

AWO AND ZIK:  
A STUDY OF AFRICAN ELITE

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## ABSTRACT

### AWO AND ZIK: A STUDY OF AFRICAN ELITE

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In order to contribute data for a refined theory of elites and comparative politics and to provide part of a much needed foundation for American foreign policy making toward Africa, an attempt is made to discover elements in the hypothetical operational code of two prominent members of the new African political elite, Nigerians Chief Obafemi Awolowo ("Awo") and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe ("Zik"). The operational code, politically relevant dispositions to actions in the political arena, includes five segments--demands, expectations, reference identifications, rules of the game, and strategies--each of which constitutes a chapter in this exploratory study.

Because personal contact research techniques (e.g., interviewing) could not be employed for this study, Awo and Zik are portrayed through a "qualitative analysis" of Awo's The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, 1960, and Zik's Selected Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, 1961. Although the former is an autobiography and the latter a collection of selected speeches or speech excerpts, they are not, considering their publication context and consequent instrumental factors, significantly dissimilar modes of communication.

Awo and Zik--each directly or indirectly a leader of his respective ethnic group, political party, and federal region--have comparable (not identical) approaches to political life. Therefore, their operational code is analyzed. However, Zik's passionate and emotional style differs from Awo's rational and programmatic appeal.

Awo and Zik demand independence--political, economic, and social-cultural; recognition of Nigerian excellence on the bases of the country's historical achievement, competition, and model function; Nigerian unity and civility; and black humanitarianism. Among the more prominent expectations considered dysfunctional to realizing their demands are these: traditional rulers with inordinate powers gained through British rule, some traditional customs and prejudices, the Nigerian inferiority complex, excrescences of Western civilization, lack of finances for extensive social welfare programs, and Nigerian inexperience in the art of diplomacy. Man is assumed both to be an animal and to be resistant to oppression. These assumptions color expectations about political life which entails hard knocks, compromises, complications, and disappointments. On the positive side, academic education is viewed as training ground for political life. Awo's and Zik's expectations about the future are that Africa is destined to become the continent of the present century; youth is the key to realizing their demands; Nigeria will most likely succeed in a democratic style and structure; a United States of Africa is a distant prospect; and world peace will be an unreality so long as there are colonial territories.

Awo's and Zik's reference identifications are the "messianic-patriot," their respective primary and ethnic groups, intellectuals, the "white man," and Western nations. Christian-sportsman ethics, with an emphasis on humanitarianism and labor, and social democracy, with overtones of salvation and optimism, are their rules of the game. Their strategies include persevering, planning, being rationally gradual, developing secondary socializing institutions, using efficacious pen and tongue propaganda, securing elite support, securing other support, maneuvering psychologically, and maneuvering internationally.



From this construction of Awo's and Zik's operational code, one can tentatively predict such developments as the continuing modernization of Nigeria, the prevalence of certain elements of tutelary democracy until the masses are socialized to modernity, continued striving toward the democratic model, an increase in unity and civility, and Nigerian support for rebellious colonial movements in Africa.

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## PREFACE

Inspiration for this study of modern African political elite--constructing the operational code of Awo and Zik--comes from Nathan Leites and William John Hanna. The former developed a model of the Soviet elite operational code which is presented in two published monographs, The Operational Code of the Politburo<sup>1</sup> and A Study of Bolshevism.<sup>2</sup> The model is composed of a set of operational code elements derived from an examination of the entire recorded verbal output of Lenin and Stalin and much of the literature which has become part of what is usually considered traditional Russian culture (e.g., the works of Dostoevsky, Chekov, and Turgenev); the derivation and interrelation of the code elements were guided by hypotheses based upon psychoanalytic theory.

Hanna first adapted and refined the Leites model, and then tested it both over time (in order to assess the extent to which a transformation had taken place in the Soviet elite) and by differential threat situations (to identify content covariations). The setting for Hanna's study was the United Nations Security Council, and his data were collected from a content analysis of the speeches of Soviet delegates to the Security Council.

Hanna is primarily responsible for my current interest in political science, Africa, and elites. My warm gratitude goes to him and to

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<sup>1</sup>The Operational Code of the Politburo (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951).

<sup>2</sup>A Study of Bolshevism (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953).

<sup>3</sup>"The Operational Code of the Soviet Elite in the United Nations Security Council" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of California at Los Angeles, 1962).

Daniel Goldrich, head of my Master's committee, and also Frank Pinner and Ralph Smuckler, who gave me excellent advice and criticism in writing this study.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Africa is rapidly breaking out of the rigid steel grid which a variegated European colonialism imposed upon an even more diverse aggregation of indigenous societies. In most instances this great transformation is not occurring within the boundaries or the framework of established societies; rather, entirely new political systems and new societies are in the process of birth.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of this study is the operational code of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, members of the African contemporary political elite--these elite are the sculptors of current transformation. Before proceeding to the problem, a brief sketch of the colonial situation and its legacy, the emergence of the regnant elite, is offered to give the reader a helpful vantage.

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

With the establishment of European administrations came not only the introduction of new political units, often obscuring ethnic groupings and indigenous political division through expediency or ignorance, but Western initiated social changes which far outstripped European expectations. Money became a new base value in the process of commercialization and urbanization. It tended to re-stratify society and assault traditional rankings and authorities, also undermined by the colonials. For self-stabilization and administrative ease the colonials often bureaucratized indigenous rulers, cursorily overrode traditional decision-makers, and created local authority without an indigenous basis.

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<sup>1</sup>James S. Coleman, "The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa," in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 312.

Urbanization created arenas of acculturation, technical and political innovation, and interaction between diverse groups. Improved transportation and communication facilities permitted greater mobility for imaginative, aggressive, and deviant Africans seeking emancipation from their traditional milieu.

The demand by expatriots (and the prestige and material premium to Africans) for trained Africans in government and economic enterprises, as well as civilizing and missionary endeavors, resulted in Africans receiving Western education. Provided primarily by Christian organizations, Western education, with its Christian egalitarian ethic and European history (with revolutions for independence), was probably the quintessential aspect of the European legacy. This was particularly the case as educated Africans exceeded the quantitative and qualitative colonial need, were excluded from key decision-making in territorial politics, and faced social discrimination by the Europeans. The very disseminators of Western education (with their ideas and behavior) germinated revolutionary nationalism and their own political eclipse; inadvertently they created their immediate successors. As nationalism and egalitarianism consumed Africans' energies and passions, the new political elite, whose claim to authority was based upon Western modern values, tended to replace those whose claim was based upon traditional values. Political expediency and exigency demanded men versed in Western skills to vie with Europeans. Most traditional authorities lacked the essential competence and alertness to regain autonomy; they were humiliated by the colonials gnawing at their powers, and/or they were vulnerable as "stooges" for the Europeans. Consequently, the new political elite has for the most part supplanted the traditional rulers, or it has



assumed territorial authority and occupied the new positions in the new African states.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The present study is heuristic. I attempt to discover elements in the hypothetical operational code of two prominent members of the new political elite, Chief Obafemi Awolowo ("Awo") and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe ("Zik"). The operational code, politically relevant dispositions to actions in the political arena, includes five segments, each of which constitutes a chapter in this study:

