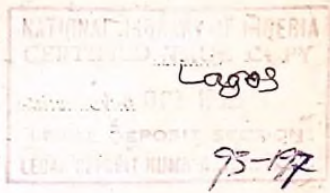


ORIGINAL ZIKISM

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BY

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ORIGINAL ZIKISM

INTRODUCTION

Zikism as a systematic, universal philosophy was first propounded in my book "WITHOUT BITTERNESS"¹ exactly twenty years ago. It was written at a time when the pioneers of African continental freedom were on a planning stage. I was then a young graduate student of Political Science and philosophy at Columbia University in New York. The political, economic, educational and social conditions inside Africa were different from what they are today. The general outlook of the African was then beclouded with the norms and edicts of imperialism. A gloom of tragic darkness overshadowed my Africa. Language and thought, culture and tradition were in chain. Ambition was a crime. Creative ingenuity was regarded as madness.

But the inward ear of the African mind had started to listen to the language of the music of destiny. In a strong, steady and pervading rhythm, the dramatic orchestra of life condensed the vague dreams of freedom into the melody of action. Human mind has ears: ears that communicate the deep past; ears that listen to the voice of the unseen; ears that grasp the admonitions of prophets and poets, of soothsayers and jujumen. It is through such ears that destiny, like death, knocks at the door of inspired individuals in a nation that is about to be born. Such individuals become the amanuensis of nature. They dream dreams and see visions. They make eternal utterances that touch the hearts of men.

One such individual in Africa of imperialism was the son of Obed. Obed was a man from Onitsha town in Southern Nigeria. Zungeru was the place in Northern Nigeria where this son was born to our mother Africa. Thanks to goodness. Thanks to the God of Unity in Nigeria. North and South had conjointly given birth to a great prophet of freedom in a continent. Northern Nigeria is a hallowed ground—a home that had produced men of politico-religious heights who spread Islamic religion with vision and faith. Southern Nigeria is an ideological ground—a portion of Africa that has produced political acrobats whose genius for saying "NO" has helped in producing many a leader in many a country in Africa.

The politico-religious dynamism of Northern Nigeria and the ideological incendiary of the South have had a palpable amalgam in the personality of one man—Zik. Nigeria of imperialism was looking for a person with such a dualistic background. They found it in Zik. He preached harmony and unity where he knew that we had opposing cultures and manifold traditions.

1 WITHOUT BITTERNESS was published in 1944.

The North listened. The South listened. Unity and love represent a common heritage of all religious faiths. Besides, every man born of a woman is a potential nationalist or, as Aristotle would call it—a political animal. Nigerians, therefore responded to the natural tendency of man. They followed the path of honour—toward freedom.

At one breath, one man's idea crystallized into a people's faith. Under that inspiration, I conceived of a philosophy from Africa for the world. I chose Zik's name to represent that philosophy because Nnamdi "is unmistakably the embodiment of a new thought". His way of life personified harmony and progress, regeneration and irre-dentism. Choosing Zik's name does not mean that Zikist philosophy is entirely Azikiwe's own personal feelings and prophecies. I made it clear from the beginning that: "The author is but little concerned with the personality involved. He is rather interested in the ideas and ideals involved in this new way of life in Africa. Even Mr. Azikiwe² himself does not know the full implication of the word "zikism" as the author uses it. I should not be surprised if he even disagrees with some of the interpretations I shall give to "zikism" as a new philosophy of life."³

Original Zikism was written to lead the rest of the world of imperialism, the world at war (Second World War) to a definite understanding of Africa's wakefulness—materially, spiritually and intellectually.

I have mentioned that WITHOUT BITTERNESS was published in 1944 when the present student-generation in Nigeria were either infants or unborn. I feel it an obligation, after incessant demands from African, European, Asiatic friends to present my original work on Zikist philosophy as a separate book from Without Bitterness where it was a part. That will make it easy of access to many. It is also a way of preparing our minds on my forthcoming book with the title "Zikism—African Continental Philosophy".

2 Now Dr. Azikiwe.

3 WITHOUT BITTERNESS P. 297.

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ZIKISM—A UNIVERSAL PHILOSOPHY

Aggreyism

Before entering into an extended discussion of zikism some background observation is necessary. We shall first examine aggreyism, the influence of which on the thought of some Africans was no less profound than that which zikism wields today. Although both influences are directly against one thing, we shall soon find out where their methods of approach differ. Let us understand from the beginning that there is an essential difference between zikism and aggreyism as patterns of thought, but the difference lies more in the time each of the ideas was born than in the essence of the ideas themselves.

The date-and-fact type of history alone cannot explain why Aggrey looked at things the way he did. Nor can we understand "Zik" by assuming that a great man is the basis for understanding the events of his time. Nor yet can these two types of social philosophy be explained solely by the mere social life of the African people either then or now. We do not believe either that evolution from aggreyism to zikism is altogether a result of natural causes influenced by climate, race, the country, or laws of supply and demand. The reasons are interlocked in these causes. But there is a main fact: aggreyism and zikism are the results of African thought. The personalities with which they are connected have little to do with the ideals which they represent. Kwegyir came before Nnamdi and served as a stepping-stone toward the attainment of the goal which zikism seeks today.

Zikism did not drop down from the sky upon the naked earth as did the "deus ex machina" onto the Greek stage. Rather it is an offspring of previous ideas and ideals. C. Delisle Burns, in his **Political Ideals**, once said: "If you want to understand the present in order to direct the future, you will have to grasp not only what great men did and how common men lived, but also what all men hoped for." He said this because he believed that, "We cannot understand the meaning of what actually happened unless one appreciates what men wanted to happen." The conclusion is true when we consider, as Burns did, that "there were many things which men in the past hoped to do and never did. That hope is an explanation of difference in what we now do, often because what our forefathers dreamed of has come true after they have passed away.....The present was in the past as a hope, a longing, an ideal."

The above statement is very true of aggreyism and zikism. During the Aggrey memorial celebrations held at Salisbury, North Carolina, on Thursday, November 26, 1942, Mr. Kweku Atta

Gardiner summarized "Aggrey's Africa" in the following words :

"The Africa which Aggrey saw, knew, and loved was divided into subject territories governed by colonial powers.....Yet Aggrey was proud of her. Aggrey's Africa was and still is suffering from economic exploitation. Africans were considered and treated as part of the coveted raw materials of the tropics. Aggrey knew all this. In Portuguese Angola he wrote, '.....the first time in my life I smiled at my brother, and he smiled not back. He only stared a solemn, appealing, questioning stare. I turned my face, tried hard to keep back the welling tear. I couldn't. And the voice rang in my ears, "Carest thou not that we perish?" "In the midst of all these experiences, he (Aggrey) preached human brotherhood and the love of God." What does this mean to us ? It means that Aggrey saw a terrible Africa. He knew that the disparity between the mechanical development of the West and of the Africa of his time was too great. He understood that the masses in Africa were not yet awake to the movements of the world around them. Under such circumstances, in which he and a few other enlightened Africans formed a lone star, he developed a pacific philosophy. That was only natural, but did not indicate that Aggrey was a pacifist. He himself said many things which definitely disprove this. Both his African and foreign admirers and interpreters have in most cases misunderstood him. If anybody wants to understand Aggrey, he must seek him in his yearnings, his longings, his wishes—his ideals. One must understand that Aggrey was looking far beyond what he was supposed to have said. He was searching for something which was difficult for him to grasp : something that was always moving away from him as he approached the place where it seemed to be—the "New Africa." He was not oblivious to the fact that his own day was that of the "Old Africa"—when his people were ignorant of modern scientific method and technology. There was no need for him to talk about a New Africa (except as an ideal) when the people were yet unbaptized in the Jordan of mental emancipation. The only philosophy which could work in Aggrey's day was a passive philosophy—a philosophy which laughs and smiles in the face of humiliation and indignity. He would have been a crazy man if he had adopted the positive philosophy which zikism adopts today—nearly two decades after aggreyism flourished. For instance, Aggrey said: "You can never beat prejudice by a frontal attack, because there is mere emotion at the root of it. Always flank it. You can catch more flies with molasses than with vinegar." Some contemporaries have carried this philosophy of molasses too far. By that they have developed a strange, lethargic, mental satisfaction expressed in complacency with which they regard the indignities that men suffer in Africa. They have taken this Aggrey idea to mean that

political independence, economic security, and social progress will come to Africa by the magic of smiling, and of being "good" and reasonable men to their imperialistic masters. To these people who think themselves cautious, practical, and scientific, the difficulties involved in setting the potentiality of human nature in motion in African **Irredentism** seem prodigious. They have "scientifically" analyzed the obstacles in detail and the attempt seems illusory to them. They brand zikism the illusion of youth. But that was not what Aggrey meant. He was only living his own day, and had his eyes open to the times ahead of him when the dreams of his day would become real in Africa. With his eyes of vision Aggrey beheld and said: "There is a Youth Movement coming in Africa that some day may startle the world. This restlessness all over Africa stands for self-discovery and self-realization. It tells of power just breaking through, The great continent has been asleep for a long time. It is now waking up.....The Africa of twenty years ago is now gone and gone for ever. There is a new Africa coming today and it is a challenge to civilization."

Zikism and all that it stands for was Aggrey's ideal. Zikism is the philosophy of the youthful in mind. Aggrey predicted it because he wanted it to come. He worked for it. He knew that no nation could build itself anew while still compromising with every inhumanity that man placed on his fellow man. Aggrey said: "I sincerely hope that the time will not be far distant when, in matters that affect Africa, her sons and daughters will be represented in person." When he expressed this (something he knew could not happen in his time), Aggrey could not have meant (with his knowledge of history) that African political independence for which he hoped could be attained by smiling at imperialism. He certainly knew that no great movement for political freedom had realized its aims with smiles and courtesies. There must be sacrifices. For the Bastilles to fall in Africa, Aggrey knew that the iron gates would have to be broken with force to liberate the innocent men from prison. He agrees with Oswald Spengler who said that "**World history is the world court**, and it has ever decided in favour of the stronger, fuller, and more self-assured life." Hence, Aggrey said: "To those who have fire I give more fire, and to those who have might I want to give might mightier than man's." These are the very words of Kwegyir of the Gold Coast, now Ghana. He loved harmony, but he emphasized that harmony is possible only between two equals.

