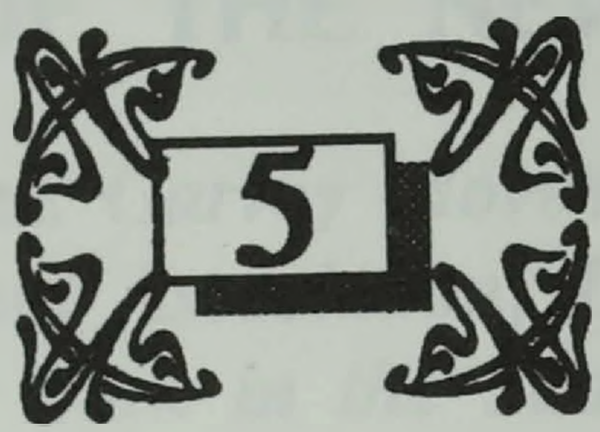
Another law that came to me was that: "Be a life long or short, its completeness depends on what it was lived for." Here again, I learned from the very beginning that life is nowhere if it is not an object of some mission on earth. For this reason, I have chosen to be not a mere consumer of foods, not a mere drinker of wines: Oh no! I shall not be a mere companion for women, a mere object of temperamental admirations, I cannot live and enjoy the things of life for the sake of living and enjoying. I shall live the life of a torch-bearer whose sole function is to enlighten the dark place; of a prophet who awakens the slumbering spirit of his age;

of a servant who washes the feet of his friends to remove the psychological mud that retards the pedestrians of life.

Since the completeness of my life lies not in how long I lived but for what I lived, I have chosen to live for Africa, the darling mother of a huge continent. The object of my devotion is African irredentism. And what is African irredentism?

It is, "the redemption of Africa from social wreckage, political servitude, and economic impotency; it must also mean extricating Africa from ideological confusion, psychological immaturity, spiritual complacency and mental stagnation." For these I shall spend my days on earth.

This philosophy is my inspiration when I ask myself why I was born and when I enjoy myself with you today – my birthday.



The struggle that led to the emancipation of African states which is being enjoyed today was not an easy one. It took many forms and shapes which may not be easily understood by people not born by mid twentieth century. Orizu was among the very few of his contemporaries that never rested from mapping out strategies to break the colonial stranglehold on Africa, including speech making. This is one of Orizu's persistent appeals to an American audience to come to Africa's rescue. During this period, over 90% of the present day leaders in Nigeria and Africa were either unborn or at their infant stages, when this foundation was being laid worldwide.

– Editor

APPEAL OF THE NEW AFRICA

(An Address to Marcus Garvey Movement – The Universal Negro İmprovement Association, During a Rally in Brooklyn New York in the Summer of 1941)

My friends, the people of America, I would like to thank you all for your willingness to gather here tonight for the sake of my people the Africans. It is a pleasure to me because among all the nations of the earth today, Africa is the least understood. It is an inspiration to me because it affords me an opportunity to express my opinion in terms of the thinking of Africa today. Unlike the Africans of immediate yesterday, the new Africans of today have resolved to appear on the limelight of the major events of the world. We stand to labour and to die for our Africa. We rise to make Africa be understood among the nations of free men and women. We undertake to represent the true Africa. And we determine to re-educate the youths of the New Africa.

The causes of men's actions are varied as they are innumerable. Some men are motivated by the love for power or the desire for preeminence and glory, some are moved by quest for economic oligarchy, others are forced by self preservation into some tasks that otherwise would have received no attention at all. Still some men act in answer to animalistic tendency of destruction and aggression which may give expression to what we like to call "jealousy" and "envy". Among this class of men are those who can sell their own country and humanity for a mess of portage. For example, here in our times, Sir Neville Chamberlain, better Chancellor of Exchequer than a minister, in order to perpetuate the some-thing-for nothing psychology as well as political and economic oligarchy of England, sacrificed the independence of Czechoslovakia at Munich, to find himself not only a disappointment to his very country, but the whole world of free men and women.

But this is not the idea of the leaders of the New Africa to which we are dedicated. Our new African's readiness to talk our mind today, cannot be associated with any desire to stimulate Africa at her own hazard or at the hazard of any other country. We are not prompted by any personal aggrandizement. There is not an atom of vested interests in our move. Ours is not a creation of bitterness; it is not a foundation of the mad edifice of occult nationalism; it is not a pretension to overthrowing any other government; it is not a desire to impose our own policy or culture upon others without their consent; we are not aiming at policing the world at the expense of freedom of man. If Africa is interested in the affairs of others, it is only in so far as that affair affects the collective security of the world in general. Beyond this boundary, the New Africans are deeply and seriously concerned with the affairs of Africa.

Africa found itself at the grip of economic pressure and European savage diplomacy. The immensity of false treaties and pacts are overwhelmingly beyond bearing. The spirit of Christianity which the Africans admired in early visitors to Africa has been completely betrayed. The African faith in Christianity as a way of life is inevitably a thing of the past.

That is why Africa thinks that something must be done to keep the Africans aware of the complexities of the modern civilization which is based on force of arms and bombs – a shameful age! Yes, something must be done to canalize the energy of man and nature in Africa. Something must be done to return happiness and intelligent life to the sons and daughters of the Nile, Niger and Congo. Something must be done to make Africa enjoy the relics of the brave deeds of her ancestors. Time is in hand for New Africa to:

Gather the deposit of her brave sons of old.
Appreciate the benefits of all her limitless mineral resources.
Utilize the powers of those mighty Nile, Niger and Congo,
Welcome the improvements that must. follow in material civilization.

In order to accomplish this, the new African philosophy which is working in my mind, must be analysed, synthesized and utilized.

By African philosophy is meant a way of life which puts the personality of man in the forefront of all other considerations, and insists that *a New African must vindicate such personality that can reflect active intelligence and dynamic thought*. In order to realize this, there must come from within Africa a group of lively dramatists on the theatre of philosophy, modern science, and technology. My African philosophy is a way of life in which there is no room for illusions and anachronisms. Those days are gone when Africa turned her face from painful truths and penetrating realities of our practical world. Today, Africa has learned the lesson of responsibility, and having resolved to bear the cross that precedes the crown, is stepping into the arena with calm and confidence. My African philosophy is a way of life that calls the attention of the New Africans to the acknowledgment of "things that matter".

Life is true only when material elements are logically composed to support the physical organism for healthy brain and limbs. How can the New African exist and act effectively without good food, healthy home, sufficient exercise, creative occupation, and economic security?

How can spiritual life be supported in an unsupported physical body? Can national morale be fostered where there is no strong physical ability? Can there ever be a collective thought for national integrity where there is absence of physical security? *My philosophy says that national morale, collective thought for national integrity and intelligent activity can only be expected in Africa when material resources for the building of the body and the mind receive an adequate emphasis and adherence.*

My African philosophy is a way of life which advocates that the African must seek the truth of an idea in its function. That means that all our rejection or acceptance of Democracy or Fascism, Communism or Mohammedanism, Christianity or Buddhism must depend not on the definition given to these institutions, but on practical achievements accomplished by them. *Function and not definition will be the basis upon which Africa should judge between two social theories*. And that function must be analysed in terms of African ideology. For example, no one can attempt to impose upon

the New Africans the idea that "democracy" is this or that when actually the very essence of democracy – respect for personality and individuality of man – has been mocked before our eyes. Similarly, it will be ridiculous for the advocates of Fascism to convert the Africans to a social theory which is based on bitterness and revenge as well as on deep contempt for all humanitarian values. It means that Africa has its own mind. She is old enough to know when it hurts. She knows friends and enemies, no matter under what garb they appear. My African philosophy is a way of life which hinges itself on the principles of universalism – the position to remove the narrow interests of Africa alone. What New Africa stands for is to see that man is used as an end and not as a means. This principle is universal. All nations have fought for it, and Africa believes that she will be encouraged by the lovers of freedom to accomplish this task. Do to others as you would like others do to you. When New Africa speaks, she thinks not particularly about her own interest alone, she thinks about the collective security of all. Here goes the eternal statement of Emperor Haile Selassie which characterised the ideal of Africa today: "Do the people of the world not realize that by fighting on until the bitter end, I am not only performing my sacred duty to my people, but standing guard in the last citadel of collective security? Are they too blind to see that I have my responsibilities to the whole humanity to face? I must still hold on until my tardy allies appear. If they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness, "the West shall perish,...." This was the utterance of an African on his gloomy days of April 29, 1936. The burden of responsibility to humanity is the theme of Africa today, and what my African philosophy advocates. This new philosophy for Africa today, may be called what I have arbitrarily decided to name "excuse recessism". By "excuse recessism", I mean the logic of reasoning with God; the philosophy of forcing God to be on our side in executing our designs. The world is made up of individuals whose psychology has been so conditioned to the conception of certain unknowable, invisible, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient. There may be atheists, yet they consciously or unconsciously have some ideal to look upon as something higher

than themselves. If their emotion is appealed to in terms of that ideal, they will automatically respond. After the crumbling of the mighty Roman Empire, the Catholic Church became God's interpreter to the whole world. From God, the ambitious Popes found "excuse recess-ism" to intrigue humanity. But God did not say "no" Henry VIII, a typical Tudor dictator, in order to accomplish his political designs, convinced his "servants of God" that there was no God in Rome but in London. This condition gave impetus to Protestant Reformation, and we have the Church of England. But God did not say "no". Then came the greater movement of the Industrial Revolution which precipitated the immediate need for expansion for market and raw materials. This gave rise to scramble for a place in the sun. To accomplish this, *the Bible was employed*. The heathen must be converted. To gain the gold, use the Gospel! And the move for economic life was rationalised into God's work. Yet God did not say "no". The European imperialism has been sanctified on the altar of humanitarianism, Christianity and civilization. These are what I call "excuse-recess-ism". Whenever any nation wants to carry out any programme affecting their destiny, they must find some way to employ God as the author of their design. Even Hitler of Germany believes that his programme is sacred unto God.

As I said in a manuscript I am developing, my African Philosophy strongly advocates that the New Africa must not omit the blessings of "excuse-recess-ism". *To emancipate Africa, our view of God must be interpreted by Africans to suit the best interest of Africa and the rest of the world.* We shall not accept the interpretation of God by European missionaries who themselves do not know God except in terms of how it makes it easy for them to dominate us. In short, *my African Philosophy is a religious philosophy which sanctions that Africa is a part of God. The programme of African Irredentism is a God-sanctioned plan. Anybody opposing it is kicking against God Himself. The programme of the new Africa is sacred.*

My good friends, it is for the accomplishment of these things that the sons of Africa find themselves here in America. We left

our quiet homes, our parents, our brothers and sisters, our friends, our lovers and all the best we have in Africa for a temporary, lonely and disturbing, precarious and heart-rending life. We are not complaining. We are satisfied. We are rather happy that we have a mission to fulfil. We have confidence in ourselves. We know that the accomplishments of future years depend largely on our preparedness today.

The appeal of the New Africa first turns itself to the students and scholars of this age. They are asked to challenge the unscientific and biased notions which the ignoramuses of the Western world have developed about Africa. We appeal to the political philosophers and statesmen of America to remember what happened in those early days of the 18th century up to 1776. We want them to know that the statesmen and political philosophers in Africa of this age are in the situation which George Washington, Patrick Henry of Virginia, Benjamin Franklin, Madison and Hamilton found themselves in those gloomy days of colonialism in North America. We appeal to the artists of true and realistic vision to know that the beauties that mark the culture of Africans both in music and in art are being tragically misrepresented in your movies and in your writings; New Africa appeals to the medical doctors that while gold and silver and diamonds of Africa are exploited by the Europeans, the door to a healthy life is closed to the poor Africans. We appeal to the religious leaders in Christendom that Christianity will loose its hold in Africa not because we hate Christ, but because we look for truth in Christianity. Bible and inhumanities cannot reconcile. We cannot accept a Christianity of the type which will bless the sword of Mussolini for conquest of innocent Ethiopia. We cannot be the victim of such religious propaganda which profess inclusion of all humanitarian values, and act in terms of oppression, greed, avarice, insatiety, intrigue, intimidation, misrepresentation, lying, falsification, racial discrimination, pride and megalomaniac impulse. I may mention here that the spiritual influence of an organization like that of the Bible Meditation League, under the national supervision of Rev. Don. R. Falkenberg of Columbus Ohio, is more effective in Africa by sending free New Testaments to Africa, without

any ulterior motive to go to Africa to destroy the long cherished invaluable heritages in African culture. There are besides this, some other sincere missionaries who go to Africa merely for the sake of Christ, but they have ignorantly done more harm to Africa than good. In that case, I am not blaming, but I am suggesting that this is the time for them to revise their original view about Africa and her ethical ideas.

New Africa sends special appeal to the Americans of African descent who have been miseducated about their African background. We want them to know that from among their business men, educators, social workers, engineers, musicians, doctors, artisans, technologists and educated preachers, the African of today looks for co-operation. The appeal of the New Africa extends to all men and women of all walks of life who love freedom and happiness, and who acknowledge the dominion of Almighty God who has no respect for any man. We are cognisant of the universal principle of God which knows neither color nor creed. The appeal finally finds itself on the door of all democratic nations of the world. The day is come. The hour is in hand. Yes, now is the time for all nations to come down from their pinnacles of pride and make a definite effort for a dynamic programme which will enrich the realization of world-wide collective security. Oh yes, hear the voice of humanity which exclaims:

Give Africa freedom
Give Africa liberty
Come on to Africa
Follow the call of God
Untie the chains of tyranny
This is the appeal of a New Africa –
The voice of freedom.

6

Founded on October 28, 1636, Harvard University is the oldest institution of higher education in the United States. The growth of Harvard has largely paralleled the cultural and political history of (eastern) United States. Harvard had produced famous world leaders and remains one of the best universities in the U.S. This was one of the places Orizu preached his gospel of African Irredentism and Nigerian independence on September 27, 1944. It is pertinent to note that Orizu, the crusader was a struggling colonial subject studying in the USA at the time. Already author of the book "Without Bitterness" and at the age of thirty, he addressed the Harvard University Faculty Club made up of world renowned university professors and chairmanned by the president of Boston University as published by the Christian Science Monitor.

– Editor

AMERICA'S ROLE IN POST WAR AFRICA

(A Speech Made on Wednesday, September 27, 1944, to the Harvard University Faculty Club, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Mr. Chairman, members of the Harvard University Faculty Club, Honoured Guests, it is rather encouraging to me personally and I am sure to the millions of Africans at home and abroad that this opportunity is made available for me to speak about the almost forgotten people and the continent of Africa. Thanks to Dr. Booth of Boston University. Africa can be better introduced by telling the very old story about three blind men and an elephant. Before the men had become blind none of them had seen an elephant, but later they came in contact with one and were curious about him. One of them touched his trunk and was conscious of a trunk; one of them touched the elephant's side, and thought he touched a wall; and the third felt the elephant's tail and was sure it was a snake. Each man had a different impression of his experience with the elephant. Indeed, each was right in so far as he had experienced the elephant. Each believed earnestly in what his sense of perception told him, a bitter argument ensued, they began to fight, and finally killed one another. This story can be used symbolically to illustrate the prevalent misunderstanding of the average American about Africa.

This misconception of Africa can even be much better illustrated by telling you of the experiences I had during my first trip to England early in 1939. During this trip, I remembered that I left Nigeria in the month of January which falls within the West African harmattan season. The harmattan is the brightest of all Nigerian seasons. During this time, all important traditional festivals, reunions, ceremonies, dances, and holidays take place. The climate

is rather dry, somewhat cool, invigorating and exciting, and there is an occasional wind which blows from the Sahara Desert laden with fine particles of sand. It is not comparable to American winter nor to its summer, but it is somewhat more like its fall.

It was from this atmosphere that I slipped away for the United Kingdom in January, 1939, knowing fully well – as I have always been instructed – that I was leaving a "dark continent" for a bright Europe. My expectation was great. I was thrilled that at least I was to see a "non-dark continent", some place even brighter than the *harmattan* season of West Africa!

We arrived in Liverpool in the night, and I went to bed in a friend's home. In the morning, I was quietly but anxiously waiting to see nature at work in "bright" England – to hear, for example, the singing of birds as I used to hear them in Nigeria – but all was different. I looked at my clock and it was eight o'clock; I peeped through the window expecting to see a bright, sunny morning beckoning me to wake up cheerfully as I did in Africa; but the atmosphere was gloomy. I looked at my clock again to assure myself that it was five minutes past eight. I jumped out of bed and listened. I heard the grudging noise of moving vehicles, but I could hardly see them from the window. I called to my host to know what was the matter, because this could not be the England that I had heard so much about – its brightness in contrast to my dark continent. My friend smiled humorously, and said. "My brother, this is fog. Don't you know England is famous for its fog?" At once I recalled that England is a foggy place, but not having seen such fog as that, I had been slow to connect my theoretical knowledge of Geography with its practical experience.

The argument arose in my mind at once; why do the people from such a country impress us in a romantic and bright country like Nigeria with the fact that our Africa is a "dark continent"? Then I questioned myself: does the word "dark" here not refer to the absence of that radiant energy from the sun called light? or does a European refer to Africa as a dark continent because of its long remoteness from modern western civilization? If so, should not the African call Europe and America "the dark West", because, from

all the evidence of history, Europe and America in their "backward" stages, in ancient times, were long remote from the high civilizations of Africa and Asia? But restricting my argument to the question of "darkness" as meaning the absence of light, I know that the larger portion of Africa is within the tropics, and that Europe is farther removed from this tropical paradise. It is evident, therefore, that comparatively, Europe is more of a "dark continent" than Africa.

It is to this continent of Africa – old as the West is young, romantic as the West is indifferent, bright as Europe is dark, charming as the West is gloomy, amiable as the West is sinister, cultured and gracious as the West is dynamic and efficient, mystical as the West is scientific, religious and other-worldly as the West is aggressive and acquisitive – that we must turn our attention in looking for the dominant chords in the complex whole of its life's orchestra – is it a land or a people?

Africa is the second largest of the six continents on our globe. The greatest length of Africa is 5,000 miles, that of the United States of America is 1,700 miles. The greatest width is 4,650 miles; that of the United States 2,750 miles. There are about 11,513,579 square miles in Africa as compared with 3,026,789 square miles in the United States, and 3,844,000 in Europe. Yet the estimated population is roughly 170,000,000 from the more than sixty-five different countries or large political units in Africa, as compared with thirty three in Europe.

We cannot deal with Africa's physical, social or cultural facts in detail here. I think that most of the facts that are available to me as an African have been studied in my newly written book entitled "Without Bitterness" But we ought to bear these in mind:

(a) that Africa is not a country – it is composed of many countries;
(b) that Africa is not a race – it comprises many races blended together from time immemorial, some dominant characteristics still persisting, in spite of and not in the absence of complex blendings;
(c) that Africa is not a cultural unit – there are as many cultural units as there are regions and races;
(d) that Africa is not a linguistic unit – the languages are legion.

Yet in spite of all these apparent differences, there is still that which we can describe as "African", just as there are things European or Asiatic or American, despite all internal diversities in culture, language, and origins, I want to point out what America and Africa have in common.

First and foremost, Africa and America both have adequate land resources. This should make for a certain bond between the two peoples. Both America and Africa have enormous national wealth and boundless opportunities. Both peoples, in national outlook, have a certain personality likeness expressed in optimism and buoyancy, people threatened with famine and real food shortages are not likely to view their situation with serenity and confidence, nor are they apt to reflect optimism and buoyancy.

There are also certain similarities in African and American backgrounds and ways of life. Both countries developed out of colonial domination. America has finished this process of development, while Africa is still going through it.

In comparing our ways of life, I see many similarities in types of food; the common American dish, mashed potato, resembles our *fu-fu* or *utala*. American gravy is comparable to what we call *ofe*; cornbread to *ikpakili*. We fry, boil chiken as you do here. Soup is very like our *ofe-nsala*. We have no pies, but ice cream has been introduced by Americans. Palm wine, which is white and milky and quite intoxicating if not mixed with water, is the national beverage. It is very nourishing and is used as leaven in making bread. We also drink *pito* and *burukutu* made from grains. In place of oatmeal we have *akamu* and *tapioca*. Our food generally is lacking in milk, which is not considered real food in many parts of Africa.

I have already mentioned that Africans entertain themselves in much the same way as Americans. They are both devotees of dancing. In South American music (La conga) and in American Jazz, I feel something very similar to African music which thrills the rhythmic sense of the African. The rhythms of these types of music seem to be entirely African in origin. There are many other similarities between American and African life, which space prohibits me from elaborating upon. But where does this revelation lead us to?

It leads us to the realization that most Africans who happen to come to this your country, cannot help but regret our ignorance about America. Nor can we overlook the misunderstanding of Africa which is so prevalent among the people here. We were told over there that America is a terrible place to visit. Most Africans never consider it worthy for them to study in American universities. I think that such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Chicago and others can compare favorably with London, Oxford or Cambridge, but in the past and even in the present, most African students consider American institutions inferior. To me, I think that such a grave error must be uprooted in the minds of the African people. This is necessary because it is highly unsafe for America and Africa to continue in this tranquil isolation imposed by an utterly unfounded allegation that America is a bad place to visit, or that Africans are a bunch of unthinking social unit, incapable of governing themselves. All these are false. They are a plan of propaganda to keep America and Africa apart.

We may ask this: what can Africa do for the United States? That question has been answered in part, if we remember the genesis of the beginning of the Allied Victory in this war. Our victory started in Africa. The proximity of West Africa to South America which in turn affects the United States, is a point of war strategy which is indispensable in the security of this country in the event of any major war yet to come. If it was not for the faithful cooperation of the people of West Africa in the battle of Africa, the result would have been more tragic than that of Singapore, the Philippines and other Asiatic Islands. But the Africans love democracy and they defended the cause of the allies at a crucial moment.

America needs tin, and Nigeria alone has the greatest tin depository in the world, second only to Bolivia. Nigeria and the Gold Coast produce about 75% of the world's cocoa, a great percent of which is consumed in this country. There is plenty of rubber, oil, skins and hides, timber, diamond, gold, radium, manganese, kolanuts and other natural resources. America will want all of these after the war. There are more than 170,000,000 souls in Africa; if

their standard of living is raised, they will provide a potential market for American products such as automobiles, machinery for farm, and other technological devices.

What can America do for Africa? Again, I refer you to Chapter XV of my book which I have already mentioned. There I answered the whole question but I may add that it is my personal opinion that there should be a definite cultural and economic exchange between America and the African countries, but that the political issues affecting independence of each of those African countries be taken up by the peoples of Africa themselves. It is not my conviction that the African protectorates or colonies – whatever you call them should ask the United States government to guarantee for them their political independence – as if political independence were an American hot dog to be served at will. Moral support through goodwill, economic collaboration, educational improvement, and industrialization are what Africans want from America. No nation gets independence as a prize from another country. The people concerned must demonstrate readiness, determination, and resoluteness as signs of a sense of responsibility and of national integrity. Such requisites do not come from the outside; they emanate from within, and then spread their pressure for recognition to the outside. At that stage the outside observers will be bound to accept the inevitable.

This point of view leads to some definite conclusions in regard to the policy of the United States government toward Africa. It provides a common ground between Africa and America on which the peoples of both areas must collaborate economically and culturally by breaking through the artificial walls built by European imperialism to keep them apart. It all means that a new avenue of understanding, a new attitude toward their different cultural patterns, a new awakening relative to their common destiny must be stimulated. It is not an easy task because, in the first place, it means a relearning of a people – a repudiation of former "authorities" on Africa, and an entirely new quest based on the American traditions of open mindedness, unfettered expression, and scientific reality. It calls for the evaluation of African culture in the light of its own measurements,

and not based entirely on the scale of other values and cultures. It also means that Africa must relearn America; understand her through her own peculiar institutions and traditional beliefs which, at the bottom, are beautiful and severe. There is no reason why this task can not be accomplished, even against human inertia and provincialism.

We cannot realise these ideals unless Americans and Africans themselves take concrete steps to create cultural machineries to breach the great gap of centuries. I feel that nothing will be more effective in drawing the two peoples together as education. The responsibility falls on American educators, your great institutions, and your civic leaders with broad view. These groups will cooperate directly with African citizens in their effort to strengthen democratic education in Africa.

I have taken some definite steps by organising the American Council on African Education in the last six months. The aims of the Council are stated in the pamphlet which I shall read to you (read from the pamphlet).

You may be interested to know that within this short time, American educators and other university presidents have given me their surprising cooperation. Here are letters from some of these universities (read O.S.U., Detroit, Fordham, Wilberforce, Columbia, Yale). One hundred and fifty scholarship grants are already made available to us. Mr. Wendell L. Wilkie, renowned world citizen and leader of the Republican Party, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of your President and some other civic leaders have recently joined the Advisory Board on my request. There is a constant response indicating the wakefulness of America to the needs and mutual benefit that must come of this program. It is a programme entirely divorced from politics, but dedicated to the hearts of all those who believe in education as a means of bringing understanding among peoples and who believe that academic freedom is the essential corner stone of democracy – a right which all people can enjoy anywhere in the world.

I sincerely feel that Harvard University, which may be considered one of the foremost of the world universities, ought to encourage and support this educational programme which will help the

under-privileged and poor Africans to drink of the fountain of knowledge in America. Nothing will please African people more. Nothing will strengthen their faith in American democracy more.

On the other hand, it will be my function to go back to Africa and popularize American pragmatic and fundamentally democratic education among my own people.

There may be some obstacles in economic and educational cooperation between America and Africa. In the economic field, unless there is a great, hard fight against international cartels, the European economic hold on Africa cannot allow Americans to play a substantial role in economic relationship with African people. America will continue to buy most African products from European middle-men who will continue to buy African products at their very cheap price from uneducated citizens of Africa. Nigerian tin, West African cocoa, South and Central African gold, diamonds and radium must not be allowed to be a property of a few nations.

I agree with Mr. Biddle when he recently denounced international cartels. President Roosevelt was right when he stated to the effect that international cartels must be under a strong check in order to allow small nations and small business to thrive economically.

Another obstacle will be the matter of international peace. If there will be any durable peace, I urge that the Allied nations include the representatives of African countries like Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Tanganyika, French West Africa, along with the representatives of Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia during the all-nations parley for final peace settlement. In this connection, may I also endorse the "New Rule of International Law" recommended by Mr. James W. Ryan of New York, published in the New York *Times*, Sunday, September 24, 1944. I feel that the present international law lacks all essentials of effectiveness and unless there is an honest and fundamental change, we shall enter into another era of international lawlessness which may give birth to new Hitlers or Mussolinis. With a stable international law and representation, and a strong check on cartels, African countries would have the proper chance to deal directly with Americans.

The problem of Africa is a great responsibility – a worthwhile task for America. The American government is aware of it and accepts the challenge. The Americans, as citizens of a free country, are equally awake. Apart from the cooperation I have already received from American educators and universities, it was said that a few months ago the Carnegie Foundation gave some thousands of dollars for the improvement of schools and libraries in Nigeria.

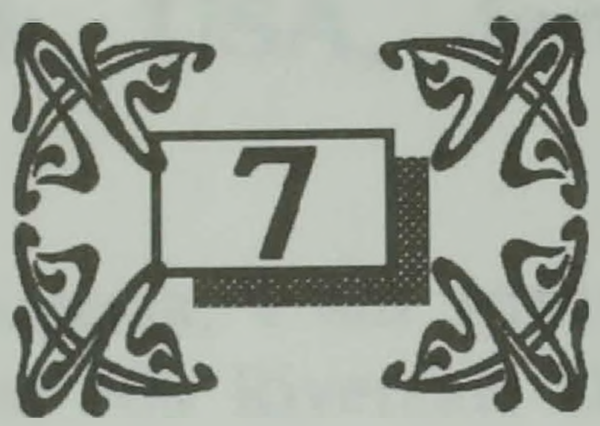
Africa preserves a peculiar love for America and her people, with their occasional child-like *bounce* mingled with their technical efficiency, her mass production and her democratic spirit. The blessings of nature in Africa await Americans just as the African people expect Americans to come to their aid in their effort to stamp out illiteracy, disease, technical inefficiency, and an undeveloped economic life. America fanatically believes in a free access to knowledge and she provides the avenues for individual development and for independent search for truth. This is a new faith born out of education with restraints on the old worlds – European and African. It is a laudable reaction against the chains and restrictions that enveloped the human personality in the old social order. It is a democratic upheaval. A new Africa must learn from American experiences. The American life was not born out of complacency and lazy dreams. It was born out of arduous work, patience, persistent effort and indefatigable spirit a spirit of unending demands and a will power aiming at controlling nature and its resources; a soul to impose upon all known phenomena and to make all sources of energy subservient to human desires; a resolution to live under a free government which alone can give individual personality a guarantee of its fullest development and fullest civil liberties. Such a resolution forced Patrick Henry of Virginia, to exclaim, "Give me liberty or give me death".

All those who love development of intelligence, academic freedom, economic prosperity, and democratic education should help the American Council on African Education in its task to make Africa conscious of the riches of American educational culture.

Africa is not all backward and savage as you are all misinformed. We can elevate our society to modern standards if we have sufficient

co-operation from democratic nations of the world. Thomas Jefferson, in talking about his faith in people, insisted that to deny people a right to take initiative in planning their life does not solve the problem of their alleged ignorance. Rather he said, "if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education".

And today, in presenting Africa, I urge the American people to help the American Council on African Education through its programme to inform the discretion of Africa by education for the mutual benefit of all.



Dr. Orizu along with his studies during his student days in the USA planned an international programme for educating eligible African students in American universities. Having accomplished this, as a young graduate fresh from the college, through this address presented his programme to the people of Nigeria, to prepare them ahead of time for his imminent return to implement the novel programme. This alerted Nigerians. They waited and welcomed Dr. Orizu on November 26, 1945 at Glover Memorial Hall Lagos, where he gave his first public lecture to Nigerians chairmanned by Herbert Macauley. There the philosophies of Horizontal Education and African Irredentism were introduced to the continent.

– Editors

An Address to the People of Nigeria from New York, USA, January 1, 1945

My fellow citizens of Nigeria, I am writing you from Room 411 in the International House 500 Riverside Drive in Manhattan, New York City. Far away, yes, but with the eyes of the spirit, I see you while writing this epistle to you.

When in the growth of any people's culture, the inevitable force of change imposes itself upon the social land marks, there usually arises two different groups. One group belongs to what we call the progressives of the time, another belongs to the reactionaries.

We are living in a momentous time. Every where on earth is suffering from social insomnia, philosophical indigestion, ideological imperfection, economic uncertainty and political revisionism.

Fellow Nigerians, I have the utmost confidence in you as a people to understand when the son of your own blood speaks – even imperfectly from a far land of America. The distance between us is only an artificial phenomenon which cannot control the constant flow of that spiritual and emotional energy moving in a constant current between you and us. The very thought of you as Nigerians gives me and those others with me a great sense of pride which keeps strong the inflexible determination to work day and night so that tomorrow will find our nation and people free.

The battle for national growth is not easy. We do not expect it to be. A nation grows like a child. First, it is born out of a great travail. Then it starts its life which is henceforth controlled by the factors of heredity and outside influences.

Nigeria is born. It is a nation. Our forefathers suffered to bring us here. It is a matter of extremely special privilege that providence has so blessed Nigeria. Nothing is more certain than that of all African Nations, today, we are the most populous and that we can boast of enormous natural wealth. We live in one undivided, fertile

extensive country. Heaven has blessed our country with a variety of soils and commodities and watered it with streams without number and the mother Niger with its tributaries has provided a chain of communication that binds us together.

The pleasure is ours in being conscious that "Whatever God it is" has been pleased to give this country to a people say of the same origin. For whatever the anthropologists try to say or write, we who live in Nigeria whether we are called Fulanis, Yorubas, or Igbos belong to the black race. We do not participate in the same religion, but we profess the same ceremonial as Africans; we do not speak the same language, but we have one destiny as Nigerians; as opposed to any other people, we have the same mannerism; principles, customs, discipline and conviction that are peculiarly Nigerian. In the olden days, our forefathers had enjoyed these liberties untrammelled. They had several independent states which demonstrated the spirit of liberty and independence through joint action in arms, efforts – fighting together and when necessary dying together. When one section of Nigeria succumbed to the force from outside, that defeat affected the whole country.

We are one people. We are made for each other. We are great in number. We have the wealth. But why are we poor? Why accept inferiority before other sovereign nations? Why do we slumber? Why do we work in factions and waste energies and the strength which providence has so bestowed upon us?

It goes back to the remarks I made in the first paragraph – that social change breeds reactionaries as well as progressives. The presence of factions in any community is not new experience. History is full of them. Among the most dangerous obstacles to social change is the interested class. These are men who resist all changes, which may destroy their power, privilege, interest, aggrandizement, honour or prestige. There is another class of men who encourage confusion in their own country in order that they may enjoy the ill-fated fame of class leadership or factional demagoguery.

I am not writing this to discuss factionism among us. It will be unfair to talk on those matters indiscriminately. Common sense alone can show us that even those who oppose our views may be

quite honest and sincere and well-meaning. Honest minds could be prejudiced or at least misdirected by fear and misunderstanding. So many things, under certain circumstances, may throw a wise and forward looking mind into a state of bias and misjudgement. That is why we may in many occasions find respectable and good men on the wrong as well as the right side.

An enlightened zeal and canalized ambition, no matter how noble the enthusiasm for a sound and well-informed proposal, must learn the lesson to be sober and calm in front of other honest views. This alone will precede moderation in judgement. It will make those who always think themselves in the right to be humble and listen to the argument of the other fellow. This can give stop to intolerance, which is the most disintegrative element among any people who hope to grow into magnitude.

The above observation is made in order to put you upon your guard against influences which give rise to biased judgement and unexamined conclusion about any unfamiliar ideas. The important message from the American Council on African Education to you is a matter of utmost importance to your welfare and progress. Our whole future depends on it.

I owe it to you my country men, after five years deliberation and hardwork, to reveal to you all what seems too obvious to need any more elucidation. And that is that Nigeria with all its population and wealth, is considered "backward" because we lack these things: *Education*, *Unity* and *Enlightened Leadership*.

Admit, for it is a fact, that if in Nigeria today we have even 50% literacy, built two universities at least, train men and women in our culture and environment and enlighten their intelligence to utilise our resources in a united effort – as a nation, we shall have nobody – no living man on earth – black, yellow or white, to tell us what to do. Our commerce will grow, our trade expand, we shall enjoy an era of progress which will startle and dazzle the world. With the growth of commerce and trade backed with agricultural industry, we shall be in a position to establish public schools in all nooks and corners of Nigeria, we shall enjoy a better health because there will be better housing and better food. Roads

will multiply and means of communication increase. Transportation will increase to accompany industrialisation. All these could be done if we act as Nigerians and nothing else – under our own national government such as Azikiwe has proposed or anything else on a similar basis of self creation and self perpetuation.

Education, *Unity* and *Enlightened Leadership* are the great things upon which our eyes must be fixed. Education will take care of our economic planning, because without trained Nigerians, we cannot have an independently planned economy. There must be trained engineers, bankers, commercial experts, import and export dealers, mechanics, agriculturists, traders, teachers, medical professionals, educationists, lawyers, administrators, political scientists, journalists, geologists, archaeologists, historians, astronomers, aviators, navigators, militarists, architects and all other branches of human endeavour. Without these men, our wealth can never be our own, and without wealth, we shall have no leisure, and without leisure, no thought, without thought, no action, and above all no culture.

All hinge on planned *Education, Unity* and *Enlightened Leadership*. As I have already elucidated in the philosophy of the American Council on African Education, the only ideal education is called "Horizontal Education". At this juncture, it must be emphasised that the American Council on African Education agrees with Ransome Kuti when he said in London that in spite of all commissions – Elliot or otherwise it is only under a free government of our own can we plan any effective educational programme. Just imagine the ridiculous nature of the ten-year educational plan recently presented, I do not know by whom – whether by Mr. Morris or the British Government in Nigeria.

Sometimes, I wonder how stupid our foreign friends really think we the Nigerians are! To them we must seem very stupid people indeed. We shall only remind ourselves that the English people have their own social and educational problems yet unsolved in their own home. Why must we expect them to do magic for us when their home is under wreckage and turmoil? Are we too blind to see that the world around us is undergoing a rapid change and that some

countries which used to be creditors are becoming debtors in our international market? I wonder how many Nigerians can evaluate several European and American countries today in terms of their economic capacity and equate them with our own economic potentials. Most of us seem to assume that because white man is white, therefore he is possessed with limitless possibilities and can "give" us all that we need – education, good homes, good health, good salaries, everything. The simple fact is that the white man whom we know today, cannot give us everything. I mean that even if the English man sincerely wants to develop Nigeria, he does not have the materials himself today to satisfy all our educational and social wants. The best that we can do is to use own resources directly or indirectly to support our programme. Why do we look upon another people who are so limited materially and spiritually to give us that which nature has bestowed upon us even more than upon them? Are we too lazy to think? Or is there any natural inheritance in us which makes us love to follow anywhere others have planned and not for us to initiate plans? Just what do we mean to do about our education and unity?

From educational point, the American Council on African Education has some definite proposals which are embodied in the following:

1. That education – mass education – is the most important thing to be tackled in the new process of Nigerian reconstruction.
2. That the educational problem will be solved through two simultaneous processes.
   (a) By sending advanced students abroad in large numbers.
   (b) Establishing public schools at home to accommodate all citizens of school age, and also introducing adult education on a large scale and build universities.

How can we establish public schools at home? That is not an easy task but there is nothing impossible about it. Mr. K. A. Korsah was right when he said: "Russia did it in 25 years, why must we do it in 700"? We propose that the Nigerian state governments, or the so-called "native administration" government, take up the

responsibility more seriously. There should be a combination of effort of the state governments, the national government and the citizens. From the citizens we shall expect philanthropic donations and also actual tax designated for educational purposes. The whole thing is more involved and my point needs more careful analysis when I return to you. But I must mention that we need in Nigeria itself many libraries and laboratories. I shall say later what the Council proposes to do about that.

Concerning sending students abroad, it is evident that it is only a small proportion of our population that can send out their children to Europe and America for studies. It means then that for us to have a great number of qualified students to study abroad, we must provide some kind of scholarship to reduce the financial burden of the students.

It is on this particular question of the provision of scholarships that the Council has devoted its immediate task.

The stages of our plan were devised to develop as follows:.

1. To establish the American Council on African Education here in America whose function will be:
   (a) To secure all necessary scholarship grants from American universities and colleges.
   (b) To find and recommend the best schools for each student's need.
   (c) To establish a hostel for students to live while they are here in America.
   (d) To solicit and manage the funds .which will be donated for the express purpose of helping the students from Africa.
   (e) To help in raising funds for the establishment of research laboratories and libraries in Nigeria beginning with the Nigeria National College which we intend to build. There are several other allied functions of the Council.
2. To establish the Nigerian Council on African Education. This Council will be composed of prominent educators and other responsible Nigerians, and their functions in Nigeria would be identical with the functions of the American Council in

America, plus the fact that they will set the standard of qualification for students who will study abroad. In other words, they will select the students on a uniform accepted standard as may be generally specified.

3. Another stage of development is that we intend to have similar councils all over the whole of African countries with our general headquarters in America and our African headquarters in Nigeria.

Specifically, the functions of the Nigerian branch of the Council will be as follows:

1. To form within the council a board of examiners whose sole function is to set a standard of academic qualifications for Nigerian students who apply to be granted scholarship by the American Council. This Board of Examiners will recommend the student to the Nigerian Council and the final recommendation to the American Council. The standardization will be controlled in point by the academic requirements of the American schools.
2. To form a financial committee to develop a systematic programme for raising funds to help our boys and girls who are qualified.
3. To establish an information bureau for a planned distribution of educational news all over Nigeria. This branch will spread the gospel all over the country that mass education is the greatest immediate need for our social and economic welfare. The bureau will also be equipped with all necessary information about educational opportunities anywhere in the world and not only America, so that some of the students may be sent somewhere else. With further progress, the information bureau may establish a weekly magazine entitled "Education" which will perform a double function of information and stimulating Nigeria and also enlightening other countries about our educational needs and progress. The various methods of effectively reaching the people will be planned in detail.
4. The council will regulate the policy to be followed in determining the obligation of the students to their country. I do suppose that while we shall not enslave our own children

because we give them education, we must see that they are useful to the country to which they belong.

There are various other resultant functions which the Nigerian council will perform. And that council will start its operation as soon as possible steps are taken. The proposed names of the members of the council will be announced later.

In the Gold Coast, we have already started a useful contact and we hope that our brothers, the citizens of the country, will organize the Gold Coast branch, with the help of educators and prominent persons in the Gold Coast. As soon as opportunity offers, we shall do the same thing all over Africa.

We do not however confine our interest in West Africa alone. If per chance any African from anywhere who is qualified applies, the council will consider him as any other.

I can report to you now that the first stage of this plan has been successfully carried out. We have organized the American Council on African Education. We are able to do so because American university presidents and deans have already given us scholarships for the students, and as many as we have asked, offered to serve on the advisory board of the council. There are many American citizens outside of the universities who have given us help constantly. Americans of African decent have shown a great enthusiasm.