- (1) Demands - expressions of valuation asked for or called for nationally or internationally.
- (2) Expectations - "expectation system includes all matter-of-fact assertions about past, present, and future events affecting one's value position."<sup>2</sup> Expectations provide the foundation for demands.
- (3) Reference Identifications<sup>3</sup> - social frames of reference for self-evaluation and attitude formation within which the individual acts and with which he identifies. Reference identifications are dynamic, relative and in response to situations and contexts; they are axial to other sets of elements.
- (4) Rules of the Game - parameters and guideposts prescribed for strategies and which delimit demands and expectations.
- (5) Strategies - actions based on the above which are believed to provide the means to achieve demands.

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<sup>2</sup>Harold D. Lasswell, "Agenda for the Study of Political Elites," in Dwaine Marvick (ed.), Political Decision-Makers (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961), p. 227.

<sup>3</sup>William John and Judith Lynne Hanna, "Reference Identifications; A Note on Reconceptualization in Reference Group Theory" (unpublished manuscript, 1962).

These segments provide a theoretical framework for the construction of Awo's and Zik's operational code.

#### JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

As social models and integrators of their societies, possessors of diffuse authority, and actors in the international scene, modern political elites are of utmost significance. Given the character of emergent African nations, these elites are a gauge to evolving patterns. Little is known about the new political elites. Consequently, high on the agenda is the need to ascertain their world view.<sup>4</sup> Each of the above points will be elaborated.

Significance of Elites. (1) Nadel has written,

The elite influences the conduct of others by merely being what it is, a body judged to be 'superior' in numerous ways. It is looked up to, and imitated, because it is credited with important gifts and desirable attributes. Thus the elite, by its very manner of acting and thinking, sets the standards for the whole society, its influence or power being that of a model accepted and considered worth following. It is in this sense that any established elite has the power to facilitate or hinder new developments and, generally, to make new ideas acceptable to the group at large.<sup>5</sup>

For example, the Western education, devotion to progress, and material possessions (European attributes) of the new leaders have fostered among the Africans respect for and interest in achieving education and an involvement in the money economy as a means of increasing their purchasing power. The traditional chiefs outdo the new political

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<sup>4</sup>Lasswell, op. cit., p. 278.

<sup>5</sup>S.F. Nadel, "The Concept of Social Elites," International Social Science Bulletin, 8(3):413-24, 1956, p. 417.



elite in Western ways as they drive up to the House of Chiefs (Nigeria) in long sleek new automobiles.<sup>6</sup> It may well be that the Africans emulate the new political elite because they have been successful in emulating the Europeans.

The modern political elite, as distinguished from other elites, includes those in the power group with the capacity, exercised or not, to influence or make decisions and to manipulate the official machinery of control and coercion. The decisive pre-eminence of this governing elite "lies not in its elite character as such, but in its fuller corporate organization and in the measure of coercive power which it wields in virtue of this organization."<sup>7</sup> Emerging during nationalist struggles, the modern African political elites\* are not only the heroes, standard-setters, and policy promulgators of their own era, but they are also the socializers of subsequent elites. No comprehensive well-established tradition exists for a political elite operational code in the independence period, for colonial administration restriction precluded ample trial ground for the Africans, even in politics dominated by the expectation of independence. Generally, the modern political elites are relatively youthful and secure in power positions; therefore, they are likely to maintain long influence. Their legacies will make a vital imprint upon subsequent elites' codes notwithstanding the latter's

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\*Hereafter "elite" will be used interchangeably with "modern African political elite."

<sup>6</sup>William J. Hanna, personal communication, December, 1961.

<sup>7</sup>Nadel, op. cit., p. 421.

possible rebellion against the former. It may be that rebellion or "oppositionalism", (a syndrome of orientation to authority) part of the pre-independence operational code, carries over to the independence era.<sup>8</sup>

(2) Second, the elite is a fulcrum upon which hinges national integration and civility. Shils has written that civility is

a sense of affinity with the other human beings who make up the nation. It entails a sense of 'partness' in a whole, a sense of sharing a common substance. This feeling of being a part of the whole is the basis of a sense of concern for its well-being, and a sense of responsibility to it and for it. It transcends ineluctable divisions, softening them and rendering them tolerable to civil order, regarding them as less significant<sup>9</sup> than the underlying community of those who form the nation.

In Africa a great diversity of ethnic groups exists and the history of loyalty to the territory is relatively new. Furthermore,

Traditional societies, based on kinship and hierarchy, are not civil societies. They do not know the phenomenon of citizenship, since rights and obligations are not functions of membership in a polity determined by territorial boundaries. The primordial qualities of traditional societies--kinship, age, sex,<sup>10</sup> locality, etc.--are not qualities which define the citizen.

Eisenstadt's finding--the identification of immigrants in Israel with the new society is largely effected through the mediating function of the elites--is equally applicable, hypothetically, to the identification of Africans with the "nation."<sup>11</sup> Eisenstadt claims the elite's

<sup>8</sup> Edward A. Shils points out that "where it was impossible to share in the responsible exercise of authority, opposition was in fact the only alternative." See "The Intellectuals in the Development of the New States," World Politics, 12:329-68, p. 335.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 354.

<sup>11</sup> S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites and Primary Groups in the Absorption of Immigrants in Israel," American Journal of Sociology, 57:222-31, 1952.

mediating function rests for the most part on the close personal relations between it and the rest of the community, on the closeness of the former to the main values of the society, and on their readiness or desire to communicate these values to other people.<sup>12</sup>

The identification with elites supplies a feeling of security within the system and of belonging to it, and any process which undermines this identification is experienced as definite frustration.<sup>13</sup>

The African elite "must teach not only sets of rules and expectations, but ways of looking at the world, national ways,"<sup>14</sup> declared Wallerstein. Shils points out,

The new states are fortunate when their first years are spent under the leadership of one of the great personalities who led in the struggle for national independence. These charismatic personalities are invaluable in binding together such conglomerations of particularist attachments as form the societies of the new states.<sup>15</sup>

(3) Only a minute fraction of the population, the elite's authority is usually diffuse, "omnicompetent in the tasks facing the society, at least according to legendary beliefs, [it] derives its legitimacy in part from its comprehensive effectiveness."<sup>16</sup> Having won

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<sup>12</sup> ibid., pp. 226-27, 229-30.

<sup>13</sup> ibid., p. 231.