Aggrey developed the philosophy that the relationship between the lives of an African and a Western white man is comparable to the relationship between the white and black keys of a piano. He meant that each key must complement the other before musical

harmony can be attained. But Aggrey did not imply that either the black or the white keys should be subordinate to the other. They have to complement each other. Some of Aggrey's interpreters would have Africa believe that Aggrey wanted Africans to remain servants to the European imperialists, so that the latter will not get angry, thus causing disharmony in race-relations. That is another erroneous interpretation of Aggrey. If disharmony should come because Africans do not any longer want to be mere servants and economic and political slaves of other human beings, I am sure that Aggrey, if alive today, would have advocated such disharmony because that was what he hoped for—a day when the sons of Africa would be awake and carry out what he termed the "Youth Movement."

Zikism answers Aggrey's call. It is a youth movement which comes at an opportune moment when compromise on matters of imperialism in Africa is being discredited and discarded. Aggreyism hoped for the time to come. Zikism knows that the time has come. That is where aggreyism and zikism parted ways. One was hoping, the other is working on the reality of the hope itself.

Our danger is that some Africans do not understand nor appreciate the trend. They are still living in "Aggrey's Africa," thinking that they are living with Aggrey himself—looking for the living among the dead. These Africans fail hopelessly to distinguish between Aggrey as a man of timeless destiny, and "Aggrey's Africa" as a past, decadent phase of African evolutionary history. They will have to be reeducated to know that there is no difference between aggreyism and zikism, except that one was passive and idealistic and yet predicted the inevitable change to come, while the other looks outward, is positive; if you strike, it strikes back. It does not suffer indignity and inhumanity silently. Its ideology is to destroy man's inhumanity to man. It does not seek harmony where there is no social regeneration. It first asks for equality before asking for harmony. For where there is no recognition of human equality in social life, indulgence in the word "harmony" is a complete mental delusion. Night and day never did exist simultaneously at the same place within our human experience. So it is with harmony and inequality. Round things do not fit into square holes. Imperialism cannot exist side by side with human harmony—anywhere in the world. Before America and England could be harmonized, America had to revolt and gain her equality; then between equals there came harmony. Zikism seeks harmony but with its prerequisites: the stamping out of imperialism, racialism, illiteracy, and economic inequality in Africa. To overlook these fundamental things and talk about harmony is to reflect cowardice and political puerility.

Aggrey was a metaphysician in his own way, and we know how difficult it is for one of that disposition to communicate his thoughts to others. Observers and interpreters of such a mind very often fail completely to grasp its construction of means and its conception of ends. Partiality and inadequacy, to say nothing about misdirection, mark the appraisal of such observers and interpreters. It was even so with Aggrey, who walked sometimes alone and talked like a pacifist because he found himself surrounded by ignorance and superstition and despondency and insecurity, by the blind, the willful, the desperate, and the scheming among men.

Aggrey has done his duty. He set the fire burning in the hearts of a few; he helped introduce education into Africa in a greater measure than any before him; he raised the eyes of the younger generation skyward, and left them gazing at the galaxy of human achievements of which Africa was also capable; he called upon them deliberately to dream dreams and to accept the challenge of facing fearful odds for the sake of mother Africa in the modern world.

Why Zikism ?

We now turn from this introduction to the real subject of this chapter. The word "Zik" comes from the African name Akikiwe: Azi-eweka-iwe, or Azi-akalilika-n'iwe, or Azi-erika-n'iwe, any of which can be translated: "The Youth is overwhelmingly indignant," or "The New Age is full of revenge."

Nnamdi Azikiwe was born in the Ibo State of Nigeria, in 1904. His parents belong to the aristocratic class of Onitsha, and his father, who was a civil servant of the British Government in Nigeria, lived in different states of Nigeria. The boy Nnamdi thus had an early opportunity to study in various elementary and high schools of the country. He studied in Onitsha, Calabar, and Lagos, and as he moved from one city to the other, he precociously acquired a zeal for nationalism, so that before he was twenty years old he had become a "victim" of patriotic masochism. He chose to suffer exceptionally in order to gain the proper knowledge to help him formulate a new philosophy for the African.

He left the shores of Nigeria for his Western pilgrimage in 1924, twenty years after his birth, and studied in the United States of America for ten years. Before the completion of those ten years, he became an instructor of political science at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. His major fields of study were anthropology, political science, and journalism.

While at Lincoln University, he wrote his first book, entitled

Liberia in World Politics. Soon afterwards he returned to Accra, the Gold Coast, now Ghana, West Africa, in 1934, and there became editor-in-chief of the **African Morning Post**, a position he was still holding when he was charged with sedition by the British Government in the Gold Coast, now Ghana. He was first convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, plus a fine, but was later completely acquitted by the supreme West African Court of Appeal.

In a large measure that charge of sedition against Azikiwe was a great asset to his personality and mission. The whole of the African world became acquainted with him, and they clearly saw in him those qualities which could make him "independent in all things and neutral in nothing affecting the destiny of Africa."¹

In the meanwhile, he had published another book: **Resurgent Africa**. This book became the Bible of West African youth. He returned to Nigeria in 1937 and established the Zik's Press, gaining within a short time unprecedented popularity in the nation. His **West African Pilot** became the daily oracle of Nigerian youth. He put the charm of his magnetic personality into his own column: "Inside Stuff."

Azikiwe is slender, straight, tall, wiry, and athletic both in build and by disposition. The elasticity of his carriage is graceful. In America he played soccer and tennis, swam, and became a well-known collegiate long-distance runner; back home in Africa he took up his tennis again and made good progress in this game, although he never attained championship caliber. Though business-like and serious most of the time, he is nevertheless full of fun and his laugh is captivating. Azikiwe neither smokes nor drinks, and has few close personal friends, choosing rather to be a friend of all. He has scarcely any time to spend in leisure. He is sometimes very belligerent in disposition, even to the point of cruelty. But he is reasonable, changes from harshness to extreme consideration because of his reason, and can repent like a child.

Among the character traits of Nnamdi Azikiwe is his messianic complex. He moves and lives in a world of vision and mission. He cannot talk or act without an appeal to his *raison d'être*. He is stubborn and tenacious, and loves physical combat almost as well as he loves mental gymnastics. He is intellectually proud and often intolerant of other people's views, especially those that contradict, in his view, the destiny of the New Africa he believes must come.

I have mentioned that there is a kind of cruelty in his character. He is also somewhat ruthless. He has a complex of inflexible

¹ His motto for the African Morning Post.

inner egoism, but this he carefully hides behind the screen of his unmatched shrewdness. He is suspicious and calculating. He may forgive, but he never forgets. He has a very strong sense of duty, and is impatient with the lazy and the ignorant.

He is a citizen of the world, and is forever denouncing "man's inhumanity to man." He is sharply opposed to the philosophy of indulgence. He does not want any indulgence and is apparently indifferent to praise. He considers coöperation as the best instrument in human relations. He has confidence in man, but realizes that man is weak and rarely even approaches perfection. Thus he allows much latitude for human weakness, and does not condemn, though he often judges harshly at first sight. He is scientific, but believes in basic African institutions, some of which the world categorizes as mere superstition.

Another characteristic of Nnamdi Azikiwe is his hatred for the flamboyant demonstration of wealth. He makes shrewd use of money himself, and challenges Nigerian kings who forget their public duty while trying to dress and act extravagantly. He indicts those African financial magnates who worship wealth and forget philanthropy. He is communalistic, and will not hesitate to share his plate of dinner with a friend. I remember once how he promptly shared his breakfast with me, explaining later that he thought it would be much better that way than to have me wait until another was prepared. I had arrived during the night, and he had not been aware of this until he sat down to his own meal.

Another characteristic of Azikiwe is his unusual spiritual experience. "Zik" is a young man and yet deeply sensitive to spiritual things. He is a Christian in that he accepts Christ's ideal, but he realizes that not all Christian principles can be rationally applied to the problem of African redemption. Experience seems to convince him that man respects only the strong; that there is no place for the meek in twentieth-century aggressive philosophy; that Africa cannot be saved by turning the other cheek. This is where he disagrees with "Aggrey of Africa." He disagrees with the philosophy of patronage. Zik does not believe that Africa can develop simply by depending on Europeans. It is Africans that will develop Africa, coöperating on equal terms with Europeans.

Nnamdi is erudite, and can use his erudition in his peculiarly charming way to keep a crowd spellbound. The audience before him is at his mercy. He can stir them to violent action just by his words. He can make them shed tears. He can make them feel self-condemned, or disperse them feeling a great pride in themselves. That is Zik, and therein lies his power.

These qualities in Zik made him a demi-god to the renascent African. In fact, Onyenkuzi, one of my brothers, once asked me whether I did not think Zik was a god born in the wilds of Zungeru who came in the form of a child into the womb of an Onitsha woman! I laughed because I had been close enough to Zik to know that, although he has remarkable qualities and gifts, he is just a human being who happens to be a true African by birth and breeding. He has a mission in life. He has a destiny. He must conquer. But he is a man, and has his times of difficulties and his human limitations. But he is always confident of himself. He is never apologetic in any situation. He is independent.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, through his erudition and vision, through his self-confidence and independence, has become a leader in Africa in this century. He is a leader because he is capable of bringing the vague trends of other minds and spirits to a focus. In Africa, there were among the masses certain undefined thoughts looking toward a new life. Azikiwe gave form and expression to this vagueness by enunciating his philosophy of a New Africa. Nnamdi did not return from America with foreign ideas; rather, America drew out of him the true character of an African which he so unreservedly exerts on the minds of his fellow men. He is not apart from Africa. Africans are already longing for a "New Africa," and Zik is to them the embodiment of that idea. He is an interpreter of the people and not of himself, but he defines with precision those aspirations which otherwise might remain undefined. The import of his startling message confounds the senses of reactionary Africans who fail to read the signs of the time.