Concretely, we have already secured scholarships for more than hundred students. The value of tuition scholarship for hundred students alone as estimated here is $31,000.00. The value of full scholarship including room and board is $9,620.00 all totalling $40,620.00 about more than £10,000.00. We are reasonably assured of this sum or its equivalent.

This is only a beginning. It is an effort which I made under serious handicaps. This is not the place to rehearse all the obstacles which are placed before the Africans, particularly the Nigerians, by some vicious enemies of freedom and co-operation. We must forget those persons because there are also so many good friends who see eye to eye with us and gave us constant assistance without which we may be unable to do anything. But as time goes on, we shall

give you a fuller account of our stewardship, then we shall take time to inform you about those who wish us death and those who are genuinely interested in African welfare. I think that you have the right to know those things, at least to help you formulate our philosophy for the battle that lies ahead.

You may want to know how this scholarship will be distributed in Nigeria. It is not going to be an easy thing to distribute them evenly in an uneven country like ours. In Northern Nigeria, for example, there may be some difficulty in getting them even to appreciate what we mean by oversea education. The exodus to Europe and America has mainly been the function of the southerners. We must therefore face the battle to get the Northern Nigerians to appreciate the Western civilisation in spite of our own. The Nigerian Council on African Education shall devote its energy to this task.

In the South, I have already said that there will be a Nigerian Council on African Education. This council shall devise the means whereby this scholarship can be distributed to serve the purpose for which it is intended. There are many complex problems to be solved, but those are details which I shall discuss when I return to you. Whatever happens, the major objective is to see that those who are academically qualified have the chance to get university education without respect to their origin, except that the question of character, integrity and purposiveness will be reckoned with in making the choice. We shall not disgrace Africa by sending out anyone whose life is below exemplary of a new African.

We recognise that we shall face many obstacles and that sometimes we may face an open opposition from some quarters. Let us not paint all beautiful pictures about our future plans. All over the white world, there are essentially two schools of thought. Some believe that the African is really, at least for the present, incapable of governing himself – making his plans and initiating programmes for his social reform. They do not and cannot visualize the possibility that an African, once given an equal educational training, can map out of his African background some highly complex social programmes. Then like Herbert Macauley, Usman Dan Fodio and others who have demonstrated the ability to create out of nothing

have not been sufficiently known to this class of white people. You can find such white men everywhere. There are plenty of them in England and other parts of Europe. Many of them are among you in Nigeria, some of them are here with us in America such as paternal Thomas Jesse Jones of Phelp Stokes Foundation.

There is another group of Europeans and Americans who believe that we are human beings and that among us are found both weak and strong minds as prevalent among other races. Such white people believe that great minds among Africans must be given avenue of expression and experimentation. They trust us and would work with us. This first group distrusts us and cannot participate in a programme founded by an African. Rather they would like to make our plans for us, be at the head of it and call us to tell us (as children are told) what is good for us which we must accept. That is not true with the second group among the white people. They would rather maintain that in an educational programme like this, the African himself must take initiative and others would co-operate with him. Men like Dr. Charles Seymour, the president of Yale University, Pearl S. Buck, proprietress of John Day Publishing Co, one time head of Republican Party, Wendel L. Wilkie, Dr. Howard L. Bevis, president of the Ohio State University, Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the United States President, Augustine A. Austin of the Antilian Holding Co. and Charles Wesley, president of Wilberforce University. Few independent minds in England can be listed in the second category.

The American Council on African Education has a philosophy of independent action and African initiative. It therefore stands as a test of an ideal – whether we can truly find some men and women of Europe and America who can for the first time join us in a programme which we initiated for the emancipation of our own society. We are not apologetic nor stubborn. We are interested in co-operation with anybody who lends us a helping hand, but we shall not be responsible to anybody in the training of our children and we must endeavour to train those children in most favourable independent atmosphere so that they may grow with unfettered spirit and

untrammelled intelligence, consonant with democratic ideals and the spirit of world citizenship.

Fellow citizens of Nigeria, you see then that the task is in our hands. We can not act independently on these matters unless we demonstrate our readiness to pay the prize for independent action. We must support our own children to get education. If American people are generous enough to grant our sons some scholarships, we shall consider it a grand opportunity to give our own money to make up the difference, while the students themselves will be ready for part time work while in school.

According to the estimate of the council, Nigeria, will be responsible for two major things:

1. The transportation fare from Nigeria to America and back and
2. Clothing and accessories.

These will not cost so much as compared with the tuition and maintenance expenses which the American Council undertakes to find the ways and means to affect them provided that the students and their parents will co-operate. The council will also establish a system of insurance for these students so that their hospitalization will be assured in case of sudden illness while they are away from home, other things being equal.

The question before us today is the problem of demonstration. Nigeria has an unusual responsibility in Africa. Of the blessings of nationhood, we possess a greater quantity of it than many African countries. The whole world is watching us with a silence that appears to be ominous and eloquent. They ask us a question in a mixed mood of anxiety and discomfort, "Do you understand your destiny"?

New Nigerians do we understand our destiny? Think for a moment. Shall we leave our own children to continue to brood in ignorance while the peoples of the world around us are wiping out illiteracy in their own countries? Can we have the heart to give birth to slaves on earth? Or do we not know that any child today without education is bound to be a slave of those who have the education? Can our children forgive us that we have deliberately born them to become slaves in twentieth century?

We are living in a great age pregnant with rapid transitions and endless convulsions. The tide of greatness is near our shores and in my vision of life, I see Nigerians exalted in the tower of a great people. I hear the bell from an "International hall" sounding Nigeria as a new nation born by a new people in this new period of history. I see Nigeria in a friendly company with England, America, China and other great and small nations marching toward God to give account of our stewardship in an effort to promote brotherhood under His fatherhood.

Immediately I woke up from my dream, I joined in the song of Shakespeare that "there is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood, leads unto fortune, and if omitted, all the voyages of their lives abound in shallows and miseries. On such a full scene, are we now afloat and must take the current when it serves or loose our ventures". I see that Nigeria is afloat on such a full sea, and must take the current when it serves, or we loose our ventures.

At the end of the song, I knelt down on my knees and prayed to God on behalf of my country and my people. I prayed that Nigeria be conscious of her destiny and play the role of man in the world of men, that the children of my country may have blessing of being born in the world through proper education and home facilities. I prayed that an atmosphere of understanding be stimulated among the Nigerian leaders so that they carry out the mission of our country; that God may grant wisdom to our emirs, obis, obas and all other rulers and their councils so that they understand the responsibility that is upon them.

Then I opened my eyes and looked above my head and said in a humble voice: "I dedicate myself to the service of Nigeria and Africa in company of those who mean to promote their well being. And my service is toward education of the people and unity of the country." This is the voice of freedom.

8

Here Orizu draws the balance sheet of the year 1947 as it affects global development. He complained to the innocent 1947 that Nigeria was not given a fair share of its blessings as were other countries of the world. Orizu, a true nationalist who is constantly vigilant insisted that what was good for any other country was also good for Nigeria.

– Editor

"GOOD BYE 1947"

(An Address to the American Council on African Education (ACAE), New York Branch, December, 31st, 1947)

I say "Good-bye" to you my dear 1947. It is not joy, it is not regret. You are just gone as those years that came and are gone before you. You now disappear for ever as a passing moment. You have done your duty. You came, you lived, you died. You cannot help it. But did you fulfil the sanctioned beliefs of the Horizontal Philosophy? I know that the evil that men do lives after them and the good is often buried with their bones. Since I know, however, that as a fleeting moment, you are not responsible for a lot of things that came before your existence, my question is: what have you done for Africa during the duration of your existence on this earth? What has 1947 done?

Very dutifully and vigorously, 1947 has added everything, everywhere to every nation. What has it added to Africa and to my country? 1947 has added independence to India. It has added a third party of Henry Wallace to America. It has added Marshall plan to Europe and China. It has added a national home to the Jews. It has added loans upon loans to England. It has added to France a Schuman. These records will, I am sure, live after you, my dear old 1947.

But where is my country? Where are my people? 1947 has given us slaps in the face. Our National Council of Nigeria and Camerouns was slapped in the face in London. Some public notices were given discrediting our honest leaders who have committed no crimes. With our money propaganda has been set up to fight against those who want to give us Horizontal Education. Our tax money has been used to inform the outside world that our dearly chosen leaders were self-appointed. Laws have been passed to limit our freedom to give freely .toward our national irredentism. Laws have been passed to reduce the status of our rulers to that of beggars. Money

has been appropriated without our consent to perpetuate newspapers that breed internal division among us. Our mineral resources have been controlled under an unpopular legislation. At best, life is a burden.

These things are record-breaking for you, my dear 1947. The world has recorded them on both the debit and credit sides of the public ledger, and the memory is certain to live after us. True, 1947 is dead. We do not know where comparison ends and contrast begins. We only look at its surface framework. Our flashbacks are by no means in any chronological or inclusive order. To many nations it is a year of adolescent dreams and entrapment into marriage with life. To Nigeria, it is neither glowing nor sombre. It is as moody as weather and as ominous as a hideous dream.

But we shall cherish the memory of 1947, if only for the abundant sunshine and illimitable vegetation of our land; if only for the tenacity, indefatigability, resourcefulness and combativeness of our leaders; yes, if only for the cheerfulness and courage of our illiterate and suffering millions; if only for the sake of our new born babes into whose nostrils the air of political and economic enslavement of the year 1947 breathes.

We shall be at least hopeful because there is always flower in the wilderness of the earth, hope in despairing life, brightening hour in every dark night, mid-night moon for every cloudy morning, a bit of love for every bit of hate. Adieu 1947!!

9

As the colonial nations of the world collectively and individually struggled for their independence from the turn of this century, Burma (the Union of Myanmar) an independent republic in South East Asia gallantly quit the colonial status on January 4, 1948, thus leaving most other countries especially in Africa behind. If Burma, why not Nigeria? Orizu asked. This was a disturbing question for him and gave him a new encouragement to carry on his battle against imperialism, hopefully.

– Editor

BURMA TODAY, NIGERIA TOMORROW

(An Address to American Council on African Education Students in USA After the Independence of Burma, January 4, 1948)

Asia, the proud largest continent of the world is rapidly regaining the independence of all her vast chunks of land dominated by foreign powers. China, Siberia, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan have for long remained virtually independent. Syria and Lebanon fought out their own after the last world war. India secured self government on August 15, this year. And now Burma!

The complete domination of Burma by Britain was achieved in 1886 after the annexation, by armed forces, of upper Burma. It was therefore joined to India and was administered by the viceroy. In 1937, it was separated from India and thence remained a distinct British territory with its own governor.

Within the short space of a decade, Burma has surprisingly secured her independence by a steady but fast and tactical constitutional aggression against imperial forces. First of all there were boycott of British goods, British universities and government schools; the adoption of Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, and some other imperialistic antidotes of far reaching consequences. These "nationalist" measures compelled the British Government at home to grant fairly satisfactory amenities to a majority of the Burmese. And today they have achieved the final result of all their political labours – independence.

The story of Burma presents an imperishable insight into the struggles of the colonies for life, and has a lot of morals to teach Nigeria. Burma has won her constitutional battles, not by internecine press controversy but by singleness of purpose; not by consciously unconscious envy against fellow nationalists, but by a powerful combination against the foreign dominants of their country; not by

selfishness and personal aggrandizement, but by a genuine selflessness and unmitigated patriotism. This is the political picture that was Burma's.

And what of us here in Nigeria? What are we doing towards the achievement of our own independence? Are we united in our march towards the common goal or are we dissipating our energies in press controversies and intertribal inflammations, thus yielding more ground for our over-lords?

Nigeria is, in many respects, much more well-off than Burma. Physically, Nigeria occupies 373,674 square miles of land, Burma 262,732 square miles. Statistically, Nigeria contains about thirty million[1] inhabitants, Burma fifteen million. In age under the British Empire, Nigeria was virtually occupied in 1861 (section of Lagos), Burma in 1886. In languages, Burma has as many as, if not more languages than Nigeria. In agriculture, Burma produces rice, sesanum, millet, cotton and groundnuts; while Nigeria produces palm oil, palm kernels, rice, millet, maize, yams, cocoyams, coconuts, cocoas, bananas and oranges, cotton, timber, gum-arabic, groundnuts, livestock, hides and skins, rubber, etc. In minerals, Burma produces chiefly petroleum, silver, oil-shell, tin, tungsten and ruby. Nigeria's minerals, on the other hand, include coal, gold, petroleum, tin, iron, limestones, lead, and some radioactive minerals.

One would consider it a shame that Nigeria, with all these advances, still lags behind in the attainment of independence when compared with less advanced territories like Burma. The blames must confine and rest almost entirely on the shoulders of Nigerians themselves. It is our place to grow above tribal and linguistic differences and unite for the common good of Nigeria. Without unity of purpose, Nigeria would still have to moan under the yoke of imperial monstrosities.

Let me, for the sake of details, offer some short suggestions which if adopted may lead the country many more miles towards the desired goal.

SOCIAL: In our social life let there be practically no discrimination, either on account of class, tribe, sex, or creed. Let there be less

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1. 1948 population census.

of groups that comprise this great country, for it is suspicion that has mainly been responsible for the inter-tribal curiosities that are noticeable in Nigeria today. Let social functions be as tribally representative as possible, for by so doing, we shall create a more friendly atmosphere among the different groups of our country. We must resign our dear selves to a greater exigency of social unity which is the only cement of federal conformity in a new Nigeria.

ECONOMY: What Nigeria needs today is an open eye, a clear vision and an intelligent appreciation of the twentieth century economic man. The contemporary economic man is in the air, under the sea and on the land. He moves with a hungry look and calls everything that belongs to others his own if they are not vigilantly guarded by the owners. The twentieth century economic man is a conqueror. He feels himself able, if let alone to amalgamate the physical earth into a single combine or control in order to crush any opposing forces from within and without. To a great extent, and in spite of all governmental restraints, the economic man has created conditions of amazing dominance over vast territories.

Nigerians must understand that to save ourselves from perpetual economic abyss, we must confront this with a strongly fabricated commercial and industrial offensive. We need and must have industrial organizations, commercial corporations, insurance houses, banking establishments and elaborate printing machineries of cylindrical variety. We need mutual confidence to allow us throw our economic eggs into larger corporate baskets for our common good.

In commerce, there should be more of initiative, and more of trade on co-operative basis. Commerce is an adventure, more or less, which cannot often be carried out successfully either singly or within a limited and narrow sphere of operation. Although Nigeria's trade is not restricted owing to Britain's economic crisis, yet there is ample opportunity for export of certain goods to the United States and other countries, which pay greater dividends than Britain. There should be less of suspicion and selfishness and more of faithfulness and devotion.

EDUCATIONAL: Nigeria's educational pace is not comparatively encouraging though it portrays great hopes for the future. But a lot more can be done. We want mass education in the country now. Government apparently has a scheme for mass education. This is good. But since it is a matter of public revenue, one would like to have that scheme shown to the public before it is put into action so that amendments may be made, if necessary. Much has been said, for instance, in favour of a lingua franca for Nigeria. I am not here concerned with what Nigerian Language should be adopted. A mass education scheme which contains no provision for a lingua franca, is, I must say, incomplete. The mass of the people should be taught to read and write in one or more common languages.

In our schools, more should be taught about Africa than about Europe. The omission of or rather insufficient emphasis on this item in the code of education has robbed our young ones of the knowledge and the pride that belong to them as Africans. Furthermore, for educational scheme to be healthy, the planner must play the role of an understanding father in relation to the children for whom it is planned. The planner should appreciate the fact that those fathers are the wisest who train their sons and daughters in the utmost liberty both of thought and speech; who are less anxious to instil dogmas into them. There are several African schools today that have to struggle for existence all alone. Many of these schools help to spread the African culture and it is up to us to help support them, ditto for educational missions which are managed and administered by Africans for the benefit of the Africans.

POLITICAL: Nigeria is politically unstable. Apart from the political wedges which are mischievously placed in between us, we by our own choice make things difficult for ourselves by indulging in various acts which generate disunity.

What Nigeria needs most today is political unity or federation. Certainly, we have one aim, one goal. Why then should we fight ourselves instead of fighting the evil forces that surround our country? Nigerians should now be awake. We should fight our common cause on a common ground with a common understanding.

We are old enough to see the dangers that threaten our existence as a nation. This is not the time for press controversies, brick-throwing and unnecessary inter-tribal bitterness. Young Burma has done it, what of Nigeria? In the name of our beloved land, Africa, I ask every Nigerian to throw off all old prejudices and suspicion, and let all and sundry line up for the crusade for Nigeria's independence and African irredentism. It was India yesterday, Burma today. Why not Nigeria tomorrow? Let us wake up now and work towards that goal with a new candour and zeal. Pusillanimity or faithlessness is against all the virtues of action and realisation. Our standards of ambition must rise higher and purer. We must be a nation of new citizens. Both old and young alike must surrender the dictates of human egoism and live beyond all animalisms that make us the enemies of each other.

Nigerians must develop hearts uplifted with hope and brains animated with sober and manly reason for the common good.

We must go the way of Burma, the way of FREEDOM!!

Although you are today studying in the United States of American colleges, the aim of the ACAE is for you to return to Nigeria after your studies for implementation of ideals and ideologies as expressed in this address (which I will publish later in Nigeria).

10

In 1942 (57 years ago), Orizu was 28 years old. It was then that he raised his voice of freedom to appeal for Nigerian Independence by this radio broadcast to American people, reminding them and their Western allies of the role of Nigeria during the first and second world wars. Those wars were waged to make the world safe for democracy. Since Nigeria contributed both manpower and material, it was only logical for Nigeria and all other African countries to share in that freedom. This world broadcast was made to the widest world audience on behalf of Nigeria, about ten years before Chief Anthony Enahoro spoke on freedom of Nigeria in the Nigerian House of Representatives.

– Editor

08

AFRICA ON THE SIDE OF THE ALLIES

(The Text of Speech Broadcast to the United States of America on Station WLW, Cincinnati, Ohio, Sunday September 16, 1942 at 5.00 p.m.)

This is the second time I have the opportunity to talk to the whole of American nation since this satanic moment of the second world war. I am glad that it has pleased the American people who through their democratic principles, gave me the opportunity to discuss my Africa in relation to this war.

I come from Nigeria, my country on the West Coast of Africa. This country contains about 33 million souls with an area as large as Germany and France put together.

Nigeria is essentially a Republican state having many independent states within it. Some states are governed by kings, others by presidents or councils, and my state – Nnewi, is a constitutional monarchy with semi-independent districts, under the paternal leadership of my family, for the past five centuries.

There are several important rulers in other parts of Nigeria, like the Oba of Benin, the Alake of Abeokuta, the Obi of Onitsha, the Emir of Kano, the Sultan of Sokoto, the Ooni of Ife, the Alafin of Oyo; the Olu of Warri, the Obong of Calabar, the Eze of Arochukwu, the Oba of Lagos, the Shehu of Borno, the Atta of Igala, the Etsu of Nupe.

Turning to the world affairs as it relates to Africa in this war, I shall confine myself particularly to Nigeria, and generally to West Africa.

During the First World War, Nigeria was on the side of the Allies. Immediately the war broke out in 1914, the Northern and Southern Regiments of Nigeria were amalgamated into the Nigerian Regiment, and steps were taken for the defence of Nigeria, and for

offensive action against the neighbouring German Camerouns. The Nigerian police was also mobilised.

On September 27, 1914, 28 years ago this month, the brave Nigerian soldiers forced an unconditional surrender of the German troops in Douala. They conquered the Germans at Garua on June 10, 1915, they invaded Yaunde in 1915, they brought about the German evacuation of Mora in February 1916. This last conquest brought the German Camerouns into a complete defeat.

On November 16, 1916, the Nigerian troops marched into East Africa and there they proved their spirit of courage and suffered heavy casualties. After their gallant participation in East African front, they set their feet on the onward march toward Mesopotamia, but as they were marching into Palestine the bell of Armistice rang.

In the World War II, we cannot at this time, for obvious reasons, state in detail what Nigeria means to the Allies today. But we shall not forget that she has donated many millions of dollars to some European countries and particularly to the British Empire. Women and children in Nigeria have denied themselves of their portions of eggs and peanuts and other foodstuffs in order that the children in England and other small European countries might eat. And apart from her position on the globe, which makes her an essential factor to American security from Axis aggression, there are other important strategic war materials which Nigeria supplies to both America and England. A great many Nigerians have volunteered to fight, even though she is not at war now, and I understand through recent communication that one of my younger brothers has volunteered, and is now in the battlefield on the side of the Allies. All these facts are applicable to other West African countries, such as Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, French West Africa, Liberia and the Gambia.

The problem of African countries is that they want to know now whether the Christian nations are really ready to apply the Atlantic Charter to all the world who shed their blood in this war. Nigerian press has already communicated the Prime Minister of Great Britain on this issue, and we hope, and believe very strongly,

that the false promises of the last world war cannot be repeated again in international relations.

Africa has several basic points to contribute towards the final peace settlement, and she looks up to the United States of America and other Christian nations to co-operate with her in her struggle towards:

1. *Mental Emancipation* – which involves a public education by the African for the African in preparing creative and democratic citizens in Africa for the world.
2. *Social Regeneration* – Which implies the creation of new social order which will be essentially African and yet inclusive enough to fit into the scheme of things for the twentieth century international government, for the world.
3. *Economic Security* – Which involves supplying Africa with capital and technological devices which she lacks for turning her limitless resources into use for the world.
4. *Political Livelihood* – Which implies international respect for the sovereignty of the African states and their kings, whether they be militarily weak or strong, and thereby spur confidence among all nations for a common battle for freedom, for the world.
5. *Spiritual Mission* – By which Africa points out to all the world that her people are essentially Christian by their cultural disposition. Today, Africa is the salt of the world, and we do not want to lose the savour which God has so mercifully bestowed upon us. The mission of Africa to the world and particularly to the Christian nations is to return to Christian principles in shaping the world of tomorrow. That will bring an enduring peace.

We cannot find peace by turning the pages of all the dictionaries and searching through all the libraries for past and present records. To me that cannot work. My opinion is this: the way to have peace is to make peace; the way to make peace is to reckon with the interest of all; and the way to reckon with the interest of all is to represent all. This is the African message to all who struggle for *freedom* and *peace*.

11

Prince Orizu whom many consider the virtual founder of the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly has here demonstrated his absolute nationalistic vision. From this his first budget speech in the Eastern Region as far back as 1952, it becomes clear that Nigeria really had visionary leaders who had the courage, integrity and commitment characteristic of great pioneers of freedom and founders of nations everywhere in the world.

– Editor

SPEECH DURING THE FIRST BUDGET SESSION: EASTERN HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, ENUGU, FEBRUARY 20, 1952

Your Honour,

I am rather pleased that it is my opportunity to be a participant in the deliberations of the first sessional parliament of this nation at this moment of political upheavals. And before I go into the problems of the budget, let me praise the constitutional spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race. Compared with other powerful white races, I am of the opinion that the Anglo-Saxon both in Europe and America have proven that constitutionalism has superior appeal over the fascist and nazist tendencies. It is significant to note that in my own state, Nnewi the British came only in 1905. My father was the first traditional ruler in Nnewi to see the whiteman. And now we are on the threshold of freedom. India stooped for over three centuries, England was under Rome for more than two centuries. Nigeria's speed is specially commendable, and the record of the East beats all imagination. Never in political history has so few got so fast in so short a time under so powerful an empire. While therefore I praise the Anglo-Saxons, I glorify the resistant spirit of the people of Nigeria.

I have observed His Honour himself, and I must congratulate him for his fine qualities and special ability in keeping all elements in check without force during these deliberations. It appears to me that he is characterized with political mellowness and diplomatic naughtiness. His political mellowness enabled him to make us all feel good and humorous while performing the difficult and delicate function of the state. His diplomatic naughtiness forced him into bruising some of us, but those of us who are bruised are pressing on. Our reason for remaining silent while suffering from the bruises is because we want to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.

like a wounded bird which while he attempted officiously to tell the people that it was through his wisdom that he and other two birds escaped the hunter's shot, lost the grip of stick on which he was being flown home by his more fortunate but less wise companions.

Besides, I must bring in the name of our great leader, Dr. the Honourable Nnamdi Azikiwe. His political ingenuity made the N.C.N.C. possible. The activities of the N.C.N.C. made the new constitution possible. The new constitution made our presence here possible. It is only proper that we extend our gratitude and congratulations to him and others who work with him.

The National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns

Time has come, Your Honour, when we must abandon fear of enunciating the philosophy we advocate. N.C.N.C. is a political organization with a social philosophy. We are of that N.C.N.C. and we are proud of it. We have sold the idea of this philosophy to our lost brothers, and the fathers of this N.C.N.C. have accepted our lost brothers as prodigal sons whom we give more wine and more drinks on the day of their return from their prodigality, while we appear to have overlooked the faithful sons who never went astray. And I say to the faithful sons who might blame the fathers for their seeming neglect, to understand that we are happy to have our lost sons put in a state of security so that out of our insecurity we shall have made many to be secure. To understand the economic philosophy of the N.C.N.C., it is necessary to look into our idea of collective social interest which is our social philosophy.

"By our social philosophy is meant a collective conviction of a people which anathematizes the social evils of our times, while clinging unfalteringly to a definite programme which conforms to our moral principles and ethical norms as those in turn, relate to our material and spiritual yearnings. Ours is a group decision not to be neutral in matters affecting social destiny; a belief in a cause; a will to die in defence of a choice. It means a definition of means and end, and a determination to attain a particular end by a particular means."

We are led to gird on our harness for a social combat which will destroy all evils existing in the present order of things. This philosophy is so strongly rooted in us and our faith so strengthened in it that we the participants in the movement always picture our coming action as a battle in which our cause is certain to triumph.

In the exact words of Kweku Gardiner of the University College, Ibadan, "We believe that attempts to convert individuals to the African point of view, to seek redress for particular wrongs and grievances, and to plead for favors are futile. We can never build a strong and self-respecting community on the basis of other people's generosity and charity. We are from this moment determined to play an active part in the dynamic progresses which are shaping our destiny. To do this, we must from now on, strive to think in terms of principles and interests. In the historic days ahead of us, he who fails to put national interest above all others is a traitor. We are out to conquer time. We have no faith in any nebulous conception of civilization, Western or otherwise. We need to cultivate within us the spirit that can live through destruction of plans, disappointments and failures. This spirit alone can lead us forward in spite of all."

If these be our ideals, Your Honour, it appears to me that even school boy economists will have realized that these present estimates which we have decided to approve conditionally do not and cannot reflect the ideologies of the N.C.N.C.

It is *political expediency* and not *philosophical acceptance* which has forced our hands to this temporary approval. Imagine, Your Honour, that our idea of money is to use it for definite social ends based on the assumption of coordinating the human energies necessary for the realization of a collective happy state. In doing so we want every man to be responsible. No class whether they be kings, whether they be nobles, whether they be intelligentsia, whether they be workers or whether they be women or children will be permitted to impose their particular interests at the expense of others. We mean to develop an economic state which will attract all groups because all will be benefited thereby. These Estimates, Your Honour, do not reflect this philosophy. These Estimates seem to us to be

like a strong fighter who covered his hands with white velvet gloves stretching his hands of welcome to the other man on the other side as though it were an extension of hand of friendship. The man on the other side, extended his hand to shake his friend with the velvet gloves, the fist underneath the glove blew him down. Before he got up to fight back, the man with velvet gloves had disappeared.

Our idea of egalitarian distribution of benefits and allocation of duties was reflected in our divisional representation in the centre. I advocated this idea during the early stage of our party activities here.

Take Onitsha Market and £500,000 (five hundred thousand pounds). Now as a representative of Onitsha Division, I ought to be very grateful for this proposed loan. I must say, for the purposes of philosophical record, that if I were representing Onitsha on that board, I would have allowed a loan of about 150 – 175 thousand pounds for Onitsha Market, and gear myself up to the development of other areas in Onitsha province. Nsukka and Udi need development, so does Awgu. Awka needs a whole lot, Ozubulu needs a secondary school, no road in Ukpor, Aguleri needs tarred roads and schools, Anam needs transportation and post office. I have also heard that Camerounians have no roads on which to trek. Calabar, PortHacourt, Aba, Oguta and even Enugu need improved market as well. What we need in Nigeria today is the means of getting somewhere, and the means of knowing something and the means of hearing everything. A beautiful market is a means of getting comfortable in one place, and Nigeria needs no comfortable cushions at a time when her sons and daughters are blind and crippled. It is only after we see and after we walk shall I endorse that such a lump sum be loaned to one undeserved project like that for the present.

Local Industries

Your Honour, it will be an abuse of intelligence to discuss local industries as though it has had any serious consideration in the government plan of the old regime. For that matter there is nothing to discuss. There was no local industry except some natural local

industries which were here from time immemorial. Our industry is still the industry of the raw material, and the British regime planned to leave us in that state so long as it was possible to do so.

Now that dynamic N.C.N C. is in power, we must decide to develop local industries on definite foundation, otherwise our declaration will be mere sentimental effusion without any substance.. If we stand by our economic program, we will have to develop a new industrial society; if we fail to do so, we shall witness capitalistic doctrines and inevitably allow and encourage individual initiative for industrial revolution in Nigeria. In that case, the only difference between the old society and our own will be in our effort to protect the citizens of Nigeria from the whims of the foreign investors and combines, and encouraging the former to borrow and invest profitably. But I have my eyes set on a new industrial society beginning with local industries into huge expansions in all aspects of our national life.

Police

I am not impressed with those honourable friends who wish that the money for Police Department be cut. No sir! Rather I would suggest that more money be allocated to that Department to send some of our police to other countries for better training in criminology and civic responsibilities. Our police, like those of the civilized world should be trained to appreciate the scientific bases of crimes and have a balanced psychological insight into the problem of man in a continually changing social order. Man is a psychological and also a sociological case. To keep him at peace the bases of his psychology and sociology must be understood. Our police know none of these. They are like a carpenter without tools or like a cook without salt.

The fault with the police lies in the problem of the expatriates. We need to have intelligent Nigerian citizens to be the highest officials and eliminate the number of non-Nigerians who drain the huge sums appropriated for the police.

I wonder whether some of us had visited the barracks in Eastern Nigeria, and seen that they are like white-painted sepulchres. They

glitter from the outside, whereas the poor constables live in small rooms under suffocation and ordeal; today nothing will be said of the shame that hurts their pride when they have visitors who will find out that each constable has only one small room where he and his wife are together; all cooking utensils are packed there; all house apparatus and wardrobe are set out there; shoes and hats and gramophones, etc are jumbled together like in a mad house. These young men so very poorly housed will be expected to do first-class job which requires first class health that is not provided for.

We need to have only Nigerians to be superintendents of police; No need delaying their progress by going through senior assistant superintendent. I suggest that Nigerians who are fit for senior assistant superintendent of police should become superintendents at once and, no doubt, their salary will not cost Nigeria any expatriation load.

Send police on scholarship to Scotland Yard, Chicago, New York and Los Angeles. Reduce the number of expatriate officers. Promote Nigerian citizens and Nigerianize the police force, and there will be less financial burden in that department. By that we shall get better services from the police. By then, they will know more about the functions of the police in a world which is faced with crime wave, traffic flood, religious abandonment and traditional dislocations.

Civil Service and Order-in-Council

We cannot speak intelligently on this financial bill or any other until there be an indirect control of all finance by our party in Eastern Nigeria.

Civil servants are servants of the crown according to British practice. Legally, this is definite. Yet the crown has annually to seek from parliament the money to pay the civil servants.

The Treasury in practice, has to approve departmental estimates and submit them or agree to their submission, to the House of Commons. It was owing to this that in 1919 the Treasury set up an Establishments Department within its fold with the functions of organization of departments, personnel superannuation, and so on.

May I ask then whether it was a mere accident that the Prime Minister is the first Lord of the Treasury? No sir! It is not an accident. The prime minister is the first Lord of the Treasury because he is the focal centre of the majority of the citizens who collect the money that the civil servants consume.

Employment of personnel is in the first instance a financial question. The money comes from the people, and the people have the sole right of approving how their money should be spent.

In a party system of government the problem of patronage comes in. And patronage, we will all agree, is a question of the political leader of the party in power.

I want to drive this point home that, beginning with 1855, Orders-in-Council were issued regulating the admission into civil service in England. As time went on they were being issued to cover more grounds such as conditions of labour. In 1910, these orders were consolidated. These had been amended by other later orders. But since conditions of service are matters of finance, such amending orders are necessarily issued at the request of the Treasury, headed by the leader of the party in power.

Treasury (or party leader) control of the civil service conditions is by no means limited. It is the party leader under Treasury who acts on behalf of the crown and is in complete control of the civil service. To make this point clearer, read: Royal Commission of Civil Service (1929) Minutes of Evidence Appendix 1, pp 23-27.

I therefore say that the financial control of the civil service in Nigeria should be in the hands of the party leader despite the Order-in-Council. It is a part of the unfinished business of the British democracy in Nigeria.

Position of Ministers

George Schuyler of New York once reminded me of one adage. "That it is always a relatively easy thing to get a man out of slavery, but it takes more time to take slavery out of a man". *The same is true of the master.*

Our ministers must understand that this new constitution is a result of the shouting of the "noisy men", the efforts of men of

silence, the fruits of the labours of our women in their riots, the outcome of the revolting spirit of our workers and common men. The British attachment to constitutional method and the Nigerian spirit of attachment to realities have made it possible for us to be here without blood shed.

We want this right so far obtained to be used without fear. Majority rule under representative government is acceptable without question. You, as ministers must always use your majority power derived from us knowing that behind you are the formidable mixture of citizens. Some are acceptable men, others are not acceptable men. And these categories of men – "acceptable" and "unacceptable" – have their salutary meanings in the history of any oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. I advocate the principle of legitimate "compromise" on certain issues.

Natural Rulers

The first law of democracy is that we lose what *we do not* share.

Some men who consider themselves liberal sometimes lose sight of what a true democracy is.

In the field of political science, we understand democracy to be a principle of living. It is not a particular culture. Democracy is a movement, it is not a monument. And that is why it adapts itself to particular cultures and does not destroy them. For example, in political democracy there are essential basic principles which make any country politically democratic, cultural differences not withstanding. For illustration, political democracy may be said to include, among other things, the franchise of all adult citizens; freedom of thought, press and speech; the election by the voters of those principal officers of the state who formulate policies; the understanding that any citizen or party defeated at the polls will retreat unobtrusively from the office, while those duly elected will take charge and conduct the government while also defending the rights of the minority. Any country with this arrangement may be considered politically democratic.

My idea of our Natural Rulers is that a definite attention should be paid to make a definite plan for the Natural Rulers of the East.

Thanks to the astute and clever minds of the N.C.N.C. party leaders who have agreed on this my suggestion. We cannot walk backwards in this age. But certainly we can walk forward with every limb of our social structure. But as we go along, nature will make it so that all vestigial limbs will fall off from the body structure in their own good time without destroying anything.

I submit that the idea of traditional rulers is not against democratic concepts or socialistic government.

America and England are democracies, but how different their practices. One is under a presidential system, the other under a monarchical - cabinet system.

On the question of our traditional rulers, I shall choose to take the position which Abraham Lincoln took during the time of the Civil War and the Negro Slave issue. We said in effect that his greatest interest was the Union of America. If by emancipating the blacks the Union will be affected, he would do it. If by enslaving them the Union is attained, he would do it.

I believe that to succeed we must of necessity make the whole society be willing to participate in our great struggle to get away from the British imperialism. I submit that if we at this stage discriminate against certain sections of the Eastern society, there will soon be a stalemate or a draw back. Speed is essential, and weight is a factor in velocity.

Can we do without our Natural Rulers? I say "Yes", but not now. Our society at present is so interwoven in the ties of family, so interested in group action based on customary procedure, that much as some of us, the "educated", want to ignore the presence and influence of our Natural Rulers in the East, the grim reality is against our postulates. I have facts to prove that the political influence of our Natural Rulers in the East is still of paramount effect in moulding public opinion in places other than townships. And how many townships do we have in the East?

Any intelligent social engineer knows that no society will remain the same, and no custom will remain unchanged. Economic and philosophical tendencies bring new ideas. The life of Nigeria will flow as do all streams along the meandering lines which will result

from the interaction between its own biological impulses and rock-facts of circumstances. To get away from the prison gate of whiteman's domination in Nigeria, the leaders of the N.C.N.C. must learn the lesson of hastening slowly in certain political issues which have great implications in the life-blood of a people.

Now my honourable friends, the most important question before us is the unity of all divisions in the East and unity of all regions in the nation. Eastern Region cannot be effective in the Centre unless we are truly representing all the elements in the East and unless we are sure of the support of all levels of persons who voted the N.C.N.C. into power. If by recognizing the problems of the Natural Rulers in the East and associating ourselves intelligently with such problems we shall have won the hearts of all men for the sake of unity, I shall support such a move; if by rejecting and denouncing unceremoniously the honourable position of the Natural Rulers as known in our ancient and recent regimes (though not always recognized by the British authorities), we shall attain the unity of the East, I shall support the move.

But I am not inclined to believe that any unity will be attained by denouncing any kind of claim or recognition of the people who represent even at present the basis of our social order, all British upside-down and contemptuous attitude towards the political culture of the East, notwithstanding. I am not among those who would hasten to recommend the House of Chiefs for the East, nor do I want to condemn without investigation those who want the House of Chiefs. Any man with scientific detachment who does not permit some social prejudices to colour his judgement should suspend conclusions and try to investigate and understand what our Natural Rulers are saying. It is entirely in our hands to advise them, reject or accept any of their proposals with respect and honour. To offend our Rulers in the East at this time is to invite a new internal enmity which may be used by our other enemies against the N.C.N.C. in Nigeria. We must hasten slowly in a country where the elements of reaction and intrigue abide everywhere awaiting for opportunities to disunite and destroy.

A superficial thinker may misunderstand my stand in this matter particularly after knowing my expressed social and political philosophy. But my stand is unchanged except that I would not stand to see N.C.N.C. lose what it does not share at a time when unity is becoming difficult in Nigeria as a whole. A word is enough for the wise.

Education

Your Honour, looking at the estimates in this department you will agree with me that:

1. Our money is intended to be the privilege of the *Bureaucrat* and the *cleric*.
2. The Education Department policy reflects the philosophy which sanctions that education must remain the privilege of a special class: those who have the money and those who know the officers in power either by virtue of their race or by their nature of slave diplomacy.
3. The Education Department retains a positive prejudice against African pioneers in education,
4. The Education Department neglects technical education upon which modern society is based for economic prosperity.
5. The school curricula endorsed by the Education Department reflect a dangerous tendency to train men and women who, by their limited and narrow experience, will be invariably some good civil servants ready to obey the command of the master on the top, without the scientific mind for creative and productive activities.

These inadequacies and anomalies call for some national questions which must be solved:

1. What must be the relation of the Church and the State in the Eastern Region in matters of education of the young?
2. Will education be a privilege or moral obligation?
3. Will education make technology and scientific research possible or will it be education to produce clerks and lawyers and doctors?

4. Who will direct and influence our education?
5. How long shall we beg foreign universities to help us in our higher studies?

To these questions I answer:

1. Church and State had struggled for centuries over the education of the citizens. We are familiar with all arguments involved. I simply want to state that our citizens have it as a right to be educated by the State. The State has always had better facilities to give more adequate education without much cost to the average citizen. To me the Church should remain a moral citadel for those who come into its fold, while the State takes up dutifully the function of educating the people in public schools. If there be private schools owned by the Church, let them not be discouraged, but the State should not be called upon for any grants-in-aid. That should be the function of such Church members.
2. Education is not and should not be a privilege. In a democracy, it is a moral obligation to be intelligent. It is a moral obligation not only for a person to be intelligent, but for an intelligent person to be informed as to the effect of his conduct. In order to demand the sense of duty from our citizens, we must train them to know their duties. Public welfare may be imperilled much more by ignorance and carelessness than by wilful aggression.

   Prejudice, habit, propaganda, pressure of public opinion are the major obstacles to thinking. Right thinking gives birth to right action. Under imperialism, we need all citizens to be so educated in order to stop being victims of these obstacles to thinking. No nation can grow beyond the thinking of its thinking many.

(3) I endorse such education as will encourage technology and science along with other phases of education to make an individual a whole person who can contribute and create rather than distribute and absorb.

(4) The quality of our teachers and directors and inspectors needs a drastic overhaul. A director or a teacher of African education must be excellent both as a technician and a personality. He must be loyal to African culture and understand African character and mentality. He must reflect his convictions in Africanisms for which he must be prepared to fight. He must be an inspirer and reviver of our legitimate loyalties. His mind must be trained to approach problems with scientific detachment and with creative impulse, otherwise a new generation of free men will never grow in our New Nigeria. The director of education and his subordinates to whom our emoluments go must be capable of defining the intellectual basis of African culture as precisely and distinctly as possible. A child growing into manhood must be made to understand the basis of his faith in life. It must be clear to him as contrasted with the other ways of living, or else he will become a mere slave to a foreign dogma which he does not understand nor will be able, if left alone, to transmit to others.

(5) We must start plans to own our universities and stop wasting tremendous sums of money on transportation and feeding in other countries where standard of living is apparently higher than here.