<sup>14</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, Africa: The Politics of Independence (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> "Political Development in the New States (1)," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2(3):265-92, April, 1960), p. 288.

<sup>16</sup> Shils, "The Intellectuals in the Development of the New States," p. 351.

leadership in the contests of enthusiastic movements, they have taken on heroic stature in the eyes of their followers. Men like Azikiwe and Awolowo in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanganyika, or Sekou Toure in Guinea have the claim to authority of men whose qualities are thought to be beyond those of ordinary men.<sup>17</sup>

The elite are often charismatic, and charismatic authority is not constrained by laws or constitutions. Individuals with charismatic authority are "set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least superficially exceptional powers or qualities...regarded as of divine origin..."<sup>18</sup> With the attainment of self-government (the "utopia" of the nationalist movements) and without reinforcement, the charisma of the elite might evaporate or wear thin. To reinforce it, "new and dramatic external threats can be found, or the image of an uncompleted mission created."<sup>19</sup> Their claims of the continuing struggle against residual colonialism and the routinization or legalization of informal powers<sup>20</sup> help them to maintain their magical qualities which are sustained in and congruent with the character of traditional culture.

Shils explains that "specific, delimited, impersonal, constitutional authority gives the appearance of being a weak authority, an unloving

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<sup>17</sup> Francis X. Sutton, "Authority and Authoritarianism in the New Africa," Journal of International Affairs, 15:7-17, 1961, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (trans.), A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 358-59.

<sup>19</sup> Coleman, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>20</sup> For an elaboration upon the routinization or legalization of informal powers, see W.J.M. Mackenzie and Kenneth Robinson, Five Elections in Africa (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 481; Wallerstein, op. cit., pp. 100-1; and Weber, op. cit., pp. 363-73.

one which possesses no inner relationship with the ruled."<sup>21</sup> Hence the charisma of the elites is an asset to their function of integrating their societies. (See second point.) The charismatic leader "helps to bridge the gap to a modern state. The citizens can feel an affection for the hero which they may not have at first for the nation."<sup>22</sup> Charisma, in other words, serves as a vehicle for transferring loyalty from the traditional chiefs to the state, with its ideological and geographical boundaries, which encompasses many traditional systems and for which there is no traditional basis (with the exception of earlier traditional kingdoms which only vaguely approximate present boundaries).<sup>23</sup>

(4) Internationally, the modern political elite's operational code is significant. For example, it affects the intra- and inter-territorial distribution of power, demarcations or "rectifications" of geographical boundaries, territorial integrations, and Cold War politics. It is predispositions to actions by the elite and a basis of prediction for the analyst. It provides insight into the socio-political setting of which the elite are a part.. Because of the importance of an operational code to an individual's behavior in the political arena, construction of the operational code is high priority. The hypothetical operational code that I have constructed is not certain to be the operational code which is in fact acted upon, nevertheless there is a

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<sup>21</sup>"The Intellectuals in the Development of the New States," p. 352.

<sup>22</sup>Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>23</sup>David E. Apter, The Gold Coast in Transition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 296.

certain probability of its being operative.

The knowledge revealed in this preliminary study will contribute to a much needed basis for American goal-setting and goal-achieving policies and enable the United States to avoid the too frequent mistakes of acting from rash ad hoc frames of reference and consequently evoking adverse responses.<sup>24</sup> Five years ago most American leaders thought of Africa as a geographical extension of the Middle East and a political extension of Europe. Today, perhaps from the change in world affairs and/or a more intelligent view of the world, it is one of the major foci of American international propaganda and diplomacy.<sup>25</sup> Intelligence would help the United States respond to requests for economic, financial, technical, and other aid. It is damned if it does, and damned if it doesn't.

Like anxious parents, the western nations are now seeing African nations go off rather headstrongly by themselves ....Guiding hands will have to be light, deft, and inconspicuous to be acceptable. But their absence will be resented and their ultimate effects not trivial.<sup>26</sup>

Even without some of her strategic, economic, humanitarian, and political interests, the shrinking character of the 20th century world precludes the United States' isolating herself from the effects of the Africans' developments.

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<sup>24</sup>For examples, see George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy: 1900-1950 (New York: Mentor Books, 1952).

<sup>25</sup>See Albert Gore, Philip A. Hart, and Maurine B. Neuberger, Study Mission to Africa: September-October 1961 Report, For use of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962).

<sup>26</sup>Sutton, op. cit., p. 17.



(5) My fifth reason for engaging in the analysis of African modern political elites is that by focusing on elites I focus on a key indicator of social transformation.<sup>27</sup> The elite are spokesmen for change, epitomizing beliefs and ideals, and demonstrating any shifts in them.<sup>28</sup> Construction of the operational code is a step toward creating a developmental construct that would more accurately place contemporary Africa in the sequence of past-future events.<sup>29</sup>

Choice of Elites. Awo and Zik of Nigeria have been chosen as the foci of this study for these main reasons: First, by virtue of its size, population, relative economic and political viability, Nigeria has, and should continue to wield, great economic and political influence relative to other African countries in the world community.

Second, Awo and Zik are probably representative of "first generation" new African political elites. Along with most leaders in this group, they received education at home in missionary schools and higher education abroad, they were involved in the colonial economy, and they participated in pre-independence and independence politics.<sup>30</sup> A brief biographical outline of these two men is presented; it shows their experiences similar to those of other elites and provides further context

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<sup>27</sup>Coleman, op. cit., p. 294, presents another rationale.

<sup>28</sup>Nadel, op. cit., p. 424; Leonard Doob, "The Psychological Pressure Upon Modern Africans," Journal of Human Relations, 8:465-72, Spring and Summer 1960, p. 468.

<sup>29</sup>William J. Hanna, personal communication.

<sup>30</sup>See Ronald Segal, Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties (New York: Praeger, 1961), for biographical data on the new political elite.

for their operational code as I construct it.