This man, therefore, is unmistakably the embodiment of a new thought—the propounder of a New African philosophy. That is why the author has chosen the word "zikism" to represent the New Philosophy of the New Africa he has in mind. The author is but little concerned with the personality involved. He is rather interested in the ideas and ideals involved in this new way of life in Africa. Even Mr. Azikiwe himself does not know the full implication of the word "zikism" as the author uses it. I should not be surprised if he even disagrees with some of the interpretations I shall give to "zikism" as a new philosophy of life.

Africa has in the past despised her own. But today is a new day, and one of the signs of national growth is the increasing prestige of her national heroes, regardless of their origin and position in life. We do not have to believe *in toto* with a leader in order to follow him. All members of the Indian National Congress do not necessarily agree with Gandhi's philosophy of non-violent resistance, but they acknowledge and follow him, because, despite their minor

differences, they have one goal in common, and Gandhi has finally pointed out to India the necessity for a line of complete unanimity. Azikiwe will do the same for Africa. He is the man whose opinion counts most in Nigeria today. The youth of West Africa look upon him as the African Gandhi. The merchants rally around him; the school teachers talk in his language; the farmers pray for him; civil servants draw inspiration from his words; musicians echo his name; sportsmen have "zikiified" themselves, and the rulers are on his side. A man of the people, this expansive creator of the new is a **renascent African**, a Joshua to whom Heaven has given the staff to lead the the youth into the Promised Land of the New Africa, where the ideal of man's humanity to man shall guide human activity.

What Zikism Is Not

Zikism is not just a list of the ideas of Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Azikiwe himself does not actually know what zikism embraces in the mind of the author. His unawareness of the content of zikism as a philosophy was manifested when he published (in the **West African Pilot**) an article that I sent to him in 1941, in which zikism was very briefly treated. Mr. Azikiwe mistakenly entitled that article "A Social Philosophy Interpreted." As we go along, we shall see that zikism is far more than a social philosophy.

Zikism is not a sectional philosophy. It is not only a Nigerian philosophy. It is not only a West African philosophy. It transcends all of these territorial barriers.

Zikism is not nationalism. It is a way of life which may direct the trend of nationalism.

Zikism is neither an old nor a new philosophy. It is both old and new. It is then and now, and it dwells in the future.

Zikism is not a revenge philosophy. It is not a programme directed against any race, creed, government, or country, but is universal in scope and intention.

Zikism is not a list of dogmatic principles which are changeless. It does not claim completeness and finality.

Zikism is not a philosophy of the physically young. It does not look at physical age. It is concerned with the age of the mind. If a man is young in body but old in mind, Zikism is not for him. Conversely, if a man is one hundred years old and yet young in mind, this gospel belongs to him.

What Zikism Is

The "New Africa" has brought with it new ideas. These new

ideas are, in part, the results of the impact of Westernization upon Africa. Terrified and encouraged, praised and abused, defended and condemned, relegated to the category of "primitivism" and lauded as the seat of civilization, Africa finds herself, in the galvanizing shock of favour and hate, confused. Nobody understands her. Nobody lets her alone. Nobody cares for her. Nobody spares her. She becomes the "melon" for all the world. She gives and gives of herself until her sanity is questioned by those who receive.

Out of this confused medley of ideologies have emerged some bright constellations of ideals illuminating the millions of yearning hearts in Africa. Among the purveyors of these ideals are those who believe "that the indigenous, black Africans are not destined to accept the old idea of imperialism as revealed when handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai; that the twentieth-century African is bound to be renescent, and that this renescent African must be reckoned with as a conrescent factor in the peace of the world."² They believe that the world is yet to awake from the ills of greed and insatiety. They believe in the universal brotherhood of man and the universal fatherhood of God.

Unlike the Africans of yesterday, the New Africans of today have resolved to appear in the "limelight" of the major events of the world. They stand ready to labour and to die for Africa and for internationalism. They strive to make Africa understood among the nations of free men and women. They feel responsible for giving the right interpretation of the African mind. They have undertaken to represent the true Africa, and are determined to reëducate the youth of the New Africa.

The causes of men's actions are as varied as they are innumerable. Some men are motivated by the love of power or the desire for preëminence and glory; some are moved by the quest for economic oligarchy; others are forced by the instinct of self-preservation into tasks that they otherwise would have disregarded. Still others respond to animalistic tendencies to aggression and destruction which have their foundations in what we call "jealousy" and "envy." Among this class of men are those who are willing to sell their own country and humanity for a mess of pottage.

For example, after the Spanish Revolution of 1868, in which Queen Isabella, a Bourbon sovereign, was expelled, the crown was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the King of Prussia. Excitement prevailed among the French people, which resulted in the provocative meddling of the obstinate Duke of Gramont, who was at that time the French foreign minister. He

² Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renescent Africa*, P. 7.

presented himself before King William at Ems, impertinently demanding that the King promise not to permit Leopold to accept his candidature to the throne of Spain. This demand was categorically refused by King William, who sent a telegram concerning the incident to Otto von Bismarck at Berlin.

Bismarck used this Ems telegram to provoke the people of France, as well as those of Germany, in order to effect his aggressive designs and intrigues with a view to creating a unified Germany under the leadership of Prussia. "Though his 'editing' can hardly be called a falsification, it was a conscious act of provocation intended as a counterblast to Gramont's impertinent demand. The effect in Paris of this Ems message was electric. Press and public declared that French honour had been sullied and the government, carried off its feet, rushed into war (July 16)," ³ 1870. The resulting advantages of the war aroused by the Ems telegram went to Prussia at the expense of France.

Pericles of Athens; in order to satisfy the desires of a prostitute, devastated the city of the Samnians at the expense of the blood and treasure of the Athenians. Again, Cardinal Wolsey, the Prime Minister of King Henry VIII, to satisfy Emperor Charles V, dragged England into war with France. This he did without any appeal to reason or to national policy, and to the hazard of his own country. And in our times the late Neville Chamberlain, better known as Chancellor of the Exchequer than as Prime Minister, in order, among other factors, to perpetuate the something-for-nothing psychology, sacrificed the independence of Czechoslovakia, at Munich, only to find himself an embarrassed politician, not only in his own country but in the whole world of free men and women.

Such are not the ideas of the leaders of the New Africa. Their readiness to express their mind today cannot be associated with any desire to stimulate Africa to her own hazard or to the hazard of any other country. They are not prompted by personal aggrandizement. There is not an atom of vested interest in their moves. Theirs is not a creation of bitterness; it is not designed as a foundation for an edifice of occult nationalism; it is not camouflaging a desire to overthrow any other form of government; it is not a wish to impose their own policy or culture upon others without consent; they are not aiming at policing the world at the expense of the freedom of man. If Africa is interested in the affairs of others, it is only in so far as those affairs affect the collective security of the world in general, and within this generality the New Africans are deeply and seriously concerned only with the affairs of Africa.

³ Ferdinand Schevill, *A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1938, p. 523.

WITHOUT BITTERNESS

But owing to the interdependence of our world, it is time for Africa to start her mission of goodwill—a peaceful mission to Europe and other war-victimized nations, the African mission to the world appealing for collective security, international brotherhood, respect for others, recognition of the rights of others, the denunciation of war, exploitation, and injustice, and the praise of peace. This mission is embodied in the philosophy of the New Africa—**Zikism**. This philosophy must be analyzed, synthesized, and utilized.

Zikism embraces the **economic, social, religious, and political** aspects of life. It seeks to employ the broadest rules applicable to all those phases of life, as far as they can promote international understanding between Africa and the rest of the world, and bring home to us collective security and enduring peace.

ZIKISM—A SOCIAL FAITH

Zikism is more than a political, religious, or economic Philosophy. It is a perpetual social faith.

THE PRESENT world is confronted with the consuming flames of human barbarity. Practically all European countries have been made subservient to the designs of totalitarian cruelty. Their fate is suspended in the hands of an implacable enemy of freedom. They are all bewildered and overwhelmed by the tide of popular tyranny, and as their sorrows are aggravated, they seem powerless to flee or resist. In Africa, the soul of man is chained by the strongly fabricated rope of **total** imperialism. All the venomous callousness of which finance capitalism is capable has been given unbridled expression in Africa, where the power of popular resistance is momentarily buried under the rock of human ignorance and complacency. In Asia, the fury of European and Japanese imperialism is no less manifest. Saints and patriots have been chained in prison. In no age, therefore, has the demonstration of grief and mourning been so extensive as we find it today in all communities of men. Even in the countries which we consider comparatively safe, such as the United States, the far-seeing citizens recognize the odium of fate by which democracy is being tested. Those countries themselves which we designate as totalitarian find themselves in the hot waters of social and economic wreckage. There is no peace anywhere. The world is sick. This is not a pessimist's view; rather we are looking at things as they are. To attribute this confusion "wholly to the evil designs of evil men is to accept a superficial diagnosis of the malady that afflicts mankind today." All the present actors in the theatre of world events, be they in Tokyo, Washington, or Addis Ababa, are the products of the age. In most cases the men are of little importance in the making of conditions as they are. Most of them are a part and parcel of the age itself. The time creates the men; men do not create the time.

In my opinion the bases of the chaotic situation all over the world may be traced everywhere to social maladjustments, and to the disposition of the human mind relative to man-to-man relations, both nationally and internationally.