Children in Nigeria have the right to know that their Minister of Education and his Directors take education as an avenue through which all citizens get full knowledge of the universe and the immediate physical environment. In our school curricula, time has come when Nigerian children should know about comparative studies of cultures, world history in their inter-relationships. Special emphasis should be laid on African history as a prerequisite to the study of other histories. The interpretative history of European imperialism and totalitarianism and their systematic decay in a free world should form an essential part of our school curricula. They will soon learn that good has supremacy over evil and that though a big lie may have a good start, but that ultimate triumph awaits the hands of truth, the smallest truth. Our school curricula should emphasize polytechnical education as developed in Russia. Socialism

of contemporary society should be brought to notice. More should be known about Democracy, Communism, Fascism, Socialism, Nihilism, Anarchism, Tripledemism, Satyagrahaism, and some Africanisms both sublimated and emerged ones. Most of our present educational officers do not understand us!

Suggestions

(1) Let there be a new Education Board and new Education Code.
(2) Let us endorse the 250 scholarship scheme for the Easterners this year.
(3) Recognize the certificate of students who are trained from African owned schools.
(4) Give grants-in-aid to all schools whether missionary or private, or leave all of them alone while the State takes over.
(5) Reopen T.K. Utchay's school at Aba and Port-Harcourt and grant him fund.

In conclusion, I must emphasize again that the economics of the Education Department substantiates my fear that this budget is not ours. It conforms with the philosophy of the privileged class. The bureaucrats first, then the clerics. We have £1,174,800 for education, £111,000 goes to bureaucracy, that is the officials through their emoluments. The other great portion of one million pounds goes to voluntary agencies, who are predominantly the foreign religious bodies in the country.

The whole prejudice and class distinction of English society has reflected in the educational scheme of Nigeria, and this must go.

Public Relations Office

We are representatives of the public. It is our duty to reflect without fear what is called public opinion. True, .Your Honour, the public relations office here may be of some use in the past. But the people of the East, including every thinking member of this honourable House disagree with continuance of the office of public relations. The people feel and we are convinced that this office is not needed

any longer in view of the fact that the new regime is to some extent in the hands of the people's representatives, and in view of the fact that the officers of this Department through the weekly journal ("outlook") express the opinion of the old regime as a matter of habit and official obligation, money allocated to this kind of endeavour is considered wasted.

What we need for the present is an information office which should be recognized with cooperation of the N.C.N.C. party in power with a view to educating the public about the activities of the new government in power. It is also necessary to develop within it a system of keeping the public constantly informed on statistics of facts of all that goes on in the East. Such information should be objective and without diplomatic sword to cut deep into the psychology of the lethargic populace.

Expatriates

The logic of paying an imported employee not only more money per capita than the employed citizens of the soil, but also adding a heavy sum to his pay called expatriation allowance is one of the signs that Nigeria is still an Empire-slave nation. No free nation which is faced with economic crises as Nigeria could afford to drain its resources in order to satisfy imported workers in its fold. That is not so in America. It cannot happen in England. The financial problem of the East is partly a direct result of the evils of expatriation allowance.

The problem of the N.C.N.C. Government of the East must be to do some thing about expatriation allowances as from April 1953. We cannot do that now without some basic changes.

Local Government

(1) The Minister of Local Government simply has to realize that government is a service instrumentality. The greatest problem in the East is that local units of government are not responsive to the public good in a satisfactory measure.

(2) The institution of A.D.Os and Residents perverts all principles of political science in modern government. The tendency everywhere is to separate the functions of the offices of the State; to employ experts where needed, and engage statesmen where they are fitted. That an A.D.O. (sometimes without prerequisite education) should be a judge in native courts, a legislator, and an executive is a challenge to pure commonsense and freedom. When in one man you find a merger of political powers, he is bound to feel autocratic not only by choice but by mere pressure and a desire to expedite. He cannot be thorough. He cannot be specifically responsible.

(3) Another endemic political disease in the East is the system whereby district officers and residents are made to stay only a few months in each station and run away either on leave or on transfer. This results in:

(a) Lack of sense of stability.
(b) Lack of consistent policy.
(c) Lack of sense of responsibility.
(d) Lack of possibility of discovering the real ability of an officer.
(e) A confusion of affairs in the minds of the governed.

(4) Another serious problem is the idea of Intelligence Report. I stand, deploring the purely scientific inaccuracy of those reports in view of unsatisfactory conditions and circumstances under which they were made. I challenge the accuracy of such reports transmitted by corrupt interpreters whose danger to the welfare of our government cannot be overstated. It will not be long when the office of interpreters will be abolished in the East. Either that officers will be all Nigerians or that foreign officers must learn and speak the language of the area they are to work in.

(5) In the East, we have no true statistics of our population and this must be done in the age of scientific planning and modern government.

12

To Dr. Orizu freedom of the worker in Nigeria was one of the primary freedoms of his gospel of independence. It was on behalf of the workers during the shooting of 21 miners in Enugu that Orizu had his first baptism in government arrest and detention for twenty-one days in 1949. This is Prince Orizu's voice of freedom inside the Nigerian parliament 47 years ago.

– Editor

IN DEFENCE OF NIGERIAN WORKERS IN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

(Being my contribution to the commencement of public business in the Federal House of Representatives, August 18, 1952)

Mr. President Sir, I shall open my comments on Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1952 by sounding a note of warning that it is very dangerous to play politics with the stomach of the workers.

Our workers in this country constitute the bedrock of our social order, the citadel of our collective security, the hope of our continued existence, the life and vitality of our economic prosperity, the norm of our pendulum of creativity, the measure and the end of our national ideology, the barometer of our political ingenuity, the imponderable ocean of our social philosophy and an end and not a means of all social action.

What is freedom for? Our freedom is the freedom of the individual who, unless he be a beast or an angel, must be a worker! And when we talk carelessly over the destiny of ourselves, the destiny of our brothers, the destiny of our mothers, the destiny of our sisters, the destiny of our suffering fathers, we must pitch our arguments on the fundamentals and not play politics with words. I am now referring to the statement made by great Abracadabra Majesty, the Minister of Labour. After listening to most of his philipics, I became confused as to whether our Honourable Minister has ever heard, I would not say learnt, the word, I would not say the meaning, of social psychology.

A minister under the form of our Government is a political appointee and not an administrative employee. And when an issue of salary involving the Government and workers arises, a political appointee, if the Honourable Minister understands what I mean, would be expected to perform a double function: the function of interpreting and defending sympathetically and guarding jealously,

the feelings of the people who constitute the body politic of the nation, while at the same time turning himself into an encyclopedia of information as regards the difficulties of the Government. In either case, he must use tact and intelligence, in the choice of his words.

To my utter dismay, our Honourable Minister has chosen another course for at no time did I witness in his delivery a true and deep-seated interest coming from his heart. When a man talks from his heart, it touches the hearts of other men, but all the eulogies of our Honourable Minister, Mr. President, was directed in book phraseologies and poetic eulogies, and these things were totally unrelated to the problems of anguish and agonies of our Nigerian workers. Much more than that, there was no evidence of that political maturity which should express itself in laying before the representatives of the people the specific national remedies, the standards of service and cost, comprenensive financial planning, aggregate expenditure limitation, the provision of adequate technique of research.

It must be understood very clearly that each governmental service should be performed in an administrative area reasonably well adapted to its efficient performance. Mr. President, allow me to inform that the factors and conditions that generally contribute to the increase of public expenditure comes from the following sources. I state:

1. Territorial expansion
2. Increase of population
3. The human element
4. Defects of Government organisation and procedure
5. Changing price levels
6. Improper allocation of functions and resources
7. Diffusion of administrative and financial responsibility.

Mr. President, Nigeria is not experiencing the era of barbaric territorial expansion, as we find in decadent Europe. Nigerian population is not rising with any alarming birth-rate because there is neither health to live long nor incentive to give birth to new babies. I therefore think that the major factors contributing to increase

of public expenditure which affects the workers' wages resulted from defects of Governmental organisation and procedure, their absent-mindedness, carelessness and inefficiency. I must admit that price level is a factor, but improper allocation of functions and resources of this country contributes more than anything else to the ills and the expenditure which affects the workers of this country.

I therefore warn the Department of Labour that time for political euphemisms and psychological masquerade had ended because in this House, I am proud to say, beginning with men of intellectual calibre like the Hon. Awokoya, or the Hon. Dr. Udoma; men of political experience like our great Honourable Alake of Abeokuta or Hon. Ahmadu Bello, Sarduana of Sokoto; men of business acumen like Hon. Odutola or E. U. Eronini, that I can confidently assure the President that there is scarcely any parliamentary assembly in the world where our best men will not match their best men and our worst their worst. What we are saying is what the Financial Secretary told us when he said: "I am sure that we all wish that we could look forward to the day when salaries and wages could be stabilised, when the rapid fluctuations in price can be halted and when the people can live in peace and security in the full knowledge that their lives will not be be-devilled at the end of every month by a domestic budget that will not balance."

Having told us that the domestic budget of our people would not balance, we are considered ignorant in saying that it should balance.

Just imagine, Mr. President, that there is general discontent in this country among the workers and unless the Government does something now we are likely to enter into an era of continued strikes. I must say that a strike is a prerogative of any working class in a democracy and for that reason to imagine that the way to stop strikes is to tell the worker that to strike is wrong, is inconceivable. This is an era of democracy, and we are not in the Fascist regime and for that reason we must emphasise the fact that we the Government must cure the ills, not by trying to say nothing or charging us with ignorance of the statistics when none was presented to us.

I came to Lagos about a week ago. A telegram was sent to me the day I left. I did not receive that telegram until today, just this morning. That is the way the Post and Telegraphs Department performs these days. The reason for that Mr. President is because in the P. & T. Department, it is reported that senior service, I mean promoting Africans to the senior service is an anathema. There may be one or two. I do not know the number but you do not find senior service Africans in P. & T. Department – not many. If I am wrong I would like to be corrected immediately.

President: Order, Order. Honourable Member, you are pursuing that line of argument too far because what we are discussing is the system of salary.

Dr. Orizu: Thank you, Mr. President, I did not know that anybody could be promoted without salary.

President: We are not discussing the system of promotion, but salary. There is a difference between discussing how people get promotion and what their salaries should be when they are promoted. I am just warning the Honourable Member. He is right so far.

Dr. Orizu: Thank you, Mr. President. I am too dumb to understand. I like to draw the attention of the President that messengers are complaining that they are being relegated to the background. Nothing is mentioned about them. It is a matter of common knowledge that messengers in offices who deliver letters from one department to another are important links in any administrative machinery. The clerical assistants are unsatisfied from the letters I receive here. If you look at Page 8 of the Sessional Paper, Item E under Appendix 1, Schedule E No 3 is called grade 1 and No 4 is called senior grade. I would like you to look at Nos 3 & 2. They are salaries beginning with £2:10/-, while people in grade 1 really are equivalent to people in senior grade. As I explained, Grade 1 handles Governor's special trains, cattle, kola, limited trains and other special trains.

That is exactly the work of the senior men who are receiving £340, while the junior people who do not do the same job receive the same. I would like if the Financial Secretary would explain to me why that figure is there.

Everybody has talked about the salaries revision but I have looked into the question of the police and I feel very strongly that the time has come when we have to understand that the function of the police in any society is as good as the function of a medical doctor because while the medical doctor cures physical diseases, the police cures social diseases, but we have always relegated them and their salaries to the background. They complain that this is not enough. Now I do not want to dwell on most of these things. I want to go right back to the object of my standing up here. I want to deal with expatriates.

Before I deal with the expatriates, I would like to distinguish between expatriates and experts. What we want in this country are the experts, everybody that spoke did say that. What we do not want in this country are inefficient expatriates. I am not fundamentally against the salaries of the expatriates as such, the important thing is to discover whether we have any remedy for the expatriates' burden because the economic burden of Nigeria is based entirely on them. Here is a people from an entirely different society with a totally different economic standard, coming to this country, receiving salaries that should be received in an industrial society in an agricultural society. In other words, we are paying somebody with industrial outlook, when actually their salary would be indigenous to this country.

Now the question would be how we are going to get rid of these expatriates. If the Government knew that the expatriate salary should be so high, why is it that all these years, almost over two centuries Government made no effort to train the indigenous people to qualify so that when they come home they would not have to receive salaries of expatriates. Therefore my own idea is that one should not discriminate against the present expatriates as such because I feel that it is not even

the fault of those who are here – I do not want anybody who comes to us as guests and friends to think that we do not want them – because certainly the people must be paid more for their expert knowledge. I say so now, and I would like to be corrected, that it was not until 1945, when I returned with my scholarship scheme of the American Council on African Education Inc. that this Government started to know that it is essential to train Africans abroad for academic degrees and not to go to England for political holidays. Even then only 12 men since 1945 were sent to America, to study – and where did they study? – in the South! All of them. And we talk about progress and independence and castigating everybody who wants to do something about it.

Now I have dwelt enough on this expatriate business. Let me go to the statement of our Honourable Financial Secretary. I would like to go to his own explanation. Here he said, Mr. President, I quote:

"Following the close of the Second World War in 1945, consumers overseas were prepared to pay high prices for Nigerian commodities, and the House will be interested to know that from 1946 to 1952, the Marketing Boards alone have paid out to the farmers of this country a sum of not less than £160 million". Then I ask what did you do with the workers when others are ready to pay more for commodities, or are the workers not those who produce and did bring about the possibility of getting those commodities? What did you do for the workers when you gave £160 million to the farmers? Who did the clerical work, all the dirty work, to get the goods out of this country?

Financial Secretary: Harragin:

Dr. Orizu: If Harragin were so good we would not be here talking. Then the Financial Secretary said again: "We have a shortage

of all kinds of commodities, and the means of making or growing them; we have a plethora of money which people are anxious to spend". Mr. President, I want to know from the Financial Secretary why then did he allow our citizens to go to Fernando Po receiving nothing for the work they do? If you know that the prices of commodities are that up, what have you done to level the standards for the workers of the country.

President: We are only dealing here with salaries of civil servants.

Dr. Orizu: I am discussing this in relation to the statement made by the Financial Secretary. I am putting a reply on that basis alone.

President: Where the Financial Secretary uses an illustration as an argument in favour or against the matter which is before the House, the Honourable Member must not debate the illustration, but must confine his debate to the main theme.

Dr. Orizu: Thank you, Sir. I want to say again what he said. He said, "Our cocoa has at times brought as much as £300 per ton to be compared with £9:15/- per ton which it was bringing in June 1939; our tin which twenty years ago the producers were glad to sell at £100 per ton, at the height of the Korean scramble brought as much as £1,700 per ton!" I ask, which one did you give to the workers? I go further. He went further: "As the incomes of the farmers engaged in producing food crops began to rise, those engaged in producing food crops demanded and were able to secure increased prices for the commodities which they were growing". Now listen Mr. President "The joint effect was that the cost of living to people in urban centres began to rise and eventually commercial houses – commercial houses! commercial houses!! found it necessary to give their employees increases in wages and salaries". Now listen to what happens to our civil servants! "For the fixed salary people, the majority of whom are Government servants, there was no immediate compensatory rise in incomes to meet

their ever mounting costs". What was the result – "they had to tighten their belts" (and I am wondering where they are going to get the money to buy the belts) – "while watching their standard of living falling in relation to the other sections of the community. The less thrifty either got into debt or lived on their savings." We are talking about the junior men in the Civil Service because it is essential. It does not affect the senior service men from my point of view.

I will still continue to quote my Honourable friend, the Financial Secretary. Here he said: "Even in the territories immediately surrounding us, inflation has been much more rampant and prices have soared to greater heights than we know in Nigeria." Now this was a defence. This was a defence because he knew that somebody would ask why salaries are more in the Gold Coast, so this was brought up. I happen to have some figures here which I think would be too long to quote. It did not convince me at all that the people of the Gold Coast should, if the Financial Secretary means territory immediately surrounding us, receive more salaries. How do we think on the question of salaries for these junior service men? Then I go back again to the position of the House about these criticisms we are levelling.

President: The Honourable Member has two minutes.

Dr. Orizu: About the question of statistics I wanted to know from the Financial Secretary or the Minister of Labour why they are telling us all these stories about difficulties in establishing statistical data. If we cannot get that from the Government or if the imaginative faculty of the whole Government is so narrow and so imbecile as to discourage a bold venture into this question of salary, where shall we rest our minds. On whom are we asked to depend? And when these things are not given to us we are told that we are criticising the Government.

Now, in conclusion, because my time has gone, I would like to summarise what I think should be done to help get all

these things straight. I advise that a new policy based on economic morality; that a worker is given enough to enjoy his labour be established immediately; that a policy of letting the workers produce what is in Nigeria for Nigeria through industrialization – that of course might have to go across and touch the Minister of Commerce and Industries – be adopted; the principle of educating our people to come to the level of expatriates become effective; that a health programme to make people have good health be set up. I am suggesting the long term general trend by which we are going to revise the salary:

1. Reduce expatriate pay.
2. Stabilize the salary of the indigenous recruits, that is their own salaries, to be based on the Nigerian economy.
3. Raise the wages of the junior service.
4. Establish a Select Wage Committee called a "Mixed Committee" comprising representatives of the workers and representatives of this House and the Executive.

A word to the workers. It is essential to advise the workers to realise that we are inheritors of an unpleasant heritage. If we do not do everything you want now, you should understand that it is not possible for us to undo everything that has been done but you must also establish some kind of seriousness to accomplish results, honest labour, and a sense of creativity and co- operation. You must become all these in your Departments because Nigerians or Africans are essentially, I am sorry to say, lazy. We want to develop some kind of something-for-nothing psychology. In conclusion I warn the Government and the Labour Department, the Ministers, in the words which I used in the Eastern House of Assembly; the words of somebody some may not like – a man called Mussolini; he said: "The time has come when the arrow must leave the bow or the cord too far stretched, will break."

The time has come when we shall never be told in this House that we have no right to defend the liberties and the increased wealth of our people. The time has come when any

question that is going to be answered has to be answered as though we are men of integrity, men of experience, because the representatives of Nigeria are of a high order, as I said before that we have every reason to be proud of ourselves. I end with the words of Harold J. Laski in his statement to the socialist organisation. He said: "we lose what we do not share." If we do not share the principles of living with our workers, we lose everything. Thank you, Mr. President.

13

The joy of obtaining independence on October 1, 1960, and the fact that a Nigerian was made the Governor General of this nation did not make Dr. Orizu to forget certain unfinished businesses that made the freedom still incomplete. For example: although he was happy that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe addressed the parliament as the Governor General, but he lamented that his official regalia was still that of a British Governor General under the Queen. He did not forget to extol the role of the Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa as a champion of unity and common sense. These attributes would make for self confidence, permanent peace and unity for all.

– Editor

SENATE DEBATES. CONTRIBUTIONS ON MARCH 23RD, 1962

Senator Dr. A. A. N. Orizu: I am not going to speak very much of the Governor-General now; a lot has been said, particularly by the Mover of the original Motion. I only have to thank him again that he has once more indicated our stand that the Senate is not a political platform but a home of statesmen. The portion of the hon. Senator's speech where he suggested that it would be very good to make His Excellency the life-President of the new Republic, is very flattering to some of us who have gone through the gauntlet. I am grateful for that, and for that reason, I am not going to speak any more on the Governor-General.

I would like, however, to speak on the Prime Minister himself, because when we talk about the Speech from the Throne, we know what it means-after all, that Speech was taken up by him and handed over to the Throne and the Throne read. Therefore we have to realise the hazards of preparing that Speech.

Therefore I have to come back to the Cabinet and the Prime Minister himself. When people hear the news in this world, they do not know what they enjoy at the time of enjoyment. The moderate nature and the silent calm personality of our Prime Minister is a very soothing thing for a nation like Nigeria, with diversified cultures, diversified languages, diversified ideals of life. It takes a man with such a calm disposition, a man with the fear of God, to run on an even keel while the wind blows from left and right. It is not always that the strength of mind is demonstrated by mouth, and it is not always that the ability of mind is indicated by pronouncements. Some men are born great in different ways. Therefore, I have to praise and emphasise that what we are enjoying now is the result of the type of personality we have in our Prime

Minister. He is one of the few movers unmoved; and I mean that-one of the few movers unmoved.

Now, let me just go straightaway to this question of Pan-Africanism – the idea of African countries wanting to come together. I feel that there is no other way in the world through which the outside continents will respect us, except when we come together as a group of people.

But let us understand one thing at once: in doing so, I would hate to see Nigeria taking a particular position. Some of us think that states like Egypt headed by Nasser, or States like Ghana headed by Nkrumah, are working for a contrary ideal. No! I would like to put it this way: where there is no extremity in anything, the observer never will appreciate the middle ground. What I mean is, where there is no extreme claim by anybody, the observer is not going to appreciate the middle ground. Nkrumah and Nasser are representing something that small countries like theirs should represent. They are talking to the very top of their voices. They are radical African nations. We must have them, to make other nations appreciate Nigeria, with its moderateness, carrying other African countries along. If that does not happen, if we do not remain moderate like this, Americans, Russians and everybody will think that all Africans will just go along slowly with them, not criticising anything they do – as when they wanted to kill Lumumba, someone had to talk up, as Nkrumah did – that is my own view; I offer it as such. I definitely hate totalitarianism, even in Nkrumah himself who is my colleague, I stayed in the same bed with him in New York, and we had worked together even his Foreign Minister, I moved his two feet in my room one day when we were fighting; we were friends, personal friends. If I go to Accra tomorrow I am going to stay with him.

Senator Abdul Salami Yusufu: Point of Order! I think the speaker has gone beyond the theme – that is, whatever he says in this House is being diffused to the outside world. Now, if the President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, should happen to hear this, then he might take retaliation, which perhaps...

The President: That is not a point of Order; you are making your own opinion, your personal opinion, which happens to be contrary to his. That is not a point of Order.

Senator Dr. Orizu: I am not saying anything against Dr. Nkrumah; I am trying to put him in a proper light. I am saying that he is representing a type of opinion which in Nigeria we would find a way to contest; that is what I am trying to say Nigeria is a moderate nation, with a mission in Africa, and if we are going to do so we have a way to contain all African countries, and to adopt a policy of containment. I am not condemning Nkrumah.

Now, I am not very happy about the fact that when the Heads of African States came to this country, as Chief Beyioku mentioned, nothing was done to introduce them to either of the Houses. It is not done that way – we could not have invited them to the House during the time of the special Conference. The time that our Prime Minister was introduced to the House in America – that could be done, when he had an official invitation from the Head of the State of that nation to visit that nation, by the Government. It is at such a time that a Head of State can come and speak in the Parliament. I want to make that clear; it would have been done that way.

Now, going on, I come to the question of the unity of the corporate regions of this country, that is, dealing with the actual speech from the Throne.

There has been a critical development which is very very dangerous indeed. That is why many of us, or some of us, who know that there is something dangerous always speak dangerously. For this reason, I am going into this very dangerous thing. Very often we criticise other people and try to find faults, and at the same time we say that we are going to build a great nation, with the North as one of the Regions. If really we are going to build a great Nigeria, We must of necessity understand the Northerners and encourage them. We must learn to tolerate others and try to work side by side with all the other citizens of this country. The Southerners always refuse to see with the Northerners in whatever they may do, and always refuse to accept the fact that the Northerners.

are more accommodating. If the Southerners do not show interest in the Northerners, we shall fail. I must sound this note of warning. Of course, I said earlier on that I am entering into a dangerous field, I have to do that because this is the Senate. Therefore, I say here that we have to congratulate the Northerners whenever they do a good thing. Perhaps I am all alone in this and others may disagree with me, but here I concur, and I praise whenever it is necessary to do so.

Coming to the question of the Nigerian defence, the Governor-General said a good deal about the Nigerian Army, the Navy and the Air Force. I am not going to say much about these, but one thing I must mention is that if we are going to defend our country well, we must find a way out; we must look all around the world so as to be able to discover what is good for the defence of this country. Defence ability is not something peculiarly given to any particular country in any part of the world. No nation can say that it is all round as far as the question of defence is concerned. If we are going to be really feared and respected by other countries, the time has come for our Government to make plans.

We must have a military academy. This military academy should not be designed in the pattern of any one country; we should not follow the pattern of any Western or Eastern country. We should not follow the British, French or American pattern. We have to look around the world and try to see what pattern is good for us. The Western man is not specially endowed with peculiar genius. And I must say here that one Japanese can kill 20 Americans. During the last war, the Americans dreaded the Japanese because, as I have said before, one Japanese can kill more than 20 Americans. To know whether this is true or not, give the Japanese 10 days and they will finish America. This is the reason why I say that we should not necessarily depend on any one country or nation for the development of our Armed Forces, and if we are going to be feared by other nations, we have to look around the world.

It is said that people are angry when we say that we are going to Nigerianise the Army, and that we are being ungrateful to our past masters. What does that mean? Nowhere in the world can one

find aliens being in control of the defence of another country. Our defence system should never be based on the pattern of any particular country. This is not a question of criticising our Government. Our Government must be told where they go wrong. What I am saying is what the Government should know but neglected. We must of necessity turn our attention to a vigorous defence programme and establish a good military school not based on any particular pattern but should be adjustable to the standard in the whole world. This military school should include teachers from all parts of the world, not just from the Western countries, for instance. If the military pattern or tactics of one country is well known to another country, there is no safety at all in that country. If we continue to attach ourselves slavishly to the Western pattern in anything we may do, we are not safe.

We should imagine how the Americans got into Germany during the last world war. What happened was that they planned and got into Germany where they were able to get information as to the German atomic bomb secrets. If we realise this, we will agree that we are very childish indeed. When there is a war, people can manage to get into a country and take photographs, try to discover secret things and learn the position of everybody and everything. If it is possible for people to do this from outside the country, how much more when they are teachers and heads of the Armed Forces of the country.

Another thing is that there are about four or five countries in the world which are considered militarily superior to other nations: Russia, America, China, Great Britain and France. These are considered to be the first-class powers. But I want to say here that Japan is one of them, and Nigeria too, although Nigeria is smaller than Japan in size and population – Japan can contain Nigeria four times. Although our population is very small, we have everything which can be attractive to other countries. We have facilities to produce oil, a great amount of oil; in fact, we are the leading African country as far as oil production is concerned. Why should we not know what to do? We should remember that one day there is going to be war, and if there is any major war in the world,

what these big nations will first of all look for is our oil. We should not deceive ourselves that any country will be on our side. I am therefore warning the Government to change its policy of unconsciously going one way about the question of training our men in the military field.

Coming to the question of foreign policy, I have said it again and again that the Government should establish a Select Committee on Foreign Affairs. Let the Government establish a House Committee on Foreign Affairs so that when it comes to the question of foreign policy, they will be the people to show the way. All the three parts of Government should be able to take an active part in the shaping of Government policy, especially as far as foreign policy is concerned. If the Legislature, for instance, does not have enough knowledge, the Judiciary may have. As you know, there are three parts in the Government: the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive. These three work hand in hand, and under a system of what is called checks and balances. The Judiciary can help very greatly and so can the Legislature. I should like to emphasise it again that the Government should establish a Select Committee and a House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I then come to the question of diplomatic relations. Unless we expand very quickly our diplomatic relations, with other countries, it will not be possible for us to understand other countries. It is high time we had ambassadors to Japan, to Russia and to many more other countries of the world.

A man who has been eating his mother's soup, after a while discovers that the other man has a mother who has a sweet soup. It is only when a man knows that his mother's soup is not the only sweet soup, that he is mature. But any man who does not know that his mother's soup is not the only sweet soup is still a child, an imbecile who does not know anything at all. Let us not work like people who think that their mother's soup is the only soup in the world. There are many types of soup in the world. Some are sweet, some are not sweet. We do not have to taste all the soup.

When we want intelligent people to go abroad we should send them to the great countries. We do not want people to be ambassadors

to Togo and Mauritania when Russia is there Japan is there, America is there. When you hear that the Americans won the war of independence, do you know how they won it? It was not America who fought the war; they only had $4^1/_2$ million people by then. It was the French, it was Thomas Jefferson whom they sent to France as their Ambassador and it was from there he made the plans to circumvent England and other countries helped them to get what they desired. Now we are friendly with England, we are in the Commonwealth. Now diplomatic relations with other countries should be speeded up.

I only want to say one thing about Civil Aviation. I had a hint that the Onitsha aerodrome scheme has been abandoned. That is a strange matter to us. I want to say that I do not understand it.

I now come to Education in which I have the greatest interest because I believe that education is the answer to everything we are saying now. Nearly everybody talks about the President of the Senate. Why is he the President of the Senate? Because he has education. You talk about hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe because he has education. You talk about your Prime Minister because he has education. There is not anything else. Therefore, my own policy had been to educate the people. To educate the mind, is to liberate the people. My greatest interest in the world even though I am a politician is education. I do not give anybody anything in the world. If I meet anybody, any poor boy, I give him education. I have no money; but I think that is what the Government will have to concentrate upon. When Hiro Hito rose in Japan, that was the beginning of Japanese modern civilisation. What did he do? He got a plan to make it possible for him to functionalise education. We have not functionalised our educational scholarship as much as we ought to. We are still going by the good soup of one's mother.

I have to congratulate the Federal Government for their plan to build the University of Lagos. Here I have to come out again in praise not of the person of the Governor-General but of the person of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe for the way he adamantly and dangerously built the Nsukka University. Let everybody know that the University is not going to be the moon and even if it is the moon the Russians

have been there. You know people have been talking all sorts of things, people have been criticising that there is not sufficient money. People made too much noise. The noise has subsided, the truth is out and everybody is praising the Government. We now have one at Ife and the North also has one. Now the Federal Government has come in. We shall have more, it is not enough. These are all Government functions.

The time will come when individuals will build universities; that is another step. So I want to tell the Hon. Odutola, he is not here and all the big men we have here in the Senate should think and do something about it now. I should have Hon. Chief Doherty know that is the thing he should do rather than opposing the creation of the Mid-West State. Individuals ought to begin right now to think in terms of building Universities: it is not an impossible thing. When we are talking - people think we do not know what we are talking about; afterwards it becomes a reality. The next step is for individuals to be able to build Universities. I will not be surprised if the Minister of Health, who, I understand, is a very rich man will be able to do it.

Now I want to talk about the All-Nigeria Academic Council, I have to warn now because I know that the usual mistake is going to be made. The Minister of Education is going to write letters to Provincial agencies in the North, Provincial agencies in the South, the chief adviser to the Catholic Church, the chief adviser to the Protestant Churches, for their opinions, all foreign. I have never seen in this world where foreign people plan education. What we shall do to these foreign agents is to encourage them because they helped us a lot, give them grants. But when it comes to planning our own education, the planning should not contain any foreign element. If such a thing continues in an independent Nigeria I will be disappointed. I will criticise every day I come to the Senate. Let there be no element of any missionary from abroad. If you want somebody from an area: tell them that the person must be a Nigerian. Look for the best. Look for shades of opinion. Give chance to the possibility of individual minds. That is the essence of democracy. It has been said that contradiction is victory. Therefore, when this

type of thing is going to be planned do not look for those who will agree on one point of view. Get everybody to tell the nation what they want to do; and no matter how radical you think the person is, if you think he has a peculiar idea of education, put him there to bring it up. If he is no good, you will soon find it out by the test. The other day I heard some one say in Ibo on the radio, that the harmattan said that if a person does not use his tongue to soften his lips the harmattan will do it for that person. When the educational policy is going to be made I want to be there. I may be arrogant but I want to say it. I want to be there.

I will now go to the production of text-books. First of all, we have to look out for people with the aptitude to write text books. Some people have the aptitude to write novels; some write poetry and, others have the aptitude to write serious books. The art of text-book writing requires a certain amount of detachment not common in many people. The Federal Government should select people with this aptitude, and send them overseas on a long-term special training, and bring them back to Nigeria to produce our text-books. But those who are going to be text-book writers must be experts in our culture, in our own ideology, in our own language and in other requirements of text-book writing.

Turning to Federal Law School, I want to say that this question reminds me of the Yorubas in this House – again I am talking about soup of the mother. The Law of Evidence and what is called the Continental Law or the Common Law are applied to certain offences. As regards that, I may quote what is called Law of Evidence. I am not a student of law, so I shall be entering a dangerous pit, very dangerous for me, but I have been to a law school for a while. I have an idea of jurisprudence, which is science and philosophy of law. It is unworkable to apply a law that does not originate in the country of the people. This can be seen quite clearly when one goes to the higher zone of legal force.

Therefore in this Law School that is going to be set up, let it be absolutely synthetic; that is, a combination and with bias for Nigeria's attitude towards legal thinking. Something must be done

to make it particularly synthetic –Nigerian in the making, not entirely by the soup of the old mother.

Now coming to Senator Chief Fagbenro-Beyioku and the Lagos land people, I think that it is justified to remind the Government that there are people who originally owned this land. I do not believe in using the majority to kill the right of the minority. If at this stage Lagos happens to be the Federal territory, and by chance of history it has become our Federal territory, we shall be grateful to those people whose forefathers founded the place that we have made our Federal territory.

Coming to telephone I would say this again, that Nnewi has no telephone. That is all I will say about that because Chief Beyioku has said all what I wanted to say. Since yesterday, I have been trying to call Eastern Region. I took up my telephone and told the operator. "This is Senator Orizu, calling the Premier of Eastern Region. Give me the Premier at once." He asked me: "What is the telephone number of the Premier?" I said: "Are you crazy? Are you asking me the number of the Premier of the Eastern Region?" He said: "No Sir, No Sir." Up till now he has not got the Premier. This particular facility should be made readily available to legislators of the country, since anything might be happening which one would want to communicate immediately.

Apart from this, I want to bring up one important item, something that I think we have to realise right now. There is a trend in the Economic Programme of this country which is going to give us another fifty years to struggle against economic imperialism. The law also provides that any new company coming to Nigeria must have one director who is a Nigerian. The result is that there are many people who go round writing letters to all parts of the world inviting people with money, whereas they have no penny. When the people come here, they join them in the company and become directors without putting in anything. Then the company becomes a Nigerian company and is known as such. I think something has to be done to check this kind of practice in this country.

We want Nigerians as Directors, but they must have money in the company and thereby have a say in the running of the company.

If necessary, let Nigerians have at least fifty-one *per cent* of the shares in every company that comes in instead of inviting many companies into this country, as is done at the moment. Everybody writes to America, and Europe, asking people to join companies. Many of these people, some of whom are contractors and engineers go, on tour of these countries at the expense of the companies. Then they go to our Ministers and say, "We are the directors of such and such companies". They have no money and they put on *'Agbada'* and go to the Ministers as directors of such and such companies. Then, they are given contracts and the money goes back to these foreign countries. I would say that that practice ought to be checked.

Coming to the question of labour, I am very much in sympathy with the employers of labour. Let me say this that Nigeria and very few African countries are the only places where people still sleep for twelve hours. I have said this before: we sleep too much in this country. We are very lazy people, and we encourage laziness.

I am glad that our labour expert is present, because this is something he must take back to the workers. Our people are lazy. Workers in this country should be told that people work for many hours before they demand privileges. Europeans have made us to believe that our country is so hot that we cannot work for up to ten hours, because of the heat of the sun. They said that we must work for only five to eight hours.

Senator E. A. Lagunju: Point of Order, Mr. President. The Senator has spoken for more than forty-five minutes.

Mr. President: He has not. I think the Senator ought to know that I was not asleep. I knew when the Senator started. He is entitled to forty minutes. He has not exhausted the forty minutes.

Senator Dr. Orizu Thank you, Mr. President. I do not know whether the Senator is a labour leader. He is becoming lazy now. That is the point.

about it! Our European are being over-worked; they have no good food to eat, and we are riding big cars when our farmers should be using huge tractors.

I will now speak on the Voice of Nigeria. If any country has a weak yoice, it is Nigeria because we are being mis-interpreted all over the world.

The President: The Senator has two minutes.

Senator Dr. Orizu: When foreign visitors come to this country let them speak to their countries from Nigeria about Nigeria. For example, if an American visits Nigeria, invite him to the studios of radio Nigeria and let him speak to the people of America of his impressions about Nigeria. He may say "I am now in Nigeria, Nigerians are nice people" – just two sentences. That is propaganda. Get them to talk to their countries about us. Let them tell their countrymen that we no more have tails and that we are not monkeys.

Unfortunately, time is against me. But before I take my seat, i want to speak about our electoral laws. The electoral of Nigeria is good, but it is high time we educated members and supporters of our political parties. In any democratic country, the right to contest election is not the exclusive preserve of any party. A party is a group of people who agree on how to govern a society. Any other party can form the government, and an individual may choose to join any political party. Election in a democracy presupposes that everybody has he right to go to the electorate so that even in one's own area when one has an independent candidate, one should be kind to him because it is not a crime in a democracy to contest an election as an independent.

I beg to support.

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The aim here is not an attempt to define failure. Rather it is to emphasize the distinction between failure and low aim. It is not how low one has fallen but how quickly one gets up through determined effort that matters. All great achievements, whether personal or in defence of a people or a cause is based not on immediate success at first trial, but rather on repeated attempts.

Some people refer to success as just succeeding without ever failing. Dr. Orizu himself epitomises this very doctrine because all his struggles for self development and service to his fellow man have the qualities of risks, self sacrifice, failures, undiminished enthusiasm and eventual success. This is the message.

– Editor

WHAT IS FAILURE?

(Speech on January 1, 1959 on the Occasion of the Opening of Nigeria Secondary School)

Every period of civilization is marked with certain ideas and notions peculiarly its own. They give expression and insight into what goes on in the mind of the society. As the society grows and expands, ideas and notions change in form and scope. When a child is born, he becomes a part of that social order in which he finds himself. Their norms will be his ideal and their creed his faith.

In early stages of man's cultural development, his ideas of the world are essentially supernatural. People thought that institutions of social classes were all handed down, to be as they were, from heaven and that man's fate was entirely in the hands of the gods. The Hebrew doctrine of the fall of man brought to the early Christians the philosophy of inferiority complex, making people lose faith in the possibility of man ever regaining paradise by his own efforts. Man, therefore, brooded for centuries in remorse, fear and resignation.

Later, man discovered himself. He grasped the dynamic conception of history and started combating the inferiority complex which ignorance imposed upon him. He refused to accept the wisdom of the ancients as infallible, and decided that afterall, 'the latest generation is the most ancient." He realised that to contradict the past is to make the future more perfect. He recognised that nature has endowed man with limitless possibilities which can be perfected by constant trial and error, endless contradictions, acceptance of failure as a means to greater success. It was during this era that a writer exclaimed: "Not failure but low aim is crime."

This new idea of progress has characterized the efforts of man since the days of Ibn Khaldun through Isaac Newton to Albert Einstein. The faith in this theory was buttressed with extraordinary

discoveries of the hidden powers of nature and subjecting them to the services of man. Man has created wings and has flown, he has attached gills to machines and has lived in the deep sea, he has become omnipresent and can sit down in a theatre and observe himself talking and jumping and dancing – that is "his other self" entertaining "him!" He has sent his voice across the oceans in a matter of seconds; he has perfected the bomb that can explode in one-tenth of a millionth of a second and whose center of explosion produces temperature 100,000,000 degrees Fahrenheit or about 10,000 times that of the sun's surface. This is the heritage of our age.

When I was in school as a boy, all moral lessons, all we did in the football field, in the school garden, in the classrooms pointed to the idea that man can improve himself indefinitely through trial and error. When I was only seven years of age, our teacher made me to recite a poem which started thus: 'This is a lesson you should heed: Try, Try, Try again, once or twice though you may fail, Try, Try, Try again...."

Another teacher, now Rev. B. C. I. Onubogu, knocked one idea into my head during a period of moral lessons at Nnewi. He said: "Whatever man has done, man may do".

I have, therefore, come to accept this philosophy of progress with all seriousness. Having come under Christian teachers from childhood, I was also made to believe in the doctrine of "no cross, no crown". To me the two ideas meant one thing: that life is what a man makes it through trial and error and without counting the risk. I could not understand other boys when they seemed to attach importance to physical security. I loved to walk on the edge of a deep valley. I have attempted to run across a road a few seconds before a car crossed. It gave me a lot of satisfaction to head a football off from the fist of a goal- keeper. Some dangerous goal-keepers have bumped my head with fist when they missed the ball but I enjoyed the risk and the glory of scoring a goal.

I discovered that most of my childhood companions who made great success in life were those who used to accept this element of physical risk while we were in school. How far this is wise, I

cannot say, but I must say that all my early successes in life were entirely made possible by acceptance of risk and by avoiding the fear of failure, since I was told that it was not a crime *to fail,* but that it was a crime to have *low aim.*

To me, *low aim* did not stop at mere lack of ambition. It means more than that. It means laziness, dishonesty, meanness, jealousy, envy, selfishness. It is people with low aim who constantly pull down men of great ideals, social reformers, and scientific seers.