### Biographical Data

AWO

ZIK

#### Age:

Born 1909, son of farmer and sawyer, Ijebu-Remo, W. Nigeria.	Born 1904, son of Ibo Clerk in Nigerian Regiment, Zungeru, No. Nigeria.
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#### Education:

Anglican and Methodist schools in Ikenne; Methodist School and Boys High School in Abeokuta; Wesley College in Ibadan; Bachelor of Commerce Degree, 1944; London University, 1944-46 (law).	Mission schools in Onitsha, Lagos, Calabar; Storer College, West Virginia, 1925; Howard University (degree in political science); Lincoln University (instructor); University of Columbia, University of Pennsylvania (post-graduate degrees).
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#### Occupations:

Farm laborer, domestic servant, firewood selling, water-drawing, teacher, shorthand typist, money-lending, public letter-writing, motor transport business, trader (cocoa, palm kernels, cotton), newspaper reporter (Nigerian Daily Times), editor of <u>Nigerian Worker</u> , lawyer.	Government clerk in Treasury at Lagos, (U.S.) coal miner, casual laborer, dishwasher, boxer, teacher, editor of <u>African Morning Post</u> in Accra, owner of newspaper chain in Nigeria ( <u>West African Pilot</u> is most important).
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#### Pre-independence Political Activity:

Newspaper reporter, 1934; Editor of <u>Nigerian Worker</u> , 1939-44; Author of <u>Path to Freedom</u> , 1947; Organizer of Nigerian Traders Association, 1930's; Secretary of Ibadan Branch of Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), 1940; Led agitation for reform of Ibadan Native Authority Administrative Council; Co-founder of Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, 1943; Founder of Egbe Omo Oduduwa (politicized Yoruba cultural society), Secretary-General since 1948;	Author of <u>Liberia in World Affairs</u> , 1934; Editor of <u>African Morning Post</u> , 1934-37; Began chain of newspapers, 1937 (papers appeal to workers, youth, artisans to take up grievances); Author of <u>Renascent Africa</u> , 1937; Author of <u>Political Blueprint for Nigeria</u> , 1943; Officer of NYM, 1937-41; Organizes Nigerian Reconstruction Group (study circle to investigate problems Nigeria would face in post-war period); Protests in Britain to Colonial Secretary about restriction imposed upon Nigerian students in Britain, 1943;
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Founded and organized Action Group, 1950-51, and won Western Region elections; Minister of Local Government, 1951-54; Premier of Western Region, 1954-59; Leader of Action Group Opposition in Federal House of Representatives, 1959-60.

Submits with seven other journalists The Atlantic Charter and British West Africa; Founds Nigerian National Council, 1944 (This becomes National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and later the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens); Elected to Western Region House of Assembly from Lagos, Leader of Opposition, 1951; Chief Minister of Eastern Region, 1952-54; Led NCNC delegation at the 1953 London Conference on the Nigerian Constitution and again in 1957; Eastern Region Premier, 1954-59; President of Federal Senate, 1960.

Independence Political Activity: Leader of Action Group Opposition in Federal House of Representatives, 1960 to date.

Governor-General of Nigeria, 1960 to date.

Awo and Zik are representative of the new elite not only because of their similarities in background, but also because, as Doob points out, "People subjected to similar pressures are likely to develop somewhat similar forms of behavior."<sup>31</sup> In Africa the similar pressures are "the influence of the colonial, semi-colonial, or para-colonial situation."<sup>32</sup> By "somewhat similar," Doob means, "Modal tendencies, in brief, are postulated: exceptions are not denied but must be viewed in perspective."<sup>33</sup> I shall illustrate the similarity by reference to Pan-Africanism and the belief in democracy. The new elite are Pan-Africanists; that is, they subscribe to a program of ideas and action.<sup>34</sup> Legum writes, "Pan-

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<sup>31</sup>Op. cit., p. 465.

<sup>32</sup>Aimé Césaire, "Culture and Colonisation," Présence Africaine, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 1956, quoted in Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 21.

<sup>33</sup>Op. cit., p. 465.

<sup>34</sup>Legum, op. cit., p. 38.

Africanism has produced a language of its own which conditions the thinking and the politics of the entire continent."<sup>35</sup> The themes are the same; however, their development differs. "Rejection of dictatorship and belief in the democratic ideal are attitudes common to virtually all African leaders."<sup>36</sup> Legum continues,

All say they believe in democracy, although the need not necessarily be parliamentary democracy (Abubaker, Nyerere, Olympio, Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Modéiba Keita, Mboya). Some, however, insist on the model of parliamentary democracy, because they believe in the essential safeguard of an organised Opposition (Awolowo, Azikiwe). The right of an organised Opposition to exist is also recognised by those who do not necessarily subscribe to 'parliamentary democracy'. (Abubaker, Nyerere, Mboya, Olympio, Senghor, Chisiza, Bourguiba). But not everybody in this latter category accepts that an organised Opposition is essential to the working of democracy, at least not in the early stages of independence. (Mboya, Nyerere, Olympio). There is a widespread belief that because of the nature of the circumstances in which many African States come to their independence, a period of national government might be the right answer (Chisiza, Mboya). A special category of leaders either believe in, or subscribe to, democratic centralism.<sup>37</sup>

Although Awo's and Zik's operational code will not be identical to any other elites' codes, it seems likely that knowledge of the code of the former will provide insight into the latter.

Awo and Zik are dissimilar from many African political elites because of their Nigerian environment. (1) The colonial policy in British West Africa differed from that in other areas of Africa. For example, in West Africa the British always envisioned black rule. In East Africa, European rule, or at best multi-racial rule, was expected. In French

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 126-27.

West Africa rule by the French regardless of color was expected to continue. (2) Since the early '50's the political climate in Nigeria has been competitive, and Nigeria today is one of the more institutionally competitive systems in Africa. (3) Because of the relatively high degree of urbanization and relatively large number of Africans educated abroad, Awo and Zik have had to deal with a different kind of population and to make different kinds of appeals than those elite in more rural and illiterate areas.

A third reason for choosing Awo and Zik as the foci of this study is that few writings by African leaders exist at this time.<sup>38</sup>

Social Scientific Significance. In the academic realm identifying an operational code and its implications contributes to and advances the knowledge and theory of elites and comparative politics in the social sciences. Although operational codes are important, nothing has explicitly been written about a modern African political elite operational code. Inductions about the stability and potential of the new African life styles and systems in the process of evolution can be made from such a code, thus contributing to our knowledge of political transformation.

#### METHOD

This study can be viewed at two levels.<sup>39</sup> First, if one assumes that a systematic relationship exists between an elite's communication and

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<sup>38</sup>Thomas Hodgkin, African Political Parties (London: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 13.

<sup>39</sup>For a similar formulation see William J. Hanna, "The Operational Code of the Soviet Elite in the United Nations Security Council" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of California at Los Angeles, 1962), pp. 50-8.

its operational code, then an analysis of the former provides the bases of insights into the latter. Thus the communications of Awo and Zik are the product of the operational code and inferences can be made about the latter from an analysis of the former. Second, if this assumption is not accepted, the study can be viewed as an analysis of detached propaganda tactics. These two levels can be described as "representational and instrumental."<sup>40</sup> Pool states,

We take as 'representational' any content feature which across the body of text with which we are concerned indexes...something (anything) about the source. 'Instrumental' we take to be that which is manipulated (and thus varied in its relation to the thing being indexed so as to achieve the author's objectives.)...The crux of the distinction there lies in how far strategy by the author modifies the indicatorial value of the communications feature we are observing.<sup>41</sup>

I believe that complete detachment cannot be attained during the production of exoteric communication (i.e., the text represents the state of the author), and the analyses in this study are cast in these terms. The assumption is that an author cannot separate himself from his language even when he uses it instrumentally. "Of all the prisons man builds for himself, the most escape-proof is his language."<sup>42</sup> Thought and language are interacting. Sapir supports this:

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<sup>40</sup> Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Trends in Content Analysis Today: A Summary," in Pool (ed.), Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 1959), pp. 206-12.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Mayer, "The More Time We Have, the More We Are Pressed for Time," New York Times Book Review, July 15, 1962, p. 6.