In all human communities today there seems to be developing a pattern of consistent, though unrecognized, warfare between the old order and the new. The conflict between the old and the new is not a new phenomenon; nor is it new for human nature to be slower than are the forces of change. The gradual but irrepressible growth of new social forces in human society dislocates the joints

of the old forces. But the discomforts of the declining process of the old forces are often precipitated by the persistent intrusion of the new forces. With man's limited view, he often fails miserably to see beyond the immediate social horizon. We fear our own images as they are reflected in the mirror of the newer factors of nature when those are introduced into our human experience. Of all the results of such confused social forces, the most outstanding is the loss of a consistent, social ideology or **social myth**.

What is meant here by social myth? By social myth is meant a collective conviction of a people which anathemizes the social evils of their times, while clinging unfalteringly to a definite programme which conforms to their moral principles and ethical norms as those, in turn, relate to their material and spiritual yearnings. It is a group decision not to be neutral in matters affecting social destiny; a belief that the voice of the people is the will of God; a resignation to a cause; a will to die in the defence of a choice. It means a definition of means and end, and a determination to attain a particular end by a particular means.

Like George Sorel, I believe that human society must have an all-embracing myth that can arouse whole communities of men into action. A myth leads men to gird on their harness for a combat which will destroy all evils existing in the present order of things. Such a myth, when strongly rooted in a people, strengthens their faith "that men who are participating in a great social movement always picture their coming action as a battle in which their cause is certain to triumph". Note this last phrase: "their cause is certain to triumph." A myth, not being a scientific proposition, does not interest itself in detailed rational programmes. Failure does not prove it wrong or right. The believers are in a realm beyond refutation. A myth can prepare men to combat and destroy the intolerables of the present, but it cannot direct them to ideals as utopian programmes do. A myth is not an arbitrary and rash theory; nor is it a description of things; rather it is the expression of a determination to act; it is not a matter of true or false precision; it is a conviction, a belief, not always analyzable or refutable. It is not arbitrary, because as a myth it must be capable of holding the human imagination and of arousing deep convictions in a social group. We must not mistake this, however, for a utopian programme.

Unlike George Sorel's, however, the kind of myth I am thinking of need not be catastrophic or violent. It need not be a party programme of any particular class directed against another class within a given community. I am thinking of a myth that serves to bring a community of men together, and so reducing the yearnings

of all nations, races, and classes to a common denominator. Zikism, as we already know, seeks a universal equilibrium in all things. Its aim is to develop theories which in practice can be applied universally. Its social philosophy cannot therefore contain elements of particularism. Social zikism must be a social programme: one that has no intention of turning Africa into a social mischief-maker in the community of human beings. Rather its aims must be to direct the energies of our social efforts toward the solution of the real problems which each people face in their different environments.

The discipline of zikist social philosophy is the discipline of free men. In forming the purposes of a social myth in Africa, and in coördinating the human energies necessary for the realization of those purposes, every man must be made responsible. No class—kings, nobles, intelligentsia, workers, or the like—is to impose its particular philosophy upon the others. We must develop a social myth in Africa which will attract all groups because all will be benefited thereby. Our myth must create tranquillity and happiness in Africa, so that other people from abroad may be attracted. It should not be a utopian movement crying, "liberty, freedom, democracy," without first preparing the conditions which give birth to these things. We must not expect effects from verbal expressions. Any accomplishment has its cause somewhere. Not only should we guard against fanaticism induced by verbal expressions, but we should also be vigilant in curbing those intellectual zealots who seek democracy only in form. Social or political democracy does not lie in its form. I agree with James Lowell when he said that democracy is "that form of society, no matter its political classification, **Monarchical presidential, or cabinet,**¹ in which every man had a chance and knew that he had it."

We are seeking a free society, but **freedom** must be defined, even if inadequately, and I know of no better way of defining freedom than to agree with John Locke that "Freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to everyone of that society, and made by legislative power vested in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, when the rule prescribes it not, and not to be subject to the inconstant..... arbitrary will of another man."

We are seeking a zikist society which by and large will be synonymous with democratic society. But Africa must avoid some misconceptions of democracy. Among the intelligentsia in Africa today some believe that democracy means: (1) a contempt for African political institutions; (2) a complete absence of ostentation—particularly on the part of those who happen to be wealthy or to

¹ Bold mine

be persons of distinguished ancestry ; (3) a society without formalities in which everyone is treated by everyone else as a family member, "slapping him on the back, addressing him by his first name, and inquiring into his intricate personal life"; (4) a society where the individual may do what he pleases, renouncing all social obligations to African tradition, treating the concerns of others and the laws of the African states with contempt ; and (5) a society in which voting is the right of everybody and anybody is qualified to hold any kind office. Some of these views concerning some superficial knowledge of democracy were shared by the "Educational Policy Commission" in their **Education for Free Men in American Democracy**.

Zikism, therefore, while it can be identified with social democracy, seeks to differentiate between genuine and biased views of that system. Misconceptions of democracy must be avoided by zikism.

There is one social myth upon which zikism should grow and spread its branches. That myth is **African Irredentism**. What does that mean? How can it be applied universally? Shall **African Irredentism** turn into **Africa expansione** as **Italia irredenta** turned into **Italia expansione** at the beginning of the nineteenth century? No. **African Irredentism** 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. It must mean development of a new literature by Africans to interpret African culture realistically to other peoples. The effective way to accomplish this is by finding out 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 the 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; and (4) the failure of Africans themselves to unite for common action within their respective countries. These are broad, general statements. There are other and secondary reasons responsible for the fate of Africa today.

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) zikist education, (3) self-knowledge, and (4) free government.

For Africa to survive and contribute to the human culture of a

future age, zikist 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 inventions.

As a universal philosophy, zikism seeks the loyalty of the African 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. If they decay and dis-integrate, 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 Charta, 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 believe in it implicitly. 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.

Great loyalties will make the zikist cause formidable and heroic, if inspired and sustained by the idea 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 the zikist 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 against 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 coöperation for paternalism. Those are the allies of the zikist philosophy in all its universal principles. Those are the people to understand and appreciate the need for the **African Irredentism** 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 bases 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. Secondly, 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 like 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 toward a creative quest, making an endless endeavour to unfold his abilities. Through constant self-discipline, the African can invoke a consistent sense of self-respect, dignity, and personal integrity to form part and parcel of his loyalty to his manhood. He should be considerate, but not complacent or unduly passive; and, above all, he should learn to direct all the energies of his manhood to social purposes—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, the African, the zikist social philosophy insists, must be loyal to his fellow Africans—their heroes and heroines. This means that the African must be ready to accept the long-neglected principle 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 emphasized

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 values 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. Zikism is very much attracted to industrialism 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 others 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 cooperation 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 a 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 loses 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 loses its charm.

Finally, zikist 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 zikist loyalty. We have said that zikist society is 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 zikist society than this question of the right to have knowledge. It has no substitute. It is a must. Responsible persons in the community have no excuse to leave African youth without education; for an organized education to develop other aspects of zikist loyalties is inescapable. 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 zikist teacher? What kind of teacher does the African 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 toward 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 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 bases of the zikist 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 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 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 the immediate physical environment is necessary, as are comparative studies 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 prerequisite 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 curricula. The students will be taught not to antagonize but rather to learn the lesson of how man has struggled to curb freedom—only to learn, at last, that though 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 eliminate any tendency to **Africa expansione** in the future.

The African lives in a great age, pregnant with human achievements. To be a citizen of the world he has the 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 people—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, Satyagrahism ; he has a right to know what religious and educational teachers had to say and what prompted them. He can then make a contrast between all these “isms” and zikism, which is the contemporary philosophy stemming out of African character and experience. He can then feel competent to add more to zikism 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 coöperate with others in building a new and healthy society.

But all of this education will be practically 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 cannot 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 grow 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, now Ghana, 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 Governor in Nigeria, who holds all of the Civil Service jobs in his hands, told these students that if they returned to Nigeria—their own country—he would give them no jobs. This, of course, is contrary to that for which zikist education is striving. In the first place, students must not be trained to fit only into those Civil Service jobs which belong to an 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 rôle 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 zikist education—which implies self-knowledge.

None of these essential factors can be fully concretized without a free government—I mean a government freed of all imperialistic chains, a government that is fully responsible to the people's 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 book 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 reflect the African character must be a free and independent government under Africans, working in coöperation with another friendly nation or nations. Anything else is colonialism.

Now our social faith is clear. It means that **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 coördination, of all of these we need a new leadership of fearless citizens. 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 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."

ECONOMIC ZIKISM

ONE NOTABLE DEVELOPMENT in the world today is that, after the first World War, man became fully aware that his economic organization does not meet the heights of the technological changes. Soon every nation realized that economic life calls for a definite careful planning—a planning which the government has to take into its hands for effectiveness. Some governments approached their problems more wisely; others became imbued with economic nationalism until the breaking point was reached, and everybody was plunged into armed conflict again.

Any nation today embarking upon a progressive social plan must concern itself with the nature of its economic society, or else the whole social fabric cannot be maintained. The crisis of American capitalism was saved by the New Deal under the vigorous personality of President Roosevelt. The Italian and German dilemma was handled by Mussolini and Hitler with misdirected social motives. The Russian economic backwardness was turned into economic triumph by the novel experiment of the present Russian leaders. They have been most successful. African nations have never seriously concerned themselves with economic questions. They have considered themselves apart from all of the great movements of the world. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Most parts of Africa until recently lived in a purely agricultural-family economy. There was plenty of land and its vegetable resources for daily food. The family system provided all needed social security. There was no need for saving money in a bank, because it was the family's duty to take care of the aged. There was no need for insurance. The family is the insurance company, for even the dead could count on the family's sense of responsibility to bury the corpse and pay for all necessary ceremonial expenses. Besides, the impact of modern technological changes was too remote. And acting upon all these was the ethical attitude of the African toward trade as a life work. Possession of too much money was not considered ethically correct. It was quite admirable to have plenty of cattle and other tangible wealth, but the possession of money—capital—was frowned at.