High aim and acceptance of risk for the sake of the common good, is the highest of all the virtues of man. I have read through the names of many great persons, discoverers, inventors, reformers, and all the rest. What makes greatness is the amount of risk taken in accomplishing a worthy end. The central moral purpose of the history of Abraham and the Israelites had its climax in two items of risk. One, Abraham risked his life to travel to where he knew not for a promised land. He was willing and lost everything to gain that goal. Two, he risked the life of only one son Isaac whom he agreed to sacrifice to his God. Out of these risks, history tells us, God promised him a home and a multitude of children like the sand of the sea. That home is Jerusalem, and the children the Jews. Christopher Columbus; think of a great risk he went through. He started his life on once a foolish idea that the earth is round. He then discovered a great continent for mankind. Charles A. Lindbergh did not go through a small risk when he alone in his *Spirit of St. Louis,* in a single engined plane crossed the mighty Atlantic in a non-stop flight from New York to London in 1927 Look at what Lindbergh said when he was about to start: "The engine's vibrating roar throbs back through the fuselage and drums heavily on tank fabric skin. I close the throttle and look out at tense faces beside my plane. *Life and death lie mirrored in them,* – rigid, silent, waiting for my word." It plainly shows that Lindbergh knew that he was gambling with the dearest thing that God gave him – his life. That was an element of risk that distinguished him from most of his contemporaries.

A child is born out of a mother's risk. Nations are created by men who devoted their lives and gave up their fortunes for the sake

of their country. Great religions were founded on the heap of blood and ashes of martyrs. I am not saying that all kinds of risks are praiseworthy. There are risks directed to evil designs. There are risks motivated by materialistic greed alone. There are risks taken out of foolish optimism. Those are not what I am talking about. I am here concerned with a risk that is induced by a sense of mission. When a man believes that slaves shall be free and gives up everything he has in the fight, that is not a mere cleverness of the selfish. When a man believes that he has a special contribution to make to his generation and sets out to do it, not minding that he may face loss of money, friends and even reputation, that is not a sham heroism. When a man devotes all his energies and time in a long-drawn-out battle defending the liberties of his country folks, that cannot be dismissed as a maudlin sentiment.

All people of the civilized world have known and accepted this fact as one of the cannons of progress. Each nation in all civilizations has, therefore, devoted a great place in the literature of their countries to the biographies of men who have risked their lives, who were condemned, burnt, imprisoned, crucified,. poisoned for their beliefs and work.

The lives of such men have inspired untold millions in their private and public works. Many men and women are daily moved into action with a heart to serve others altruistically because of the inspiration they got from the biographies of past devotees to good causes.

What could be more disastrous and condemnable than for any commander to have charged six hundred young bloods of his own country to march "into the jaws of death, into the mouth of hell" in order to win a pyrrhic victory? And yet out of that tragic risk have come the greatest of inspiration for patriotism among the youths of all nations for all times. This is also the credo of African heritage.

In Western civilizations, the theory that failure is not a crime has been amply testified by their business enterprises and their methods. In the School of Business Administration at Columbia, I was taught that risk is one of the indispensable elements of business spirit and progress. An entrepreneur must appreciate that he may

lose or gain, his fortune may be wiped out overnight or like a tide rise of a sudden. In stock market, the element of risk is an accepted reality. Mr. G. Keith Funston, President of New York Stock Exchange, once wrote: "There is risk in buying stocks .... In buying stocks, the choice lies between the smaller risk, with often smaller reward, and larger risk, with sometimes larger reward". That summarises the spirit of Western businessmen.

Churchill exemplified the greatest political risk of modern history. On September 3, 1939, Great Britain declared war on Germany. On May 10, 1940, Germany rained its lethal storm upon Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. Neville Chamberlain found it too much to carry on. He resigned the Prime Ministry of England. Winston Churchill, a great heart that takes a great risk became the Prime Minister of a nation that seemed coming near to its doom in the hands of a monstrous enemy. Churchill knew very well that he was called upon to defend a nation which was battling against almost insurmountable obstacles. He came to head the British Government at a critical moment when the British sky was made a flaming battle ground by the aerial warfare.

To intensify the anxiety and fear of the British people, Hitler subdued France. France collapsed and old Marshal plan announced "Cease fire". On June 17, 1940 an American newspaper carried a head line that "CHURCHILL WEPT" but did not waver. He rather rebuffed the peace overtures of Hitler which was so arrogantly and so disdainfully offered "as a conqueror".

Because Churchill practically gambled the whole life and fortunes of his people, not minding the depth of the tragedy, the martyrdom of the innocent, the overflowing raids which crushed the physical face of London, a deluge of incendiary bombs which were directed against ancient and famous edifices, young and old lives being annihilated, buried or wounded by flames from above; because Churchill defied the terror of destruction by sheer weight of a fortified spirit and dauntless heart, because he possessed the soul that accepted risk for the sake of the common good, his virtue, his greatness attracted the entire world, and help came from every free

man on earth and England escaped the tragedy that had overwhelmed continental Europe.

At every turn of the life of Churchill, is a story of risks. Whether you are talking of his game of chess in which he leaped 29 feet to the earth and suffered a rupture of kidney; whether you are referring to his exploits in Cuba or India, or his dangerous escapades in African Sudan where he saw "A succession of grisly apparitions: Horses spouting blood; men staggering on foot, arms and faces cut to pieces, bowels protruding; men gasping, crying, collapsing, expiring." Whether you are thinking of his dangerously joining captain Haldane to lead a reconnoitring party into the enemy territory in South Africa which made him a captive of the Boars, all is a long chain of actions by a man whose heart knows no security in his effort to secure his country.

Look at the risk Christ took – saying nothing in self-defence before an angry crowd, a mighty Roman Empire and disgruntled interested groups of his own countrymen. He was given all the opportunities to save himself, but had he taken the chance of easy escape from the unfair condemnation of the law, what a light for humanity we would have lost in him! Imagine the meaning of Gethsamane and the inspiration which all generations coming after had gathered from the cross. Imagine what Christ has come to mean to all the Christians of the world; imagine the brotherhood of man which, despite man's cruelty and wickedness, still expresses itself with vigour and charm in our daily lives. That was the result of the ability of a Nazarene to gamble with his life than give up a good cause.

See what risk it involved to bring liberty and freedom to 450 millions of Indians. It may sound so simple but calculate how many times Gandhi gambled with his life in his series of agonizing fasts and imprisonments. Think of the sacrifice required of a man to face and condemn a mighty, wealthy and popular British Empire. Think of the ridicule of the Indians, whose honour and security were upheld by the empire. Think of the fabulously rich princes against whose lethargy Gandhi's sword of spirit pierced through and reminded them that liberty was more precious under risk than slavery under

dignity. Gandhi paid the ultimate price, and history has taken note. If that man be counted among the greatest of all men ever born, it was not because India was free but because he took an unusual risk to free India.

By the yardstick of the materialists, both Christ and Gandhi may be considered failures. Their ends were tragic. Their enemies appeared triumphant on the immediate scene. But are the enemies really triumphant ultimately? The greater a man's sacrifice, the more the depth of appreciation and acknowledgement by posterity. In our daily lives we are fascinated by the adventures of men and women who have in their little ways given as much as they have in order to accomplish something for others. One of the greatest peoples who influenced modern political and religious thoughts are the Israelites. Theirs have been a long, melodramatic adventure in freedom, of incalculable risks as exemplified by Moses in Egypt, Esther in the King's palace, Daniel in the Lion's den, Shadrack, Mishack and Abednego under flames, Paul in Nero's prison, and Chaim Weizmann's Zionism among antagonistic Arabs and "ill-favoured shores of the Red Sea!"

Looking deeper then into the history of progress and adventures of man on earth, it appears that the measure of all things is man, and the measure of man is the ability to take risks to gain a worthy end.

In 1954, President Eisenhower received Sygman Rhee of Korea in Washington amid the cheering crowds along the street. People were clapping hands, yelling, singing Hosanna to Sygman Rhee. He spoke to the joint session of the Congress of the United States and many prominent Americans bent in respect. But if you look into Rhee's life, it is a combination of many failures with few successes in all his attempts to maintain the integrity of his proud but unfortunate country.

I am saying that man has exalted worthy failures as well as desired successes. Failures which have come from aiming high, failures resulting from noble ideas, failures that await crusaders who do not calculate material results alone, failures engineered by the wilful and the selfish – those noble failures have received man's

approval, and have given many the courage to move on with hope in a world full of mysteries and paradoxes, where it is difficult to tell when a certain failure is a historical success or when a material success is a prelude to a doom.

Many spectacular events have occurred, including Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922, which appeared as a great material success, only to turn to be the beginning of darkness over Italy and Mussolini himself. The tragic end of the Duce galls the mind of a decent historical observer. A man who, at the height of his power, little suspecting the possibility of failure, exclaimed to the Italians: 'if I advance, follow me; if I retreat, Kill me ...'' that man after his historic meeting with Hitler at Verona decided to retreat and abandon lower Peninsular during the World War II. He was repudiated – to his chagrin. The Italian partisans grabbed him and his girl and dragged them to the hills above Lake Como. There he was tried, condemned and shot to death. His body was removed to Milan where the crowd kicked, hit, beat, defiled, spat and cursed the carcass.

That was a colossal failure resulting from what at first seemed a magnificent success.

Inversely, some great failures of history have at last proved great successes. Imagine the great failure of the boy Joseph. He was hated by his eleven brothers – all of them! A brother whom all other brothers hated must be a bad boy. Majority could not have been wrong. They accused him of inordinate ambition. He was beloved of his father. They, therefore, sold him away to the Ishmaelities for twenty pieces of silver. And Joseph became a slave in Egypt. What a great failure. As if that was not enough, Potifar's wife accused him of sex offence. Joseph, the slave became a prisoner for a hideous crime. If his brothers were there, what would they have said: "Aha! we know he is a very evil boy. Now Potifar's wife – an independent witness has vindicated us!" How very right they would appear. Joseph's failure was cemented. He had failed completely, permanently.

Underneath the plots and counterplots against Joseph were circulating currents of forces and designs destined to make him the pivot of an amazing history of a great people that had to influence

the world for many centuries. Out of Potifar's prison the hands of fate picked Joseph and made him a virtual ruler of an empire. All that was exemplary of greatness manifested itself in him. He was potent, creative, ingenuous, forgiving. His spirit was endowed with an overbrimming consciousness of his duty toward mankind and to his family. He was a chosen, delicious piece of an upper vertebrate with certain divine attributes. He, more than any man before him, was a perfectly true example of the paradox of failure. All his failures were engineered by evil forces, but they were worthy failures, and history has since exalted him. He arrived at the altar of greatness through the "FAILURE" Avenue.

That failure is not a crime is a commonplace fact in the Western world. The Westerners have also taken the principle of adventure for granted. That is why you find today so many examples of young and old in Europe and America and now in Asia undertaking new projects of life, new experiments even without money, but with only hope that soon or late something will come out of it, if not, well all right. More often than not, those adventurers soon find someone to give a substantial, financial aid without any hope of gain or of immediate success. That era has not dawned in Africa. It is one of the reasons why Africa is being called a dark continent. In darkness, people do not experiment. In darkness, people are afraid everywhere, even of their own image. When the light of the soul is switched on in Africa, we shall have the age of true adventure and high aim which precedes a sense of experimentation which will unfold the intelligence of the talented and awaken the imagination of the genius.

At present, any experimentation which does not hold promise of immediate reward is considered a fraud in Africa, unless backed by a whiteman. Not many Africans can give a substantial money for a project carried out by another African without demanding some immediate profit. Some Europeans have used this psychological defect of the African to kill all new ideas that, if in Europe, would be financially subsidised and without question. The most important reason the Africans seem unwilling to be interested in long-term ventures is lack of money itself. There is no cash money in Africa. The wealth is here but they have not been tapped by the Africans

themselves. I am not aware of any African millionaire, and yet how many Europeans have made millions on African gold and man power?

One may ask: "Did Europeans or Americans start with millions?" Of course not. But they started with a spirit of enterprise which accepts the possibility of failure as a part of the expected results for which the adventurer shall not be a culprit. 'Less by definition than by achievement, the United States is the greatest nation on earth", was not spoken of the mere potentialities of America. It was spoken of America as a country that has allowed itself to flounder along the road of pioneering and adventure which made her people grow out of all dimensions beyond other nations.

The hearts of men go out for any people who want to live dangerously in order to justify their biological honour which distinguishes men from other animals. Not long ago, I was reading of one Musa Alami, an Arab refugee who was forced out of Jerusalem, leaving his home, farms and all the rest to seek another land for existence at the age of 57. He was forced to live in the arid land of Jericho. He saw his own people wearing rags, hungry, thirsty and dying. "The earth is baked hard and dry and flaked with salt." To live here seemed helpless. Alami got an idea that if wells could be bored in order to tap the water under the ground, the desert place would turn into a fertile soil to grow crops.

His first attempts to develop this good idea were greeted with discouragement and failures. First, the Jordan Government officials said that Jericho valley was irredeemable. Second, the British technical advisers in Amman told Alami that it was impossible to find water under the ground in the valley; that should water be found, the soil was full of salt to grow crops. Third, the U.N. engineers confirmed the opinion of the British experts. What a laughing-stock he would look like to continue to solicit for a hearing over his project when such world-recognized authorities have passed a death-sentence on the soil of Jericho! But Alami was not frightened by the prospects of failure, like all pioneers, he stubbornly started the job himself not minding all the predictions of failure. As soon as he formed his Arab Development Society, there came some private contributions to the little that he had. The Iraqi Government

contributed. Finally, Jordanian Government gave him 2,000 acres for his experimentation. He began to dig for water. Contrary to all expert prophecies, he struck water on January 15, 1950. He bought a pump on credit. More wells were bored and he began to transform the dead, desert place into a land producing lemons, oranges, tomatoes, barley, onions. More refugees rushed in, many were employed by Alami.

To make the place a home, a school must be established for the orphans to learn to read and write so that agricultural production would be conducted more intelligently. Although those ideas were fine, but Alami, left alone, could not simply fulfil them, no matter how well-meaning or how efficient or honest. The Ford Foundation, with a branch in Beirut, contributed £53,000 ($149,000). The school was started in 1952 with 18 boys. In 1954 the enrolment was 90. It is operated under self-help. Students live in dormitories, produce their own food, make their clothes and furniture. Alami is making a further plan for dairy herd, pasturizing plant, weaving mill, tile and brick factory, a printing press. But he is waiting for a further financial backing. What is important is not only that Alami had the spirit, but that the young generation of his people had learned to contribute money and energy to help some project erected to help them. For despite the fact that there were private and government contributions, and in spite of Ford's £53,000, the boys in the school produced their own clothes and food. They were brought up to recognize that no one needs be a failure, even with little or no money to start life, provided he is willing to contribute to the welfare of others as he expects others to contribute to his own.

But the examples which I have given are not in Africa. Sin has a geography of its own. In Africa of colonial Empire, daringness, experimentation, ability to risk great things of life in order to realize freedom, they are all crimes. Ventures everywhere else is a credit. To believe that nothing is impossible is a peculiar attribute which only the Englishman should have the sole ownership, in Africa. "To try again and again and again" are the words Africans should hear but not practice.

I have come to realize that the world operates on the principle of the "geography of sin". It simply means that a man's act – good or bad – is acclaimed according to how it amuses, gratifies, benefits or contradicts a social group.

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Deliberately avoiding all the '-ologies' and '-isms' inherent in political definitions and ideas, Orizu explained to his audience what a real political party means, if the party (not just NCNC) will be a genuine instrumentality to the growth of freedom in a nation.

– Editor

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE N.C.N.C

(An Address to the NCNC University Students First National Convention at Enugu on June 29, 1962)

Mr. Chairman, the university students .... I have been requested to give a talk on the *Political Future of the N.C.N.C.* – the National Council of Nigerian Citizens. It is a peculiar assignment because it involves not only the statement on the past and the present. It requires some prophecy. To prophesy calls for certain inspiration or sudden vision. Prophets are neither here nor there, and I am not one.

And there is innate difficulty in trying to project into the future of human affairs. The actions of man – his behaviour, his reaction, his motives, his possibilities at any given time are variable. No man can predict another man. No man can predict himself. I say this only to drive it home to you at this early stage, that whatever I shall say about the future of the NCNC will be considered as a mere prediction based on the past and the present and as something like a political hypothesis on which we may arrive at "man's truth" which is different from "natural realities". Man's truth is something we believe through our limited observation, whereas natural reality is what is or what must be despite our "truth".

NCNC is a political party, and I consider it necessary that we go into the question of what is a political party. There are certain schools of thought on this:

(i) The first school believes that a political party is a group of persons who do for the people everything they wanted of the government, and do it timely enough to keep those people constantly satisfied.

(ii) The second school considers a political party as a group of citizens who line themselves together as political "agencies and motors" of the people.

(iii) The third school looks upon a political party as a collection of people, who struggle to present their candidates for public acceptance through election, and by this method to control the government for a given period.

(iv) The fourth group are a more seriously minded persons who view a political party, among other things, as a group with a mission. They are individuals who by and large have a common conviction in terms of social progress and general reforms.

We can easily see the possible consequences of each idea of a political party. Those who believe in the first theory may tend to fix their eyes only on controlling the people through political bribery. Any political party based on this method often gets into trouble with the people and itself. Its activities start with irresistible glamour, but its life is generally of short duration. The reason is not far to seek.

No party can always guess right what the people want. And even where a proper guess is made, timing may be wrong. The thing that the people need may be handed over to them too soon or too late. When the guess of the need is wrong or the timing of the supply of the need is incorrect, a party that works only on bribing the people is bound to dash to pieces in a competitive political market.

Those who operate on the second theory become the victims of forces, pressure groups and traditional sanctions. A political party which makes itself a mere agent of pressure groups or a nice motor car to ride by economic oligarchs and social climbers, shows that it has no sufficient independent anchorage, but rather floats on the sea of social waves with no particular destination, except toward that direction in which the wind of circumstance blows. Such a party can endure no longer than the life-time of the pressures which activate it.

The believers in the third theory, whose sole effort is to win an election and simply control the government, are yielding to the principles of decay. They fail to realize that man cannot just be controlled indefinitely by sheer force of a party having won an election, or having the machinery to force its candidates on the

people as often as they wish. This method is self-destructive. The party leaders by this method teach their own followers how to unseat them through mere force when the time is due. Besides, it is not always that such a party can command the means of forcing its way through the election, and once it fails to do this, it will loose its social force, since its sole aim is to control the government, and not to cater to the higher principles of society which can transcend political defeat at the polls.

Again and again, examples are too many in history for mention, that such a creed by any political party to just control the government at all costs leads to dictatorship. And dictators and their friends always live in fear and anxiety which are the forerunners of violent cruelty, deadly conspiracies, resulting in anarchy.

The fourth group of theorists believe in a political party as a mission or as an item of destiny. They want to win an election, but that is just a prelude. They want to control the government not as an end but as a means; they want to abolish poverty not for the few but for all. They want to satisfy the needs of people but not to worship the whims and caprices of the greedy and the ignorant who are downright selfish.

Later in this talk we shall classify the NCNC in order to know to which group of the above schools it belongs.

In the meantime. let us enumerate some of the essential qualities required of any political party worthy of the leadership in a democratic society.

A political party must be capable of:

(i) Building up a platform whereby those with similar views could join and organize to win an election.
(ii) Defining the issues and enlightening the public on matters of national urgency and collective interests.
(iii) Selecting acceptable candidates for public offices and presenting them to the electorate for easy approval.
(iv) Establishing a stable party machine or organization for effective control of its members.
(v) Financing its programmes without resort to corruption and unpatriotic acts.

(vi) Providing a myth based on lasting ideals and principles for national life.

Now the great question comes, to which school of thought does the NCNC belong and has it satisfied the essential qualities of a political party? The answers to these questions will help us determine the future of the NCNC as a political party in Nigeria.

The NCNC was formed during the days of colonialism in Nigeria. The party's emphasis was therefore laid on fighting the external forces. But its philosophy, thank God, was broad enough to anticipate this era of independence. The founder of the party was a practical idealist who, while appealing to the urgent temper of the oppressed with unquestioning devotion, also struck a note of warning to the dangers of native imperialism of the social climbers likely to emerge with the era of freedom.

The noble founders of the party subscribed to the school of thought which believes that a political party is a group of people who have a common conviction in terms of social progress and general reforms. The NCNC was convinced that it was a party with a mission not in Nigeria alone but in Africa as a whole. It believes in our continental destiny and in universal brotherhood of man. That is, while agreeing with the principles of internationalism, it believes that the African continent must first be free from all the practices of man's inhumanity to man.

It does not follow that the NCNC is an ivory-tower-type of a political group where idealism blinds its members from appreciating the voice of Dr. Gilbert Highet of Columbia University when he wrote: "When reason (ideal) fails to harmonize with the other forces that make up reality, there is tragedy." The party is aware of man's lusts, greed, ingratitude, meanness, insatiability, selfishness, interests and fears. These human factors are inevitable companions of political life which no political party can afford to ignore.

In my opinion, the NCNC has satisfied the elementary conditions necessary for a continued existence of a political party.

1. It has built a formidable and unequalled platform whereby the instinctive desires and aspirations of Nigerians were given full

expression, and enabled them to fight and defeat external imperialism, and ready, when called upon, to defeat any native imperialism, while participating fully in creating a new society of this independent period.

It has been able to define the issues of our social order in a manner which compelled the loyalty of its members and the respect of its opponents.

It has been able, from its early stages, to produce for the electorate, the ablest minds and most honest citizens for public offices. No other party has been able so far to produce men of higher calibre for public offices than the NCNC. Other parties have produced able men also, but when you think of the minds like those of the founders of the party: Herbert Macaulay and Nnamdi Azikiwe, and the subsequent leaders who followed in their wake: my humble self, Eyo Ita, Mbonu Ojike, Adegoke Adelabu, Malam Aminu Kano, Ozuomba Mbadiwe, Dennis Osadebe, Michael Okpara, Festus Okotie-Eboh, Fani Kayode and a host of others, then you will agree with me that the NCNC has produced varieties of leaders with diverse talents for national progress.

You have among the NCNC leaders the greatest number of those who had suffered humiliation, suppression, imprisonment, suspension of pursuit of wealth than in any other party. It is among the NCNC leaders that you had such men who actually prepared themselves through arduous years of painful experiences for the work of nation-building. Such men started in their university days to fight for the nation when there was no nation; to defend freedom when there was no freedom; to declare the possibilities of man in Africa when the majority of their fellow citizens were dancing the konga of European masters, by sipping the wine of defeatism, and being drunk in the whisky of indolence. It is the NCNC leaders who produced or inspired the leaders of most of the other parties that came afterwards.

NCNC leadership is original, being the offspring of the spirit of Africa and the soul of a race. Those who followed afterwards were noble and patriotic. But the originality of the

NCNC in Nigerian political movement is acknowledged and totally indisputable in our national history.

4. The NCNC has produced a stable party. Only about twenty-four months from now, the NCNC will be twenty years old. Two decades of stability is not a joke. Dear students, your NCNC is the oldest of all the old political parties now in existence in your country, and its foremost leaders are the oldest (not in years) in the claim for strict national work and not local or tribal activities. It is one of those things which no honest and informed mind can debate with any seriousness.
5. The NCNC has been able to finance its programme for nearly twenty years now. I need no further evidence to prove that it is an efficiently financed organisation. Not only that, the party can boast of not receiving any monies from foreign countries to upset the nation. It is a great credit and a sign of self-restraint, since some of its leaders know whom and from where to get any amount of money for the party better than those who now indulge in it. We respect our country more, and the voice of patriotism and national pride forbids such an easy method. We depend upon our home members – that is – from our legitimate resources within our fold.
6. Above all, and practically exclusively, the NCNC has produced a national *myth*, which is also Africa-wide. The first systematic clarion was sounded in *"Renascent Africa"* by Nnamdi Azikiwe. It was in that book that the first clear-cut items of combat were originally enumerated. The book challenged the African apathy and condemned the European arrogance. It awakened everyone to his sense. And the battle field was declared open for the brave and the courageous. The prophets of moderation and so-called sound commonsense withdrew from the battlefield. The cowards sneaked away in silence. Only a few followed the myth of the canons of the 'Renascent Africa."

Then comes my own philosophy which I originated in my book "Without Bitterness", in order to establish a Ghandi in Nigeria. This philosophy, I termed "Zikism" as systematized in "Without Bitterness", written by your humble speaker, I urge all the students

of Nigerian history to go back to these sources to discover the minds that created the myths by which the youths were awakened, and which inspired the youths like Agwuna, Enahoro, Dafe, Okoye, Aminu Kano, Ajuluchukwu, Bob Ogbuagu, Fred Ayiam, Kola Balogun, Raji Abdala and a host of others of the Zikist Movement.

Some leadership in the North had their inspiration from a different source of history, no doubt. But there is no question that their present awakening to follow the Western standards of civilization, and their present understanding in accepting the principle of one nation with the "infidels" of the South, came originally, in a great measure, from the vision of the NCNC philosophy. These are not propagandist claims. They are facts that history supports.

Most of the contemporary ideas that became our national heritage in elevating our national pride and preparing us for this independence came from the leaders of the NCNC. Most other parties are either regional or tribal and rather defensive in their original character. No leader of the other parties had coined a single slogan that bore a national approbation. None has had a personal vision with which he started life save within their own party. Many NCNC leaders projected national ideas in politics, economics, education and journalism.

It is the NCNC leadership that created the myth of youth leadership, the myth of trade unionism, the myth of women suffrage, the myth of Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas and Efiks coming together for the first time under one roof as brothers; the myth of the right type of education, the myth that society and government have an obligation to educate their citizens, and that university education can no longer be the exclusive privilege of the well-born, which resulted in systematic granting of scholarships to intelligent and deserving youths.

The NCNC leadership had broken the terrible and retarding phobia that our universities must be planned to depend upon foreign universities at the start. The University of Nigeria at Nsukka founded by the NCNC leadership, defied the armchair philosophers by starting a university on an independent basis and attaching itself to the principles of Horizontal Education, as I was once told by the Chancellor of that great institution. Other universities in Nigeria are now following that example.

Acknowledgement of the role played by the NCNC leadership in our national life is fully made by the leaders of other parties. When the issue of a Republican Government arose, it was the leader of the Action Group who proposed the founder of the NCNC to be the president. Not long ago in the Senate, a Northern senator proposed the same person to be not just the president of the Republic, but a life president!

These are witnesses to truth – a truth which I want the young students to appreciate as a background in thinking about the future of the NCNC.

Our question is not whether the NCNC as it now stands can stand the test of the future, but whether it can maintain its present qualities which can lead her to more victories in the future.

1. Can the NCNC continue with the philosophy of its founders, for that alone will prolong mass followership and compel intelligent admiration from the opponents. I think that the NCNC can do so. The Zikist Movement which was banned has been recalled to continue its political activities. I believe that we can do more now when those leaders are not actively with us to show them that the philosophy can be carried on without their participation. That will be a revitalization of faith. Without this we shall break with the living past and the future will be dim.
2. Can the NCNC of the future continue to preserve the psychological myth of the philosophy of Zikism?
3. Can the NCNC of the future abide by the principles of dynamism. That is, being able to adapt itself to the principles of social change, both in national life, in continental destiny, and global momentum?
4. Can the NCNC of the future always continue to fortify its political edifice with its honest and able members who are generally regarded as such by the observing populace, and who, when measured, will be up-to-date on matters of principles, selfless service, hard work, courage, knowledge, tolerance and honesty?
5. Can the NCNC controlled governments of the future always be responsive to the common problems and interests of all citizens without discrimination?

6. Can the NCNC controlled governments of the future be democratic in its principles as it applies to its members and to its opponents?
7. Can the NCNC continue in its organizational efficiency?
8. Can the NCNC as a party finance itself without selling out the heritage that is Africa to the outside world?
9. Can the NCNC of the future convince other parties in Nigeria that it has no tribal plan to rule Nigeria exclusively?
10. Can the NCNC of the future continue to magnetize the minds of the youths?
11. Can the NCNC of the future continue to work on the cardinal principle that "good" has a superior appeal to "evil", and that moral fibre is stronger than material sword when time comes to play?

Other questions that must be answered are as follows:

1. What will be the role of the NCNC and the young students who will become leaders of tomorrow?
2. What is the ultimate fate of the NCNC in the Coalition Government with the NPC?
3. What role do we play in the Republic? What of our foreign policy?
4. What is our ultimate fate? The fate of our nation? What role can we play as individual citizens of a new and great Nigeria? To what end?

On those questions, I agree with Spengler in his "Man and Technics" that "We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on ... like that Roman soldier whose body was found in front of a door in Pompeii, who during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be thoroughbred. The honourable end is the one thing that cannot be taken from a man."

If a Roman can attain an honourable end, and believe in the infinite destiny of his home, a Nigerian can. The NCNC MUST.

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Here Dr. Orizu's voice of freedom was engaged in directing the minds of Nigerians to understand that the freedom we want is Nigerian freedom, to be originated not just on foreign '-isms' or ideas, but on what Nigeria believes will be good for Nigerians. Hence he said, "I believe that we have a right to live the African way, while we move in a constant mood of adaptation to all political heritages of all civilizations".

– Editor

IDEOLOGIES AFTER INDEPENDENCE

(A Speech Delivered on July 5, 1960 at 5p.m. Under the Auspices of the Aba Recreation Club)

> "That everyone should be free to go his own way is no gain to anyone if no one knows the way to go."

In every community freedom involves not only independence of an individual against the power of another, but also a mutually defined independence of one group of individuals from another group. Therefore political freedom has two parallel aspects. One is personal freedom, the other is group or national freedom. In personal freedom, an individual wants to be let alone to do what he pleases. He prefers everyone to mind his own business. He wants to carry on his own affairs – his love, his religion, his association without undue interference from other citizens or by an arbitrary power within the state. In group freedom, a community with a common background in language, culture or race wants to be free from domination by another outside group.

The idea of individual freedom is as old as man's history. Psychologically, man resists physical restriction. That is a part of his animal heritage. Put a rat in a box, lock a bird in a cage, wrap a snake in a bag, you will find each victim struggling relentlessly to get out. Of all animals, man is the most mature and his aversion to physical restriction is most intense. This aversion to physical restriction has been extended to non-physical types of restrictions – religious, political, economic and mental.

An individual wants to have an unfettered opportunity to seek for his economic well-being; he wants to have education for his personal development; he prefers to associate himself with such groups and organisations as may better enhance his personality; he wants to be let alone to make decisions. He does not want to be

pushed around by another individual according to the latter's wishes; he resents being questioned at every turn for reasons why he has taken this or that course of action; he wants his own property to be free from molestation or seizure by another.

Then there follow the intangible things. An individual is conscious of his personal honour and wants to protect it; he is aware of his dignity and endeavours to uphold it; he feels that he has conscience and prefers to obey it. Personal freedom includes therefore protection of material and non-material aspects of man's life.

A list of personal liberties has been suggested by many in the past. Among the items on the list are: Right to security – health, limb, life; Right to liberty, including freedom of the body and movement; Right to equality – protection against forced servitude, slavery, discrimination based on race, sex or birth; Right to reputation; Right to self defence; Right to protection of the law – before trial, during trial and after trial; Right to ownership of property and above all, freedom of expression and worship.

When an individual or a social group deprives or tends to deprive a man of any of these personal liberties, we call it tyranny. Fear and laziness, selfishness and pride, ignorance and eccentricity are the chief causes of tyranny. Despite all the efforts to curb freedom, the nature of the human mind continued to assert itself. The death of Socrates could not stop Plato and Aristotle from writing immortal books to liberate the human mind, encourage research and enthrone reason. Under accusations, and chains, Tom Paine wrote his *Age of Reason*, Jeremy Taylor wrote his *Discourse on the Liberty of Prophesying*, William Pen wrote his *Great Cause of Liberty of Conscience*, John Locke wrote his *Letters on Tolerance*, Mathew Tindal wrote his *Liberty of the Press*, Joseph Glanvill wrote his *Vanity of Dogmatising*, Harold J. Laski wrote his *Dangers of Obedience*, J. Nehru wrote his *Toward Freedom*, N. Azikiwe wrote *Renascent Africa*. There is no space here to mention men like Voltaire, Rousseau and Jefferson among others.

The first recorded licensing of the press took place in 1485 by the Catholic Archbishop of Mains. But the licensing of the press did not stop man from free expression of his individual opinion in

the press, even though in France, England and other European countries, press was vigorously suppressed during its early periods. The first newspaper to be published in the United States was *Public Occurrences* in Boston (1690). But it was suppressed by the then British Government some twenty four hours after its first edition saw the light of the day. And yet today millions of printed materials find their way in the streets of America every split part of a second, and men today give vent to their opinions untrammelled.

In economic life, personal liberty was expressed in categorical terms throughout history. Man has struggled and shed blood in order to protect his own belongings – land, wife, money, plants, minerals, business and labor. Capitalism of the modern age is the most extreme institution through which man has expressed himself as an agent of free and competitive enterprise in the field of acquisition. By this philosophy of individual freedom in his economic life, man's reason went wild with the instinct of personal gain. He instituted the social system of marriage whereby he assured himself of exclusive ownership and unquestionable command of a family. This was another example of man's effort to be free from other person's interference with his own personal freedom.

Then comes the question of group liberty. In modern times this is known in its most advanced stage as nationalism. From village to clan, from clan to tribe, from tribe to race, and from race to nation. That is a fair sequence of the growth of group individualism or nationalism. Personal freedom and group freedom are sometimes so mixed up in the minds of the people, that an individual may be obsessed with the preservation of his particular freedom, and hence, he ignores or even opposes a fight for group freedom. On the contrary certain citizens may be so zealous about group freedom that they behave as if personal freedom should be sacrificed thereby. And yet it is both personal and group freedoms that make up what is a true political freedom. A group which has lost its freedom because some individuals within it love their personal freedom more, are suffering from political diarrhoea. An individual who has lost his personal liberty because the group is free as a group, is under bondage.

But it appears generally that the attainment of group freedom is more difficult and by far more momentous when achieved. Struggle for national freedom is not new. Nations had fought and existed in Asia and Africa whose history showed their love for liberty, order, unity and sovereignty before the germination and growth of Athenian Liberty, Roman Order, Medieval Unity, Renaissance Sovereignty and Modern Organismic Nationalism.

To trace the struggles involved between one group and another for the establishment of political freedom would require more space and time. All we need to remember here is that just as in the field of personal freedom, the establishment of each nation met with some intolerance or the other – as just as Moses met with the intolerance of the Pharaohs when he demanded group freedom for the Israelites; just as the Anglo-Saxons fought against the Romans to remove their chains; just as the thirteen States of America fought the British for what they called their inalienable rights.

In each case, man was asserting his right to be let alone to act freely, not only as an individual, but as a component of a community of individuals, who desire to live and act independently from any other group. Everywhere, people think that tyranny, even when beneficent, is not as good as an unsuccessful self-government. People seem to prefer to risk suffering, mistakes and even poverty in managing their own group than to continue to receive benefits from the hands of another group.

People do not, however, look for national freedom in order to be poorer, less efficient and degenerate. National freedom is sought with a hope to revitalize the community progress by greater efficiency, more productivity, introduction of as much social measures as would make life more enjoyable by protecting individual liberty, encouraging education, providing opportunities for citizens to earn a decent living, enjoy some leisure, health and safety.

It is therefore considered by many that liberty is meaningless if we do not know what to do with it: *"that everyone should be free to go his own way is no gain to anyone if no one knows the way to go,"* is a saying to which I subscribe my consent. Long before the Americans demanded and got their freedom, the colonists

had indeed accumulated wealth and experience which gave impetus to the temperament and the nature of their struggle. And as they got their independence, they turned the wheel of progress faster, more efficiently and with a true spirit of both personal and group individualism.

In some newly developing national states, there is always a tendency to over emphasise "rights" and "liberties" and undermine people's "duties" and "obligations". This is one of the signs of not knowing where to go after one has been let alone to go where he liked. This question of "deciding where to go" or what to do with liberty results in the development of different political ideals. The development of different political ideals brings about different political parties. That is another ingredient of community freedom. For though peoples of one community may agree to fight for their group freedom, they may be miles apart when it comes to political ideals to be followed while and after obtaining freedom.

That will explain why it is that all Chinese want freedom for China, and yet Chiang Kai Chek and Chou En Lai are far away from each other in ideals as North and South poles. One wanted democracy, the other preferred communism. That is why in the United States you find a President Roosevelt on one part and an Earl Browder on the other. Individuals disagree as to the limits of liberty and duties of a man within the state. When this disagreement becomes mutually irreconcilable, parties are formed and each party presents to the people what their ideals are. That party eventually wins which best identifies itself with the ideals of the majority of the people. I say eventually because it is not always that people have the opportunity to vote for the ideals they love.

The most prevalent and vexing political ideals out for sale in the political stock market of the world today are: *Dictatorship, Socialism and Democracy*. We shall examine briefly what each of these ideals stands for. We shall deal only with ideals rather than detailed programmes of Dictatorship, Socialism or Democracy. It is against these ideals that we the citizens of Nigeria and the entire African continent will reflect on the present political parties in Nigeria. When the ideal of a programme is known, when we discover

the situation which a party anticipates, and the inner moral motive behind the actions of its members, we shall grasp whatever method they intend to use. But we are here not concerned mostly with methods. Our purpose is to know the aim, the desired goal – the ideal.

First, what is democracy? Democracy has political and social aspects. Political democracy embraces certain principles some of which we shall mention: first, a large proportion of mature citizens are entitled to vote. The people and not a monarch or a group of powerful individuals or class are the source of political power. Through voting, the people select their chief officers of the State and vote them out when they will. Second, only the agents chosen by the voters make the laws of the land. They are elected at reasonable and regular intervals to avoid usurpations of power. Depending on their stewardship, the people reserve the right to reject or re-elect them. Third, all voters are equal. Each citizen regardless of wealth, education or birth has one vote. A candidate is considered elected if he receives the highest number of votes whether a majority or a plurality. Fourth, all citizens have equality of the right to be voted for. Fifth, those who are defeated at the polls must accept defeat peacefully and withdraw from office and wait for the next election.

To enhance political democracy, there are other rights and privileges which are embodied in *social democracy*. First, an individual has a right of expression such as: freedom of the press, freedom of thought and freedom of worship. Second, there is freedom of self development. This assumes that each citizen in a democracy has a right to education. We must be given an equal opportunity to knowledge. Without proper education on self-expression, the right to vote cannot be intelligently carried out. Third, there is freedom of opportunity. It is a democratic assumption that every citizen has a right or opportunity to create a place for himself in the society for his survival and security. This implies economic opportunity. Education means nothing if an individual cannot use it for such economic activities which would help him enjoy life. Freedom to vote means nothing if a citizen has no right to get a job, and be paid

adequately for his labor. His labor is a mockery if he has no right to bargain with the employer. All these freedoms and rights mean nothing, if the citizen has no exclusive right to his own property. In a democracy, an individual expects the government to exist by the consent of the governed. He expects government to be a service instrumentality to every citizen. This implies protection of his right to education, self-expression, self-development and economic security.

What about socialism? Here the relation of an individual to his society in terms of freedom and form of government is determined by an economic concept which modifies or undermines the property-minded citizens of a democratic society. The whole idea revolves around one theory that: "The credit for earning a large income should not rest merely with the individual financier, but with the circumstances which make such earning possible ... the credit is due to other individuals of the same group. The labor of the millions of the poor has literally made it possible for the few to be rich not only by direct work in the production of wealth, but also in continuous peace which alone makes it possible for the financier or the merchant to exercise his ability."

This logic granted, the socialist goes on to conclude that since the result of any enterprise is due to the efforts of the many who worked, as well as to the intelligence of the few who directed, it is difficult to draw a line or assess the weight of each individual's pull. Wealth accruing from such work should not be distributed according to artificial categories of assumed intelligence or ownership. All the members of the society should more or less equally participate in the use of the wealth. Instead of the state to protect a few individuals to own large properties, its function should be to protect the wealth for the entire society. The national state should control, organise and distribute wealth.

It must be remembered that socialism has different shades of meaning from one country to another, bearing in mind Guild Socialism, State Socialism, Syndicalism or Fabian Socialism. And they operate under different political arrangements. One common feature is their economic emphasis on social sources of wealth and its more social and rational distribution.

The socialist idea of a state is scientific. They want abolition of capitalism which in their opinion supports wastage, inefficiency, laziness and greed. They give assent to the idea that democracy enthrones mediocrity to govern intelligence. They believe that the elite has the function of directing and governing the society and not the mediocre, wealth-drunk, pernicious citizens. They believe that the system of election in democratic societies has failed to enlist the best minds. Harold J. Laski indicted democracy when he wrote that democratic system "tends, taken by and large, to give us available men rather than the mind which creates and enlightens."

Socialism believes in aristocracy of intelligence. To govern and to administer should be the exclusive area of the competent. No one should get more wealth by circumstances of birth, and none should suffer for same. It is the scientifically trained who could arrange economic order and rule the society with engineering ingenuity to bring about the equitable distribution of wealth. He could create a social order for the fullest development of individual capacities in his contribution to the common good. A citizen is therefore capable of infinite progress because no undue social priviledges of others would obstruct his way to development. Distinction shall only be based on vocational differences and intelligence.

Socialism was elevated into a new and dynamic force by Marx. He borrowed some of his ideas from others. Summarily, he believed in state activity as opposed to individualism, his historic faith was materialistic, he advocated labor theory of value, the doctrine of surplus value, the notion of class conflict, and the inevitable decay of capitalism. In his Communist Manifesto prepared in Paris in January, 1848, the whole idea was stated. The document began with materialistic interpretation of history which insisted that changes in social and cultural institutions follow changes in economic system of society. He borrowed that idea mainly from Fevercach. Then followed the statement that labor produces all value. This idea he borrowed from Ricurdo and Rodbertus. From this came the inference that the differences between the value of what is produced and the income received by the pioneers – the labor, is a surplus value in

form of profits, rents and interests. Since this disparity existed there shall be class struggle until that surplus value is evenly distributed.