Language...powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes....Human beings...are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that...language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection.<sup>43</sup>

Most communications, however, have both representational and instrumental aspects.<sup>44</sup> The constraints in looking for representational behavior are, explains Pool, "set by instrumental considerations within which representation of the communicator can operate."<sup>45</sup> Let me illustrate.

My sources of data are Awo's The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, 1960, and Zik's Selected Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, 1961.<sup>46</sup> Both of these books were published by Cambridge University Press. One should note that (a) although Awo's book is an autobiography and Zik's is a collection of selected speeches or speech excerpts and (b) they differ structurally, they are not really dissimilar kinds of communication (with the exception that Zik does not speak of his family) if their publication context and consequent instrumental considerations are examined. Both authors had their works under analysis in the same British publisher's hands contemporaneously, months preceding Nigerian independence (October, 1960). Both books are political autobiographies.

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<sup>43</sup>Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), pp. 68-9.

<sup>44</sup>Op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

<sup>46</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960); and Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961) are the sources of data. These are supplemented by other pertinent writings by and about Awo and Zik and available to this researcher. Recounts of early years are examined because many aspects of the operational code are developed and tested during personal maturation.

Instead of writing something especially for the occasion, Zik merely edited previously delivered speeches. His hope (dated in the preface, summer, 1960) is

that the publication of this selection from my speeches will enable critics to appraise more intelligently the role which I have played in many spheres of activity over three decades. It will, I hope, enable my compatriots to appreciate my unrelenting stand on issues of fundamental importance. It will, I am sure, provide a source of information for those who are interested in the study of Nigerian development.<sup>47</sup>

Awo claims he first was approached to write an autobiography in 1957.

He accepted the Cambridge University Press offer in 1960 with this purpose:

I believe that some of the things which I have to say in my autobiography will help to refresh the memories of my contemporaries, and supply to the younger generation some facts about our political evolution....I also believe that certain events in my life and the manner in which I have faced them may serve as a source of inspiration and hope to some struggling youth.<sup>48</sup>

There is a lack of significant inconsistency and conflict in each of the books and between them. This is probably due to the similar instrumental considerations and representational bases.<sup>49</sup> Undoubtedly Awo and Zik were constrained by the fact that their books were published before independence. Thus they were still members of a dependent people, and they desired to create positive images which would not impede the independence process and would foster favorably mutual post-independence relationships.

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<sup>47</sup>Op. cit., p. vii.

<sup>48</sup>Op. cit., p. ix.

<sup>49</sup>See Alexander L. George, Propaganda Analysis: A Study of Inferences Made From Nazi Propaganda in World War II (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1959), pp. vii, 111, on situational and behavioral contexts.

The final answer to the question of whether a communication is actually representational or instrumental (or what proportion of each) lies in a comparison of the constructed code with actual behavior. This comparison has not been attempted herein, and therefore a factor of uncertainty pervades this study.<sup>50</sup> However, it is possible to accept my representational premises and reject my portrait of Awo and Zik or to reject them and find my portrait acceptable.<sup>51</sup>

Inasmuch as personal contact research techniques (e.g., interviewing) could not be employed for this study, I have chosen to portray Awo and Zik with my construction of their operational code through a "qualitative analysis," by some considered a form of content analysis, by others, a preanalytic stage. Cartwright states that a

major approach to content analysis consists of the attempt to learn something about the nature of the producer or, more generally, the causes of the symbolic material itself.... Where the researcher has access only to the communicated material and cannot study the communicator directly, this method is used as a matter of expediency.<sup>52</sup>

At the outset let me emphasize that the intent of this study is to approximate the method Nathan Leites used in his A Study of Bolshevism.<sup>53</sup> Leites attempts to portray the spirit of the Bolshevik elite through what he calls the operational code, "the conceptions of political 'strategy.'"<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup>For a similar formulation see Nathan Leites, A Study of Bolshevism (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953), p. 17.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>52</sup>Dorwin P. Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," in Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (eds.), Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Dryden, 1953), p. 429.

<sup>53</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

He writes,

In offering the construction which is the main content of this book I have set down 'categories' for a possible future content analysis [by which he means a quantitative content analysis] of the Bolshevik operation [sic.] code. But I have not myself made such an analysis. I could, therefore, not refute a critic who may contend that a different selection of...passages would produce a different code. I could only suggest that he try, and that both of us wait for the verdict of a content analysis--if one is ever to be undertaken.<sup>55</sup>

What I propose, then are, strictly speaking, merely hypotheses, and the data cited are merely illustrations. My reason for advancing the statements I make is, of course, my confidence that they would be confirmed by the fullest testing devices practicable.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly in this study, I have "set down 'categories' for a possible future [quantitative] content analysis" of the hypothetical operational code of Awo and Zik. These categories represent elements of the operational code and are clustered on the basis of the five segments of the operational code discussed above.

I call my approach a "qualitative analysis" and not "qualitative content analysis," and so evade the controversy among proponents of content analysis.<sup>57</sup> George points out,

Researchers have long debated the respective merits and uses of 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' approaches to content analysis. Yet in their technical and theoretical discussions

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<sup>55</sup> ibid., p. 20.

<sup>56</sup> ibid., pp. 20-1.

<sup>57</sup> "It seems preferable not to resort to a term so open to misinterpretation," writes George, op. cit., p. 79.

they have given little attention generally to the qualitative approach.<sup>58</sup>

As a matter of fact, most writers on content analysis have made quantification a component of their definition of content analysis. In effect, therefore, they exclude the qualitative approach as being something other than content analysis.<sup>59</sup>

In the following paragraphs I will explicate the methods used in this study. The reader is encouraged to bear in mind that this study constitutes exploratory research. As Lazarsfeld and Barton have written, "The immediate problem is to get the raw data classified in some reasonable preliminary way, so that it can be communicated, cross-tabulated, and thought about."<sup>60</sup>

This study was carried out in seven stages. (1) First was the development of a theoretical orientation. My operationalized definition of the "operational code" differs from that of Leites<sup>61</sup> and Hanna,<sup>62</sup> the two investigators who have previously focused upon this problem. For

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<sup>58</sup> Alexander L. George, "Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Content Analysis," in Ithiel de Sola Pool (ed.), Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 7. See also Propaganda Analysis, pp. 77-8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 8. For further discussion of the qualitative and quantitative content analysis issue see Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952); Cartwright, op. cit., Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites and Associates, Language of Politics (New York: Stewart, 1949); and Pool, op. cit.