These were the notions of the old society in Africa, and these ideas still persist in a more restrained degree today. But a money economy and industrialism, with technological changes, have today in varying degrees become a common concern all over Africa. That concern will be greatly increased after this war.

The problem that confronts the man in Africa today is how he can survive the wave of the present-day economic changes. How

is he going to reconcile his agriculture-family economy with scientific-social economy? What are the necessary precautions he would have to take in order to meet the challenge offered by the aggressive European and American business men with their efficiency and sharp—almost merciless—competition? Is he to copy the Russian system and turn communistic—which is indeed nearer to his original communalistic economy—or is he to follow the path of American and British capitalism? Will he rather prefer the state socialism of Hitler or the corporativism of Mussolini? Rejecting all these, will the African develop an entirely new economy based on African economic philosophy and modified by Western influences? Which way do we go as Africans?

Zikism, as a new African philosophy, is seriously concerned with these questions. But the author is not prepared yet to enunciate all the economic policies of zikism. Therefore, we shall deal with the problem quite briefly and superficially at this time.

The zikist principle in other fields is applicable here. Zikism holds that for any plan to be African, it must stem out of African character and origin; that such a plan must bear some elements of universality, so that it can be universally applied to others without fear of offense. With that as a premise, we assume then that the economic future of Africa will be planned by the Africans themselves; and to give it a universal stamp, a knowledge and assistance of other more economically advanced nations must be sought. But the choice of the adviser must remain with the Africans themselves. There will be no room for officious cooperants.

Unlike the political field in which Africans feel that their system is just as good and in some cases better than the Western nations, the economic field presents a different problem. It presents a problem of scientific planning, administration, and operation which the majority of the African countries lack today. But this feeling will not retard Africa from a bold and all-embracing economic programme in each country to elevate the general standard of living, and thereby join the other sister continents in their common struggle to be free from want.

The African peoples can appreciate the fact that Russia, which even in the 1890's was essentially an agricultural country, is today one of the first ranking industrialized nations of the world.

There are many economic theories, and all can be reduced simply to a question as to which class in the society wants to control its economy, or in some cases, which method would fit the ideology of some theorists and social reformers. Zikism shuns fanatical worship of verbal expressions and those tantalizing phrases which have no real bearing on the immediate needs of the people. It believes

in theories only in so far as those theories are instruments and not untried keys to enigmatic doors. Zikism is both utilitarian and positivist. It seeks practical and useful results and has no use for verbal solutions. If that be interpreted as anti-intellectualism, it makes no apology.

In setting out our broad economic goals it must be understood that we have no dogmas, but there is a definite point which we do seek to reach. Zikism agrees with the "instrumental" view of the pragmatists who believe, as we do, that "Any idea upon which we can ride . . . any idea that will carry us prosperously from any one part of our experience to any other part, linking things satisfactorily, working securely, simplifying, saving labour," is the idea we shall cherish—but only for so long as it works for us.

It will be surprising to the people of the West to know that the political philosophy of the original African states before the influx of Western civilization was exactly like that of economic liberalism and utilitarianism. To them as to the African, the individual is more prominent than the state. As they would say, the state was just the "communal policeman." The indigenous African did not consider himself an infinitesimal part of the state. The state could do its policing work, protect the populace from invasion, threaten the socially dangerous persons, revenge all civil wrongs, decide some cases which the family could not handle, but that is all. The state had no other right over the private activities of the individual. This philosophy was particularly true in West Africa. Generally, the land belonged to the families and they were inalienable—even to the state. The right of eminent domain was very remote and scarcely employed except in very serious occasions. In other words, while the African enjoyed the communalistic family life, the state was considered something apart from the control of daily life. The family was really the bedrock of African society.

This political philosophy was good in its own time, but modern economic changes call for an entirely new and pragmatic approach to the problem of the individual and the state.

Family economy with all its attendant good cannot alone save Africa. The vital relation between a single individual and his community outside of the family has to be emphasized. It is the rôle of man as a part of the whole of society that gives him worth and significance. That alone can reflect a complete person ready to make his own vital contribution. Zikism admits all the individual claims to liberty and rights, but for these concepts to have a concrete expression depends on the kind of relationship which exists between a person and his community. It is only the community alone, of

which the family is a part, that can really guarantee liberty and freedom to the individual.

Zikism honours family solidarity; it has to be cherished in African society as a definite advantage which most Western nations have lost. But the fusion of this family solidarity with the ever-growing industrialism will be the function of the planners of the new African society. That is the concern of zikist philosophy.

There will be no new system to be enunciated by zikism. All that can be done is to synthesize the old and the new. Zikism advocates the African learning now the advantages of state activities. The people must develop a sound and implicit faith in the state—their own erected government.

This does not imply a complete state control of all economic activity: an inapplicable idea in Africa. What is wanted is a society in which no particular class, either capitalist, proletariat, artisan, labour, or any other, shall aim at exclusive control. Zikism wants a **limited-state-control**, with a careful adjustment of production, distribution, wages, hours of work, compensation, and old-age security; a scientific planning to eliminate inflation and deflation—a quest for a constant economic equilibrium. Zikism looks for a social, economic conscience that will repudiate fatalism and enthrone remedial social legislation with a view to the liberation of all of the economic possibilities of man and nature in Africa.

There must be avenues for intelligent labour organizations, and for coöperative enterprises—producers and consumers alike. Zikism certainly does not condone the fascist amalgamation of brutal nationalism and bourgeois syndicalism. Zikism wants a definite solidarity between the worker and the employer but in doing so, it does deny the existence of the natural struggle between the two which, of course, could be remedied with a more incisive social vision and broader economic planning.

Zikist philosophy denies all the pseudo-biological defences of spiritless capitalism which have precipitated the growth of imperialism. The Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest has been tragically misinterpreted by the supporters of unlimited capitalism. Zikism does not support this concept. The other extreme, which is communism, is equally defective in certain ways—particularly where it tends to overlook all human passions and inclinations, and even to ignore the commonsense fact that big things are big and small things small, that among human beings this notion will persist, and that social contributions and want shall never be exactly equal, nor can individual achievements ever be measured with the same tape.

No doubt, the history of capitalism is not all gloomy. There are some bright sides to capitalistic economy, but it seems to the

zikists that capitalism increases its social benefit when it allows itself to be controlled by the state without the latter's attempt to abuse its powers. The Russian system has so far shown marvelous results, but it can hardly be called a communistic system today. It is just a Russian system, or at most, it may be termed a "limited communism."

The New African economic programme may lie between limited capitalism and the present Russian system. But however, it develops, the whole system must reflect a true African temperament.

There are some economic programmes which may help the New African society. They will embrace:

(1) The education of the whole people to understand the worth of the African land and vegetable products, the minerals, the rivers, and the manpower.

(2) A policy to elevate the value of the peasants so that an increase in the food supply may be assured, and thereby mutual confidence be established between the agricultural classes and the government.

(3) An increase in agricultural production for export. This can be done through the encouragement of the farmers by the state through the purchase of mechanical appliances on a large scale.

(4) Encouragement of self-governing coöperatives.

(5) Establishment of farmers' banks, either by the governments or by government-supervised private individuals.

(6) A soil conservation plan which will be undertaken by the government to avoid land sterility, and to this will be added a total war against pests and crop diseases.

(7) Handing over the currency control to each of the African nations. Along with this will be the establishment of African banks on a larger scale than they now exist, and the giving of necessary control to the African-controlled governments.

(8) A definite industrial programme, so that African commodities may be produced for international exchange, and at least, for a beginning, the manufacture of some commodities for local consumption.

(9) An intelligent use of our raw materials (Africa has those in abundance), the development of transportation and communication, and wiser utilization of the labour supply, of capital, and of power resources.

(10) Granting of concessions to foreign capitalists which may enable the African to purchase huge machinery for her own industrialization.

As originally stated, we shall conclude the zikist economic philosophy in later writings of the author, but for the present, this will be suggestive of what Africa will be thinking economically when

the Western nations pour into the post-war African economic field.

To sum up, economic zikism does not believe in African economic servitude. It advocates that the African business man wants to do business with other nations, but not through "second hands" and "third hands." The African does not accept the principle that his continent will remain a mere field for the supply of raw materials and cheap labour, thus accepting a low standard of living as a gospel of the Western civilization to Africa. The peasants, in Africa, must be encouraged to enjoy the fruits of their labour and the gifts of nature.

A new attitude toward human, earthly destiny is the natural counterpart of a redeemed economic morality. The emphasis is on the individuals to become ends and means alike. The people—everybody—must be inspired to play a creative rôle in life, and the whole of our civilization will receive a fresh stimulation. Instead of chaos, there will be deliberate planning. There will be no more economic shortage. New avenues of freedom, new roads to liberty, and new opportunities for a creative personality will all be open to the African.

Zikism is a way of life in which there is no room for illusions and anachronisms. The days are gone when Africa turned her face away from painful truths and the 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. Economic zikism calls for the attention of the New Africa to the acknowledgment of the "things that matter." Life is true only when material elements are proportionally combined to support the physical organism to produce a healthy brain and brawn. How can the New African live and act effectively without good food, a healthful home, sufficient exercise, creative occupation, and economic security? How can a spiritual life be supported in an unsupported physical body? Can national morale be fostered where there is no physical fitness? Can there ever be a collective thought pointing to a national integrity where there is an absence of individual physical security? **Zikism says that national morale, collective thought for national integrity, and intelligent activity can only be expected in Africa when material resources for building of the body and the mind receive adequate emphasis and attention.**

This is a new quest. Its accomplishment must be brought about by "pulling-together"—by coöperation among Africans.

Economic zikism advocates democracy in economic life. The common man must be free from the discipline and tyranny of restrictions by the big combines. Why should an African employee of

the United Africa Company be prohibited from private enterprise of his own, when his salary from the Company is barely enough for mere existence? Why do European companies envelop the African legitimate economic aspiration in darkness?