The two classes on the arena of social struggle are the workers (proletariats) and the capitalists. This battle, the manifesto predicted, would end in the doom of the capitalists and the elevation of the proletariat whose chief weapons shall be strong party organisation and the overwhelming effort of universal suffrage. Capitalism shall then give way to collectivism in economic organisation. And since economic change affects cultural and social life, the government shall give way to the dictatorship of the proletariat as a first stage, and finally to a rational collectivist state.

Standing on this point, the socialists faced a vital question. How would this dream come true – by violent or constitutional method? A group claimed that Marx believed in violent means. They are the communists. Another group believed that Marx advocated peaceful means. They constitute other non-violent but different shades of socialists. They are called the revisionists.

We come to Dictatorship. In theory, communism does not believe in dictatorship. What the communists called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a temporary measure during the interim period between the establishment of a true collectivist state and the present. Modern dictatorship stands by itself as a direct challenge to democratic representative government by consent. Dictatorship denies "that the majority by the simple fact is a majority that can direct human society; it denies that numbers alone can govern by means of a periodical consultation." Dictatorship "affirms" what it calls "the immutable, beneficial, and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently levelled through the mere operation of a mechanical process such as universal suffrage." It is an avowed belief of dictatorship ideology that democracy is a sham. It is all illusion. It gives the people "the illusion of sovereignty" while indeed other concealed forces of the few dictate.

They say that democracy pretends that it rules without a King, "but it is ruled by many kings, – more absolute, tyrannical and ruinous than one sole King ...." Dictatorship believes in a single party system in order to best bring under unquestionable discipline.,

the economic, social and political life of the State. It eliminates challenge and denies competition in its political activities. Its wisdom is complete and final and no citizen has a right to criticise. The principle of single party therefore presupposes a totalitarian state – "A state that absorbs within itself, in order to transfer and invigorate them, all the energy, all the interests, all the hopes of a people." Dictatorship believes in organismic theory of the state in its worst form. State is a living organism. It must always expand and grow or it decays. Since it is suicidal to allow it to decay, it is naturally necessary to gear its economy, its psychology, its ideology to the principle of aggression and war for its expansion. That expansion is aptly described by Benito Mussolini as ranging "from – Primitive tribal life to the highest expression of human power which is empire." Its function is to glorify its heroes from this tribal group to the empire stage, by holding up "the memory of the leaders who have increased its territory ...."

Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow country men and women, I am not a dogmatist, I am not a theologian for any political prophecy; I do not believe that we Nigerians shall become a stock market for the sale or exchange of any political sophistry. No, I believe that we have a right to live the African way while we move in a constant mood of adaptation to all political heritages of all civilizations. In doing this, we shall exercise our right to distinguish, select, adopt or accept any '-ism' that elevates and enriches our own political and economic culture. This will enable us to develop in Africa a new social order that will make us a great continent where men and women will live freely to develop our civilization.

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A direct presentation made by Prince Orizu to the world to appreciate Africa and Africans as a place and a people that know the value of independence in terms of full development and human happiness. The idea that Africa is a place in its barest form, suitable alone for ideologists and social researchers and some inglorious Miltons looking for new lands to discover, must give way to a uniform march with other worlds into nuclear age. This was a prophetic message sent across to the West to run to Africa's aid as a member of the same human race.

– Editor

WORLD PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENT

(Address to the Interparliamentary Union General Debate Following President Tito's Own Address on Saturday September 14, 1963 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia)

Mr. Chairman, Fellow International Parliamentarians. Having come from Nigeria, which is a leading nation in Africa, my brief presentation here confines itself to specific essentials, affecting the destiny of Africa, in the field of development among other nations of the world.

You may ask, what do we want in the process of our development. Our answer is clear.

1. We want to industrialise. We want financial, material, technical and moral support to that end.
2. Industrialisation means production and trade. Promotion of production and trade demands expansion of international relations, in order to produce market and expand commerce.

   We want to be given the opportunity to expand our new relations without traps and ropes and chains, and valleys and mountains of conflicting interests of the already developed countries.
3. We recognise that, in the present world economy, every thing has been so arranged to favour the developed countries, at the expense of the under-developed countries.

   This trend is not compatible with the development of Africa, and Asiatic countries. There can be no real development in my country or in any other country in Africa, so long as these artificial obstacles are placed to impede the increase of our trade and commerce.
4. We want trade, not just aid, not only aid. All of us know that continued aid, without increased trade, will be detrimental to the benefactor as well as to the beneficiary.

5. We do not want Africa to continue to be a sort of a mystic museum, where economic anthropologists go on intellectual holiday research. Rather, we desire that a clear-cut positive action be taken by the developed countries, on constructive and creative lines, as proposed by the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Trade and Development Conference.
6. We want economic stability, in order that our development will be steady. But we recognise that stability in one country calls for stability in all countries. This fact makes us always anxious whenever developed countries engage in any war – hot or cold. And that is why we are happy about the Moscow Treaty on Nuclear Test Ban. My country signed it. We want peace.

In September 1961, exactly two years ago, here in this city of Belgrade, Haille Selassie I, the Emperor of Ethiopia, speaking on African problems said: "In order to spread our economic development, most of us require extensive external financial assistance. We need not be ashamed of this fact, particularly when the poverty and ignorance from which our people suffer have been perpetuated through the deliberate and long standing policies of others."

In this context, I am not out to blame any particular country for our economic backwardness. But I am out to express the sorrow and disappointment we in Africa share in common, concerning the distribution of aids in the world generally. For while financial aid has been extended to some African countries, it has been done in such a way that colonialism still smells like rat.

When most advanced nations give aid to an African country, the aid or loan is usually small, not enough to generate a true sense of confidence and independence as it may be done for a small European country of comparable size and population. Loans to African countries are almost always on a short term basis comparatively. Loans are never for a comparative big industrial project or for complete national survival, except in such a way as the developed country is more benefited.

We do not believe that developed countries do this out of spite or wickedness. They do so because they do not yet seem to appreciate fully, that African countries are not content with simple political independence, which has no substance of financial stability and cultural prestige. Rather, we believe that the conscience of the world has come to its own, in recognizing the awakened Africa. We know the noble role America has played in democratizing Africa; we know the humane policies of the British nation in Africa; we know the energizing influence of Russia in Africa. We are all humans, and must give latitude for some weaknesses of human nature.

We want the co-operation of all nations in our development. We discriminate against no one who is willing to help us, whether that person is from the East, West, North or South. Whether the aid comes from a joint action of the United Nations or from individual countries on a bilateral technical or financial co-operation, we shall accept.

We condemn over expenditure on armaments by great powers. The money so wasted could be diverted to us for peaceful development and expansion of international commerce.

We condemn international rivalry among great powers over the fate of undeveloped countries. These rivalries suspend African countries on the altar of perpetual tension. Our internal progress is disturbed. Our foreign policies are muzzled. All these negate orderly economic and social progress, in spite of all aids.

For sound development in underdeveloped countries of Africa, this great body of international parliamentarians must help interpret us to their respective governments and peoples. Make them realise that Africans by nature are not religious bigots, ideological dogmatists or racial phobists. Do tell them for us in the following manner.

There in Belgrade we learn from Africans that they want our financial and technical co-operation. They want technical education. They want commerce and industry. They want these aids. They do not want importation of forms of government nor imposition of ideologies. Africa should not become a centre for the sale of ideologies or social imaginations. Africa wants to be a new centre

for human happiness arising out of appropriate opportunity in the realm of industrialisation, for all commercial expansion, for all internal communication and unification for all, coming from the goodwill and understanding of all countries great or small.

Mr. Chairman, I beg to take my seat.

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This piece of address was one of the best deliveries of Dr. Orizu as an evangelist of fearless challenge of hindrances in the pursuit of freedom. All over the world, blindness, deafness, lameness or any other physical handicap never stopped great minds of other races from conquering their worlds and creating new civilizations, empty-handed. It was a great clarion call to awaken his fellow Africans to hold fast to the philosophy that "whatever man has done, man may do" No freedom can come to any country without the presence of ingenuous pioneers who no obstacle or suppression can confine their spirit. Nothing can be more inspiring to an ambitious and living soul.

– Editor

STAYING POWER

(An Address to Etukokwu School of Commerce Onitsha on the Occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the School on February 4, 1962, 3 p.m)

The College Proprietor, the Honourable Ministers of Education and Economic Planning, Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen.

We have come today to celebrate the 25th year of the opening of the Etukokwu School of Commerce – one of the first schools of commerce grant-aided so far in the Eastern Region.

Mr. Etukokwu has shown one of the finest examples of a real man – a man with staying power. He has given meaning to what a man is as different from other creatures. He has shown that heredity and environment do not so much matter in being a great man, as personal response to exigencies and tragedies and triumphs of life. Here is a man to whom life opened a door to frustrations of tragic physical handicaps that could have drowned a mediocre mind. Here is a man who has every reason to recline and cry: "God hates me Oh! I wish I am as lucky as Mr. 'X' or Mr. 'Y'"

Reading the biographies of great men shows that every man on this earth is handicapped in some way. The difference between one man and another is the personal response each person has made to his own particular handicap. Louis Pasteur who did a lot to revolutionize practice of modern medicine suffered from paralysis at the age of forty-six, but it was then that he contributed most to his scientific research which promoted health of all humanity. It is well-known that one of the greatest musicians of all times was Beethoven. His writings still compel the admiration of the entire music world. Beethoven was deaf. We all know about the poetic works of Milton. Ladies and gentlemen, Milton was blind. Robert Stevenson suffered from tuberculosis. Sir Walter Scott and Sir Byron were both lame. Glenn Cunningham who has the fastest mile record

(four minutes $4^4/_{10}$ seconds) was made a cripple in boyhood when his school went on fire. The doctor said he would never walk again. He was considered a loss – a permanent loss to his parents. But at last he walked and ran faster than anyone of his time on earth! St. Paul – the greatest Christian evangelist and apostle suffered from epilepsy and half-blindness, but he wrote the most intellectual expositions on Christianity. St. Paul himself referred to his constant illness as "a thorn in the flesh."

Everyone has his own "thorn in the flesh". That is not under dispute. What matters is, how does one respond to the challenge of his own "thorn in the flesh"? That is where Mr. Etukokwu has been a shining and indefatigable example. Mr. Etukokwu's "thorn in the flesh" in building his *School of Commerce* were four-fold:

1. He faced the problem of personal poverty – left alone in our indifferent society, lacking in all philanthropy and altruism – to start a kind of school that was then unpopular.
2. He was physically handicapped. He had no means of easy locomotion for a pioneer who faced a herculean task.
3. His society did not educate him enough at that time to give him an easy mental reference for a clear directive.
4. He lived in a colonial society – a society whose leaders discouraged thought, discouraged African adventure, ridiculed individual enterprises and gossiped against African school proprietors, by saying that Africans could not manage their own affairs. Those were the problems which confronted one man in 1937.

Etukokwu's Personal Response

Etukokwu's personal response to his own "thorn in the flesh" was superlative. He showed the power and drift of a powerful and unified personality. There was no division in him. He was a whole person, moving like a powerful river along the pebbled beds of the rough earth unto the sea of success. He challenged poverty, conquered physical handicap, ignored indifferent society and triumphed over colonial obscurantism, cynicism and apathy. That is achievement.

The Commercial School

Then he presented Nigeria with a commercial secondary school. With all its imperfections and pioneering travails, this commercial school has come to stay. Thanks to the ingenuity and originality of the Onitsha man.

The history of commercial education is a chequered one. Commercial education may include all levels of organised instruction affecting three broad fields of study:

1. market organisation and trading;
2. the structure of trade, industry and finance;
3. and the structure, policy and administration of a business unit.

In Great Britain, the East Indian Company was one of the earliest pioneers in setting up commercial training centres. As a matter of fact it was the demand of commercial enterprise that precipitated the growth of elementary education in the early parts of the 19th century.

In 1856, the Royal Society of Arts began examination in commercial subjects. London Chamber of Commerce began in 1890. In 1895 London School of Economics and Political Science was founded through the efforts of Mr. Sidney Webb for training in political science and business administration. In 1900 Birmingham University included the study of commerce in its charter. Other British universities such as Manchester, Leeds, Durham, London, Bristol, Southampton, and Hull followed these examples and offered degree courses in commerce.

Since 1900 commercial education became an accepted national policy in Britain to train the citizens in commercial knowledge in all levels of schools – elementary, secondary and university.

The first school of business in the United States of America was Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania founded in 1881. Later the University of California and University of Chicago established business schools. In 1900 the University of Wisconsin, Dartmouth College and New York University established their own. The University of Michigan started in 1901. When I was in the United States, there were about 600 universities offering courses in

commercial subjects. After the world war II Graduate Schools of Business have been steadily growing beginning with Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, Leland Stanford, Michigan, New York, Northwestern, Pittsburgh and Wharton.[1] England and America recognised centuries ago, that without commercial education no nation can carry out its obligation in the world of today if they sincerely want economic independence.

Etukokwu and Nigerian Independence

That is why Etukokwu's school is singularly significant. It reminds Nigeria and the Nigerian Government that a new attention must *now* be paid to commercial education in order to give our country economic independence. For while we are politically free, we are economically in chains. And if you add one and subtract one the figure has not been changed.

Our independence will remain an unfinished business until the present and coming generations of Nigerians are fully conversant with all the commercial abracadabra of the Western civilisation. The thing is complex and complicated. Business men in Nigeria must have in their offices well-trained young men and women from our own established schools.

It is imperative and urgent that local councils, and district councils, regional governments, the Government of the Federation, the already established elementary and secondary schools and universities in Nigeria start to include commercial departments wherever it is possible.

I call upon every county or district to have at least one good business school in its area. I call upon the Federal and Regional Governments to establish and properly equip schools of business as a matter of national urgency. I call upon our universities to wake up – Now!

If Etukokwu can do this, our Government can do more. Let us give respect to whom it is due. Today, this illustrious son of

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1. Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol. 6, 1945

Onitsha, Mr. Etukokwu, deserves our honour, our respect, our praise. He met his life without encouragement, he encouraged himself; he met his society without appreciation of a pioneer, he pierced through it; he saw his country without commercial education, he gave them a commercial school:

> "Fate slew him, he did not drop; Fate burned him, he did not melt; Fate tied him on her fiercest stake, he neutralised it all."

Let us emulate him!

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This relatively short address pungently sounds a warning against all disintegrative forces threatening the unity of one Nigeria thirty-three years ago. Orizu, an uncompromising *archetypal* fighter for unity of Nigeria, noted that to make Nigeria, one had not and would never be an easy task, but remains a duty which every citizen should face till it is achieved through the help of the Almighty God.

– Editor

A GREAT TIME TO LIVE

(An Address to the Staff and Students of the Nigeria Secondary School Nnewi on the Occasion of His 51st Birthday July 17, 1965)

Mr. Chairman, Chiefs, Hon. Members, Distinguished Guests, Staff and the Students of the Nigeria Secondary School, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am grateful that all of you who are busy men and women in all works of life have found time to come to rejoice with me in a little and quiet way on this my 51st Birthday which is also the Founder's Day of the Nigeria Secondary School.

Today we live in a nation born out of the ordeals of imperialism, born out of a multiplicity of tribes, born out of cultural and traditional differences, born out of multifarious languages, born out of varied and unco-ordinated ideologies within and without divergent political parties. Ours is a nation whose political edifice is mounted upon tribally dominated regional governments, widely separated in some of our religious concepts, and deriving our norms of conduct from different social ideals.

In all history, man has been shown to be different from other animals in that he has a peculiar ability to master whatever environment in which he finds himself. The history of man has been the history of conquering and utilizing his environment. There has never been any challenge of nature that man has not dared to bring under his control. Man invented fire, and put it to his own use; man discovered electricity and makes it his own agent of destiny; man has today challenged time and space and moved around and over universes in terms of hours.

Since the middle of the 18th Century, man in Europe succeeded to create great nations out of principalities and tribes and dukedoms. After the First World War, the greatest attempt was made by man towards creating a world government. He did not succeed, but there

was a league of nations. After the Second World War, the United Nations was inaugurated in San Francisco. Throughout this period, it was a struggle of reaction against progress, of isolationism against internationalism.

Today, in Nigeria, we are going through a period of struggle of disunity against unity, nationhood against regionalism, universalism against individualism, democracy against autocracy, altruism against jingoism. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a painful experience but it is a great time to be alive.

The duty of a Nigerian citizen today is to ask himself. "What am I living for?" "Am I living to see the disintegration of the greatest nation in Africa?" If I am a political leader, "Am I going to be a presiding officer over the liquidation of a great nation handed over to us by our forefathers?" We shall ask: "Are we so imbecile to persuade, so untactful to unify, so hasty to tolerate, so impatient to work and wait, so afraid of the inevitabilities of the change?"

Yes, this is a great time to be alive in Nigeria. It is our glory if we are able to endure the pressures and travails on the path towards unity. Unification of nations has never been an easy task. It is an illusion to think that it has been or that it will be. It is an illusion to think that unity means making everybody conform with our peculiar ideas. The greatest generals of national unification are those who are capable of going to war with all perfect and imperfect materials of their own day. I am one of those who put the unity of Nigeria above all else. Without any exaggeration, *I will rather die than to mislead the present and the coming generation of this country into believing that the solution to our problem is to disintegrate Nigeria.* The day Nigeria will seriously conceive of not being one nation will be a day of *infamy* on the African continent. It will be a day of racial suicide for the Black World. The responsibility of this great catastrophy is, in my humble opinion, greater than any single leader of any party in Nigeria. Our great emancipator and our political father, Dr. the Hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe, with the help of other leaders has inspired us into nationhood. The great spiritual Gandhi and a man given to us unawares by God to maintain that peace and unity, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, is making an unquestionably genuine effort towards fulfilling this assignment.

The pace of progress in Eastern Nigeria has shown, that Dr. M. I. Okpara, Premier of Eastern Region and Leader of the N.C.N.C. not only loves the country and wants its progress but would risk all including his life to attain what he considers an ideal society in Nigeria. No one can honestly doubt the sincerity and purposeful ideal of Sir Ahmadu Bello, The Sardauna of Sokoto, who fought with others to lay the foundation of this country at a time when the British raj tried to make unity impossible. The Mid-Western Region is a new Region, but the Premier, Chief Dennis Osadebay is an old horse in the political arena. He had eaten the fire of politics, he had tasted the bitter pills of our national struggle, he possesses a great spirit of tolerance necessary for leadership in a Federal Republic. With these men as the leaders of our great nation why won't I be happy to be alive in Nigeria today? Why won't we all today sit together like brothers and clear the clouds of rumours of war? With these men as our leaders why can't we uphold the pride of the African through Nigeria's greatness? With these men as our leaders why can't we continue to surprise the world as we have done in the past, by starting afresh on the path of eternal progress through unity?

What makes an era seem either great or unimportant is the attitude of its contemporary leaders toward the problems of their time The problem of Nigeria today is "to be or not to be Nigerians". If we are going to be Nigerians, to enjoy the abundant economic resources, the affluence of political prestige from a large population, the self-confidence that spaciousness brings, then we must develop a great sense of oneness which we so much lack today.

I thank God that I am alive today to join those who believe in one Nigeria to keep it for ever Nigeria. I pray God that we the Hausas, we the Fulanis, we the Efiks, we the Yorubas, we the Igbos, we the Edos, we the Ijaws shall rededicate ourselves to the principles of one Nigeria. The task is hard. Sometimes obstacles to further progress seem insurmountable. But with humility, we shall employ the help of Almighty God to enable us carry on the work so nobly begun. If we produced men who conquered external imperialism, we can again produce men who can conquer internal divisionism. So help us God.

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Orizu's love for his country Nigeria did not only manifest in his direct aggression against the imperialists but also in his various attempts to awaken, enlighten and organise the political behavior of the citizenry. One of such innovations was his creation of the Eastern Chief's Conference from which eventually sprang the Eastern House of Chiefs. At the inauguration of this body in his father's palace, Orizu strongly advised the traditional rulers on what he called the "condition of the existence of a monarchy in a democracy". To many, and historically, this constitutional recognition and unification of the position of traditional rulers in Eastern Nigeria is one of the greatest contributions ever made by any nationalist in Nigeria. Nwafor Orizu, the humble and silent contributor, had done this without shouting hallelujah, even among the contemporary traditional rulers themselves ever since. This vindicates Dorothy Norman in the *New York Post* of January 27, 1944 were she wrote that Orizu was "a prince who reveres liberty.

– Editor

A MONARCH IN A DEMOCRACY

(An Address to the Eastern Chiefs Conference at the Nnewi Palace During the Inauguration of the Body Initiated by Prince Orizu)

Your Highness, honourable chiefs and most respected traditional rulers of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, I welcome you once more to my father's palace in Nnewi. This is the third time we are meeting in this palace this year. I give you warm greetings from H.R.H. Igwe Orizu II, my senior brother who is unavoidably absent. Let me thank you most humbly for having responded to my personal invitation to you during these three occasions.

We have been able in these three occasions to meet each other and discuss the urgent need to awaken the sense of responsibility and identity which was hitherto absent among the chiefs of Eastern Region when compared with the chiefs, obas and emirs of other regions. The assignment you gave me to draft the first constitution of the Eastern chiefs has been read and adopted unanimously. Henceforth we can now write to the Eastern Nigerian Government with official strength of our unity for recognition and eventual establishment of the Eastern House of Chiefs.

Chief Peter Aroh of Abatete, Onitsha Province has moved a motion of thanks supported by Chief Ezeliora Nwizu of Ifite Owerri of Owerri Province thanking me for my humble efforts in originating these conferences singularly and all expenses involved in these three occasions. The motion further proposed that I be the first president of the Eastern Chiefs conference in appreciation for my singular efforts to inaugurate this most important historic conference. This has been unanimously carried. Honourable Chiefs and Traditional Rulers, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this honour done to me. I shall deem it more honour bestowed upon me if you allow me to request that this conference accept H.R.H.

Chief J. N. Orizu, Igwe Orizu II, to be your first president, as my senior brother, who is the Obi of Nnewi town and Agbaja clan. I have regretted his unavoidable absence which is not a slight to this august body.

I like to say a few words on the role of a natural ruler or a monarch in a democracy. We the founders of this new Nigeria which will soon become independent believe in democracy, and in many ways democracy and monarchy are incompatible unless steered by political ingenuity of able statesmanship and harmonious philosophy. It is natural for any one of us to ask: why is a monarch so beloved, so admired, so proudly cherished in a first-class democratic society like England? Why are the aristocracy, the lords, the earls, the knights accepted in a socially enlightened society where equality of men had been drummed into the ears of the masses for ages? Why do the free and powerful commonwealth nations bow to a crown in twentieth century?

England had an unusual record of a tradition for social reform. More than most of the countries of the world, they had produced some of the greatest minds who trenchantly defined and defended the rights of man and the equality of all persons. Those men had vigorously and with fearless candour condemned the malignant effects of privilege, titles, social positions accruing to people merely by the virtue of their birth and denied to others by the same biological accident of heredity.

We cannot begin to enumerate. We cannot retrospect into the many writings of Englishmen who steered England from the days of Magna Carter, through the era of enlightened despots of the eighteenth century, to the rise of the middle class and the representative government. The story of the English revolution of 1642–49 is well known. In 1832 the English middle class "upset the ancient aristocracy of England and made themselves inch by inch, supreme lords of the British Empire, and its destiny. By Liberty they meant freedom from feudal tolls and harassing legislation; by Equality they meant that they were as good as any wig or miter in the land; by Fraternity they meant modestly to suggest their eligibility

to be the salons and sires of the aristocracy". Able writers worked out a doctrine of natural rights of man to "Life, liberty and property".

Long before America and French revolutions, England had started and acted on the theories of the rights of man. They had revolted against monarchical absolutism. John Locke was an English philosopher. Jefferson of America and Rousseau of France all took after the writings of John Locke. The story of James I, 1603-1625, and Charles the I, 1625-1649 demonstrated clearly the mind of the Englishman.

Let Nigerians not fool themselves. The Englishmen were capable of and did behead their king when aroused to anger. And that is the reason we must understand why it is that the country in modern Europe to provide the world with the principles of revolution against monarchy, has retained the most powerful and most renowned kingdom in the present world.

Some frightening, bloody experiences of the consequences of iron rule had taught the English monarch that the masses of a nation are like flies, and that you catch more flies with molasses and not with vinegar. They have learnt and kept the rules of political game which provided that man is by nature freedom-loving; that to be above him you have to reign over him but leave him alone to rule himself; that whenever any king attempted to rule and not to reign, he faced a slow or an abrupt decline of the people's affection which invariably ended in active rebellion or violent termination of the kingdom. It happened to king Charles the I, the Czar of Russia met his waterloo in 1905. Louis XIV drank the water of tragedy in 1879.

But the English people have a unique tradition of conservatism coupled with enduring common-sense and reasonableness. For all their love for liberty, history has taught them that society is ennobled and beautified by political ornament which is the crown, while the dirty almost thankless job of ruling the people is left to the people for the people. The crown unifies without active authority, the people's representatives, legislate and execute with power in the name of that crown. Yes, every citizen of England is a Queen's loyal subject. The ministers are the Queen's servants. The navy is

Queen's navy. The army is the Queen's army. The parliament is the Queen's parliament. All the commonwealth countries and the colonials are the Queen's subjects. What a great monarch lives there in the Buckingham palace. And yet for all the Queen's reigning powers, the poor lady has no choice of marriage beyond the orders of the realm, she cannot associate as she likes. She cannot handle money herself. She cannot travel to places of her own choosing without the approval of some one else. She cannot even enter into the House of Parliament without permission. She cannot even receive gifts not approved by others. You can become a member of any religious group or belief. The Queen has no choice of religion. She must remain the defender of a particular faith. There are three most important freedoms of man; freedom of speech, freedom of worship and freedom of movement. The Queen has none of these to remain the Queen. But she takes it with pride and humility knowing full well that democracy offers cross before crown. In no other country does that aphorism stand most symbolic as in England.

Here lies a lesson for Nigerian kings. Our concept of democracy is widening everyday. Education will soon turn this nation into a full democratic country. Our monarchs – the Obis, Emirs, Obas, must take time to study the possible conditions under which democratic society admits monarchy. Now the Eastern chiefs will soon be recognised. The Eastern House of Chiefs may follow. Yes, we like to cherish the glories and the unifying influences of the rulers in our midst, but the people want their representatives to rule them.

The secret of popularity of the Queen is that she reigns and unifies without active authority, whereas she graciously permits her loyal subjects to rule. Our Nigerian kings, to live side by side with the tides of democracy and free thought must begin now to develop the sentiment of reigning and unifying without active authority while the common people are permitted to legislate and execute with power – that is the condition of the existence of a monarchy.

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Dr. Orizu has always believed and so he had preached in this nation that one of the causes of backwardness in Africa is lack of written records. It is only when we start keeping written records that we shall be in a position to establish permanent and respectable culture. Then, the past will be remembered, the present will be articulated and the future will then be properly assessed and predicted for expansion, improvement and continuity. These are so well stated here as Orizu asked and answered: "who is the African writer?"

– Editor

WHO IS THE AFRICAN WRITER?

(An Address as the Guest of Honour at the First Anniversary Celebration of the Writers' Workshop, East Central State Government at Hotel Presidential Enugu. August 4, 1974)

I was asked to make some comments on this occasion of the first anniversary of the *Writers' Workshop* of the East Central State. No mention was made to me as to the exact topic. I have therefore decided to ask myself this question: *Who is the Nigerian Writer? Who is the African Writer?*

Before attempting to deal with this question, I would like to say that the *Writers' Workshop* did not jump down from the roof of the Cabinet Office upon the ground floor of the East Central State theatre in the manner which *Deus Ex Machina* descended from the roof onto the Greek theatre during the days of classical writers of Greek tragedies.

I consider the Writers' Workshop as an institution born out of a great nationalistic desire to do for this country what similar societies had done in other countries. I agree that literary society may be classified into three categories: the Academy, the Authors Club, and Learned Society of Letters.

The Academy is more of a critique or arbiter of literary taste and linguistic decorum. The French *Academie Francaise* was founded in 1635; the British Academy in 1901; The American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1904. These academies had important literary and cultural impact in their own countries.

Authors Clubs had had a chequered history. In 1713 Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope and others formed Scriblerus Club. In 1764 Edmund Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, Edward Gibbon and others formed the Literary Club. In 1836, Ralph Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller and others formed Transcendental Club in Concord,

Massachusetts. Authors never agree, and this weakness made these clubs unstable.

The Learned Societies had rendered wonderful service to the society by offering centers for discussion, preserved literary monuments and literary knowledge, offered opportunity for literary publication. The Society of Antiquities of London was founded in 1572. The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was founded in 1781. The Royal Society of Literature was founded in 1828. The Philology Society was founded in 1842. The American Philological Association was founded in 1869. The Modern Humanities Research Association was founded in 1918.

I deliberately quoted these dates above in order to underscore the misconception in our midst that this Writers' Workshop is a brand new literary fanfare born out of youthful exuberance, and nurtured by the manure of inexperience on the soil of immaturity. Rather, we ought to realize that behind the greatness of every nation, there must be Gibbons, Shakespeares, Lin Yu Tangs, Karl Marxs, Euripides, Aristophanes, Aeschylus and Dantes.

Reducing thoughts and cultural achievements in the best written expression is the basic condition of civilization and identification of any race. That most African countries, particularly in Black Africa, had failed in the past to record their thoughts and culture, is the reason for our inferiority complex, imitative propensity and apologetic psychology.

Now, I ask, who is the African Writer? Generally the writer is the Man thinking, the Man expressing his thought, the Man interpreting nature, the Man capturing ideas, the Man generating imagination, the Man recording the abstract, the Man idealizing the concrete, the Man conserving the traditional, the Man welcoming innovation, the Man generating revolutions, the Man unifying the concept of peoples cultural and historical existence.

The African Writer

Naturally, the African writer must conform with the above definition. He must think, interpret, capture, express, generate, record, idealize, moralize, conserve, innovate, revolutionize, and unify the African

culture, the African tradition, the African moral norms, the African soul and the African destiny.

What are the conditions for producing the effective writer?

There are six major conditions for producing the effective writer:

(i) Literacy
(ii) Freedom of expression
(iii) Economic security
(iv) Exposure to New Experiences
(v) Recognition
(vi) Dedication

(i) *Literacy*

The society that can produce literary geniuses must rid itself of poverty and inequality in educational facilities. Education that will liberate the human mind which will appreciate his own personality and destiny in Africa, must be horizontal. It must be broad, inclusive, outward, practical, dynamic. The writer cannot interpret th "self" he does not know; he cannot defend the culture he does not understand; he cannot impart poetic vision from an empty skull; he cannot draw inspiration from the inferences of self-condemnation. Besides, where a writer is accidentally educated, and his society lacks universal education, that society may limit his activities, discourage his ambition and stultify his growth.

It is, therefore, a moral obligation to be educated. The trend toward free primary and post primary education in Nigeria is the greatest historic trend in the progress of Africa in the twentieth century. It is one of the greatest achievements of the government of this younger generation in Nigeria under a military regime.

(ii) *Freedom of Expression*

An effective writer needs a society which encourages people to say their minds. He would not be inhibited when inspired by some purely personal idea or impression. He may be feeling whimsical,

indignant, sad, hilarious, or sceptical; he may be questioning the existence of God, the reason for monarchy, the glory of a flight to the moon, the invisibility of the human mind; the genius of a scientist, the plight of a teacher, the greed of the wealthy, the beauty of music, the prevalence of moral decadence, or the dogmatism of religion.

(iii) *Economic Security*

Poverty is the greatest obstacle to creative work. A poor man can scarcely afford to buy books or to pay teachers or to build schools. Universities, laboratories, libraries are beyond a poor man. After all major wars, poverty is the principal danger to the development of education. Books and schools are usually destroyed. It is difficult to replace them rapidly; and the youngsters are growing up half savage, half human. This accounts for why civilizations disappear so quickly in a succession of wars.

Poverty, either imposed by war or by ineffective social programmes is inimical to the growth of an effective writer. It is, therefore, necessary in Africa that our societies and governments should gear themselves to a society where the whole people will get jobs and be adequately paid in order to create leisure which will in turn usher in cultural expansion through writing.

(iv) *New Experiences*

No writer can be of any use to his society without comparative knowledge of his society and culture and that of other societies and cultures. The citizen of Africa must, therefore, be free and able to travel to other parts of the world and read the writings of other minds. It is only then that he will be competent to assert his ideals with a balanced mind.

(v) *Recognition*

A writer can enjoy recognition when his readers are trained to appreciate his point of view. They may disagree! It is necessary for the governments of African countries to establish institutions to

discover literary talents, challenge them by giving them assignments, assess them thereafter, and reward them accordingly. In all so-called civilized countries, authors are human, they are recognized by heads of states and given prizes and certificates of honour, and even buried along the graves of kings.

(vi) *Dedication*

The African writer has a great responsibility. And he must dedicate himself to the urgencies of such a solemn obligation.

At this stage of our development, most African nations are classified as *developing nations*. Among the developing nations, Nigeria is acknowledged as the leading nation. That leadership imposes a special duty on the shoulders of Nigerian writers. Our greatness lies in the abundance of our natural wealth, our population and the dynamism and enlightenment of our man-power force.

The gaze of a Nigerian writer must be Africa-wide. He has to develop a concept of African Continental Philosophy, an attitude and mental disposition that would reflect in his novels, essays, pamphlets, text books and poetry, a one-directional orbit toward pan-Africanism.

To do this he must first of all be a Nigerian personality. I mean a Nigerian in culture. My philosophy is that a fundamental principle remains an airy abstraction until you do something with it or about it.

The first thing is that our writers, given the Nigerian populace to educate, must redirect the attention of those our social climbers who were miseducated and misinformed to return to the God of Africa and admire our physical form, our colour, our love of peace, our customs and traditions, our good food, our wonderful languages, our hair, our names, our concept of our Maker, our ethical norms; our own idea of beauty, our own idea of justice, our own idea of democracy, our own idea of government, our own ideology of how to live, how to marry, how to die, how to be buried and how to be remembered in the history of man.

Everyone of us knows that knowledge of other nations, other cultures than African, other art than African is indispensable to the

growth of any educated man. What I am saying is that the best way to correct African backwardness and parochialism is not merely to learn and accept without question the culture of Western civilization, but also to acquire a richer knowledge of the struggle of the Africans to be Africans in identity and destiny. The Nigerian writer will not desire to drive Western culture out of Nigeria, but he must insist upon the necessity of putting Nigeria in.

How long can we safely permit our citizens to believe that when no white friend of ours has ever baptized himself or his children born in Nigeria in Nigerian names, that we are being civilized by naming our children after European names in 1974?

The Nigerian writer must create an atmosphere of unity in Nigeria. Nigeria needs an urgent literary assault against tribalism. It is the Nigerian writer, in interpreting the true soul of the Nigerian, who will tell us young and old, that any leader who plans to lead his country today or tomorrow is automatically disqualified if his inspiration is rooted in tribal or local jingoism.

The new generation of secondary and university students, the young traders and civil servants, the mass of intellectual minds, all groups of workers unions, our women and children are not interested in disagreement among the leaders at a time when the war had taught us that it does not pay to lead those who want to follow you into the jaws of death for the sake of one or two items of disagreement between leaders. I have never known of any nation where there were not some grave items of dispute among different communities.

The leadership that Nigeria looks for will come from men who can get the best out of the worst; men who will not succumb to the temptation of excitement at the least signs of infringement on what they consider their relatively personal or group interest. They must be Nigerians with ecological mind. That is, they must accept the fact that peace, eternal peace, is not an easy thing to maintain, probably not even a possible condition to attain in a world as we know it. This is neither negative nor pessimistic. It is positive thinking – if anything. We have seen that: "For every example of

mutual help among the gregarious and social animals there are many examples of conflict".

As John Bradley Jr. wrote: "In most cases the members of the same specie fight, like men, more desperately with one another than with creatures of different blood. Because they live in the same environment and require the same kind of food and protection, their greatest battles are among themselves". It is the function of the Nigerian writer to inform fellow Nigerians. The leadership in Nigeria must learn that Nigerians are members of the same specie in the family of nations, and that they live in the same environment, and require the same kind of food and protection, hence, it appears that our greatest battles are among ourselves. If this idea is impressed upon all citizens by the Nigerian writer that this is a natural sequence concluded from scientific observation in the field of Biology, then we can view our internal battles with a more tolerant attitude, and then forge some natural weapons to fight that interminable warfare as we propel along the orbit of international diplomacy.

The principle of political ecology will enable the Nigerian leadership to be rest assured that although the natural world is born in conflict, it is more true that the animal uses the oxygen and starch produced in the body of the plant, whereas the plant uses the carbon dioxide and the nitrogenous waste produced in the body of the animal. In this way, we see that creatures with antagonistic feeding habits, who inhabit the same environment, become mutually beneficial. The strongest impulse in the living world is the urge to live an easy life. It has been discovered that partnership is only a convenience to that easy life. And man, being above other animals has developed institutions and traditions which acknowledge the principle of ecology in political life. A Nigerian writer must adjust the multifarious political views and parties. With all sordid and antagonistic interests, with all cries of warfare and predatory intrigues, with all commotions and prodigalities arising from desperate seekers of easy life, with all different manners and different languages, we must accommodate our brothers who disagree with us and whose interests conflict with our own.

Without this kind of spirit I warn that we may unconsciously excite those Nigerians who love and follow us to the extent we may not be able to control them in a year or two from now, and history may repeat itself.

I praise the Writers' Workshop as a worthy example of an attempt to produce men and women who can offer leadership in the realm of writing and show the light in expressing other aspects of the peoples' culture. We ought to congratulate the East Central State Government for this foresight, and hope that by the time the Workshop attains its second anniversary, we shall have produced more writers for our mother Africa.

We pray, may God give us Writers of Sanity.

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Dr. Orizu's commitment to the education of the Africans as a necessary prerequisite for their emancipation knows no limit. It is total. In his usual missionary zeal he dabbles into the task of rehabilitating from the root, the battered educational system in the then war ravaged East Central State. No wonder he condescended to work as chairman of Nnewi Divisional School Board, when the last post he held before the war was Acting President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In this address to the schools committee, Orizu seeks to inspire in his audience a spirit of altruism which will enable them see the rehabilitation of the educational system as a task that must be done.

– Editor

ADDRESS TO THE SCHOOLS COMMITTEE NNEWI DIVISION, AS THE CHAIRMAN NNEWI DIVISIONAL SCHOOL BOARD

Members of the Divisional School Board, Members of the Schools Committees, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am glad that we are gathered here in this inaugural meeting of the Nnewi Schools Committee and the members of the Divisional School Board. Quite apart from the time your Chairman visited several schools in the Division, this is the first time these two important bodies have the opportunity of coming together to learn from each other the ways and means of carrying out the great duties which the education of our children impose upon us.

The first thing we must bear in mind is that this responsibility to manage and watch the progress of education in our division is not imposed upon us by the East Central State Government. It is not a command from His Excellency the Administrator or his commissioners. What the Government has done was to simply remind us of our natural responsibility to the children to whom we are fathers. Government simply points out to us the path of common progress as practised in all civilised societies. The Government endeavours to give us all a helping hand in the performance of our natural duty which every parent owes to his own child. We are charged with the care of all the children everywhere. We are not told to take responsibility of catering for our own children alone. This honourable duty, my fellow citizens, is a duty to be performed with all the solemn sense of honour and humility in the interest of our children. The proper definition of *The School Board and the Schools Committee* is a joint body of government of the parents, by the parents for the parents.

The moment we understand that the school *take-over* meant the *parents-take-over* of schools, the quicker we bend down to the essential tasks of giving the best in us to produce the best breed of youngsters for the coming generations of Nigerians.

Our meeting today, therefore, is not a meeting to find out just what the government will do for us but what we shall do, not for the Government but for our children. It is a meeting to find out what we shall do for own children. It is a meeting to thank the Government for allowing us to have a full say and a full control of the destiny of our own children. Nnewi Division has a parable; "Onabu edu onye mmuo ogu ogbobe egbobe", which means that when a strong man runs to the aid of a fighting coward, the coward turns out to be a mediator between his opponent and his aide - he will ask them to stop fighting! The government function is to help us fight illiteracy. We shall not try to play the umpire between illiteracy and the government. The battle is between illiteracy and Nnewi Division. We shall fight illiteracy with all our might, and accept whatever implements of war the government can afford and then forge our own way with courage, determination and sacrifice.

The functions of a Divisional Board are definite: To see to the general welfare of schools in accordance with regulations and such directives as may be given by the Commissioner.

(i) To appoint, promote, transfer, discipline, dismiss teachers and other staff required to be employed at or for the purpose of a state primary school.
(ii) To maintain any premises forming part of or used in connection with any such school.
(iii) To acquire and to obtain equipment, . furniture and other movable property required for the purposes of any school.
(iv) To provide recreational facilities and provide meals.
(v) To collect school fees and other revenue.
(vi) To appoint school committees.