<sup>60</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), The Policy Sciences; Recent Developments in Scope and Method (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 156.

<sup>61</sup> op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> op. cit.

the former "operation code" means "conceptions of political 'strategy;'"<sup>63</sup> For the latter, it is "perspectives relevant to success in the political arena."<sup>64</sup> In this study "operational code" is defined as politically relevant demands, expectations, identification, rules of the game, and strategies. This conceptualization is more inclusive of an elite's political life and thus more useful for the problem at hand. Furthermore, these five segments relate to the data "on the basis of inspection of the data, practical experience, and theoretical consideration."<sup>65</sup>

(2) An attempt was made to standardize the operational code segments by specifying indicators of each. "Objectivity," writes Cartwright, "requires...explicit specification of the variables (sometimes referred to as 'dimensions' or types of 'attributes') in terms of which descriptions are to be made."<sup>66</sup> The author continues, "Unfortunately, most categories with which social scientists deal cannot be defined in actual practice by an exhaustive listing of indicators."<sup>67</sup> Lazarsfeld and Barton declare,

The first advance beyond impressionistic judgment as a research instrument is the specification of the indicators upon which the classifier's decision is to be based. In this way we trans-

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<sup>63</sup>Leites, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>64</sup>Hanna, op. cit., p. 9. See also Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 25; "a perspective is a pattern of identifications, demands, and expectations." Also see pp. 11, 17, 21.

<sup>65</sup>Lazarsfeld and Barton, op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>66</sup>op. cit., p. 436.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 437.

late a concept into a set of instructions to the researcher, telling him what to look for as a basis of judgment in each case.<sup>68</sup>

Here is a suggestive list of indicators for each segment of the operational code:

Demands:

Statements of Volition and Preference.

Explicit examples include such verbs as--  
must, refuse, determine, wish, support, oppose;  
such phrases as--  
burn with ardour for, under no circumstances,  
what matters is, it is my hope.

When volition or preference was implicit, it was included, e.g.,  
It is a challenge to..., this is an attempt to...

Expectations:

Statements which the author believes to be factual. E.g.,  
Tribal divisions hinder nation-building.  
The colonial powers made the Africans feel inferior.

Reference Identifications:

- (1) a "symbolization of the individual in terms of a more inclusive self"<sup>69</sup> which provides norms and bases for behavior and self-evaluation. E.g.,  
We Africans will unite against colonialism.
- (2) x likes (speaks of, respects, etc.) y, and x's behavior occurs in conformity with y. E.g.,  
Technology has enabled the Europeans to be powerful; let us establish an institute of technology.

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<sup>68</sup>op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>69</sup>Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 131.

- (3) x compares self with y for self-evaluation. E.g.,  
 As a teacher I am not successful in life;  
lawyers earn more money and have more leisure.

#### Rules of the Game:

Statements such as

- (1) assertion of belief in religious and/or secular creeds which establish the boundaries of behavior.  
 E.g.,  
 Because I am a Christian, I cannot kill him.  
 (Christianity)
- (2) allusion to, reference, and/or exposition of a creed, or part of it, in a context which implies acceptance. E.g.,  
 We will follow the philosophy of to each according to his need, from each according to his ability. (Communism)

#### Strategies:

Statements of

- (1) action to achieve demand. E.g.,  
 We are uniting to force them to leave our territory.
- (2) behavior disposition to achieve demand. E.g.,  
 Without alertness we will fail to prevent peaceful settlement of this issue.

(3) As the researcher and user of the communicators' language, I used the indicators to judge the lexical forms which convey segments of the operational code. This might appear to be a highly subjective process, however, as Pool has written, "with a certain amount of care, reliability can be achieved between coders who are ordinary users of



the language."<sup>70</sup> He goes on to say, "His common sense enables him to recognize, for example, that the phrases 'a man of courage,' 'a brave man,' and a 'guy with guts' all mean the same thing."<sup>71</sup>

My unit of analysis is a theme, "an assertion about subject-matter."<sup>72</sup> There is "no immediate compulsion to describe explicitly the bounds of the single meaningful context."<sup>73</sup> Berelson believes,

The theme is among the most useful units of content analysis ...because it takes the form in which issues and attitudes are usually discussed. But it is at the same time among the most difficult units of analysis, from the standpoint of reliability, especially if it is at all complicated (i.e., more than just a simple sentence).<sup>74</sup>

Some themes are explicitly stated by the leaders; some are implied. In coding themes I am concerned with their presence or absence for the purpose of drawing inferences about elements in Awo's and Zik's hypothetical

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<sup>70</sup>op. cit., p. 226.

<sup>71</sup>Idem.

<sup>72</sup>Berelson, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>73</sup>George, Propaganda Analysis, p. 102.

<sup>74</sup>op. cit., p. 139.

operational code. All themes conforming with the operational code segments were recorded and later analyzed.

(4) Guides based on my general knowledge of Africa, elites, and Africans were formulated<sup>75</sup> to facilitate organizing the extracted data into categories and seeing the interconnections between statements Awo and Zik make. Lazarsfeld and Barton point out that "in most exploratory research...the investigator will have to develop his own categories."<sup>76</sup> My set of categories was not, however, limited by the guides which were formulated. As Pool has written,

If one is struck by the predominance of a certain kind of symbolic behavior in a text, it seems an abnegation of one's critical intelligence to refuse to note that behavior as a category because one has not started out realizing its significance or because it has not been identified in other social theories or pieces of social research.<sup>77</sup>

(5) Each set of elements was examined and those elements which appeared to be most politically relevant and most frequent are the ones set forth in the body of the text. Each element is discussed in political and/or historical context.

(6) The books were reread to check the original coding and analysis. In several cases original errors of omission were discovered and rectified. Regarding the question of circular reasoning or bias in analysis (e.g., the guides to facilitate data organization determining what is subsequently seen and considered as significant), George writes,

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<sup>75</sup>For sources consulted see the bibliography.

<sup>76</sup>op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>77</sup>op. cit., p. 214.

The disciplined analyst guards against it in several ways. He does not read through the...materials just once but re-reads as many times as necessary to satisfy himself that the inference he favors is consonant with all of the relevant portions and characteristics of the original...material; he considers not just one inferential hypothesis in reading and rereading the...materials but also many alternatives to it; and he systematically weighs the available evidence for and against each of the alternative inferences.<sup>78</sup>

(7) In the final chapter politically relevant propositions about the behavior of Awo and Zik are stated, and implications for American foreign policy making toward Africa are considered.