Economic zikism holds that the worker, the employer, and the farmer shall all have certain advantages for their well-being.

- (1) The worker must have a guaranteed paid job.
- (2) The worker must have guaranteed leisure.
- (3) The worker must have guaranteed immunity against unemployment.
- (4) The worker must have reasonably limited working hours per day, according to the nature of his occupation.
- (5) He must be assured of holidays with pay.
- (6) He must be paid on an equal basis with white workers, and his wage must be the same, if he has equal training, experience, and ability.
- (7) He must be compensated in case of accident while working, and in case of illness financial help and medical care must be assured.
- (8) He must be free to bargain with the employer in a peacefully organized union.
- (9) He must have the right to strike collectively. This is the *ultima ratio* of Trade Unionism.
- (10) He must be assured of happy old age by a generous pension.
- (11) He must be looked upon (by the employer) as a whole and as a part; he must be regarded as a means and also an end.
- (12) African employers must have the right to live in security. They must exercise their relative freedom in the pursuit of happiness.
- (13) African farmers must learn **now** to unite and make co-operative decisions. This calls for intelligent planning.
- (14) African farmers must have the right and freedom to set the prices for their products.
- (15) The government must subsidize the farmers and encourage the best returns for the enrichment of the people, and not only for the fattening of the European combines.
- (16) Farmers must be provided with the new technological devices for modern farming, in order to speed up skill in the agricultural science of Africa.
- (17) Farmers must develop pride in their occupation so that the push of industrialism may not overbalance the pull of the agricultural life.
- (18) African industrialists—miners, manufacturers, bankers, and so forth—must be encouraged by the government.

ECONOMIC ZIKISM

Zikism, in its universal approach towards everything, advocates the type of economic outlook which can be universalized. It is not the national self-sufficient economic life which has plunged our world into chaos; it is merely the principle which holds that Africans must learn to "plan together" in their economy with relative freedom; that the farmer must have the maximum returns for his labour. But above all, it is that the African shall learn to give a great deal more power for social legislation affecting his economy to the African governments. When the economic life makes African social life a happy concern, and when the social equilibrium is maintained, then Africa will be an asset to the world, not a continent to be ruthlessly exploited by Europeans. It will be a continent willing to exchange what it has with what others have. America, Europe, Asia, and Africa will then have a rendezvous in the temple of international brotherhood.

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Is Government Necessary ?

ZIKISM believes that every community, no matter how distant in the past, no matter how far remote from the centres of material civilization, no matter how rudimentary in form, has some sort of an organized political life. Each individual by law of nature has to belong to one state or another. He may not be interested in the affairs of that state; he may manifest some scorn for the conduct of its business, but he remains, on the one hand, a beneficiary of its services, and on the other a subject of its social norms and political powers.

Man is regarded in the philosophy of zikism as a self-preserving animal. One man is also regarded as the equal of any other man. Both have inherent rights to life: the right to work and reap the harvest of their labour; the right to think and act with relative freedom. This equality in the right to live and to enjoy life does not imply inevitability of conflict; yet man in his attempt at self-preservation has found himself plunged into conflicting desires and ends.

Out of this desire to preserve self, man developed selfishness and egoism. This theory offers a scientific background for the interpretation of human behaviour. Of course, modern psychologists see it differently. Man is basically selfish. The idea of coöperation and the notion of **living together** do not originate in man's inherent moral ideas. No. It arises from necessity—a necessity which is indeed beyond control.

Selfish as he is, man finds that it is only through helping one another that men can live together. Whenever man is convinced that he can do without other men, he has shown a spirit of indifference, with a result in conflict. To curb this tendency of self-preservation from becoming a license for the strong to take undue advantage, of the weak, an institution to regulate the conduct of human affairs was created. That is government. In this sense, government is a necessary evil.

Zikism looks upon government as a necessary evil which must be tolerated as long as it tends to govern for the interest of the whole people.

Youth and Politics

Zikism believes that a youth must have a type of education which can make him not only a social and mechanical being but also a political animal. Youth must be educated to understand his environment; to interpret and appreciate behaviours unlike his own; to

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understand facts about society. He must also be obedient to the cosmic law of the universe. He must understand the fundamental unity through which the universe operates and thereby develop a synthetic approach to things, in spite of the seeming disorderliness of our world. He must seek uniformity in the mutation of occurrence. Most important, he must be politically minded. He must understand that the peace and order of society is the most essential thing to be sought for. He must understand why there is government, why rulers, and why the governed. He must understand what ought to be the basis for justification of human conduct. He must understand what are 'right,' 'justice,' 'interest,' 'value,' 'utility,' 'ethics,' 'morals,' 'ends,' 'means.' Youth must be educated to be free from the naïve consciousness which obeys laws without asking whence they come or by what they are justified. Youth must be trained in the art of ruling, in order to realize that when written laws fail to uphold our cause, it is only just to appeal to the greater equity and justice of the universal law of nature. Youth must know that while it is disgraceful to do injustice, it is equally disgraceful to suffer injustice silently.

Youth, zikism believes, is the age for political life. The aged must not monopolize the game of politics. It is a game for both young and old. I agree with Dr. Azikiwe that "Without the youthful in mind and in body, the politics of society will degenerate.....the African socio-economic fabric."

Zikism and Foreign Governments in Africa

Zikism condones government because it embodies order, peace, and security for society. Without authority the people have no means of directing their energy and aspirations. Government has always remained both a regulative and a service instrumentality.

Zikism recognizes that any government must have certain characteristics. First, it must have power. This power enables it to give and enforce orders. To do this there must be courts, police, and soldiery. Government can no longer endure if the power of coercion does not accompany the power to command. Second, it must operate through law. No matter how monarchical, oligarchical, plutocratic, dictatorial, or democratic a government is, it must have law as a connecting link between the ruler and the ruled. Third, the government must have organization. There must be a proper means of arriving at a decision which may become law, and there must be likewise a proper means of executing the law. This may give rise to the creation of different machineries such as the legislative, the judiciary, and the executive. Under these heads we have the necessary

personnel which will be paid for out of the public treasury. Zikism does not quarrel with these elemental "musts" of government. But there is another way of looking at these basic factors upon which governments must operate—power, law, and organization.

From where must the government derive its power? Who are entitled to make the law? Who have the right to organize the government? These are the questions which zikism takes up in considering the presence of the European governments which are established all over the continent of Africa, with little or no regard for the wishes of the Africans.

Concerning the derivation of power zikism does not present a new theory. It agrees with Locke's idea of contract: that the power of the government depends upon the consent of the governed. By contract the governed agree to be subject to the higher authority on condition that the higher authority is ready to satisfy the basic needs of the community, and protect the rights of the individual with an aim of embracing the happiness of the greatest number in the society. Rousseau, unlike Locke, holds that the people and not the legislature shall have the sovereign power. Sovereignty must be inalienable and indivisible. To Hobbes this inalienable and indivisible sovereignty belongs to a beneficent monarch; to Locke, it belongs to the legislature; to Rousseau, it belongs to the people. And zikism agrees with Rousseau.

In making the law, the objective must be clear that law is the expressed opinion of a people: the result of their long-cherished customs and traditions as they see fit to bring peace and justice into human relations. Law, in this sense, must be considered as "an expedient against confusion, a restraint upon all disorders," in order to prevent men's passions and inclinations from becoming license. Collective interest is therefore the ground for setting up laws. It is also the only reason for obeying them. It follows that obedience to the law is justifiable in so far as it contributes to the collective interest of the individual, and in so far as that law is within the popular mandate of the expressed will of the people.

In this sense, law makes itself illegal if it does not originate in the place of its application. How can an Indian consider a law legal that was made in England and executed by a British viceroy for the people of India? If law is the expressed opinion of a people as the result of their cherished customs and traditions, how can the people of Nigeria have any respect for a law which emanates from English soil, is interpreted by an Englishman, and is applied by British officials to the people of Nigeria who have their own customs and traditions? Must the Emirates of Northern Nigeria bend their heads to the proclamations of one Englishman in Lagos called the Go-

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vernor of Nigeria, who talks and thinks English, and whose sole interest is British and not Nigerian? ¹ Is there any moral obligation or natural duty which will justify the people of Africa and Asia in accepting a European imperialism which does not consider the opinions, customs, and traditions of a people except when these people have guns to shoot?

Zikism holds that obedience to the law is limited. The only kind of law which zikism accepts is the law made by the people through their own erected institutions. It is an act against God and man to accept a law that does not have a relation to the temper and values of the people. A law ill-adopted, ill-interpreted, ill-adapted, cannot receive any moral or physical support from the believers in the philosophy of zikism.

Concerning the right to organize the government, zikism differs from a school of thought in Africa—the school which believes in “catching more flies with molasses.” Zikism does not necessarily believe in applying vinegar, but as a universal philosophy it believes in positive and clean-cut statements in any social issue. It believes in telling the truth, even to the enemy.

There is no argument to prove that the progress of any people depends on the type of government under which they live. The organization of the government and the policy which it adopts determine the degree of individual and collective progress of the people. Economic progress, educational opportunity, and the social freedom of a people depend largely on the nature of their governments and their goals. In totalitarian governments, such as that of Germany, where every phase of the individual and collective life is channelled within a total scheme, animated by a single objective, and subjected to a single hand, the government is imposed from the top. Economic, educational, and social interests are subordinated to political ends. The state looks upon itself as the organic unity which stands above all institutions within it and, like a boat, carries the everlasting glory of the German people and their culture to the ends of the earth. We have already seen how far the structure and policy of the German government affect the progress of the German populace. Scientific and liberal thinking is relegated to the background, while the individual has been educated to love war instead of peace. He is taught to forget his personal rights in order to satisfy the policy of the state.