The functions of the school committees are as follows: To see to the general welfare of the school under its supervision:

1. They should provide teachers' quarters.
2. They should provide school buildings with adequate classrooms.
3. They should provide enough land for school expansion.
4. They should protect the school premises and the teachers from molestation or disturbances.
5. They should help in supplying school equipment.
6. They should help elevate the general standard of the area by organizing voluntary contribution to enable indigent pupils to continue to go to school.
7. They should constitute a watch dog for the Board in setting and encouraging moral standards generally acceptable everywhere for the teachers and the pupils to observe.
8. They should familiarise themselves with common difficulties of the teachers and the pupils alike.
9. They should meet regularly to deal with these problems.
10. They should have it as a guiding policy that the Board will judge performance of the committee on four major criteria:
    (a) The population of the school
    (b) The academic standard of the school
    (c) The moral tone of the institution
    (d) The payment of fees.

At the end of every academic year the Board will check on these items and select the best schools which score the highest mark. We shall give special consideration to such schools and committees. The headmaster of such school will be accorded recognition by the Board.

In 1971, there were 104 schools in Nnewi Division. Our report showed that for schools in this division to function efficiently, we required:

1. 199 classrooms for increased population
2. 598 black boards and easels
3. 5,715 desks
4. 511 chairs
5. 60 tables
6. 409 stools.

A great effort is being made to meet these demands. The Board has given directives as regards the production and distribution of these essential equipments. There will be an advertisement for contractors to bid for the job. This was done in order to reduce the cost and produce uniform equipment for all schools. We expect the Committee to supplement whatever is not completed in this exercise.

Merging of Schools

Some of you may be wondering why the merger of schools. This exercise is not meant to disturb but to ease the problems of economy and efficiency. The Board has already worked on the merger itself, but we are constrained to consult the schools committees and other bodies in a widely distributed area such as Nnewi Division. The members of the Board have been assigned to visit all the schools while in session before we can find our way to make effective and logical combinations which will be efficient, stable and useful. Our merger programme will be announced as soon as this exercise is over. That will be soon. As soon as this merger takes place, the Board will announce the transfer of the teachers. The Committee will be ready to receive the Board members with facts and figures to make our merger programme easy, effective and realistic.

The Board holds a very serious view about the place of a teacher as a moral and technical agent in our school system. Some sad observations had been made concerning the conduct of some teachers as follows:

1. There are headmasters who employ school children in their own personal farm at a time when those children should be busy on the school farm.
2. There are headmasters who turned the school handicrafts lesson into a huge trade. They do not teach the pupils to make the baskets and brooms by themselves. Rather, they force them to buy the brooms from the local market or allow their parents to do it for them or pay money to the headmaster in place of the handiwork.

3. There are teachers who are preocupied with their G.C.E. external examinations, who study while the class goes on. This is a shameful example of irresponsibility.
4. There are headmasters and teachers who give all their time to local trade while the salary is his source of capital. It is not bad for a person to be creative, but it is a crime to cheat the children and the society by robbing Peter to pay Paul. The committees will be vigilant in detecting and reporting to the Board wherever such practice is detected. We shall deal severely with such teachers.

The proceeds are hardly accounted for. I know personally of a brilliant child who failed in her class after a year's hard-work simply because she did not buy a broom. Other inferior children who failed in other subjects passed because they paid some money or bought the brooms. Such promotions are morally and academically valueless.

The committees will see to it that parents must not allow their children to be so cheated.

Hand crafts are to be taught, and the parents must judge whether they were taught or not by making their children demonstrate their skill when they come back from the school. The committees must inform all parents not to give money to their children to pay for hand crafts, nor buy one to give them to submit. Parents should report any headmaster who goes contrary to these rules.

Promotion Exam

In order to establish a high academic standard in the Division, we conducted an annual promotion examination in 1971. The result reveals a lot to the Board. We are now able to assess certain schools against the others. There is one school that scored 97% in elementary 4, and 90% in elementary 3 and 57% in elementary 5, but another school scored 13% in elementary 3, 27% in elementary 4, and 4% in elementary 5, only 1 passed; 43 in elementary 4, only 12 passed, 46 in elementary 3, only 6 passed, 40 failed (St. Simon's School, Ezinifite). It is easy to guess what the Board is going to think about the headmaster of this school.

I shall like to review this examination result with the committees so that they have a comparative idea of what happens in other communities of the division. It will enable the committees to sit up and work hand in hand with their teachers. (Refer to the examination result schedule).

I thank the members of the schools committees for their response to this call, and for the good work which they have been doing in their respective areas to promote this scheme. I want all of you to know that you are the real representatives of the Divisional Board. We trust your good judgement and initiative. Our aim is to make the schools in Nnewi Division to be the best in the whole of the East Central State. Everybody expects this Division to lead the rest. Most people consider the people of Nnewi Division to be rich and ambitious. Although we are not particularly rich, we ought to demonstrate a healthy spirit of competition which our children will emulate.

As Chairman of this Board, I cannot afford to participate in anything where I cannot produce a first class performance. This Division has never disappointed me in the past whenever I have called upon you for any emergency.

As you know I have indicated that one third of my allowance as your Chairman will be donated to the whole schools in the Division. I did not do this because I have no need for the money, but because I want all of us to sit up for the new role the parents must play in our new society.

This Division of fourteen towns has 104 schools in it. There are smaller divisions whose committees have raised enormous sums of money up to 15 to 20 thousand pounds for the general welfare of their schools. This Board and these committees with the co-operation of town councils, will soon be called upon to demonstrate their ability to challenge poverty and illiteracy in our midst. Can We?

May I thank the fellow members of the Divisional Board through whose devotion I have found this task easier and interesting. My Board members and the Secretary are sober, mature and patriotic citizens whose invaluable contributions have given me courage and

hope that this Division is bound to be a show-piece of educational standard to be emulated everywhere. I believe that with God and truth, we shall succeed to repair the damages which the civil war has done to our educational system.

Be it known that immediately after the war, all my colleagues in political life have engaged themselves in pursuit of personal rehabilitation through the agencies of the states and Federal Governments, but I have chosen to deprive myself and my family of this privilege in order to render this service so that our children of today and the future will enjoy the benefits of high standard of education full of promise for progress and prosperity in this our beloved country. Reward and gain have not been my preoccupation in my national service to the people of Nigeria. I am fully conscious, so help me God.

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Since Dr. Orizu sees education as key to liberation, to him therefore wrong education is an obnoxious situation with its attendant serious consequences. In this speech he shows serious concern over the misleading and snobbish attitude of the so-called educated class in Nigeria of that time. He was afraid that if this group (whose influence was fast spreading among the citizenry) was not re-educated, the very essence of the struggle for freedom will be largely jeopardised. He asserts that complete freedom and emancipation can only be attained when the uneducated is educated, and the miseducated re-educated as he postulated in his book *Without Bitterness*.

– Editor

"EDUCATED" CLASS IN NIGERIA

(Adapted from Without Bitterness)

(A Public Lecture to Calabar Community at Calabar Chairmanned by Prof. Eyo Ita in 1946)

Nigeria is under a new regime. A new class is emerging to take the place of the old. This is the so-called "Educated" class, or "Intelligentsia". By this is not meant a very highly educated group schooled under a realistic system, nor am I talking about that purely disinterested elite trained to understand its environment and able to interpret its life in relation to other lives and to evaluate its culture in terms of other cultures. Rather, this class will be traced first to the "foreigner" – that African class which I have mentioned before – the immigrant who came in the early 1850s from Sierra Leone and the West Indies. Not much is written about this group, but it appears that when they came they were able to understand the English Language, which Nigerians did not then understand. When the British government came in, its officials made them interpreters, chief clerks, heads of police departments, and so forth. They were first lawyers and business middlemen. They had access to the kings, and thus were something of a go-between for the Europeans and the African potentates. They took advantage of the situation by initiating a system of bribery never known in Nigerian political history. This was made quite easy for them by their unchallenged ability to misrepresent words and even views while acting as "interpreters". When two parties had a case, they were at the mercy of these "interpreters". The party which gave the "interpreters" more bribe won the case. The ease with which this was done can be understood. By suppression of evidence, by manipulated emphasis, and by sheer intimidation these men wielded a power against which even the "chiefs" themselves were impotent. Instead of trusting their lords and warriors, and the elders who had religious and moral sanctions,

in such cases, these paramount rulers found themselves at the mercy of the interpreters and clerks and lawyers on whose shoulders the British placed the responsibility of advice and direction in their relations with the indigenous Nigerian governments. But these "educated" lawyers and interpreters, although originally African knew nothing about Nigerian culture, and they did not care to know. Most of them were Christians, and everything in Nigerian culture, to them, was a sign of heathenism. Their power came from the British, and hence they tended to despise even the Nigerian rulers, whom they could control indirectly in many ways at that time.

As time went on, English schools were established in Nigeria, and young boys attended them but with one ambition: to learn enough to become clerks and interpreters, or employees of European traders. From those "pinnacles" they thenceforth surveyed their ancestral culture with high contempt, obeying no laws and observing no rules but the Englishman's. This contempt for culture and institutions of their own people, then, became the sign of "education". The educated class became a new privileged class – "privileged" because they felt themselves above the "chiefs", above the elders, above the Nigerian diet, above the Nigerian attire, above the Nigerian form of marriage, above the people's ceremonies, in fact, above Nigeria! Later, this privilege expanded into study abroad, and now the young men who go to Oxford or Cambridge – when they return to Nigeria – become more English than the English themselves. When they talk to the other Nigerians, they say "but this is not the way it is done in London". London becomes the catchword. One has to have an Oxford accent in order to create an impression among the people. One has to know British parliamentary procedure in order to be acclaimed as cultured in Nigerian meetings. To attend Europeanized clubs in European attire became a sign of greatness. Those able to attend such clubs walk in the streets of Nigeria as if they have just inherited the earth.

Sir Hugh Clifford, a Governor in Nigeria, in describing the educated class said: "Men born and bred in British administered town situated on the sea shore, who, in the safety of British protection, have peacefully pursued their studies under British

teachers in British schools, in order to enable them to become Ministers of the Christian religion or Learned in the laws of England".

This "educated" class now exploits the masses. It has no use for the poor and underprivileged millions of the country. All that members care about is to have beautiful mansions and many servants to be very respectful to their wives. They apply for jobs from the British Government and they usually obtain them. They are the high-salaried class. Their occupation is usually clerical, but they receive up to £300 and more a year. Not that this is a particularly impressive figure, but they prefer it to returning to a creative aspect of Nigerian life – the reclamation and acceptance of things Nigerian, the construction of new institutions upon the best in the old ways added to new ideas.

The danger from the educated class does not lie wholly in their helping the West stamp out the basis of a people's culture and pride, but rather too in their inability to substitute anything for what they are taking away. Besides, they have influenced the younger generations to think that an educated man is one who best knows how to deal contemptuously with indigenous institutions and the original creative works of his ancestors. Or at his best, an educated man is a "pen-pusher" who depends not on the job he creates for himself, not on his own father's farm developed on modern technological bases, not on the well-established family system, but on British Civil Service jobs, or on minor clerical positions in European mercantile offices and shops. There, one finds a tendency in a people to develop strange mental habits which in reality 'denationalise" them.

These people certainly have no language difficulty. They are sons of Nigeria. But the history of Africa – even of Nigeria – is difficult for them to grasp. It is difficult for them to cogitate on native African philosophy and thought. They have no understanding of the forces of history responsible for the cynical drama of the rise and fall of one nation and another, even as it applies to Africa. On the contrary, to them everything is natural. Nigeria is under the British. The white man has a better culture. That is all. Automobiles,

telephones, flying boats in the air, diving engines below the sea, electric fans, battle ships .... What more? Africa has none.

The "educated" class is in a herculean struggle. The intangibles and abstractions of Nigerian institutions are as far beyond their comprehension as they are to a foreigner. In their heart is a formidable struggle – the clash between their admiration for the approximates of European culture and their moments of yearning for their real Nigeria.

Sometimes it is a mere elementary conflict between shame and pride, between sheer family loyalty and a critical ashamedness for the present state of things, ... and between a sincere desire for reform and a mere shallow modernity and worship of the modern witch-goddess, there is ... only a very thin margin.

The reader may get the impression that all persons with Western education and all the young people with British education can be viewed as above, or that the Sierra Leoneans and the peoples who migrated from the West Indies in the early days have deliberately disintegrated Nigerian society. Those would be false accusations. The disintegration was an inevitable effect of an unconscious action on the part of our brothers from other places, just as the Nigerians, who imitated this type of education to the detriment of our culture, were only miseducated. Many West Indians have done good pioneering work in spreading European education in Nigeria. We owe a great deal to them. Besides, the process of redemption began in the last decade with the return of Azikiwe to West Africa from America. He came, he saw, and he preached the gospel of mental emancipation through which sons and daughters of Africa learned that an education in book knowledge is not sufficient until they go back to understand the African social order, and, out of that knowledge, to learn how to create a new nation. With this came a changing mind. Earnest young men and women were awakened to the problem. They are not legion – yet – but they find it easy to grasp and appreciate the roots of their being. Because they are Nigerians, they at once see and understand, and in their veins and arteries begin to run the blood of renewed pride and confidence. They stand firm, ready to bear the burden of reclamation. They

have cast aside the veil of shame in things Nigerian, and with resoluteness the young-in-mind come to the front, ready to bear all that is Nigerian – its shame and pride, its luxuries and privations, its glories and iniquities.

But that does not eliminate the great burden of the so-called "educated" class. Nigeria has a double battle to fight: to educate the uneducated, and more important and more difficult, to re-educate the miseducated.

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This is an advocacy that has so consumed the better part of the man Nwafor Orizu. Dr. Orizu postulates the ideal intellectual leader for a country like Nigeria; and the responsibility of Nigerian intellectuals to ensure leadership in their various disciplines. This also applies to political leadership both of which must merge to make Nigeria a sample of a nation. If Orizu's advise was heeded like the words of a prophet, Nigeria would have become an enviable wonder land. But it is not yet late to follow Orizu's ideas and ideals so passionately and painstakingly carved out.

– Editor

INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE NIGERIAN REPUBLIC

(An Address to the Dennis Memorial Grammar School DMGS, Old Boys Association Portharcourt on November 5, 1962 at Roxy Hall, Hospital Road PortHarcourt)

My Fellow Students:

On February 22, 1959, I made a speech on what I called "The Leadership We Want" at Aba. When I accepted to speak in PortHarcourt today, my mind flashed back to this idea of "leadership" in Nigeria. Realizing that I am to speak to the Old Boys of the D.M.G.S., I felt that the D.M.G.S. is famous as one of the producers of eminent leaders in the Nigerian society. This being the case, I felt that I should talk on the nature of intellectual leadership which someone who has been trained as an elite in a society ought to offer in our new nation. I added "political leadership" in order to acknowledge the "human" in every "man". It is a well-known fact that every man is a political animal. A trader is a political animal, a lawyer is a political vehicle, a doctor is a political right and left ventricles, a civil servant is a political nervous system, an artisan is a political fibre, legislators and politicians are a political epidermis, whereas students – both old and new – are political protoplasm with its "primitive metabolism".

Why are we very keen over the question of leadership? Because the perennial argument always has been: "does man make history or does history make a man?" That argument needs not take our time now. But we may note that every society, every nation grows red or pink, yellow or white according to the color, stuff and genotype of the leading personalities at each particular stage of its growth. Social order already formed by previous leaders could be a

determinant in the formation of the character and stuff of which a leader is made. But it is undeniable that the emergence of certain persons at certain times does make a difference in the history of man on earth. Think of Charles Darwin and the effect of his thinking in human history. Think of Julius Caesar and the Roman Empire. Imagine what the world of India would have been without a Gandhi. Consider the great volcanic upheavals that have attended the world since the writings of Karl Marx. Go back to the Hellenic world and tell me what would have been the barbaric state of man in his thought-process were there no Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. Imagine how decisive in history was the life of Christ – a young martyr who turned a B.C. into an A.D. Churchill made England a different country from what Chamberlain would have made it. Sun Yat Sen met China a monarchy and left it a republic before another personality turned it into a communist state. There was a Gold Coast and one Nkrumah turned it into a Ghana. The catalogue is endless. My submission is that essentially man makes history, but if history ever makes man, then it is the history that man has made that makes man. History, uninitiated by man can never make itself. The made cannot make the maker. The intellectual leadership in Nigeria must accept as an axiom that the majority of men as members of the masses do not have the time, leisure, training or disposition to think and plan except for instinctive self-protection like other animals. The general disposition of the masses is that there are people who are thinking for them, or who ought to think for them.

The function of the informed section of the society (which is what I called intellectual leadership), is that they must act with prophetic vision within the nation by abiding with the following principles:

1. Members of this group, must, during the preparatory days in the school for intellectual supremacy, live under critical self-control in order to allow their mental habits coalesce with the hidden natural laws of the universe so that the systematic scientific habits prevalent in other great nations of the world may find a watered ground in the minds of the Nigerians.

2. They must be a band of disciplined men and women. A college student must realize that without discipline, no serenity, and without serenity, no great mental achievement. It is easy for an undisciplined quack to go through college and pass his examination, but he will belong to the mediocrity in the social application of his education. That is why I feel it necessary to go back to page 315 of "Without Bitterness" where it was said that "Discipline means the putting of loyalties and knowledge to efficient use, the ordering of life in the light of understanding and toward the attainment of purpose. It involves the subordination of the near to the remote, of the present to the future, of the lesser to the greater good. It involves the restraint of the impulses of the moment, the regulation of desire, the postponement of satisfaction, the sacrifice of the immediate comforts and pleasures, the choice of the harder when the easier way is open. Discipline is never indulgent; it may be rigorously exacting. But it assumes this severe form, not because there is virtue in severity, but rather because such is the condition of achievement"
3. They must be prepared to stand alert at all times to interpret the needs of the society and plan for its systematic continual change.
4. They must draw attention of this new nation to the essential problems of ultimate objectives so that too much time and energy must not be diverted to the petty things that disintegrate rather than unite and vitalize.
5. They must be ready in their offices, in their tribal, clan or district unions, in their business connections and election campaigns to fight against bribery and corruption, favoritism and nepotism.
6. They must insist on a central outlook, central interests, central motive and central philosophy if the nation we have built is to endure.
7. Intellectual leadership must call a spade a spade. It must not temporize with inertia. It must not worship outworn traditions that tend to retard general progress.

8. They must fight against laziness, against something-for-nothing psychology ("Ibute ukwa nosi ukpaka"), which generate barbaric roguery and banditry prevalent on the highways and high offices everywhere in our nation.
9. They must fight for the elevation of our standard of living by encouraging hardwork, honesty, competence, sense of duty and spirit of co-operation.
10. They must believe in the vision of progress, and in dynamic conception of human culture. This is most vital in the new outlook and the type of intellectual mind that will be capable of fortifying Nigeria with great edifices of scientific knowledge of the twentieth century in which we are, and twenty-first century which we are about to enter.

By this I mean that every Nigerian scholar, be he at the elementary, secondary or university level, must now appreciate Bacon's theory that "the latest generation is the most ancient". If we understand this, then we can see easily that those whom we call the ancients or the civilized nations of the world are indeed youngsters, whereas we the Africans who stand at the side watching all the progress already made in the whole universe from the U.S.A. to Russia, from Japan to Germany, have the better chance, and richer resources upon which to project and utilize the African mind for the greatest (being the last to start) scientific achievement that mankind will ever know.

Country men, this may sound like a vision or a prophecy, but it will one day be fulfilled.

We come to political leadership. The political leadership of a Nigerian Republic must address itself to specific essentials. Some old tactics must be revised. New approaches must be discovered to meet the demands of a new, turbulent and romantic nation. We now have a need for different political phrases and ideological convictions to match the urgencies and drift of our contemporary society. The nation has changed. The change is final. Both the leadership and the followership in it will either change or perish. A decade ago, Nigeria was in need of prophets of exile, today we need prophets of unity whose sole function is the "unification of Nigeria". With

a Mazzini theorizing on Nigerian redemption, there must come a Garibaldi to personify unity. With a Patrick Henry demanding the forceful exit of imperialism while clinging to regionalism, there must be a George Washington to symbolise federal republicanism in Nigeria, and if disunity continues, an Abraham Lincoln must be born to remove for ever the threat of secession in the nation. That is the political leadership we want.

Nigeria has overgrown that stage when we were content with the words of mouth alone. We now expect a new trend of practical politics to be displayed by creative leadership with unshakable determination to command unity. Not all types of leadership has pre-requisite endurance for the job. Only leadership with pioneer tradition can face and proclaim the unpalatable truth. The truth is that the days of principalities and provincialisms are gone. To continue to play on the fears of tribes and families and hamlets is to ignore the immense expanse of Nigeria's destiny in the scheme of the world. It is sham heroism to cling to the dead languages of our forefathers whose obvious mistakes have taken tolls on our lives and deprived us of honour among the families of nations.

The new leadership must be independent. It must be men born genuine. Genuineness implies absolute independence which does not bow to artificial conventions of society. They must be down-to-earth pioneers with prophetic insight, whose gaze is above petty things and momentary ovations. The long-term destiny of Nigeria will conquer in them any desire to consider personal sacrifices involved in the fight for unity. They must be capable, if necessary, to incur the hatred of their own tribes or regions, in order to uphold the principle of the "unification of Nigeria". Their only reward is the knowledge that they are fighting for a great cause in the manner which the by-gone pioneers of national unity had fought. They are assured that any postponement of immediate personal rewards shall be recompensated by the eternal existence of the one nation they are out to create.

Such leaders must have known about the unification of Germany, the unification of Italy, the unification of France and even of great Britain. They must have known the struggle between the

federalists and regionalists of America. They must have known why Godse, a Hindu, shot Gandhi to death in 1948. They must have known why Booth assassinated Lincoln in the theater. Struggle between the idea of separatism and the ideal of unity is agelong and fundamental with nations. Those who stand for unity had had to surmount difficulties not easily told. But their efforts are always crowned with success, and their memories have been of eternal duration.

The vision of the "Unification of the Republic of Nigeria" is a great item in world history. I say so because a United Nigeria Republic is bound to tell a different story in African history. A disunited Nigeria has no story to tell save the worship of petty gods and goddesses in the arid desert of inadequacy and insufficiency. The leadership which recognizes this opportunity and throws away all the garbs of local deities and raises its mental ken to see the wide expanse of illimitable opportunities in the field of the combat, is bound to register its name in the memory of the world.

The world has recognized our existence. They now look forward to seeing Nigerian leadership vindicate itself. It is entirely the responsibility of Nigerians to prove that in the midst of the clouds, there is light. We must demonstrate that our agitation for independence is not a mere noise of a group of rabbles who, among them, there are no special personalities who can make history for Nigeria by turning the stumbling blocks of tribalism and religious fanaticism into a stepping stone of unity, solidarity and stability.

Where there is no vision, the people perish. The issue of "Unification of Nigerian Republic" requires vision; Not vision blurred by pride; Not vision marred by egotism; Not vision entombed by party politics; Not vision drowned by the sea of local culture; Not vision made impotent by the injection of hate and prejudice combined, but the leadership must have a clear vision illumined with principle, sincerity, realism and love. We are drifting toward danger with the coming of the Federal Republic. Nothing can spare the workers and peasants of Nigeria from that disaster, unless those whom we have elected to direct our political affairs restrain the animal in them and revive the noblest emotion in their nature in

order to elevate themselves above interests and regions. We are drifting toward danger if the leaders do not make haste and align themselves with the interests of the commonwealth in Nigeria.

The working class must be elevated in order to allow the citizens of Nigeria to serve their country without distinction. To undermine the workers is to imprison the strength and fibre of the society. The leadership must harness its strength to declare the cannons of freedoms in our constitution. It must remain impregnable and for ever vigilant in upholding its declarations. As experts in life, the leadership must demonstrate the rare ability to combine the pull of reaction with the push of modernism; to conserve while eliminating, and to uphold the whole while securing the parts.

Nigeria cannot be governed by a dictator. That is certain. Nigeria cannot be pocketed by an undecentralized government. That we know. Nigeria can be Nigeria only if its parts sanction the sanctity of its whole in a voluntary union. And our concern here is to discover what type of leadership can always uphold this union.

History is full of illustrations. We are lucky to have before us, the examples of other nations which are federal in character. The most impressive federal government in the world is probably the United States of America. We also have other examples in Canada, Switzerland, Australia and even the U.S.S.R. in some respects. I am not discussing federal government here, but we shall do ourselves a good turn to read the history of those other countries in order to appreciate the role of political leadership in the upholding of a federal government which we seem to have created for the Nigerian Republic.

Without political leadership, those other nations would have floundered. When divisionists lifted their banner of disintegration in America, they were drowned by the federalists in the sea of common sense and enlightenment. Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison – those were the champions of the unification of American States under a supreme national government, instead of a loose, strong and almost care-free states ever ready to bolt away from the centre. The same role was played in Germany by Otto Von Bismark, in Canada by Alexander Galt and John A'Macdonald.

Those men subordinated the importance of winning election to a principle. They did not temporize with inertia. They undertook the unification of their respective countries as a moral obligation. They knew that as persons they faced the possibility of annihilation, but they also knew that without darkness no light. It takes night – a really dark night to reveal the brightest stars. Strong characters are not revealed in a fair weather, or during the Palm Sundays when people shout "Hallelujah". No. It is under stormy weather, or in a Gethsamane, when people cry "crucify him" that the stuff of leadership is tested.

Our leaders must not ossify. They need not be scruple mongers. The time is here - right now – for their mighty souls to rebel against agrarian individualism if industrialism will for ever flourish; their souls must rebel against the "Spoils System" already in vogue in the philosophy of regionalism; if a nation is ever to be built, their souls must rebel against petty jingoism and anarchic bestial pursuit of wealth by some of those on top.

God never spoke except through man. Man's peculiar mind with body is equipped with abstract and mechanical apparatus to change the processes of his social order. A man dies. That is true. But he is nevertheless endowed with the possibilities of erecting certain edifices that can outlast his given span of life. He can erect institutions that can last many thousands of years after he is dead. He is helpless, no doubt, but he has been able, since the emergence of homo sapiens, to give definition and direction to his animal heritage, hence he has been able to elevate his moral and ethical life beyond that of roaring beasts in the jungle. The noblest specimens among men in all ages have sought the means to bring men together. To unite others for good is the noblest virtue of man. We are now asking or demanding, if need be, from the best that Nigeria breeds, to wake up from their stupor and give us unity. In the past, the continent of Africa had shown the greatest reluctance in this art of man's endeavour to merge into larger wholes. The trend has changed. Pan Africanism has come to stay. And Nigeria is its natural citadel of collective security.

The seriousness and urgency of this matter cannot be over emphasized. All we need to do is to look around the globe and see where we stand, and ask ourselves why we are what we are and why others are what they are. Now, it is the function of the political leadership to focus the attention of the masses to these appalling conditions and convince even the cynics to join the holy crusade of the "Unification of the Nigerian Republic". The "Unification of the Nigerian Republic" is a song which should be in the tongue of every citizen. Poets should dance their lines on it. Essayists should give vent to their creative genius in plotting their paragraphs on it. Authors should find endless items of patriotic titles for contemporary books. Preachers shall act Ezekiels and Jeremiahs to unify the children of God in Nigeria. Everybody must join in order to make the load lighter for our political leaders.

So long as different areas in Nigeria have different languages and cultures, all these must be preserved and duly respected, but they must not be magnified in such a way that a part should be stronger than the required whole. It must be the other way round. The sum total of the whole must be greater in all material respects than any given part.

Leadership shall see to it that this equilibrium is maintained. All doubts must be eliminated. Courage with profound conviction in the rightness of our unity is indispensable. Victims of their own conventions must be releazed through a persistent plea of the leaders. Fanatics who are blinded and immuned in their narrow doctrines must be given a new lease of life by pointing to them the bursting flower of a new Nigeria in her glory and aplomb. They must be shown that we are not self-seekers. The working class and their appendages, the ebullient youths, the chiefs and elders stand ready for the new battle for free and strong Nigeria. This is not a fight for freedom from the foreign powers, but from the internal tentacles of ambition and sordid parties and interests created by ourselves. We now want freedom from the tyranny of our own ignorance; freedom from the murderers of intellect, from narrow-mindedness, degrading stubbornness and selfishness. We want freedom from the principles of decay by which some of us misplace time and place

in a Nigeria which is already on a new plane of time and a new level of space.

We need positive thinking in order to follow the right kind of political leadership which we have laboured to describe in this theme. We must now assume our right to follow those leaders who are ready and capable of giving colour and fibre to the principles we espouse. We owe it to ourselves and to our children yet unborn, to support without fear, or favour, only those leaders who are willing to co-operate, compromise and work hard on the "Unification of the Nigerian Republic" and, not on the enthronement of their regions and persons and interests.

We shall now attempt to clarify what we mean in a more definite way. I have said it before, and I am repeating it that the political leadership we want in Nigeria must at least have eleven qualities:

1. *They must be men who can get the best out of the worst.* In our present day Nigeria, there are so many difficult problems which may seem impossible to any solution. The leadership we want must come from such individuals who have the ability to meet all emergencies without despair; persons whose intellect or emotion may not be swamped by discouragement and cynicism or by ingratitude or hate. They must be men and women who are spiritually awakened up by crisis. They must be politically shock-proof in order to be able to resist the whirlwinds of international diplomacy in the midst of cross-currents of internal oppositions.

   In every new independent country comes a fundamental threat to the authority of the new governments of the centre and the regions. Some die-hards may attempt coup d'etat, others may try to invoke a civil war. We want a leadership that can anticipate and accept such tragic times as a sort of stimulating experience which could be overcome with vigilance and firmness but without bitterness.
2. *They must be Selfless:* Leadership to inspire confidence must not seek its own. In a new and hungry nation, destitute of education and economic security, the leadership must come

from ranks of men and women who understand the needs of the people and identify themselves with those needs. There is no reason why a leader should be required to be propertyless. What I am saying is that leaders should be such persons as do not seek their own alone. They must be people who respect other peoples, and sympathise with the problems of others in a world where every person is sacred unto himself.

3. *They must be pure in heart:* We cannot expect our leaders to be gods. Leaders make mistakes. They blunder. We shall be in error if we expect faultless leaders. No country has had faultless leaders. But leaders should be pure-hearted. By that is meant that while they may make mistakes, their mistakes must not issue from bad motives or wicked designs. They should not connive over wrongs, nor think evil of those that disagree with them. When a leader possesses what one great man called "Spiritual Balance", then he is qualified to lead Nigeria.
4. *They must have a catalogue of achievements based on patriotic motivations and nationalistic designs:* Mushroom leadership will not do in the independent Nigerian Republic. Men and women in whom Nigerians could trust must have grown from the roots of unshakable faith in Nigerian nationhood. That faith must be supported by a long standing hard work, self sacrifice, devotion to the principles of freedom, and loyalty to the things Nigerian. No leader is a leader who simply jumps into the arena at a time when the bread is done, but who abandoned the battle when the oven was hot.
5. *They must represent the collective yearning of the entire nation:* The leadership we want must be an embodiment of the people's desires. They must represent all the grievances, suppressed ambitions, vague longings, unexpressed rights, imposed handicaps; they must symbolise the spirit of the age by identifying themselves with the joys and sorrows of every citizen when taken collectively. When they speak they do as if they were the labourers, the clerks, the traders, the chiefs, the civil servants, the night soil men, the coal miners, the

artisans, the priests, the ministers of state, the engineers, and other professional men, the market women, the educators, the housewives, the house servants, the canoe-pullers. Yes, "leadership" signifies the flame supplied by the collective heat of the people's feelings and needs.

6. *They must be loyal men and women* whose first duty is to uphold Nigeria's interest at home and abroad; to be mastered by the wishes of Nigeria while yet enjoying the fruits of the new found liberty. The leadership must give the highest example of loyalty to Nigeria in order to infuse the same spirit in others whom they lead. Liberty implies being free from something. Loyalty is to be mastered by something. In other words, "what belongs to us is matched with what we belong to". No nation can really exist until those who lead have grown so loyal as to forget themselves and forfeit a good deal of pseudo liberties in the service of their nation. Loyalty is the fundamental condition of freedom. The leadership we want in Nigeria must demonstrate the highest form of loyalty. They must suspend all other loyalties; throw away all other interests when they conflict with the nation's interest; suspend every discordant views which tend to disintegrate; absorb all the shocks of centrifugal influences in our culture and tradition.

I say again that loyalty is the fundamental ornament with which freedom is made attractive. Without loyalty a new nation can go to pieces during the initial stage of its assumption of power. Without loyalty the citizens of a new born nation cannot make personal sacrifices necessary to develop a modern country. There may be a need to go aborrowing, there may be a need to go hungry, occasions may arise to call forth our young men to fight for our continued freedom, a day may come when our women may be required to join in the battle of reformation and reconstruction. Taxes must be paid. As Churchill said when demanding loyalty from his countrymen: "blood, sweat and tears" may be the lot of a new nation in times of tragic distress. Without loyalty there is no nation. The leadership in a free Nigeria must be the embodiment of loyalty.

A loyal person must be loyal to his superiors in office – it does matter in what office. He must be loyal to his party – it makes no difference what party. He must be loyal to his religion – no matter what religion. He must be loyal to his teachers – from his infant to the college. He must be loyal to his friends – both on Palm Sundays and on Good Fridays of life. He must be loyal to the royal in him, and translate all these loyalties to the highest form of loyalty – loyalty to the country and loyalty to God.

7. *The leadership in an independent Nigerian Republic must accept the law of political ecology:* That is, it must at once be understood without hesitation that peace, eternal peace, is not an easy thing to maintain, probably not even a possible thing to maintain in a world as we know it. This is neither negative nor pessimistic. It is a positive thinking – if anything. We have seen that: "For every example of mutual help among the gregarious and social animals there are many examples of conflict". John Bradley Jr. wrote: "In most cases the members of the same specie fight, like men, more desperately with one another than with creatures of different blood. Because they live in the same environment and require the same kind of food and protection, their greatest battles are among themselves". The leadership in Nigeria must learn that Nigerians are members of the same specie in the family of nations, and that they live in the same environment, and require the same kind of food and protection, hence, it appears that our greatest battles are among ourselves. If the leadership understands this as a natural sequence concluded from scientific observation in the field of Biology, then we can view our internal battles with a more tolerant attitude, and then forge some natural weapons to fight that interminable warfare as we propel along the orbit or international diplomacy.

The principle of political ecology will enable the Nigerian leadership to be rest assured that although the natural world is born in conflict, it is more true that the animal uses the oxygen and starch produced in the body of the plant, whereas

the plant uses the carbon dioxide and nitrogenous waste produced in the body of the animal. In this way, we see that creatures with antagonistic feeding habits, who inhabit the same environment, become mutually beneficial. The strongest impulse in the living world is the urge to live an easy life. It has been discovered that partnership is only a convenience to that easy life. And man, being above other animals has developed institutions and traditions which acknowledge the principle of ecology in political life. True leadership must adjust to multifarious political views and parties: With all sordid antagonistic interests, with all cries of warfare and predatory intrigues, with all commotions and prodigalities arising from desperate seekers of easy life, with all different manners and different languages. We must accommodate our brothers who disagree with us and whose interests conflict with our own.

Leadership in an independent Nigerian Republic must be experts in life: We live in a jet age. Other nations have trained and equipped their scientists to prepare for the colonization of the moon and other stars, They are thinking in terms of the other worlds. The European civilization is now tired of this world. It wants to jump away from us in order to control the earth from far beyond. But Nigeria, though becoming independent, is yet an agrarian society. We thrive mainly on agrarian economy. Eastern Nigeria still depends on palm produce, the West on cocoa, and the North on peanuts. Even the Cameroonians depend on banana! We are thriving on landed rather than business wealth. That is why the prevalence of conservatism, individualism, backwardness and provincialism. New economic stimuli are on the way for full expression, but it is all beginning.

Business wealth presupposes an upsurge of commercial and industrial communities, urbanization, and global outlook. The political leadership in the Nigerian Republic must have some basic ideas of the multifarious uses into which our natural resources must be put for industrial purposes. The valuable woods in our forests are cut down for firewood or at the best

for sale as raw timber. The palm tree products are used for drinking and food purposes. All surpluses are exported raw to other countries where they are manufactured into different products which we in turn buy exorbitantly. The same thing is true of cocoa and peanuts. Let us say nothing about our coal and its by-products. Let us not remember our inability to peep into our own soil in search of gold or oil by ourselves. Let us forget that our waters are not harnessed nor our country completely electrified. Let us forget that we have no national food plan, hence no citizen of Nigeria at the moment has access to sufficient calories in his daily diet to upkeep a really healthy body and brain for energetic thinking and enduring work.

The leadership in an independent Nigerian Republic need not be a team of scientists as such, but they need be men of commonsense and wisdom. They need be humble in order to inherit the fruits of knowledge which would enable them to establish a self-sufficient nation, happy in peace and vigilant in war. We cannot win respect by being weak. Hungry people have no dignity. There is no integrity in a state of abject poverty. That is why our leaders must be such persons whose vision must be bold in social planning. And no bold social planning is possible where leaders are narrow and incompetent. *Leadership in our new Nigerian Republic must be citizens of the World:* The idea of interdependence in the world today has become axiomatic. We know now that no nation can simply become happy without cooperation with other nations. The United Nations is the latest attempt of man to globanize his government and galvanize his culture. The attempt is rewarding even in part. The leadership of Nigeria must come from men who understand the story of other countries. They must not narrow their gaze at Nigeria. Their diplomacy must be such as to internationalize Nigeria while solidifying it; to remain the brothers of all nations with prejudice toward none; to isolate our new nation from aggressive entanglements, while clinging to friendly co-operation of those whose principles of life suit our national purposes.

10. *The political leadership we want must show their faith in our youth:* No nation can grow beyond its enlightened populace. The youths of Nigeria of today are inevitably bound to become the leaders of tomorrow. Therefore their right to exist, their right to proper education, their right to proper feeding, their right to proper clothing, and their right to proper association must be jealously guarded.

The leadership of today must accept the responsibility of preparing the leadership of tomorrow whose training must match the kind of demand of the society of tomorrow. So far, our educational system is too faulty for words when we peep into what other countries are doing. And we are not too impotent to make immediate amends. Our youngmen and women must be welcomed into our society with an open hand and a smiling face. They must be trained in order that from among them, our future Einsteins, Faradays and Carvers may emerge. In Nigeria we can yet produce many Tschaikovskys, Shakespeares, Luthers, Deweys, and Pearl Bucks. There are many Fords and Rockefellers behind the closed doors of ignorance. We lock up our possibilities if we do not open the gate of intellectualism in Nigeria.

11. *The political and intellectual leadership we want must fear God:* Far and beyond all these requirements is that the leadership in a free Nigeria must demonstrate his belief in God. It is that one God which is the God of Europe, the God of America, the God of Asia and the God of Africa – *One God*. The lives of those leaders must reflect their belief that good has ultimate triumph over evil, that good has superior appeal over evil; that "truth crushed to earth, shall rise again"; that a nation without morals is bound to go the way of Sodom and Gomorrah; that a morally superior people have the chances of survival in spite of all the transient successes of wicked people. Leadership must behave in such a way as to show religious tolerance; and show the growing youth that it pays to be truthful, honest, industrious and faithful.

To build a nation without God is like building a house on sand. To call upon God without personal restraint, love, and truth is to make mockery of the Creator. To join the band of patriots when one has no moral principles is to enthrone barbarism. To accept a great responsibility of becoming a free nation without purity of heart is to invite anarchy. That is why we insist that the leadership of our great Nigeria must be men and women who fear God.

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Like Freedom and Nationalism, Education and Moral Excellence as a sine qua non to a wholesome life of individuals and nations have been a life time struggle of Prince Orizu. Orizu maintains that the condition for universal growth and progress of a nation is when the education of the youths is based on very high ethical norms and moral values, negating all tendencies toward corruption, nepotism, dishonesty and laziness. He rather advocates a situation where a teacher is an embodiment of excellence and moral example so that the taught can emulate; a situation where the leader must show that he does not love himself and his friends more than those he expects to follow him; where businessmen will not sell spurious goods and should stop smuggling; where religious leaders will be of unquestionable character and where everybody will be his brother's keeper in a nation of divergent tribal, cultural and religious affiliations.

– Editor

EDUCATION AND MORAL EXCELLENCE

(An Address as the Chancellor University of Jos at the Fifth Convocation Ceremony of the University on Saturday January 22, 1983, at the Naraguta Hostel Complex Site, University of Jos, Jos)

Your Excellencies
Your Highnesses
Chancellors, Pro-Chancellors and Vice Chancellors of Sister Nigerian Universities
Honourable Ministers
Honourable Commissioners
Honourable Members of the Houses of Legislatures
Members of Council
Members of the Senate and Congregation
Staff and Students of the University
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

We are living in an age where human mind has been developed through centuries of deliberate planning, systematic organisation, endowed institutions, to develop, direct, and inspire the human mind. The totality of this is called education. This adventure in human history does not stop with organisations and institutions. It has a base in home, religious groups, clubs and other associations. I have chosen this title *"Education and Moral Excellence"*. to immediately bring to the minds of this august audience, that man's level of moral perfection and the possibility of expanding the horizon of that moral perfection depended, is dependent, and will always depend on the type of training of the human mind emanating from the type of education which greeted and continued to influence him as he comes into the world. It therefore becomes self evident that for any nation

to promote a high moral standard of living, a high ethical norm and intrinsic determination of values, the road that will lead to these attainments is: Education Avenue.