The above description of my research procedure reveals several limitations: In the first place, for the rigor of quantification is substituted the researcher's intuition. However, because this study is exploratory, the limitations may appear less as shortcomings and more as inevitables. A qualitative analysis must proceed quantification. The intent of this study is a preliminary qualitative analysis to discover and describe operational code elements which can be employed as hypotheses in future research. Rigorous quantitative analysis might well bring forth insights (e.g., intensities, priorities, interrelationships) the qualitative analysis failed to elicit, and it tests the hypotheses stated. Second, there is danger of cultural bias and inaccurate intercultural communication. Nevertheless, this study, to some degree, does have the four characteristics Cartwright claims scientific data must display: "(1) objectivity and reproducibility, (2) susceptibility to measurement and quantification, (3) significance for systematic theory, either 'pure or applied,' and (4) generalizability."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Propaganda Analysis, p. 93.

<sup>79</sup>Op. cit., p. 466.

## CATEGORIZING GUIDES

The following are guides, the product of my general knowledge of Africa, elites, and Africans, which were formulated to facilitate organizing the extracted data.

Demands. Awo and Zik fervidly desire to lead Nigeria toward national maturity--controlling its own destiny, surpassing the accomplishments of Europeans in Africa, and receiving deference internally and in the international community. This national maturity is demanded in order to extirpate inferiority sentiment and humiliation, derived from political dependency, economic underdevelopment, and identity retarded by the colonial situation. High resolve exists to acquire the allegiance and civility of subjects whose interests vary and to integrate the country federally and regionally. A welfare state is essential for economic and social progress; neutrality or African bloc action is advisable in order to avoid entanglements detrimental to Western, or perhaps Communist, assistance. Liquidation of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism in Africa everywhere is also a high priority demand.

Expectations. With loyalty to the nation a relatively new concept in Nigeria, Awo and Zik view the creation of an integrated regime supported by individual and group attitudes as difficult. Pre-independence anti-government sentiment, opposition behavior, and particularism still prevail. The elite see obstacles to realizing their demands in both the indigenous traditional systems and the superimposed modern Western complex. The former are believed to impede the development of a modern nation state. The arbitrary regional divisions imposed by the British and the resultant federal compromise are believed to have introduced inequitable

distribution of funds and allocation of power. Fear and suspicion of neo-colonialism prevail with external capital and assistance paramount to national growth.

Reference Identification. Awo and Zik identify with their respective ethnic groups, the intellectual class, Nigeria, underdeveloped countries, black Africa, and perhaps Negroes everywhere. Identification is also with the Western political elite as conformity with it was seen to produce increased education, a higher standard of living and social status, and political independence. Individuals or groups successful in emancipating peoples are also reference identifications. The Communists take on the model function to the extent that they succeed in achieving the same goals the elite have.

Rules of the Game. Awo's and Zik's precepts which set the limits to political behavior are in good measure Christian because of educational experiences in primary and secondary schools which have been primarily under the auspices of Western religious organizations dating from the colonial period. Beside the imperatives of the Christian ethic is zealous belief in a Puritanical hard work doctrine. Political commitment is to representative government with Western style accoutrements, with, however, an individual African interpretation of democracy.<sup>80</sup>

Strategies. Elite strategies are wide open; flexibility, opportunism, self-discipline, perseverance, and alertness are essential. Secondary socializing institutions (e.g., schools, government institutions, political parties, media, etc.) are developed to inculcate right loyalties and patriotism and along with other socializing agents are guarded

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<sup>80</sup> See Legum, op. cit., pp. 126-27, for discussion of African democratic styles.

with the efficacious pen and tongue. Only the educated are employed in all significant posts. Awo and Zik firmly grip their respective political parties. Opposition is denigrated and fiercely fought. Popular support, crucial to representative government, is aroused by vilification of colonial powers and political opponents and glorification of specific groups, Nigeria, and Africa; traditional beliefs believed to be mere superstitions are indulged for political expediency. Awo and Zik solicit foreign investment, accept, but regulate it to preclude national sovereignty infringement. Participation in African and neutralist conferences and associations, world organizations, and United Nations forums on behalf of Nigerian and African peoples is the path to recognition and leadership in intra-African and international relations.

In this chapter I have sketched the historical context of the rise of the new African political elite, stated the problem of constructing the operational code of two of its members, suggested its justification, explained the method, and presented guides to ordering the data. In the next chapters I shall present my construction of Awo's and Zik's operational code.



## CHAPTER II

### THE OPERATIONAL CODE: DEMANDS\*

In a speech pressing for the independence of the Federation of Nigeria, Awo stated, "After all, it was the immortal Aggrey who said: 'Ask for what you want; get what you are given; keep what you have got, and ask for more.'"<sup>1</sup> Awo and Zik have asked for (1) independence --political, economic, and social-cultural. They have regained their political independence from the British. This they try to maintain and they ask for more. They want (2) recognition of Nigeria for its excellence, (3) Nigerian unity and civility, and (4) black humanitarianism. Demands are expressions of valuation asked for or called for nationally or internationally, i.e., the "outcomes and effects sought by elites as a whole or individuals. Those preferred events are the values which elites seek to maximize by acting in and through the decision processes."<sup>2</sup>

### INDEPENDENCE

In The Autobiography Awo wrote,

It is Aristotle who says that courage is the facing of a known danger for a noble purpose. I admit that independence for Nigeria involves many risks and that all the citizens of the country must be prepared to meet those risks....Our government might be good and benevolent or it might be bad and

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\*Indicators are statements of volition and preference. See "Method" in Chapter I for discussion of indicators.

<sup>1</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), p. 245.

<sup>2</sup>Harold D. Lasswell, "Agenda for the Study of Political Elites," in Dwaine Marvick (ed.), Political Decision-Makers (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961, p. 276.



tyrannical. In all the circumstances of a new and independent Nigeria, we must be prepared to fend for ourselves. It would be idle, and a negation of our sovereignty, for us as a nation or as individual citizens to look to Britain or to any other country for succour or for the solution to our problems.<sup>3</sup>

That the umbilical cord be cut and political independence guarded--in spite of handicaps and dangers--is illustrated in elite foreign policy statements. Awo said, "A realistic foreign policy for Nigeria should be governed by a close and conscientious friendship with Britain...the kind that exists between Britain on the one hand and the countries of Canada, Australia and New Zealand on the other."<sup>4</sup> He emphasizes,

Under no circumstances...must we do or say anything at any time which would make us seem the docile satellite of the British or any government. We are a sister country to Britain and it is as such that we should behave and expect to be treated.<sup>5</sup>

Zik also summons Nigeria to be independent and to make independent decisions in the world community, for he views independence as instrumental to political power, which is the key to happiness.<sup>6</sup> He is not as committal as Awo in choosing between world power ideology blocs. The answer is obvious for Awo--in the Western bloc "a man can freely exercise his natural right to hold and express any opinion, subject to

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<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>6</sup>Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 154-162. See James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), p. 342.