¹ One must be thankful that the British, by introducing the system of Native Administration in Nigeria, have rightly insisted that Nigerian laws and customs must be the bedrock on which the Nigerian political future would stand, but this theory must be made real in Nigeria by abolishing the present colonial system.

Take another example. In the Soviet Union, where the structure and broad policy of the government is to build a society in which all political, economic, and social aspects of life are intelligently coordinated to serve the people's welfare, there appears a new organization of economic life, based on defined principles differing from the capitalistic system. Individuals become means and ends alike. The community, rather than special individuals or special classes or special races, stands in the centre of the picture. Education, social equality, and economic security are the equal heritage of all. But in a democratic system of government where the fundamental philosophy is based on rugged individualism, capitalism has enveloped the economic system, and has left a profound imprint upon the nature of the social institutions within it. This capitalistic system, which rationalizes its existence in a political philosophy exalting "the freedom of the individual," at the same time exploits the masses by its profit-making motive, its incredible wastage of wealth, and its artificially induced shortages which promote intensive poverty amidst plenty, in turn stratifies the society into social classes on the basis of wealth.

According to the school of thought in Africa which believes that "more flies could be caught by molasses," there seems to be no need for any political or economic principle in Africa other than that imposed by the European governments. Its adherents are in a strange mental state which sees errors in every new and original proposal for Africa. Their type of politics is that of "Uncle Tomism" — what one must do in order to please the European high officials. Nehru of India well describes such individuals when² he says that "by criticizing everything they consider extreme they experience the feeling of being virtuous and moderate and good. This method helps them in avoiding painful and difficult processes of thought and in having to put forward constructive ideas."²

Zikier calls this group of thinkers the old Africans. They are not necessarily old in limb, because quite a number of them are young graduates from Western universities. They are old because their dull sense of moderation and conservatism, their effort to avoid that which they call risks and sudden changes, are evidence of old age. "They have no understanding of human convulsions like the great French Revolution or the Russian Revolution. The complex swift, and cruel eruptions of human desires long suppressed, frighten them. For them the Bastille has not yet fallen."³

According to the African view of life, moderation and com-

² *Toward Freedom*, the Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, The John Day Company, p. 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

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promise are part of a good life. But you cannot compromise unless you have two extremes. You cannot moderate unless you have an excess. Yet these groups of young-old Africans believe that Africans of this age should be moderate, should compromise with the governments of imperialism, even in the absence of extreme anti-imperialists who would come forward to denounce any and everything—bad for or indifferent to the freedom of Africa. They believe that there is no need for a new African government which is not based on the European imperial way.

Zikism thinks differently. The organization of an African government must be the sole function of the African people. It must be based on whatever is desirable remaining of African political institutions, and electrified by the new political inventions of Africans themselves as they see fit to promote the welfare of Africa and the world. Zikism does not see any salvation for Africa by its going through any artificial A.B.C. stages, any colonial, mandate, or dominion status. That is neither practical nor desirable because it assumes that Africa must accept a government organized and imposed upon her by other peoples, according to the latter's own values and special interests. Such organization, by its origin and aims, stunts and narrows the higher human aspirations in the African's politico-economic progress. It has no moral impulse, no attraction, no appeal, no *raison d'être*.

The European governments, particularly the British, have set up certain standards in Africa; these standards have physical and psychological bearings on African life in some parts of Africa. The Europeans are supposed to be the nobility, owing the best houses built in the most desirable parts of the country, while the Africans must confine themselves to the humble and discarded houses and quarters. In south Africa, the Africans must be relegated to the menial vocations of shoe-shiners, cooks, and carriers. They must accept the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water. They must work with their hands on the cocoa farms while the European must be the supervisor, kicking the servants with heavy shoes when he feels like doing so. These facts are unfortunate, but not surprising. There are some Africans who accept imperialism as natural. Their only seeming ambition is to become "gentlemen," whose prestige may come through slave-diplomacy, looking with envious eye to a respectable position in the hierarchy of His Majesty's government. These people do not desire such change as zikism advocates in the organization of the African government. They can only conceive of a future in which they, or those who think as they do, would carry over without change a European type of government, with its system of legislature, trade, and industry into the new African

government. They hate to create or originate.

The difference between zikism and this type of thinking is fundamental. The latter condones the perpetuation of imperialism. To them imperialism is inevitable, and for the time must be looked upon as "the mover unmoved."

Zikism seeks a new organization, a new society built upon a new state. The nature of the state, its policy and quality, will be determined by the Africans themselves. It is not the purpose of this book to determine what they must be, but from the popular trend it is evident that the present colonial governments must go. A new state must be born, the basic philosophy of which must be the acceptance of the inherent ability of the African to manage his own home. There must be a plan to take the place of riot and disorder. The interest and welfare of the whole people must replace the interest and welfare of a select group or race. The government must seek harmony in all things—between religion and science, between consumer and producer, between capital and labour, and between all classes of men. In fact, the new states in Africa will aim at a social order in which no particular spots on trains and buses are reserved for one colour and others for another, such as is the practice in India and in the southern parts of the United States of America.

The New African state which zikism contemplates is a state with a conscience. There must be a patriotic sense of nationalism, yet the objective of the state must be based on unreserved love for humanity as a whole. No state can enjoy the full measure of life till all enjoy an equal measure. There must be opportunity for new experiments and their application to the African social order. The people do not want the old structures of imperialistic government which bind Africa hand and foot and reduce her men to the position of beasts under the yoke of violent human greed. The state must be sanctified. It must refrain from any undertaking which may lead the world into another war. It must shake off the shackles of colonialism and put on the badge of internationalism.

Let us not misunderstand zikism at this point. It is not antagonistic to Europeans or to the British people. I have tried to show all along that zikism is a universal philosophy. It only advocates that which can be done for everybody, including Africa. It only seeks to have a free people under a free government, chosen by their own free will. England has a free government at home. Africa wants a free government in Africa. African self-government and British self-government are by no means incompatible, and both demand respect in the full sense, if the security of all is to be attained.

What zikism objects to root and branch is the rule and domi-

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nation of one nation over another, instead of coöperation. Africa is not upholding isolation. She is rather pointing out that to have a perfect whole the parts must be perfected. There cannot be a healthy international body politic with Africa lying on a sick bed while other countries remain healthy. To have a truly free Britain, there must be a free Nigeria. Zikism does not believe in the type of state sovereignty which has generated world anarchy, but if Africa shall surrender part of her sovereignty it must be in the measure that others are willing to surrender their own. Africa will never coöperate in the international brotherhood of nations while wearing the badge of colonialism. If that must be, then we must not only accept the Second World War, but expect a third, fourth, and fifth World Wars. The path of the A.B.C. mandatory system and the Dominion status do not encourage any further confidence or spirit of coöperation between the East and the West.

In short, zikism does not quarrel with law and order and political organization in Africa, but the law must be the law of the people to be legal. The order must come from the popularly established authorities of the people to be obeyed. Political organization must be the handwork of the people, for the people, to be accepted. It does not aim at a change of authority in an old imperialistic structure of government, but a totally new state which will usher in a new Africa.

RELIGIOUS ZIKISM

THE ATTITUDE of zikism toward religion may be called what I have arbitrarily decided to name "excuse-recessism." ¹ 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 conditioned to the conception of certain unknowable, invisible, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient factors. 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.

Excuse-recessism sanctions the belief that God is "manufactured" by the human mind. The morality and holiness of God seems to change with the morality and holiness of man. The disposition of God seems to change with the disposition of the human mind from place to place and from age to age.

Let us glance into the long history of the Jews and show how they manufactured God from place to place and from time to time. Bible literature has not been arranged chronologically; we shall therefore ramble over the stages of development of the God-idea among the Jews. What we shall keep clearly before us is that all attributes of God throughout history are the reflection of the people's own moral ideas.

During the earliest Jewish history God was supposed to be a local deity whose interest was in military exploits. He was imagined as a localized, moving object which might be seen and heard by men. That was why Cain heard his voice from the heavens. And at another time and place "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend."² At this time this localized deity was supposed to be an embodiment of vengeance and cataclysm. He was a bloody God who would order the people "to go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp and slay, every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour."³ He condones sending spies to Jericho and plans the method whereby that city "shall fall flat." Later, God became the resident of an Ark. The presence of the Ark was the presence of God and its absence was God's absence. When the Ark was captured, the God of Israel had left His people. At this time God sanctioned special classes in society so that only the Levites could touch the Ark of God. He was a God Who did not appreciate

¹ This, in a special sense, is a legitimate translation of the Ibo expression, Ofoism.

² Exodus 35 : 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 32 : 27.

generous service of "unselected" persons; hence when Uzzah held the Ark from falling, "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him . . . and there he died by the Ark of God."⁴ The judges of the pre-prophetic days also viewed God according to their own human standards. They depicted God as being behind His leaders who employed dark deeds and deceptions to gain their national ends. Hence the Lord was behind the left-handed Ehud when he invited Eglon, King of Moab, to a peaceful summer conference, and when the former, having hid two daggers under his raiment, pretended to have "a message from God," thrust one dagger into Eglon's belly.

When, however, by the eighth century B.C., as the human mind grew more ethical and as the Israelites suffered several defeats from other and stronger nations and underwent captivities such as that in Babylon, certain prophets like Isaiah and Ezekiel began to point out that God is the universal Father of all nations. And as we come to the closing chapters of the Old Testament we see that man through his own experience made God increasingly ethical, spiritual, and divine.

With the advent of the Father of Christianity, the whole conception broadened. Deity became the God that hates swords. He condemned revenge. He became a kind father Who ought not to be feared like a whirlwind. He became a loving God and an appreciative Deity Who looked at His children without the class distinction which prevailed in Uzzah's time. Yet even at this later date, the God of St. Paul did not see anything wrong with slavery. In the history of Israel and its God, we see the same Deity changing His principles endlessly from a revengeful, bloody God to a universal Father with a loving heart. What is important in this account is that when Moses interpreted God to suit his own convenience for national purposes, when Ehud used His name in a treacherous act, when Joshua destroyed Jericho for the good of his own people, and when St. Paul sanctioned slavery, God did not say "no."