It is my candid opinion that education in Nigeria at the moment is in the main a carry-over of colonial concepts of education while the impact of other systems of education prevalent in other parts of the world, which has given them vitality and permanent progress, try to permeate into this country, but are being received with extreme reluctance. We may easily be blinded by the existence and new development and establishment of what we call universities, technical schools, colleges of education and so forth. These things may become a heap of inextricable illusion about what is meant by education.

Education is not as houses built by men. Education is not an organisational set up. Education is the development of the mental, physical, moral, emotional and spiritual capacities in the individual, to enable him be aware of his environment in order to utilize it for the promotion of the welfare of his society and participate meaningfully in enjoying the social results of ecological social order. Education is there, when a government develops positive, clear-cut ideological projection based not on any farcical or imitative concepts of life in other parts of the world, but on environmental experience and exigencies suitable to any given society.

For any nation to embark upon this type of concept, there must be a complete withdrawal of men with thoughtful ingenuity who will sit down through a complete sublime process of thinking, find out first of all the needs of that nation dependent on its geographical position, its population, cultural and traditional anchorages, that being done, then they will decide, first of all how to cure their ills and how to enhance the advantages of their culture. This happened in America at the time when the Americans were about to grow out of the imperialism of Europe. They first of all discovered that they were a country without a particular traditional origin and therefore there was no America.

What they did was to establish educational institutions which will make every citizen there, an American. They insisted that American education must be American. Their language must be

American even though it is English, but it is American English, i.e. American spelling, American pronunciation, American style and decorum. And they spoke very fervently about that. They established symbols and systematic historics that are essentially American. They worship the flag as the king; they organise their laws to be American and opened a chapter on first written Constitution of the modern times. Their line of worship is different even though it is essentially Christianity.

They banished formalities of European diet and the so-called table manners. They democratised marriage system by allowing every state to have its own laws. They developed foreign policy that was essentially American. In doing all these things, and bringing about all these changes, the American people developed a new system of education which would give enough allowance for introduction of cultural changes that will lit American environment. All these new found cultural patterns of America, were governed by new moral standards, new ethical concepts of life, new attitude towards freedom of man, new policy towards liberty, new grasp of the rights of man, a new attitude towards earthly destinies which enthrone industry and hardwork which will discourage laziness, dishonesty and corruption, a new attachment to scientific realities as opposed to superstition. These are moral goals that give expression in their educational policy and system.

There is no room for expo for a college student who works his way through college. There is no room for missing classes for a teacher where environmental and educational upbringing enthrones industry and hardwork. There is no room for something-for-nothing psychology in a society where performance and result constituted the social norm. There is no room for falsehood and self-deceit within a mind trained to be habitually scientific.

I was a guest of Japanese Ambassador in Lagos once, and to my greatest surprise, the first thing he told me was that Nigeria has no future in education. I was shocked. I asked him why – he said that we have not started. because no nation ever had an independent nation with an ,independent thought, independent tradition, independent educational dynamism, original moral

standards without using her own language to express every part of their knowledge and disciplines.

I am particularly emphatic on this question of moral excellence because on my own installation as the Chancellor of this University, my friend His Excellency, the President of our Federal Republic, honoured me specially by installing me personally. And during his address, he said *"I call on the University of Jos and all institutions of learning in the country to join the new crusade for a new revolution – revolution of the mind"*. By that he meant moral revolution which will change the philosophy of materialism, indiscipline, ethnicism and corruption in high places particularly in educational institutions. He urged that, *"There was need to strengthen the moral contents at all levels of our educational system"*. It is therefore a duty of this University and all other educational institutions in this country to accept this challenge which of course is not a new idea to us, but which must now be advocated with greater zeal as a most important national obligation.

In my opinion, there are several fundamental conditions that should make moral excellence through education a possibility.

1. Education must be made a common heritage. Every child born in Nigeria must have facilities and expenses minimal for education. No discrimination based on tribe, sex or religion should be allowed. This calls for national policy of compulsory education to a minimum standard where fund is available or a highly government subsidised system whereby school expenses will be minimal.

   By doing so, the feeling of neglect will not be developed in a child during early stages which will make him a delinquent and therefore a moral liability to the society.

2. To make a new educational programme an outgrowth of existing consideration of what is already going on in African social order. I agree with the writer who said. *"The values we teach in school must be the values of our society. They should not be the values of other countries. Although, those values we cherish such as respect for elders, being our brothers' keepers and respect for extended family system may be despised by the*

Western world. They should not be abandoned because of that. Mind your business is an English expression, but in Nigeria your brother's business is your business, that is why we emphasise unity, brotherhood and one destiny".

3. To make education a process of continuous activity through which an individual renders service to others and engages personal powers for the accomplishment of results. By this process, we should insist that education should be result-oriented. That result will reflect a spirit of social service for mutual benefit. That is, certificate should not be obtained to simply get a job to collect salary in a routine process with a demand for the market value of the certificate. The spirit of service will dominate the desire to acquire immediate wealth and the recipient of education must be inspired to focus his attention on the degree of application of his knowledge to the advancement, amenities and progress of others.
4. To make education a part of physical as well as mental growth. Sportsmen develop serenity and balance in victory and defeat. To accept defeat, or glory in victory are the two moral principles imbibed by any sportsman.

   Our educational scheme must breed a generation who accept success and failure as normal counterparts of a creative enterprise including political adventure. This principle, known, can make the leadership of the nation accept the principle of democracy whereby a defeated opponent in an election retreats with self respect without rancour and vengeance. Right from the classroom our children must know that it is immoral not to accept defeat in a manner we accept victory in a democratic society.
5. Teaching profession in this country must be re-oriented and dignified. We must admit that a high percentage of the causes of moral decay today comes from the dangling position of the teaching profession. The honour and dignity attached to teaching had vanished. The religious mission that surround teaching profession is a thing of the past. The missionary spirit and aura which makes a teacher a prophet to his generation has

been enveloped in the darkness of materialism and hunger strikes. Most of the teachers are contractors, beer distributors, transport owners, taxi drivers, petty traders, importers etc. The students watch these double standards which they imbibe.

Absenteeism of teachers from their classrooms particularly in most secondary schools is blessed with the secret connivance or apparent inability of the heads of these institutions to perform. Non-teaching staff; bursars, carpenters, electricians, etc attend to their duties only when they like and collect money they do not deserve. These occur because the inspectorate division has virtually diminished, and internal organisational vitality of most secondary school administrations are dead.

Some of the causes of these developments are:

(i) Teachers salaries are not regularly paid
(ii) Schools are not adequately equipped
(iii) Teachers have no accommodation for living in the school premises.
(iv) Some teachers are therefore forced to live many miles away from school without any allowance for transportation.

In case of universities, many creative minds, young giants of thought are not quickly recognised nor properly endowed for research projects which would engage their turbulent minds, and give them zeal to contribute seriously, opportunity to enhance their knowledge and an avenue to stabilize their economic security. We must encourage academic freedom and novelties which encourage creative minds within our universities. It is a part of immorality and decadence to discourage intelligence, to assassinate intellect wherever they are found, because of ethnic considerations or conflicts arising from professional jealousy. Such attitude does not contribute to moral excellence which we are talking about, because they breed nepotism and corruption. Those whom we teach, watch these trends. They carry them into the society.

If we are going to embark on moral revolution, the first assignment of the federal and state governments is to revolutionalise the teaching profession, elevate, standardize the life of a teacher –

economically and psychologically. The system of recruiting teachers must be changed. There is no need recruiting anybody without proving his vocational aptitude. The curricular for teacher training colleges must be re-oriented to emphasize the vocational, disciplinary, creative and moral equipments in the profession. During the training period, tars must be separated from the corn. In our elementary and secondary schools, efforts should be made to employ only trained teachers with graduate status. This will make a teacher professionally self-confident.

6. The Nigerian educational institutions particularly the university, should be a hopeful survival, in our strange new society, where hardwork, frugality and ambition must rate as virtues. The most unfortunate policy of our Government is to encourage our students in secondary schools and universities to think that while the world owes them everything, they owe nothing to anybody.

   They are encouraged to think only about their rights without reference to their obligations. They are made to believe that tax money is their right to enjoy while tax-payers are people to despise than to serve. This is something-for-nothing-psychology. This spirit must be discouraged. I do not see the reason why our boys will not work their ways through college as they do in other dynamic countries of the world. Why should there not be a system whereby students in Nigerian universities should be allowed to wash dishes in their refectories, cut grasses in the school gardens, clean laboratory materials, type some papers in the offices and other odd jobs and be paid accordingly. This is what makes America to produce students of first class grind, those who fly to the moon and jupiter and produce the best cars we enjoy. We are making our generation lazy, unnecessarily arrogant and disloyal to their parents and guardians.

   I know that there are exceptions. I am by nature a lover of youths and promoter of the young. What I am saying however, is that we must produce ambitious youths who are creative and hardworking in order to generate moral excellence

in their nature, and this must be fostered during their formative years in the schools and colleges.

7. To encourage a full participation of private citizens and organisations in establishment of schools of all grades. Experience has shown all of us that discipline, supervision and efficiency are far more pronounced in private institutions, and the charge, that private institutions cheat the society, has been over-thrown by experience of past 13 years.

One of the greatest unintentional mistakes made by the Military Government was the removal of schools from private and voluntary agencies in this country without plan. I concede that the intention was unquestionably patriotic, but it has been proven clearly well that it has destroyed discipline, efficiency, and moral standards. The ruin is tragic.

It has also shaken the economy of state governments beyond endurance. Any further delay in releasing schools to private and voluntary agencies or communities who are willing and able to continue, is a policy of cutting one's nose to spite one's face. The budget of every state shows a mighty economic rope from the Ministry of Education hanging on the necks of poor Executive Councils, headed by trembling Governors – the heavy rope pulling them down into the abyss of disfavour with hungry teachers who are faced with empty laboratories, unequipped classrooms, desolate libraries and loans, to sustain their families. The bravery in the idea of school take-over, if carried any further, will be an unpardonable bravado, at this stage of our economic crisis.

I am concerned in this matter not as a school proprietor, but as a man who, even before being a school proprietor, had given my life to the promotion of the quality and standard of education of this nation and the protection of our children of today and tomorrow who must be a match for other youths of other industrial countries who now expect Nigeria to lead the African world, and as a great industrial nation, and also to save the soul of this nation to think correctly so that everyone will be a moral agent in the nation.

Finally, my august friends, if education is the basis qf moral excellence, then teachers are the basis of education. I must therefore close this short address by asking and answering one question: *"Who is the Nigerian Teacher?"* That answer comes from the statement I made nearly 40 years ago while at Columbia University in New York as follows:

"Who will be the Nigerian Teacher? What kind of teacher does the Nigerian need to uphold his manhood?"

This is very vital, since the teacher is the fountain from which the required knowledge will flow. The method used by the teacher, his daily exemplary life, his attitude towards society and the children themselves, his firmness and the direction of his loyalties, have a great deal to reflect upon a growing child.

The teacher must be excellent himself, both as a technician and a personality. He must understand both his object and the subject. But that is not enough. He must be loyal to Nigerian culture and understand Nigerian character and mentality. He must reflect his convictions, for which he would be prepared to fight. Any evidence of timidity in the presence of "Sir Big Tom" or "Mr Authority\", will disqualify him as a teacher and moulder of the Nigerian manhood and as a reviver of our legitimate loyalties. His mind must be trained to approach problems with scientific detachment and with creative impulses without fear; otherwise a new generation of free men will never grow in the new Nigeria.

The teacher must be capable of defining the intellectual bases of the Nigerian loyalties as precisely and distinctly as possible. A child growing into manhood must be made to understand the basis of his faith in life. It must be clear to him, as contrasted with other ways of living, or else he will become a mere slave to a social dogma which he does not understand nor be able, if left alone, to transmit to others. We must not build a dictatorship regime to instruct children distorted theories that respect no other. We do not mean to warp the mentality of the Nigerian youth in an atmosphere of hate, pride, and arrogance. We mean to train a Nigerian youth to respect himself, and his culture and also to appreciate others and their cultures".

Teachers cannot become gods, teachers can deliver the goods if the nation pays attention and acknowledges their important position in our society and gives their conditions of service appropriate recognition. Teachers can promote moral excellence among our children if politicians will give example of give-and-take, if contractors will charge moderately for their job, if the doctors will be kind to their patients, if the parents will live exemplary life among the children and encourage them to respect labour and hardwork in their homes and teach them obedience.

If businessmen and traders in the market will avoid selling spurious goods and give a halt to smuggling, if civil servants will be polite, non-discriminatory in employment of labour, if the church and other religious groups will enthrone honesty and avoid encouraging questionable characters, to appear to lead in their churches, if voters will vote for whom they like and not who gives them money, then the teachers through formal education will answer the call of the day in Nigeria – a solemn call for moral excellence in our society in Nigeria.

In conclusion, I must extend my warm appreciation and cognisance of the efforts of the University authorities on the following questions: The tactful handling of the land matter and the landlords, the fact that, this interruption did not stop the authorities from achieving physical expansion, I am sure that soon or late, we must have our way for agricultural project for promotion of the economy of the community.

I also congratulate the Dean of Faculty of Medicine for giving us the first set of medical doctors today. Above all, over 70% passes in the sessional examination is highly commendable.

Besides, the idea that nearly all the members of the Council of the University were recently reappointed gives me personal satisfaction and confirms my confidence in the Council and its broadminded and able Chairman, with a very deep sense of duty. Again, it is a matter for joy that the Vice Chancellor whose term expired recently, was also reappointed. These are signs of peaceful co-existence, tactful interaction and sense of co-operation that existed. I am very proud of all of you. That is why I decided with affection,

to make a donation of ₦5,000.00 (Five thousand Naira) to be distributed as already directed in my letter to the Vice Chancellor for the upkeep of industry and moral excellence among the University staff and students.

Thank you.

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Prince Orizu believes that no freedom is freedom unless it is based on sound education. To him sound education must be horizontal. It must be the kind of education that is limitlessly broad in its understanding of the origin of life and the multiplicity of the components of existence. A complete person is he who knows that differences in things, contradiction in concepts, different traditions and customs of the world all make for victorious living when intelligently harmonized. Only horizontal education as opposed to perpendicular education can achieve this purpose among African people.

– Editor

INFLUENCE OF HORIZONTAL EDUCATION ON AFRICAN UNITY

(An Address to Ijebuode Community at Itoro Hall. Ijebuode, September 16, 1946)

"The greatest obstacle to one's progress or achievement is lack of the knowledge of one's self. In ancient days. Socrates taught the Athenians that the first motto of life was: 'Man know thyself".

This has many implications. Through self-knowledge one may be able to live in peace with oneself, galvanize his potentialities, adjust conflicting mixtures that make up the personality, control the excesses of natural origin, implement the shortcomings of birth or environment, appreciate the reactions of others against or for his behaviour, and develop a rational philosophy of laughter and tears in observing the beauties and vicissitudes of living and letting others live.

Nations are like individuals. There is something like a national character arising from the personality of a nation. The culture, history, geography, climate, population, religion and other social institutions make up and differentiate one nation from another. Internal disorder captures any nation which does not understand itself. Nations, like individuals have staggered and succumbed when they loose the art of self-mastery. It is on this basis that the greatest teachers of the world have advised and insisted that man must have right to education – self-knowledge.

The measure of human progress is based on the amount of his knowledge of things around him – what they are, why they exist and how to utilise them. The so-called 'civilised nations' today base their claims to greatness only on their advanced knowledge of the nature and utility of the material things in our physical universe. The universe is pregnant with useful things, our knowledge gives them birth.

If an individual can secure an internal peace through the knowledge of himself; if a nation is capable of unifying and holding itself only through self-mastery, certainly the New Africa we are to build as a decentralized – centralised unit, must need a greater education proportional to its complexities along its horizontal and perpendicular dimensions.

The harmonious orchestra of African unity must demand a collection of numberless instruments, and the band leader must seek harmony out of both comprehensibles and incomprehensibles. But he can hardly be called a band leader who understands some and not all the instruments. The band leader, therefore, needs a lot of education. He must be a technician in his field. But he must be free from the bias and narrowness which hunt most specialists. He must be very broad in his outlook, tolerant, patient, understanding, appreciative, objective and impartial in all his endeavours to synthesize, evaluate and harmonize.

The players of different instruments must be ready to learn how to adjust within this complex whole of the African symphony. Again, it requires education for each of the led to appreciate and understand all other instruments different from that to which they are accustomed. Their co-operation with the band leader is indispensable. They all will aim at the mastery of the whole.

Where does this lead us to? It points to the much talked about – the African unity, Nigerian Irredentism, the West African Independence, the American leadership, and the atomic age. What are the undercurrents which must be reckoned with in considering the possibility of the African unity? A great deal has been said. Different theorists have sought different solutions.

Centuries of consistent experience have shown that political leaders do not have solution to peace since their treaties, charters, alliances have always proven to be pregnant with the germs of self-interest even before their signatures are affixed to the document. Their tragic incapacity to bring peace or understanding may continue simply because they come unto the world stage to play the role of a band leader without understanding either the nature of the instruments, nor willing to bring harmony through objective and

humble approach. They become masters without knowledge – believing that they can control the world preconceived ideas where by they measure everybody in terms of their provincialisms backed with organised or rather "dignified deceit" called "diplomacy". What is true of African politicians is true of the Europeans.

It was owing to this cause that the treaty of Westerphalia did not accomplish most objectives; it was owing to this cause that Prince Metternich built a sandy instrument in Vienna. The League of Nations failed, and the Atlantic Charter was ridiculed. It was owing to this cause that the San Francisco Document cannot stand the test of time because objective application of its universal principles is impossible. We have no artist in the world or African political stage who can play the role of a band leader, nor have we trained the players of various instruments with an aim to harmony.

In politics there is no vision. And where there is no vision, the people perish. Humanity has been slaughtered in two successive wars. The third world war might as well be accepted as a fait accompli if the matters of international understanding are left solely in the hands of the politicians. So it is in Africa.

Militarists and business men think in terms of power and money. They think in terms of spheres and influences, of deaths and debts. We are no longer safe in their hands alone. For there is no factor of permanent peace in those ominous instruments at their disposal. So it is in Africa.

The whole world recognises the American leadership at present – not because of atomic energy, but because of the moral magnet of American idea of freedom and human liberty. For leadership to mean anything, it must not depend on the whims of politicians, militarists and business men alone.

A new avenue to a policy of permanent influence must be explored by all Africans. They must turn to the things which can influence without force, the things that can control and coordinate without authority. Force and authority are all intoxicating social liquors. They inflate the imaginations of animalisms in man. But they are perishable with time because they are self-destructive.

Education is one simple instrument which has a stamp of permanent influence on human society. It is a king without crown – a commander without an army. In countless instances in history, men have resisted overwhelming armies in defense of their beliefs and convictions based on their education. It is education that produced Nazi youths. It is education and not arms that armed Russian citizens with zest and enthusiasm which forestalled the Hitler onslaught. It is education in the principles and benefits of democracy that provided the American soldiers with spiritual anchor and fostered in their morale, as they followed George Washington to march gallantly to crush British imperialism.

To really find peace, we have to turn to this instrument which has such an undying influence upon man. For African spiritual and material leadership to endure, it must embark upon an unprecedented educational programme both in the nation and outside of it.

This will require, first, the definition of education, second, the idea of who shall be educated, third, the understanding of what kind of education, who will teach, and by what means. Finally, we shall ask what is the social goal of education.

Definition is not easy. But the kind of education we have in mind may be defined as an art through which a man is told the truth about himself and others, the nature of the physical universe, how to control and use it, and its relation to human and spiritual world, with an aim to promote mutual appreciation, relative evaluation, undemanded respect and voluntary co-operation. Negatively, we want education against biological fallacies which breed racialism, against economic fallacies which nurture insatiety and greed, against the doctrines of honour and prestige which are mere self-imposed obstructions of political theology.

Who are to be educated? Education will be planned for the masses of humanity every where. And that applies to all Africans. Man on this planet has a right to its citizenship. No one will try to confine himself to locality and particularity in a world that breathes as one organism. Realistically, individuals must belong to nations but nations which must exist as necessary parts of all nations combined. Education, therefore, is for the citizens of individual

nations. The loyalty of these citizens must be channelled into two purposes: To preserve the fabric of a national existence, and to make national personality an instrument of international brotherhood.

In thinking of who are to be educated, no one nation will assume "holier-than-thou" attitude, no one nation has perfected itself, not in political, economic nor social organization. There is some good in every system if we care to find out objectively. The reverse is equally true. For example, Americans must admit humbly of their gross ignorance of many countries outside Rockies and Allegheny. The Japanese must realise the thickness of darkness which envelopes their social world in their concept of Emperor – deity and global destiny!

European empires need education on discipline, common sense and honesty in a new world of wakeful humanity. Africa which has been aroused from deep sleep is out to learn and needs unity. South American countries, like Russian, are full of life and that life needs a tender nurturing by the hands of experience and sobriety which conforms with the tenets of unity.

What is education for? Our definition of education above shows clearly that its function in Africa and the world shall be education to become citizens of the world in spite of our nationalities.

Who will educate the African? We have already said that no one European nation or African country shall set itself apart as a qualified teacher of the African. Education must come from within. But the United States has been acknowledged as the material leader of the world. It has not succeeded so far to convince other nations and peoples of her equal moral leadership. It has allied with Europeans in many instances to perpetuate the *status quo ante*. This was all unexpected. But there are certain qualities which America has that to my mind qualifies her better than any other nation today to play the role of our band leader in a world which seeks harmony out of numberless instruments.

The United States is indeed a country of forty-eight countries today 1946. Each of these states is sovereign. Each has its own flag. Each is organised in its own way. Not all operate under the common law system. As these differences occur in major things so

do they multiply in minute areas. In spite of all, the whole people have found one government in Washington; one ideal in liberty, and one ideology in individual enterprise. Furthermore, the aim of American educational policy is conditioned by the diversities of social norms and cultural origins – all tending towards the unity of the whole. This is the function of Horizontal Education on African Unity.

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An acknowledged prophet of education, Orizu re-emphasizes his ideas of the ideal educational values Nigerians must pursue. If this is understood, it will hardly be necessary to remind our government at the national and local levels that much is desired in planning and execution in our whole educational system, as it is fast running down the road of degeneration. Here Orizu reiterates that to serve the greater need of the people, education and discipline must be clearly related. It is therefore very urgent that the educational standards be reassessed on qualitative and functional basis, so that the current mass production of mediocrities will stop, in order that Nigeria can effectively join other developed nations in the onward march towards complete independence based on efficient labour, knowledge and good leadership.

– Editor

HORIZONTAL EDUCATION AND DISCIPLINE

(An Address as the Chancellor of the University of Jos, at the Sixth Convocation Ceremony of the University on Saturday January 21st, 1984 at the Naraguta Hostel Complex Site University of Jos,)

Your Excellencies
Your Highnesses
Chancellors, Pro-chancellors and Vice-chancellors of Sister Nigerian Universities
Members of Council
Members of the Senate and Congregation
Staff and Students of the University
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a great pleasure to welcome you all to the sixth convocation ceremony of the University of Jos. Let me start by expressing my deep gratitude to the senate, members of the university council, university officials, tutorial and non-tutorial staff whose combined effort and dedication have made the University of Jos one of the best in the whole country. The cordial relationship between the students and the university authorities is highly commendable. I shall also extend my warm greetings to the students graduating today. I commend them for a job well done, it is their turn today to reap the good fruits of hard work at the end of a noble career.

The topic of my convocation speech last year was "Education and Moral Excellence", today my topic of discussion is "Education and Discipline". I shall not fail to always go to subjects related to education. Education is my field. Its promotion has become an obsession to me. It is my life's mission.

More than forty years ago, I humbly submitted by way of definition, that education is a simple and complex process through which an individual is brought in contact with his environment, and the process by which he is made to understand and control that environment either in time or in space. There lies the source of modern power and the claim to all civilization. It is universally acknowledged that the key to the ascendancy of the super powers and their closest rivals in today's world affairs, is the success with which they have systematically and purposefully installed a system of education that fuel their advancement in all areas of endeavour, educational activities and pursuits take up a very large part of their national energies and resources. In these countries, the supreme worth and desirability of education to the life of the citizen and the nation has since become valued as an article of faith. Here in Nigeria, education has been selected as one of the rights to which the citizens are entitled and which the state is enjoined to make accessible to them. This shows that we have become conscious of the magic which has enabled the great and successful nations of the world today to soar to their present heights.

But the kind of education I mean is not just any arrangement for communicating information. The badge of an educated person is not the possession of a certificate nor is it the privilege of having a string of alphabets attached to his name. Education is either a philosophical concept or a systematic factor. Systematically, education is either horizontal or perpendicular, I am proud that the system of education which I propagated and preached in this country four decades ago, has today taken root and dominates the academic firmament. My emphasis today, therefore, is on the relationship of education with discipline to serve the greater need of our people.

Education is geared to unearthen the hidden and latent possibilities of an individual and inspire him to appreciate the importance and role of self-actualisation, to him as an individual and as a member of a social unit. The awakening of self-knowledge enables him to perceive his position in terms of the wonders of nature around him and the need to master these wonders in their generality as a means of mastering his environment and taming it

to serve his own purposes on a universal basis. Such an individual ceases to be a passive victim of his environment in its narrow concept. Rather, he becomes a shaper and moulder of his destiny out of the raw materials residing in his environment. The individual who has been exposed to the dynamic forces of education, becomes a creative citizen who is forever uncovering the mysteries of nature in order to have its boundless resources at his disposal. This is a very basic source of personal power and greatness. The creative mind is adaptive and self reliant; he knows how to seize every passing opportunity and convert it into a weapon for self-advancement and social progress, he is inquisitive and hungry for more and more knowledge; he is versatile, being at home and perfect in using all mental, spiritual and physical faculties in solving the complex and endless challenges that confront him in his earthly habitat. He is quite conscious of the fact that the acid test of his education is what he can conceive in his mind and achieve or create through the co-ordinated use of his mind and hands. He is productive and constantly invents the means of improving his quality of life and that of the society to which he is a forceful and dynamic contributor.

A society whose citizens have been inspired through the means of education, will be progressive and productive. It will regard self-reliance and self-sufficiency as basic norms of life. It will be a place where all the available raw materials for economic, social and technological progress will be effectively tapped and utilized for the fateful race for dynamic growth and development in all facets of its life. This is especially urgent and crucial in this atomic era when the tempo of technological achievements is at its highest pitch. Only a resourceful and enterprising society can hope to keep pace with the dizzying rate of technological innovations and changes which have become the order of the day.

But these desirable goals cannot be achieved in a viable manner if education is operated in isolation from discipline. The two are intricately interwoven. For a clear definition of discipline, I shall continue to quote that "discipline means the putting of loyalties and knowledge to efficient use. The ordering of life in the light of understanding and toward the attainment of purpose. It involves the

subordination of the near to the remote; of the present to the future; of the lesser to the greater good. It involves the restraint of the impulses of the moment, the regulation of desire, the postponement of satisfaction, the sacrifice of the immediate comforts and pleasures, the choice of the harder when the easier way is open. Discipline is never indulgent; it may be rigorously exacting, but it assumes this severe form not because there is virtue in severity, but rather because such is the condition of achievement".[1]

Discipline as we can see, is an essential ingredient for the erection of a veritable and strong nation, our society today is in dire need of it. There can not be a really successful life without discipline, no great achievement without discipline. If the Nigerian youth is disciplined, he will grow to abhor the "Strike-it-Rich-Quick" psychology and in its place, embrace and cherish the dignity of honest labour, ours shall not have been a society in which insecurity is rife. With the entrenchment of discipline in our educational system, we shall have learnt to dedicate ourselves to such high ideals as selfless service to our country and our people. We shall have strived to exploit our talents to do great things directed to leaving the world a better place than we found it. It would have been the preoccupation of the youth to purge the society clean of laziness and something-for-nothing psychology, which is really the root of all the evils that plague our society now. It requires discipline to be really creative. What will indecency be looking for in our institutions of learning, if there is discipline? At this juncture, I wish to give my fullest support to the statement of the vice-chancellor of this university made recently, to the effect that any student found taking or dealing with dangerous drugs, will be expelled from the university. This courage and genuine sense of discipline exhibited by my vice-chancellor, should be emulated by other university administrators in the country. I hope that the entire authorities of this university and students' leadership, both males and females, will give him their full co-operation in order to concretize this drive for discipline. Let me make it quite clear to all the students that any time the

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1. "Without Bitterness", page 315 last paragraph

vice-chancellor has cause to act on this matter, he will have the moral backing of the morally oriented citizens of this nation and the wrath of all and sundry will be brought to bear on any attempt at resistance from any student.

There is no question that the adoption and concretization of this programme provides the answer to almost all our problems today. All institutions of learning should endeavour while they embrace the creative and dynamic system of education, at the same time, to introduce measures in the system whereby inner discipline is inculcated in the personality and character of individual students. This requires the full co-operation of the parents and guardians in establishing the moral standards of their homes.

To you students, leaving the university into the world, I enjoin you to carry that badge of academic attainment interwoven with a sense of discipline of free minds, into any field of endeavour in which our country requires your services. This will be the pride of the University of Jos. Now that university of Jos has offered you the opportunity to discover your personal possibilities and handicaps, it is a moral obligation on your part to endeavour to exploit and harness the power of this discovery for the advancement of both yourself and this nation and of course through the path of rectitude and honour – discipline.

Let me once again, thank all the university authorities and students, who through a peaceful co-existence and hard work, have brought us to a successful end of another academic session.

With this I heartily congratulate the best all round student for this year who is the winner of the Orizu Prize and has become Orizu Scholar for the just concluded session.

Thank you.

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It is not the beginning but the end. Dr. Orizu's search for national freedom through education began with ridicule, blackmail and open challenges by a powerful world empire. It was that same empire that later brought down its knees to yield in support of Orizu's idea of financing Nigerians in American universities. With this vindication, Orizu was satisfied, and the march toward freedom went on.

To him that was a duty well done.

– Editor

THANK GOD I HAVE DONE MY DUTY

(Address to the West African Board of the American Council on African Education, ACAE in 1949)

When I read the recent publication by the British Government in Nigeria, in which it was stated that this Government is considering offering Scholarships to Nigerians to study in the United States and that financial help may be extended to some students who may not have sufficient financial aid as a result of Sterling devaluation, I rose from my chair and walked up and down in my office with my hands in my pocket and little tears of joy and satisfaction dropped from my eyes when I soliloquized: "Thank God for I have done my duty".

This little note of joy must not be misconstrued to be self-praise. Ever since I returned from U.S.A. for the past few months,. I have made a very serious effort to absolve myself from press discussions of my present views on social, educational, political and economic affairs of this our nation which I have described as the "Tower of Babel". But this great stride in the evolution of Nigerian educational history has far more international implications than the ordinary observer could see. Its cause may be traced some day by those who know. At present, however, I cannot afford not to tell Nigeria how happy I am that one of my big dreams has come true.

Within a period of almost one decade, I have seen the name of America rising from the valleys of scorn to the Mountains of praise; I have seen the same tongue which sang: "Down with America" changing its tune to sing: "America is a paradise." All these happen in our Nigeria – a nation of dual mandate, of dual governors, of dual policies and of dual loyalties. Only yesterday an American degree was considered an inferior material. The first universal victim of this wrong notion was Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the next universal victim was myself. At that point it was discovered

beyond measure that intimidation and deliberate ignoring cannot stop the march of American ideal as African students from that country conceived it. Then came a period of compromise in which some of those who came at last enjoyed the tranquillity arising from the results of the hard labour of those who came before – whether acknowledged or not.

We the American university graduates, like any other intelligent group of men, have different ideas as to the method of attaining our nationhood. As the degree of our intellectual horizon and experiences widens, our different ideas became more and more specific, more and more crystallised until they came to a point of spiritual convictions. Some of us are looking for independence through the "Economic Avenue". Some originally thought that the only way was through the propaganda medium. Others looked for it in the hall of politics. Although I am a student of political science, I visualised from the beginning that all efforts – all of it, should be made to build one big avenue through which all the avenues will cross. That avenue I called: the "Education Avenue".

Through the "Education Avenue" you produce bankers, scientists, engineers, modern industrialists, articulate theologians, agriculturists, doctors, political philosophers, educators, intelligent and effective propagandists, administrators, ad infinitum. It does not mean, however, that we shall wait until everybody is educated before we fight for all freedoms; but while the fight goes on, no democratic or any other state for that matter can be managed efficiently in our modern world without at least some educated few, who will act as the sign posts. But I saw that penetrating into America through education is the shortest, clearest, surest and one of the most decisive battles for African irredentism. The truth of this premonition will be measured by the state of pandemonium into which the country was thrown when I returned in 1945 with the first strongly organised educational programme from the United States.

I know very well that I have thrown fuel into the fire. I saw the tail of the lion wagging. I remained calm and composed. Much talk would not do. Like William James of Harvard University, I said: "... I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and

with the invincible molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, stealing in through the various crannies of the world like so many soft rivulets or like capillary oozing out water and yet rending the strongest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time".

Zik acted the American education. I organised and preached it. In early 1946 the air was full of guesses, wonderings, intimidations, doubts and prophetic insights. People asked 'Is Orizu a mad man?" "Does he not know that the British Government in Nigeria and in England would and could destroy the idea of African students going to America in large numbers?" Some asked me to go and look for a job quickly before hunger knocked at the door. All over the world, people asked; "How can this be?"

But I knew how it was going to be. I did not trust myself, I trusted the God of Africa, the God of the universe and the unconquerable spirit of the peoples of Africa whom I trusted will not falter – all propaganda to distort notwithstanding. I trusted the plain American people – a nation of great people who spoke through Pearl Buck that; "East and West today the peoples need each other. Nothing must be allowed to keep us apart, neither the greed of merchants nor the prejudices of the ignorant." Then in a typical American way Pearl Buck continued; "And how can they work together except as they cease to be strangers and become friends." I know that marriage between the two was inevitable. There was no force strong enough to keep a determined spirit in confinement. I went on in my humble way, swallowing all abuses and, from one stage to another, I proved the ACAE to be an organisation with a great purpose even though we have no funds. With each success, the enemy found another reason to blame us. Unfortunately, not all men and women can think. Some Africans followed the psychology of the obvious. My friend Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick was right when he said: "The vulgar mob always follows the obvious, the blatant and the ostentatious, but all the wise men of the world, in every realm, have followed a star until it stood over a place where something new born lay."

Today, it is not so much of what is happening that makes me happy, but the great contrast between what is happening and all the expectations of those who hate us. Now something more impressive than mere argument is here – the British Government in Nigeria is supporting American education: the British Government in Nigeria is going to use our own money to support what I have called: "Horizontal Education."

Let me thank not only my God, but the conscience of the British people who through their parliament and the press mellowed the inhumanities of the vanguards of the empire. Let me thank the spirit of African youths in American universities for their endurance and industry. I doff my hat to the people of America. I hold my admiration for the government of America, their congress, their states, for liberalism and democratic mission in the world. My gratitude is over whelming to American colleges and universities. They are the academic champions of the world. To these benefits I was exposed. To them I introduced African youths with utmost sacrifice, courage and altruism. Optimism has possessed my vision as I see African civilization of the new centuries ahead rising as a great ocean tide.

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Returning to Nigeria in 1945, after six years of stay in the United States, Orizu was in a position to give a rounded assessment of the development and general progress of the country. Here he relates the realities of our situation, urging fellow Nigerians to join hands in bringing about change for the better through proper education. As for him, he said: "so like prophet Nehemiah, I started my national work in 1945 in Nigeria with a sad countenance for; why should not my countenance be sad when the city, the place of my father's sepulchres lieth waste and the gates thereof are consumed with fire of a foreign rule?"

– Editor

THE NIGERIA WE MUST CHANGE

(Inaugural Address at the Opening of the American Council on African Education (ACAE) Headquarters in Port Harcourt 1946)

> *Horizontal education is designed for freedom. It creates a free individual who thinks freely. It is only a free thinker who can expand. When free thinkers are many, you have a free nation.*
>
> ***– Nwafor Orizu.***

My initial exploration of the country was just over. It was now urgent to establish the council for practical work. Before doing so it became necessary to let the people know of my experiences during the exploration in order to better adapt the organization to the task ahead. The place to speak was in Port Harcourt where the West African Headquarters of the A.C.A.E. was to be set up. In this speech I tried to summarise what I saw in Nigeria and against what social background we were to establish and advocate the principles of dynamic education. I shall therefore relate hereby a resume of that speech which preceded the establishment of the American Council on African Education on an African Soil.

"Mr. Chairman, my friends and countrymen, it was on November 20, 1945 that I landed in this our beloved country after six years of student life in the United States. I came not to look for job in order to secure myself. I returned not to enjoy the glory and honour nature bestowed upon me by being one of the sons of H.R.H. Ezeugbonyamba Orizu I, the titular head of great Agbaja clan of Anaedo. I have returned not to relax and enjoy the blessings of our plenteous tropical land after these years of honest labour and hard battle to gain my education. Rather, I returned with a message from a great country and a great people. America, measured by any

standard, has come to play a decisive role in the twentieth century. My limited knowledge of her inner strength and spiritual vitality compelled my admiration. My life as a student in various universities there opened my eyes and enlightened my understanding, even about African problems.

No one can battle against experience. You can argue over a theory, you can doubt a story told by someone else, but you cannot doubt something which you had seen with your two eyes, or touched with your hands. I had seen and touched the system of American education. I had experienced something of its philosophy. I had witnessed the results of its methods. I had compared its methods and results with those of other leading countries of the Western civilization, and I had come to the conclusion that by and large, Nigeria – nay, all Africa, must learn more and more from American system and philosophy of education, if we are to gain control of our lands and waters, air and manpower.

I therefore organized this American Council on African Education with kind co-operation of some American citizens in the United States. My aim was to awaken Africa from a long sleep and show her the way to dynamic education through America. It does not mean for one moment that we shall abandon other systems of education, but that we must realize, and that now, that too much of any one particular thing is bad. We have buried ourselves too long in a system of education designed for a prolonged psychological, social and political slavery. American education is designed for freedom. It creates a free individual who thinks freely. It is only a free thinker who can expand. When free thinkers are many, you have a free nation.

Since my arrival in Nigeria, I have endeavoured to penetrate the country to see for myself, on behalf of my organization the state of things, the readiness of the people of different areas, in order to justify the need and urgency of the education for freedom. I have so far ended that trip in order to come down to you here in Port Harcourt, and through your co-operation the contribution of others who have aligned themselves with us in this crusade, to set up the West African Headquarters of the organization. I feel obliged to

give you a summary of a preliminary report on my tour around the country before the organization should be set up.

You all must have read the Public Notice of Governor Richard's Nigerian Government of last February. That Notice met me in Kano just a few weeks of my landing in this country. The adverse effect of that Government Notice is immeasurable. It started my A.C.A.E. off as a suspicious and false organization, and I had to fight against such a malicious and vicious piece of propaganda all along. Being sure of our cause, I preferred to concentrate on the constructive and positive activities of the council, than to sit down answering to well-timed criticisms aimed at making us deviate from our real goal. I do not believe that we can checkmate that satanic propaganda, except by a concrete and positive demonstration. That can only be done by setting up the organization, selecting qualified students, and landing them in America. Without that, nothing can satisfy my conscience.

The greatest obstacle during our tour was transportation and communication. As you know, to purchase a car here, a permit must be obtained from a British official in Lagos. The antagonism of Governor Richard in Nigeria against the idea of American education is too well known. You can only imagine the kind of reception my application for a car for the use of the propagation of the work of the Council or even for myself, would get. But I was not daunted. Through the kind co-operation of my family, I had a car to use for short distances in the beginning. But this did not lead me far. Petrol rationing was a menace and the A.C.A.E. had no money. I had to join lorries and hire cars, and in some cases, went by train or even bicycle.

Means of transportation as a whole is deplorable in this country. The few known roads are mere naked earth. Most of them are intolerably treacherous. In the rainy season they are full of slippery surfaces with holes and mud ready to capsize a lorry or a car at every turn. In certain areas, those roads are completely out of service when it rains. In hot seasons the roads are full of sand heaps. Drivers, passengers, and pedestrians swim in the sea of sand-dust blown up by the running wheels. After riding through those roads,

a man's color and his attire turn red or ash according to the color of the earth. Most people in this country tread through foot paths from village to village and through thick bushes and luxuriant weeds and grasses. It is not uncommon for fallen trees to blockade the roads and arrest traffic for hours or even days. In this tour, I have been more than once a victim of a road blockade by a fallen tree or broken branches. Under rain and thunder-storm we were forced out of our car to improvise axes and cutlasses with which we turned into wood-cutters.