The early Christians invited the world to fix its attention upon the world to come, where God lives, and not upon ephemeral pleasures of this world. Poverty was exalted because there was a reward for it in the life beyond the grave. At that time there was no industrial revolution, there was no capitalism; hence man said that God exalted poverty, and God did not say "no."

The Roman Empire, after its attack upon Christianity, finally protected it under law by the edict of 313 A.D. Following this, Emperor Constantine the Great presided over the General Council at Nicaea in 325, and Christianity was exalted. Soon afterwards, the human hand came in again. With the political separation of the

⁴ Samuel 6 : 7.

Roman Empire there began the division of the Eastern and Western Churches, which culminated in the schism of the ninth century. The continent of Europe witnessed the establishment of two churches: one was called the Greek Orthodox Church, because it considered itself nearer to the original Christian Church; the other came into history as the Roman Catholic Church. In 1582, the Russian Church was also founded, and by the constitution of the Holy Synod in 1721, it established its independence. In 1870, the Bulgarians separated their own patriarchate. Motivated by differing political and other human considerations, all these separate institutions were nevertheless, in their own views, executing the will of God. It was His will to have a Russian Church, and it was His design to have the Greek orthodoxy. Note that all these churches bear the names of their nations. But that was the will of God, for God never said "no."

At the time when England became nationally able to shake off the burden of Roman Catholicism, there appeared on the royal scene a typical Tudor dictator, Henry VIII, who in order to accomplish his personal and political plans, convinced his "servants of God" that God was not in Rome but in London. That conviction gave impetus to the Protestant Reformation which culminated in the creation of the Church of England. But God made no objection. Then came the greater movement of the Industrial Revolution which precipitated the immediate need for European expansion for markets and raw materials. That gave rise to a 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! European imperialism, the origin and entire motivation of which have always been economic, was rationalized into God's work. It has been sanctified on the altar of humanitarianism, Christianity, and civilization. This is what I call "excuse-recessism."

Whenever any nation wants to carry out any programme affecting its destiny, it must find some way to employ God as the author of that programme. Totalitarian Hitlerism and German "master-race-ism" are planned by God. Japan was created by Heaven to deliver the Eastern hemisphere. Everybody feels that God is on his side. All these claims constitute what zikism terms **ofoism**.

When man want to go to war he forces God to go to war with him. When nationalism carries him beyond the boundary of safety, he makes an alliance with God and makes himself the spokesman for the Almighty. When hunger knocks at the door, man moralizes his economic quest. Because of this human tendency, man has made God a contradictory being, a Deity who kills today and saves tomorrow, the God of Rome today and the God of England tomorrow.

RELIGIOUS ZIKISM

Is there really a God? He must be a miserable being—having no home, no set morals, and no set ideals except as interpreted by man to suit his own convenience.

The problem before zikism is to understand God as revealed in history and to relate this knowledge to the religion of the New Africa. Clearly enough, God as revealed in Jewish history and through the organization of Christianity, is the conception of the human mind. Organized religion, under whatever colour, has no claim to immaculateness either in origin or content. In the history of religion we find men and women of the highest character, but it will be wrong to conclude that this fact saves religion from unreality. Supposing that we have a few men of character, for instance, in the Church of England, shall we say then that Henry VIII was really defending his faith in God or that British imperialism has not been baptized by the Church of England?

Zikism is not denying the existence of God nor affirming it; it is only interested in finding the reality of religion. History does not encourage zikism to an intelligent belief in God's existence. But there seems to be order in the universe. There are evidences of cause and effect. Physical events appear to be designed; otherwise how does it come about that the complex parts of the human organism are so correlated that they in their multiplicity serve only one purpose? Let us call the origin of these things "God" for want of better terminology. Our mind is feeble, it wants some resting-place, and cannot feel satisfied without coming to a conclusion, even though it may be hypothetical. To zikism, God in this sense is a hypothesis. Man has seen so far that the world is purposive; the beginning and the end he does not know yet. He therefore called that beginning and end "God."

In the same way there appears to be a conscience: Something in us which demands fair dealing. It points out to us, even when we become stubborn, that this and that act is not good. It informs us when others wrong us, and in turn condemns us when we err. It points out noble things, high ideals, and purity of thought. It gives us satisfaction when we treat others kindly and candidly. And finally, we find ourselves in a constant struggle to go higher and higher, to better our way of dealing with others. This tendency to go high is a quest for moral perfection. We do not know the nature of perfection. Here again, man faces uncertainty. But to have some peace of mind in his process of imagination, man calls this perfection God.

God becomes a hypothetical moral perfection for man, and we all worship and adore Him. If man falls short, he feels he is offending that perfection which is God; if he does anything good, he is fulfilling His will.

By this process of reasoning, zikism evolves the following statements which will form the basis of relationship between zikism and religion, and which in turn will be the basis upon which the New Africa shall find its relation to religion.

- (1) There is "excuse-recessism" which enables men and nations to employ God in executing their designs of whatever nature.
- (2) Our physical world appears to be orderly and purposive, but its beginning and end are not yet explored by man; for convenience, the hypothetical assumption is that there must be a designer of ideal things. Some call it nature, others call it God.
- (3) Thus man has a sense of value in the sphere of morals. He has conscience. He distinguishes between right and wrong.
- (4) His judgment as to the rightness and wrongness of an action depends largely on his state of mind, previous training of his conscience, the demands of the place, and the exigency of the time.
- (5) We do not deny the existence of God, no do we affirm that he is any less interested in the affairs and conduct of man than in the whole cosmic world, of which man is an infinitesimal part.
- (6) The will is the axis about which all things revolve. We first have external sense impressions and experiences, and therefrom construct our ideas. Memory and imagination help us through inductive and deductive reasoning to conclude whether our ideas are tenable. Then, the power of our will, coöperating with the physical body, transmutes these intangible ideas into tangible manifestation. If this be so, man is not a mere plastic organism. He has free will to change his environment, or at least his will can control the effects of environment upon him. He can thereby project the results of the activities of his subjective mind until they appear objective, and his voluntary actions shall seem involuntary in the process of carrying out his desires.
- (7) For God to be a God with a universal stamp, there must be a set standard in His terms without respect to time and place. No nation, no race, no church, no organized religion shall have the exclusive interpretation of man-to-God relationship. The interpretation must be universal in order to allow universal application.
- (8) New Africa must insist upon the universal interpretation of God in order to elevate a universal brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.
- (9) God being a universal Being and Africa being a part of that universe, African **ofoism** claims that the programme of Nzoputa Africa is a part of God; that the quest for **African Irredentism** is a God-sanctioned plan. Anybody opposing this plan is kicking against God Himself; for our programme is sacred. It is a universal destiny! It must be accomplished!

(10) No people, no theologian, no philosopher, has made a claim to have an adequate knowledge or conception of the Ultimate Reality or of God. All definitions are limited to a limited view, and no attempt should be made to make any final statement on the nature of God. We are playing a humble part by interpreting God through our experiences in the physical universe—a universe which we are yet scratching only on the borderline of its immensity, intensity, and complexity.

Zikism is not dealing in final words. But Azikiwe's statement on this question will help elucidate my closing remarks. Zik said :

I believe that man is a product of the physical universe.

I believe that that **I-Know-Not-What** which is so supreme and which is the final cause for the existence of this universe and other universes has spiritual affinity with man—mere man, who is an infinitesimal fraction of the Great Universe.

I believe that man, therefore, is a spiritual being, because of his spiritual affinity with the Governor of the Universe—be they material or spiritual—and thus man's spiritual essence is obvious.

In simpler language, I believe in God, as the Father of Man, and I believe in Man, as the brother of Man.

Fatherhood implies love, just as brotherhood implies service. Thus to me, life has a meaning—Love and Service.

That is why I believe that once I love God and serve my fellow man, I have done my duty to my God and to humanity.

If I love God and serve humanity, it is obvious that I am not oblivious of the spiritual relationship of God and Man, on the one hand, and of Man and Man, on the other.

Thus, it is obvious that I am conscious of eternal realities, and that I have faith in God and in humanity.

Where I come to a parting of ways with some human beings is when an attempt is made by any sections of humanity to formulate theses or to interpret ideas or to systematize beliefs culled from any ramifications of the philosophy of religion.

I am thinking of Theology—that is, Dogmatic Theology.

I still find it difficult to reconcile my religious ideas with some aspects of theological ideology.

Being non-theological should not make man non-religious.

And when Zik was asked where he expected to go after death, he continued by saying :

My answer is that if I served God and humanity in the spirit of love, befitting the spiritual affinity of Man with God, I shall go where others of like ilk have gone.

WITHOUT BITTERNESS

As to the exact location, geographically speaking, I cannot speak with authority, because since the death of the first human being, the mouths of all other human beings who have lived and died have been sealed in eternal silence.

To attempt to describe whither I am bound would be a contemplation of the human mind, which is finite and not infallible.

The above explanation is also applicable to my belief in hell, according to the denotation or connotation of that word, either in Hebrew or in Aramaic or in Greek or in English, bearing also in mind the various versions in the translation of the Bible (Authorised, Revised, Douay, Moffat's, etc.)

I am no unbeliever, but I am no blind worshiper of a cult whose existence is only justifiable by tradition and by the forces of human history.

Rather, I am a product of the material universe into whose nostrils has been breathed the breath of life, and in my odyssey on this earth, I owe it a duty to Love God and to Serve Man.

And when this fleeting flame of mine shall have departed from my mortal frame, I shall be satisfied, wherever I may be, that I have lived my life with a philosophy which is conscious that Life has a meaning—"Love to God and Service to humanity."