Ladies and gentlemen, I was surprised to see that in our country today, because of lack of adequate means of transportation, many people still carry their marketable products on their heads to markets for many miles, it is common to see where men use bicycles to carry gallons of palm oil and bags of palm kernels to amazing distances. I have seen many of these bicycle riders pack up to about ten tins (40 gallons) of palm oil on one bicycle and pedalled the poor vehicle with agonizing difficulty through long distances of hills and planes, slippery mud, sandy spots and bumpy paths. I have seen women who, because of lack of transportation facilities, carried loads which could weigh more than 70lbs on their heads. I have been horrified several times to see six-month to eight-month pregnant women carry heavy loads on their heads along a road attending a market of about five to ten miles from home. In Northern Nigeria animals such as camels, donkeys, and horses were in use. But despite the railway from Kano to Port-Harcourt and Lagos, a good deal of live-stock for consumption were brought from Northern down to the Southern areas by Fulanis and Hausa Cattle-men who walked patiently through all dangerous bushes and foot-paths under rain and sun for over nearly a thousand miles with their livestock. Many Cattle die on the way. Many could be infected by disease, and the remaining ones shall have lost the best nutritive elements of their flesh, before their meat reached a housewife in the South.

The most pathetic sight was to observe the truck pushers in Onitsha market – how they literally push some fully and heavily loaded trucks with their head. They will be singing and humming, while blood-like sweat would rain from their bare bodies as the

heavy-laden truck moved grudgingly by the brutal force of humar energy of some underfed males! There were areas where the means of transport available were only bicycle. I saw one man carrying three other persons on one bicycle and charged 2/– each for distance of eight miles. How one man could carry three others on a bicycle, is a queer and unenviable invention borne out of necessity.

Travelling by the railroad presented a more appalling picture. It was nearly a half century since the Nigerian railway was constructed. The main lines join Kano and Nguru in the North down to Kaduna where one line stretches to Lagos, the other to Port-Harcourt. Lagos line is the Western Line. Port-Harcourt line is the Eastern Line, altogether covering a route mileage of 1,903 miles. The coaches were classified under first, second, and third classes, with corresponding fares. Until recently, the first class coaches were usually precluded for the whites and very high ranking Government officials. So were the second class coaches but in a lesser degree. That barrier had been bridged and there was no more subtle discrimination. For the people in First and Second Classes food was served in the catering restaurant car with all sorts of drinks including ice cold beer, for the Third Class, there was no provision for any food services or other comforts. It will be difficult except for a Gibbon to actually describe the awful condition of the third class passengers travelling in the Nigerian railway, particularly between Enugu and Kano or Kano to Lagos.

Condition in the lorry which I have described was more tolerable than in those trains. The seats were made of wood, and passengers and their loads were permitted to fill the coaches without limit to what single coach would accommodate for the health of the passengers. Thousands of persons thronged on each other as if they were Cattle. Men and women and children molested one another desperately for seats and even for floors on which to stand The Hackneyed engines crawled for days and nights to cover a distance of seven hundred miles, and during this stage of suspended animation, the life of the passengers hung on the balance. One coach with hundreds of passengers may have only one tap for water supply to serve for drinking, bathing, washing and everything, with the result

that after a few hours of the day, the poor water would be exhausted and people would go thirsty. Some passengers who may be travelling with their children and babies usually find themselves in agony to see their little ones dying of thirst.

Sometimes, the floor of the Third Class Coach would be flooded with water, and who knows from where, and every kind of filth would abound everywhere, from the crunches of the sugar cane, the back of peeled yam, oranges, and bananas, disagreeable smell of different tribal dishes left over from the previous night, and eaten again without warming because there was no facility, unpleasant red mouths and teeth of some kóla-eaters, to the sour smell of Nkwu-ola (left-over palm wíne) of other passengers. The restlessness that was caused by unchecked and continuous influx of passengers as they increased from station to station, the nonchalant disposition of the railway ticket collectors, whose fault it was not, but who collected money from those passengers without any concern for their comfort and health all made the passengers in the Third Class to look pathetically dismal as if they were not human customers of the railway.

I happened to know one trader from Nnewi. His business residence was at Maiduguri. He got ill and decided to return to Nnewi his town. He joined the train from Jos with his family. They were in the Third Class Coach. Their coach was so crowded that the poor fellow got suffocated and died in the train a few stations after Kafanchan. But because of the crowded train, no one took notice that the man died except his own wife. The corpse was not discovered by the railway officers until they arrived as far down as Enugu. That would show how thickly packed the passengers were. But it has been said that the Nigerian Railway is the second largest in any of the then British colonies. The gauge line is 3ft, 6ins. There is a light railway 2ft. 6ins, gauge, 133 miles long connecting Zaria and Jos. That Zaria-Jos line was notorious for its super-slow speed and uncomfortableness. The engines used there belonged to the cave men. From Kano to Lagos, a distance of about 800 miles takes about 42 hours, just roughly 20 miles an hour, and it was well known that the train used to run pretty late as a matter of

usual occurrence, so that the rate of 20 miles an hour was the maximum. Despite all these inefficiencies, there were no appreciable feeder services for the railway except a few lorries, trailers, and one or two passenger buses in Sokoto areas for transportation of peasants and cotton to feed the railway. There, "Limited" (Express) trains run only three times every seven days.

Water ways are equally behind time. The Southern part of the country is blessed with inland water ways as well as an outlet to the sea. But the most prevalent means of transport on the inland lagoons, rivers and creeks were precarious and primitive canoes, paddled by hand and aided by wind. Motor-boats were unknown except a few ferry boats and cargo services. Between Onitsha and Asaba were such ferry boats which conveyed people from East to West of Nigeria and vice versa. Only two old boats were available for this service for years unending with the result that people never got satisfactory service. They did not operate on Sundays and Holidays. And yet those were the proper days for ferry boats to enjoy the patronage of holiday makers.

The Onitsha – Asaba ferry was a part of the Nigerian Marine operation which served a few other areas such as Lagos – Warri, Port Harcourt-Opobo, Port Harcourt to Akasa, on fortnightly basis. European firms such as the United Africa Company Limited established some waterway transportation for distribution of its own merchandise. There are a few passenger boats also whose accommodation was more deplorable than that of the train. Apart from a few rooms for first class passengers the rest of the deck was an open space without sitting facilities, open to the rain and sunshine. I remember once when I was in the Third Class deck of one of those boats travelling from Onitsha to Lokoja. There were a few Europeans on the upper deck for First Class Group. I suffered from pneumonia after the trip as a result of merciless exposure to the cold. The unforgettable experience that I had there was that twice a European passenger in the first class threw a half-smoked cigarette on my head from the top, and made no apology whatsoever when he was told.

Air transportation presented a better picture though for a country of Nigeria's size, the areas served were negligible. I remember that I was not happy to join the air connection between Lagos and Port Harcourt in November, 1945 when I landed in Nigeria from New York, because it was operated by a single-engine air craft. The only places served were Lagos, Benin, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Jos, Kano, Maiduguri. That is two towns in the entire Eastern Region, two towns in the whole of Western Region and three towns in the Northern Provinces.

The total fact was that the conditions of transportation system of Nigeria before 1945 was far below that of any other civilized country looking forward to independence in our atomic age. For apart from the inadequate number of available facilities the Nigerians themselves were not employed in any important aspects of the system.

Peoples' health care and hospitalization as I witnessed all over the country have been inadvertently neglected. I remember one tragic night when I was a guest in a small village during my tour .... A stranger knocked at the gate of where I slept. I looked at my clock, it was 11.30 p.m. There stood at the gate a miserable man under rain begging to see me. My host was rather irritated for this apparent intrusion at the late hour. But I jumped out of my bed to find out what the stranger wanted. He was a man from a nearby village about eleven miles away. His home was eighty miles from the nearest hospital, there was no maternity or dispensary in his village or nearby town. The nearest dispensary was thirty miles away. The dispensary could not help him if he were to go there. His wife was under labor when it was discovered that she was to have twin babies. They trusted village doctors who had no scientific training. Those doctors had tried their best to get the first child out, but the second was difficult coming. And the woman was at the point of death. She had been laboring for two days then. There was no post office from where to telegraph or telephone for a doctor or an ambulance from the nearest hospital which was eighty miles away. The husband heard that I was travelling in their area and wanted my help. He marched on foot for eleven miles under a dangerous, dark rainy

night along narrow, grass-covered foot-path. He was thoroughly anguished and his nerves were shaking.

My driver had gone to bed enjoying sweet sleep. He was too sleepy to drive. The quantity of petrol in my car was not enough for the round trip, and the nearest petrol station was over fifty miles in another direction from where the hospital was situated. I rushed into my room and got roughly dressed, got my car started and when I blew my horn, my driver ran out. He and our visitor got into the car. I drove them to the town where the laboring woman was struggling hopelessly. As we got near there, we heard some awful noise and cries. The twins and the mother had died. There was a state of pandemonium. They said that the lady was a daughter of a chief and that that was her first childbirth. Had there been a proper medical care; if the area was provided with a hospital or even a single maternity; if a trained doctor was posted anywhere near there, nothing of the tragic end of that woman would have taken place. At least the lives of the babies might have been saved.

There were not adequate or even a reasonable number of trained doctors to keep the population from unnecessary health hazards. As a result, those few who were there were either over-worked in most cases or nonchalant in instances. I have not forgotten some awful sights at Government owned hospitals where I saw European doctors kicking patients with their boots at will and no one could raise a voice. That had happened at the Government Hospital at Onitsha. At the African Hospital, sick persons were maltreated at times as if to be sick was a crime, and conditions like this shall change quite considerably as more Africans would be trained as doctors, and as some more liberal white doctors are being employed in the medical service of Nigeria.

The European and American missionary doctors were the real pioneers in Nigeria in introducing with humanity the medical services in the country. But their resources are highly limited to serve only a tiny proportion of the people. The best example of missionary enterprise in this field is the Sudan Interior Mission in Northern Nigeria.

What disturbs me is that the whole Nigeria is still groping in the dark in not having ordinary dispensaries in the villages, while the Western world has advanced so far as to have spare parts for humans, transplanting live tissue from one human being to another, and providing blood banks and banks for tissue storage. While thousands of Northern inhabitants suffer from blindness, doctors in other lands have restored their citizens from blindness by miraculous corneal transplantation. We now know that bones, skins, arteries, and cartilage banks have been established, and even in Great Britain a lot of important hospitals have established their own tissue banks. For example, in Queen Victoria Hospital, East Grinstead, skin grafting research takes place; Research in bone transplantations is carried out at the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital, London, while St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington carries its own research in arteries.

I know of one Nigerian who had a fractured skull. He was rushed from Kano hospital to Lagos Orthopaedic Hospital where only one Dr. Lawson was a trained specialist .... The patient arrived in Lagos during the week when Dr. Lawson was going to England on leave. He told the relatives of the patient that he could not operate on the skull because such operation required his expert attention for several months after performance and without which the patient would not survive. He therefore ordered the poor fellow back to Kano. At Kano, the doctor there predicted the inevitable death for the sick. He was taken back to his home where he died in a few weeks. If there were two expert bone doctors in Nigeria, that life would have been saved.

The food we eat is an important factor in the matter of National health. No nation can build anything on a heap of underfed populace. What we are, the riches of our mental powers, the resistance of our physical body, the longevity, even fecundity depends largely on what we eat and how we eat it.

In our Nigeria, there is no government plan to secure people's balanced diet. Certainly every variety of food stuff is plentiful in Nigeria. Plenty of dairy products, meat and grain in the Northern region. Vegetables and oil in the South. Fish is obtainable almost

everywhere. But lack of transportation and distribution system have denied one section from enjoying what other sections have in abundance. Method of farming is yet very primitive and that had retarded a maximum production. Hoes and cutlasses are still used by men and women who waste their energies where modern farm machinery could do the service more efficiently and produce better results. Neither milk nor egg has formed a part of national diet, except in the North where the people suffer from lack of vegetable foods which are plentiful elsewhere. Housing condition is deplorable. There is an urgent need for local manufacture of building materials such as cement and zinc. I am told that we have plenty of raw materials for the industry. We are rich in woods, and there is no reason why we shall continue to live only in temporary houses which ants can eat down a few months after they are built. We must not permit ourselves to suffer constant disaster occasioned by strong wind carrying away our own houses because they are built without solid materials. We can produce iron and steel. We have surplus wood. We can produce cement. Why then must we live like rats? It is all for the lack of fundamental education for creative living.

Water supply in most places was most insanitary. In some areas people have no fresh water within twenty to forty miles radius. They drink water from ditches and artificial ponds. The water runs into the ponds when it rains carrying carcasses of dead animals, household refuse and other unbelievable filth with it. Such water is muddy and thick. Some people drink it, feed children with it without boiling or filtration. How those human beings survive is one of the things unfathomable. In some areas where people are supposed to have natural water supply they may travel from a few poles to five miles to fetch the water and carry gallons of it on their heads back and forth all their lives. In those running waters, men and women wash clothes, sift cassava, and turn round and drink from it. In a few townships where water pipes are installed to serve the community, it is the same process of inadequacy. Standing taps are usually installed in a square where overwhelming number of people gather together fighting with their buckets and pots in order to get the water first. So many decent young girls and peoples' wives had

returned home naked and bruised as a result of fight with stronger men who wanted the water first.

The condition of our women is another matter. Looking at the contribution of women in Europe, America and Asia during the last war, I was dismayed about the status of our female sex. I did not expect Nigerian women to have surmounted all the obstacles placed in the way of feminist movement the world over. I have not forgotten that not until the end of the first world war did women in England and America get their right to vote despite the fact that representative democracy had existed in those areas some centuries earlier. But I am tempted to remember with admiration the kind of female sex I just left in America. I could not forget the equality we shared in our college campus life, in class rooms, in debate clubs, in driving cars, in political discussions, in swimming; I could not forget how American women made themselves indispensable to the existence and happiness of their men; how their whole life was carefully fitted psychologically to the function of elevating and balancing the social prestige and dignity of men.

They know that men are created in types, they treat each type with understanding and sympathy. With the super-women, America produces a lot of super-men. Behind every great man is a great woman. Where there are many great women, many men will be great. I attribute the limitless ambition, a great zest for living characteristic of the Americans, partly to the development of their womanhood. I do not approve all aspects of life of American women for the African women culturally, but I certainly believe that there is much for the African womanhood to learn from her American counterpart. Our women must therefore be given equal opportunity as men to American education, for even the scholarships I obtained were partly due to the encouragement from American women.

I have not forgotten the role Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt played in the life of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in spite of physical disability turned out to be one of the greatest among the sons of men in the twentieth century, nor have I forgotten the American educated Madam Chiang Kai Shek (Miss Soong) and how she influenced the Generalissimo of China in national and international politics of China.

The labor condition in the present day Nigeria presents a nightmare. Strictly speaking, there is not much to do in the first place. Employment was restricted to civil service and mercantile jobs. There is not a single industrial city and no factories in the Western sense. A youngman after school life must either be a civil servant, a mercantile clerk, or a teacher. None of these areas of enterprise offers any avenue for the employment of, let alone the need for the training of millions of the unskilled or skilled labor force. The employer in Nigeria is a real boss because he is not bothered by the scarcity of labor or the competition of diversified employers.

The American Council on African Educatien believes that "uneducated masses make neither good producers nor good consumers." Unless a majority of the people of this country are educated, and sufficient jobs created through industrial and agricultural development, we shall remain the footstool and laughing-stock of the rest of the world.

Another surprising experience in this country is the subtle antagonism from most British civil servants and mercantile employees against the introduction of American education into Nigeria. I had always thought that England and America were cousins. But throughout my tour, the Englishman's prejudice was evident everywhere. Take for example in Kaduna. Mbadiwe and I went around Kaduna for sight seeing, and we came to the Secretariat, then to the P.W.D. In one of the offices, we met a European civil servant. I do not want to mention his name here. Mr. Mbadiwe introduced me to the European, and mentioned that I was a Columbia graduate. Then he remarked curtly: "You are from America?" I said "Yes", then he said: "You don't get a bogus degree as Azikiwe, do you?" I answered: "Azikiwe attended the University of Pennsylvania and other universities too, and his degrees are genuine." As I was saying this, my temper was seething inside. Then the gentleman continued with a sort of joking cruelty in his smiles. "But you know even Columbia University degree could be bogus?"

Orizu: "What!" with a horrible face.

The European: "Yes, we know about all that."

Orizu: "Do you realize what you are saying?"

The European: "Of course, I do."

Orizu: "Do you know the rating of Columbia University as compared with any other university in Great Britain?"

The European: "I don't know about that, what about it?"

Orizu: "Do you know that there is not a single university in your country more equipped or diversified in its intellectual, scientific or cultural pursuits than Columbia?"

The European: Smiling with a sarcastic ashamedness. "We are not talking about all that."

Orizu: "By the way, who are you, and where did you attend School?"

The European: Dodging: "Well, I am Mr. ..., sorry I don't mean to offend you."

Orizu: "You have not offended me. I simply want to know your educational background."

The European: "I did not have the opportunity to go through college, but it does not matter now, I have been here for years."

Orizu: "Thank you, I am glad to know that, and I need not go further on this point, but please it is high time you people in this country stopped misrepresenting the great culture of America. I consider it a matter of unpardonable ingratitude that an Englishman like you will speak so carelessly about American education whose efficiency and productivity saved England not only from hunger and financial distress, but from the military annihilation of Hitler."

The European: "I don't mean to offend."

Orizu: "Yes, but you meant to ridicule."

The European: "Well, Mr. Mbadiwe, good afternoon, and Mr. Orizu thank you for your calling."

This time the African workers in the office were all excited and looked with interest.

Orizu: "Thank you Mr. ..., hope to see you again, and good bye."

As we walked out from this office Mr. Mbadiwe told me that he was aware of this man's idea of American education, hence he deliberately introduced me to him in order to give him an idea of how wrong he was. Mbadiwe and I discussed this incident at length on our way to the Green Hotel. I told Mbadiwe how I felt when I said: "It was amazing to note how ingrained in human mind prejudice is. Certain human tendencies are ineluctable. Without the American industrial know-how which is a result of their educational standard, democracies would have gone to blazes during the war just past. The most benefited country of all was England, and yet, in the complicated wave of human beings an average Englishman hated the American and his educational system. I think, because he, the Englishman owed American system so much. I am not an advocate for America as I have been accused ever so often, but I made an objection to this state of affairs, the mood of the people, their limited views about America. I shall intensify the idea of American education in Nigeria."

Let us admit that Nigeria is essentially an agricultural country. The agrarian economy is the order of the entire populace. Agrarian economy presupposes prevalence of landed rather than business wealth with all the ideas associated with agricultural life – conservatism, individualism, backwardness and provincialism. Business wealth presupposes upsurge of commercial and industrial communities, urbanization, social and economic interdependence of individuals in the community, scientific research and global outlook.

Throughout my tours, I saw woods, woods and woods again. Like a nation with extraordinary future, the whole land area was divided into forest regions comprising almost all kinds of crops, trees and vegetables which have made other nations formidable and secure. They all lay waste. To a Nigerian, vegetable products are either for food, drink or raw marketing. The multifarious uses into

which such products are put for industrial and manufacturing purposes are practically unknown. The palm tree products of the East are used for drinking and food purposes, the surpluses are exported raw to other countries where they would be manufactured into various products and sold back to us. The same thing is true of cocoa and peanuts. The valuable woods of the forest regions are cut down either for firewood or for production of raw timber for European countries.

It is not easy to go through those experiences without reflecting on what science has done for other countries in respect of new uses into which wood has been put. Millions of tons of wood which in America would be of tremendous economic value were wasted here. Even slabs, saw-dust, and chips in other places are of high economic value and no more wasted. But even now fallen trees spread all over Nigerian forests and none would touch them. Certain useful woods are not even logged at all for lack of knowledge as to how to put them into use. What lamination could do to turn inferior wood into a stronger stuff, no one in Nigeria knows. The process of speedy chemical cure of timber which eliminated the old slow "seasoning process is not dreamt of in Nigeria. There is not a single paper-making factory among all people whose forest is teeming with all sorts of paper-making woods and pulps. All papers and newspapers prints are imported. When villagers ran out to admire the droning of the flying ships in the air, little do they know that metal and wood around them can be laminated and used even for speedy F7U jet fighter plane by having skin of aluminium bonded to a balsam wood core. When coastal Africans admire the majesty of the merchant and passenger ocean-going steamer, I wonder how far they appreciate that it is the wood of the forest which they use only for fire making that man has turned into the maiden of the sea. When numerous African Christian converts read their Bibles, I wonder if any of them is aware that the paper upon which the holy words are printed could be produced from some bamboos in their back yards. When wooden houses catch fire and burn down, Nigerians have not learned that laminated wood could withstand fire, rot, insects, and vermin far better than steel, and that despite

the great advantage of concrete and steel in house building, perhaps the houses of the future will be floored, walled, ceiled with wood materials which could be bent, straightened or curved as required.

The flowers of the field have made many florists rich in the Western world. No one appreciated the beauty of the flowers and its economic importance in Nigeria where forests were pregnant with numerous kinds of adorable flowers. In every community in the civilized world you see flower shops even in important commercial districts. Flower has come to its own even in the international market. A man living in Madagascar could easily send a corsage to a friend in New York City or Paris or New Delhi in a matter of three hours. Three florists' associations had affiliated into what is known as Florists' Telegraph Delivery with its headquarters in Detroit, controlling forty-five million dollars worth of flowers annually. There is the British Florists' Telegraph Delivery covering sterling areas, excluding Canada. The continental European organized Fluerop with Zurich as its own Detroit. The British F.T.D. covers its African areas, but the Nigerians that I met knew nothing about the economic importance of our flowers. At least I did not see any flower shop nor did I come across any florist in Nigeria.

During my tour, I found that the A.C.A.E. idea of scholarship is diametrically different from the concepts nurtured by colonial policy of paternalism. To the average Nigerian, scholarship means "government scholarships." A brief description of what government scholarship means in Nigeria would help in understanding the expectations of Africans whenever the word "scholarship" is mentioned.

Policy determines practise. The educational policy of the British Empire in Nigeria is:

1. To educate the Nigerians g-r-a-d-u-a-l-l-y.
2. To give an education of how to read and write.
3. To discourage creative education.
4. To delay the process of mass education by making education an expensive luxury of the few. It takes extremely wealthy parents to produce a college graduate in a country where school

fees are paid from the kindergarten to the secondary standard. No university in the country.

5. To grant government scholarship only to civil servants for departmental proficiency and goodwill tours of England only.
6. To discourage any tendency in Africa to study anywhere other than British universities.

To grant an African a scholarship by the Nigerian government, the recipient therefore expects:

1. Free passage from Nigeria to England and back.
2. Free tuition, board, room and extra expenses.
3. In some cases allowance for the wife to travel with the recipient.
4. In some cases allowance for dependents at home while the recipient studied in England.
5. To resume or accept a job on return as a civil servant in a specific area of training, without effort or fitness.

These expenses were run from the tax payer's money – the public revenue. Only very few Nigerians were granted such scholarships before my arrival. For example from 1935 to 1945, only an average of five students a year received the government scholarship. In a country of nearly forty million population, only five persons received university education per year! At that rate, it will take 200 years to produce 1,000 college graduates. To go a little further, of the five students who received the scholarships each year, only half that number were granted for degree courses at the British universities. That means that about three of them were expected to obtain degrees each year. At that rate, it will take over 330 years to produce, 1,000 Nigerian graduates from the British Universities.

To go into fuller details of the whole affair will more than justify every statement I have made above regarding the British policy of education in Nigeria. But there is no need. One clear fact is that the Nigerian youth, following the pattern of the government educational policy had been trained to feel:

1. That an educated person was a man who would not work with his hands.

2. That university education was the luxury of the financially great or the prize for a government sponsored sybarite.
3. That to go "abroad" implies that the student becomes a great man instantaneously without any further effort than to obtain everything gratis either from the wealthy parents or from the benevolent or paternal government.

There is therefore a great gap of misunderstanding which had to be bridged. First, the Nigerians must be made conscious of their educational backwardness and the hopelessness of the government policy and a great need to challenge it. Second, the people must be taught self-help, Government must not be considered a Santa-Claus. It is impossible and unfair to suppose that any government could provide all educational needs of the people. Third, it was imperative to establish a sense of individual initiative in the people and to import the American ideal where students work for each and for almost everything else while carrying on the academic schedule, resulting in America producing the first class grind of young people. Fourth, I feel it was a moral obligation to awaken parents and indigent but deserving students to the possibilities of obtaining higher education even with a small personal monetary contribution to their educational needs, provided that the students themselves are ready to co-operate by working while in the college as Americans do.

One of the greatest results of the General Strike of 1945 is an emergence of extremely nationalistic youth revolution. Anti-colonialism in temper, heroic, independent, obstinate, desperate, these youths balk in the effulgence of the older and more educated paladins of Nigerian nationalism. They however, seem to run ahead of space laid down by those older and more experienced politicians. They have heard so much about what the young people were doing in India, what physical wonders Guiseppe Garibaldi wrought with the youths of Italy in their movement of liberation, and like Garibaldis. "thousand," the youths of Nigeria are ready to risk anything for the sake of liberty. They have read so much about civil disobedience and Gandhi's fasts. They are fearless of the consequences of their action, and imprisonment appears to be the pleasantest of their expectations.

As already indicated, unlike India, the youths of Nigeria do not find a fertile ground for this trend of movement among the more elderly leaders. Gandhi and Nehru and others in India were jail-birds, not so their contemporaries in Nigeria. Personal sacrifice and spiritual mysticism were not essential features of Nigerian nationalism. Actual identification of the leaders with the poor and the dejected is carefully avoided in practice by Nigerian leaders. None of them could strictly claim having renounced all his material wealth or abated the pursuit of it in the process of national struggle. The youths therefore, while they receive what is considered surreptitious encouragement from the top, feel sadly disappointed to find that most of the political leaders are unwilling to face the music with personal sacrifice.

I observed that far from being disheartened, the youths spread their own gospel with intensity. They enter into all departments of the national life as newspaper editors, telegraphic and wireless operators, train engine drivers, confidential secretaries, soldiers, police constables, labor union secretaries, political party secretaries, customs officers and all such jobs from where they hope to hold keys of information and have access to the masses. As newspaper editors and reporters some of them are jailed for sedition; as soap-box orators some talked themselves into prison for alleged subversive activities and disloyalty to the British Crown. One of them looked as if he would apply a cold blood assassination with a knife or a gun in an open day. He would never deny his intention before the British court in Nigeria and would welcome the prison gate with impunity in order to gain freedom. Their gospel captured the imagination of young peoples everywhere in Nigeria covering East, West, and North. One of the expressions of their philosophy is a willingness to suffer, to loose their jobs and go hungry. Some of them practise personal purification and asceticism. You find the most serious among them with long beards, practising fasting, avoiding sex matters, rejecting all European dresses, and becoming vegetarians.

In my tour, I came in contact with those youths. To brand them communists, is totally wrong. To dismiss them as empty dreamers is to ignore the truth. To interpret their activities as ill-

motivated is to confuse the issue. To suppress their philosophy is to bay the moon. Truth is that the youths of Nigeria whom I met are really from responsible homes with a fine background of cultural training. Like African children, they have learned to obey and trust their elders and superiors. They are strongly rooted in the traditions of personal freedom and individualism of agrarian society. As they grew their parents must have been telling them about our past glory and heritage and what damage the Europeans have done to them.

Any Nigerian from a good home knows how the illiterate parents sing and lament this idea of foreign domination in the ears of their sons. Most of those youths suffered a lot to get a little education. They must have yearned for more and discovered that they could not get what they wanted because of poverty. Some of them were brought up as Christians. They might have read the story of young David and the giant Goliath; how with a pebble, a shepherd youngster, totally unprotected, was able to kill a great general of an army of the Philistines. Young Africans are essentially religious. They believe that God's purpose is to be fulfilled in Nigeria through them.

These young Africans believe in their relationship with God. They act everywhere as members of a spiritual community. They are committed to the task of awakening a like faith in other renascent Africans, and make them a part of an organic social solidarity. Each one of them possesses a unique value, indispensable to the attainment of freedom is our only political aim. To them it is a big spiritual issue. They want a democracy that awakens a sense of our individual rights and imposes a corresponding sense of obligation. They want to suffer for the cause of that democracy. They do not want to stop at talking. They would rather begin with the inalienable fact of spiritual worth as the central feature of Nigerian democracy, not limited only to soap-box oratory, but securing opportunities for personal security and privileges. Those youths have wants and needs. They must have food and clothes and houses. They must enjoy the fair share of Africa's earth and its products. But those things, they believe, must not obscure the pursuit of democracy. They refuse to accept that the African is a tool for others' happiness. They now

realize Nigeria's intrinsic worth, and our own potential energies. They will fight for the construction of a new society in this Nigeria, whatever it may cost life or death – makes no difference to them.

Another characteristic feature of the yearnings of the youths is their great thirst for education. Much has happened in the world which aroused the interest of the citizens of Nigeria in education. The First and Second World Wars have blasted space and shortened all dimension in time. As already mentioned, students have been sent to England to qualify for law in eighteen months for courses which would take three years to complete. Young soldiers have traversed seas and lands of other continents and discovered new ways and new trends the world over. Extravagant promises of the war lords concerning the aims of the war in terms of democracy and human freedom lingered in the minds of the expectant young generation. A handful of youngmen and women who were privileged to study in foreign universities had the last say in the matters of social function. This changing scene did not escape the observation of the youths. They want to add strings of academic degrees to their names. Some of my personal experiences with the way and manner the youths seek after education in Nigeria is unbelievable. It is a story a proud citizen of Africa would not tell in detail without restraint. It is however pertinent to note that our youths were ready to go to any length to get a real education in a world of international upheaval and unending scientific discoveries. All the letters, telegrams, interviews, discussions which I had are a series of incredible pathetic stories of orphanage, poverty, illiteracy, suppression, mal-content. They form a potpourri of social ingredients from which the national body is educationally under-nourished. Youngsters turned into beggars – they are begging to drink even the waste of knowledge, and there is none to listen. The Government Policy is already defined, and the general run of events and economic development of the country is not a fertile ground for philanthropy.

I have ignored mentioning that a handful of those youths seemed to be interested in communism. But close observation will indicate clearly that they are more anti-colonialism than pro-Russia.

As you all know, the A.C.A.E. has a national outlook with a view to consider the interest of every Nigerian without regard to tribe or sex. I was therefore dismayed when I found out that we shall face tremendous obstacles in getting qualified students from certain sections, particularly in the North. I also noted that there are thousands of deserving youngmen and women who came from poor families. Our mission is mainly for the poor and the underprivileged. There is no sound reason to concentrate on granting our scholarships to the children of those parents who could train them without our aid. But we have to seek the co-operation of the wealthy or else, even the A.C.A.E. will not have any financial foundation upon which to help the poor. In a country where selfishness has appeal over altruism and philanthropy, such a situation may create its own difficulties, but I hope that once the organization is set up, we shall face it courageously.

As soon as we set up the organization, our first job is to set up a Committee to select the first batch of students who would immediately proceed to the United States. I think that that is what the country wants of us. I know that that is what will silence our critics. For, no matter how much criticism was levelled on us, we must not yield to those who think that Africa shall remain in darkness, and that our young generation must be limited in movement as to where they must go and where they must not go around this God-given earth.

We must break through all barriers with all the spiritual courage that God has given us in order to recreate our society. For with all my national pride when I was in the United States, with all my high hopes and great dreams, with all my confidence in the possibilities of our new generation, I was hard-hit with naked realities that stood out prominently when I surveyed the Nigeria of today.

It is a country where ill-smelling, unventilated huts are roofed with dry and highly flammable grasses and floors level with surrounding grounds allowing centipedes, scorpions and snakes to interchange beds and drinking cups with human beings. Filthy atmosphere such as this is inhabited by a population of citizens whose medical service is equally inadequate both in number of

doctors and quality and quantity of equipments. Women give birth to still-born babes which are constantly thrown into the bushes and not even honourably buried. A few living babies sucked the nipples of underfed and over-worked mothers. Human refuse are carried on the heads by Africans even under rain and storm for a few pennies a day.

Foreign capitalists mined the ores, acquiring concessions. Industrial enterprise and business expansion of the Africans are fettered. If the backwardness of the people is an accidental sequence of their social growth, the backwardness of the younger generation issues from a deliberate hindrance. Shamefully, low wages presuppose a low level of life. Extremely bad roads and absence of proper means of communication means stagnation and death. Absence of public schools means enthronement of ignorance and fear. Neither the mind nor the body can develop in an atmosphere of squalor and filth, nor can a nation produce creative spirit where there is not municipal conscience, no public or club, or private libraries, no theatre, no garden, no magazines, no organized music. The most educated citizens of Islam culture, rich and noble as they are, mingled with lepers, and enjoyed the company of house flies and mosquitoes. Like many Nigerians, they live in stuffy bedrooms, on wooden bedsteads infested with bugs. Their children keep in dirty rooms and wives cook in unsanitary kitchens. Such is the condition in which we are expected to leave our country and our people. Such is the condition which we must leave unchallenged with education because we are poor. I feel that poverty cannot stop us from getting education if we only train our people to work for education itself.

I must ask you to be grateful to American citizens who co-operated with me to make the programme of the A.C.A.E. possible. Many white and black Americans are in sympathy with Africans when properly informed. Their main obstacle is deliberate misinformation about Africa and the Africans which come to them daily from our European "protectors." But there would have been no A.C.A.E. without men like Dr. Howard Bevis, the President of the Ohio State University, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, the President

of Lincoln University, Dr. Charles Wesley, the President of Wilberforce University, Mrs. Eileen J. Garrett of the Creative Age Press, Henry A. Wallace, the former Vice-President of the United States of America, Dr. George Pegram, Dean of Graduate School Columbia University, George S. Schuyler of the "Pittsburgh Courier," A. A. Austin of Antilean Holding Company, Michael L. Kaplan a Jewish millionaire, and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, who is one of the most powerful forces in African American life. These friends and others whom I could not mention here, not because they have contributed less, will always be remembered by Africa when our true history will be told.

Even at this initial stage, many Nigerians have come forward from all the places I have visited to co-operate with the A.C.A.E. From Kano to Calabar, from Lagos to Onitsha we already have patriotic Africans who have pledged themselves to this great cause. They are waiting for us to make a move and they will join our march to victory. We are facing obstacles. We shall face more and more obstacles. But I have confidence in our cause. I have trust in Nigeria. I have faith in God.

It is our duty that Nigerian society must change. We must break tribal diversities. The main objective of the government we have in mind is the promotion and development of public utilities to facilitate communication, transportation, water system, electricity and health care delivery. We must exploit our land – below and atop. This will embrace modernization of farm methods for scientific farming on land surface and mining industries for minerals of different categories.

Education will be the real hope and assurance which will make all these possible. That education must follow the principle of natural inclusion of all elements of existence on which in totality human life depends. The ramifications and chemical aggregate of mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms are all at once a whole. Every part of this wholeness is inseparable for the whole elements to sustain life, both personal and national. It is through this type of education

when systematically and analytically employed that an individual or a nation understands the environment and functionalises all elements.

Such a broad approach to education carries with it the implication that individuals must be trained to be independent purposeful, critical attractive and able to co-operate with others in building a new and healthy society.

Ladies and gentlemen, all members of American Council on African Education (ACAE) in Africa, the definition above is the reason why we are here. We are here to establish and promote Horizontal Education in Africa. The forces of reaction of and the members of "Mr. know alls" will fight and discredit you and me. This resistance will be shortlived. The civilisation of this nation cannot be delayed. Under God the change is on the door steps. We will win.

30

When Franklin Delanor Roosevelt, the thirty-second president of the United States of America died in April 1946 while in office, the world bowed in sorrow. Dr. Orizu then challenged the weeping world especially the leaders of allied nations during the World War II. He urged them to continue from where Roosevelt stopped by advocating the freedom of man in Africa and equality of all races everywhere in the world. People feel that this was one of the voices that contributed to influence Harold L. Ickes, the then US Secretary of the Interior to send a telegram to the USA delegation to the UNO meeting in San Francisco. He requested the delegation to change its stand and write into the United Nations Charter a promise of independence for all colonies.

– Editor

WE MOURN FOR LATE PRESIDENT BECAUSE WE FEAR OUR OWN IMPERFECTIONS

While men and women living all over the world are in uproar, turmoil and tears; while our hearts lament the eternal absence of the world's greatest liberal heart of the age; while we stand aghast wondering how the great and the strong has fallen into the hands of the almighty DEATH; while we think that the sting of death has won a victory over the mortal frame of America's great father; we must remember that Franklin Delanor Roosevelt has departed from this world triumphant. He has done his duty. It is not for him that we mourn, it is for us, the living.

We mourn for the imperfections and tragic weakness which may prevent us from living up to the standards that Mr. Roosevelt has set for us. We mourn because we are so afraid that other leaders may upset the courageous and noble work that Mr. Roosevelt brought to completion. We mourn that we are not so sure that his spirit of "freedom everywhere", which he so persistently advocated and vigorously worked for, could be equally cherished and carried out by our present leaders. In other words, we are lamenting our shortcomings, and therefore preparing ourselves to meet the challenge of the rising tide of freedom and liberty everywhere.

Why was President Roosevelt so great? It is because he believed in Voltaire, who said: "This world is warfare; I love to carry it on, it puts life into me". The life of Mr. Roosevelt was a series of constant, relentless and indefatigable warfare against insurmountable obstacles. He waged war against physical debility. He conquered. He waged war against social wreckage. He triumphed. He waged war against spiritual slumber. He won. He dauntlessly waged war against economic insecurity, racial bigotry, international intolerance, and destructive Nazi doctrine. In all these, he emerged

victorious. Mr. Roosevelt fed the poor, led his nation in its most crucial moment, built new assurance in the heart of humanity; with him, all that is America came to a new life.

The life that Franklin Delanor Roosevelt lived was the symbol of harmony of opposite qualities. He was born wealthy, yet his creed was the interest of the poor. He was made great, but he lived in simplicity and friendliness which charmed his friends and elevated his family. It is true, then, "to all men he was all things" – A great liberal, bringing the more abundant life or a dangerous radical and power seeker. A business baiter, out to soak the rich Or a sensible regulator, imposing restrictions for the common good. A champion of the forgotten man. Or a canny politician, buying votes with public money. A wrecker of the Nation's economic structure. Or a builder towards more equitable distribution of wealth. A war hater who knew the fiction of isolation. Or an international meddler. Mr. Roosevelt was all these because he was great.

The eulogy of his brave life will not do us any good unless we translate it into a concrete way of living. We shall be paying lip service to him – shading crocodile tears, if, in San Francisco, the world leaders turn their backs upon the principles of Mr. Roosevelt.

It was Mr. Roosevelt's belief that the principle of peace is inseparable from the recognition of the interest of all. He believed in human dignity and worth. He hated imperialism in all its manifestations. He substituted repression of the weak with his "Good Neighbour Policy". He challenged colonialism by insisting on unconditional independence of the Phillipines. He made friends of both small and great nations, and gave each due recognition. That was the life of a man possessed of harmonious qualities. Today, that life's symphony is finished.

The living leaders who will represent all nations in the San Francisco Conference this month should plan so that the life of President Roosevelt shall not have been sacrificed in vain. They must generate the spirit of courage, sincerity, tolerance and justice. They must elevate the moral standards of the twentieth century man to a new level. The leadership of all oppressed peoples in America

and the world has much to learn from the life of our great champion, fearlessness, courage and sacrifice. If we have no fear, we can turn the imposed handicaps of racial and national origins into an incentive. If we have courage, we can boldly map and execute our plans in spite of powerful oppositions. If we have the spirit, we can sacrifice even life itself to attain freedom and maintain a dignified place among other races and nations of the world.

EPILOGUE

Keep Me Clean

1. Keep me clean my duties to perform
2. Hold me firm my promises to keep
3 Give life to memory my resolutions to remember
4. Give me friends who understand God
5. Give me children industrious and truthful
6. Give Nigeria leaders to uphold unity
7. From every section uplift some leadership
8. Give them courage and vision of progress
9. To join together the broken society
10. Keep me clean to uphold nation's unity.

II

1. God has made me a nation founder
2. And has kept me alive longer
3. I pray to God to use my old age
4. A blessing to be to this generation
5. Let great Nigerians emerge on the scene
6. To keep faith with God to rebuild the nation
7. As prophets of old who laid the foundation
8. For what Nigeria has, to be shared by all
9. For happiness to come to old and young
10. For poor and rich to live in peace.

Nwafor Orizu
August 30, 1997
4.00 a.m.

"What shall I give to man? Money? Honour? Long life? Power? In the midst of my dreams: the dream of man and how he should be served, the dream of the life that might be lived, the dream of man's humanity to man, the dream of limitations and handicaps of the well-intended, I resolved that I yet have one thing to give.

Yes, I have one thing to give, my life to give. I have my life to sacrifice on the altar of service for the good of man. I have my life to give because whenever life is given, there is no space in the mind of one who gives the life to consider how his smile is taken or how his blame is interpreted. He only gives life and turns back facing the world with a programme containing challenge or appraisal."

– June 1940, pp. 2 & 3.

Other Books by the Author:

- *Horizontal Education* (1943)
- *Without Bitterness* (1944)
- *Education and Moral Excellence* (1983)
- *Insight Into Nigeria* (1983)
- *Man's Unconquerable Mind* (1986)
- *Africa Speaks* (1990)
- *The Leadership We Want* (1993)
- *Liberty or Chains – Africa Must Be* (1994).

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