such restrictions as may be laid down by laws enacted by the freely elected parliament of the land."<sup>7</sup> As evidence he points out that Nigeria with "the support of many Britons" won its freedom "mainly as a result of unrestrained organised public opinion against the continuance of British rule."<sup>8</sup> Zik said at an NCNC party convention,

In our foreign policy we have made our stand clear and we shall not align ourselves with any particular bloc. We shall not be partisan and we shall not be neutral; but we shall be independent in order to be in a position to maintain friendly relations with the nations of the world who are friendly disposed towards us.<sup>9</sup>

Political independence is demanded and resentment is displayed when it is besmirched. For example, Zik in a New York speech appealed to

the Press and journalists, particularly of the Western democracies to display statesmanship and be more objective in analyzing our [Nigeria's] internal problems and not to exaggerate them, since these differences are not unique or peculiar to us [Nigeria] but also exist among peoples of other continents who have ultimately resolved them and forged themselves into one nation....to my knowledge, the Press and journalists of the Soviet bloc have neither exploited our differences to their advantage nor used them in order to mislead the outside world or to knock our hands together as the former had done and are still doing.<sup>10</sup>

Nigerianization of the civil service, a corollary of political independence, is demanded and steps are necessary to eliminate the vestiges of dependence upon British administration. In 1957 Zik said over the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation,

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<sup>7</sup>Op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

We want our expatriate friends to give us the benefit of their expert knowledge, to help to formulate and implement our policies, and we want them to work with us and not for us. It is my hope that a great number of expatriate officials will stay with us especially during the difficult transitional period that lies ahead.<sup>11</sup>

Under Awo's auspices the 'frigidaire policy' to accelerate the pace of Nigerianization was instituted in the Western Region and called for in other regions. Expatriation pay, the inducement allowance in addition to salary paid to overseas officers, was frozen for all new and vacant posts. "The amount of money thus frozen would be released by the Western Region Government only after it had been satisfied that there were no Nigerians with the requisite qualifications to fill the posts to which the pay was attached."<sup>12</sup>

The elite recognize the interrelationship between politics and economics. Order was established by the British during the colonial period to facilitate their economic interests. This in turn led to a British monopoly of large-scale commercial activities. Awo and Zik both had rather trying business experiences during this era and were restrained by the British who also monopolized the new money; British economic control stultified many Nigerian entrepreneurs. The 1948 inauguration of the African Continental Bank Limited is exemplification of personal economic difficulties generalized to the national economy and fostering economic independence. Zik explained,

The African Continental Bank...was founded because prosperity had made one of the big banks so haughty and over-confident that it needed a great deal of shaking up to realize that the old order must change and yield place to new.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>12</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 264.

<sup>13</sup> Op. cit., p. 211.

That a bank which had been used as a depository for my private and business funds for seven years should regard me as an extraneous factor made me ruminate on the fate of other less fortunate Africans who made use of the banking facilities made available by non-Nigerian business organizations. I felt that other things being equal, it was morally wrong for Europeans to establish banks in Nigeria and then make it difficult for Nigerians to use them to the mutual advantage of both parties. Then it dawned on me that political freedom was not enough; economic freedom must be won also. This is a bold attempt to do for our people what others have denied them.<sup>14</sup>

Eleven years later at the opening of a new building of the bank<sup>15</sup> he averred,

The opening of this six-storey building is a solemn reminder to all who fight for a better standard of living for our people that banking is the sheet-anchor of contemporary society. It is also a challenge to all who love this country to appreciate that whosoever controls the banking operations of any country ultimately controls the economy of that country.<sup>16</sup>

The demand for economic independence is further evidenced by a tendency to avoid the label of economic systems. "I refuse to be wedded to any particular ism," wrote Awo.<sup>17</sup> Donning an "ism" is seen as hanging on to the coattails of one of the major world power-blocs and thus surrendering de facto independence. "One of our guiding principles should

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>15</sup>This bank caused a crisis in Zik's career and a postponement of the scheduled 1956 constitutional conference when the British appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of Zik's improper conduct in permitting Eastern Region funds to be invested where he had an interest. (Coleman, op. cit., p. 473.) The Foster-Sutton Commission published January 16, 1957, censured Zik, whereupon he transferred his bank rights and interests to the Eastern Region Government, and scheduled new elections which returned him and his NCNC to power. (Ibid., pp. 374-5).

<sup>16</sup>Op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>17</sup>Op. cit., p. 283.

be the total abolition of want by means of any economic policy which is both expedient and effective," Awo continued. Economic independence is, however, demanded as instrumental to producing wealth for social welfare. "What matters is not the label...our future is not to be mortgaged for the satisfaction of present needs."<sup>18</sup>

Political and economic independence are not enough--the European charge of a non-existent Nigerian culture must be refuted. Awo and Zik, nationalist-crusader members of the new elite, came to realize a federated independent Nigeria and to parturite a new Nigerian culture. This culture must not be dependent on Western heritage but freely and selectively borrow from it, fusing it with selective aspects of traditional culture. Awo and Zik epitomize the marginal man, the individual caught between demands and goals originating in diverse groups which not infrequently call for contradictory adjustment of experience and behavior, "a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence."<sup>19</sup> African political, economic, and social anticipatory socialization to the European coveted positions and groups usually met closure which in turn contributed to the European eclipse in Nigeria, as noted in the background discussion. Awo and Zik, in the anomalous position of belonging fully neither to the traditional or modern, were not demoralized but challenged to find a self identity.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> E.V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Scribner, 1937), p. xvii.

The practical efforts of the marginal person to solve his own problem lead him consciously or unconsciously to change the situation itself. His interest may shift from himself to the objective social conditions and launch him upon the career of nationalist, conciliator, interpreter, reformer or teacher. In these roles he inevitably promotes acculturation either upon a basis of larger political and cultural unity, or in terms of a modified political and cultural differentiation.<sup>20</sup>

Pye points to elite identity as the fountainhead of national identity in emergent states.

These are societies whose peoples, in spite of their slogans of nationalism, lack a sense of identity....Before the nation can develop, leaders must emerge who have found integrity in their own quests for identity, and who can therefore speak in terms that will bring meaning to other people's search for identity.<sup>21</sup>

Awo recalls what his college principal told the student body-- that it should be proud of anything that was indigenous to them.

It was believed that Mr. Nightingale fostered these policies in order to slow down our progress in the Western sense. I shared this view then, but I now think that he was a great pioneer. Practically all his critics are today doing precisely what he preached many years ago.<sup>22</sup>

With the express purpose of developing Nigerian culture the University of Nigeria, based on the United States land grant philosophy, was established with Zik's impetus and is developing with American administrative guidance and academic substance modified to meet Nigerian needs. Such a university will eliminate the necessity to send many Nigerians abroad to receive "foreign" higher education. Here is an excerpt from one of Zik's addresses to the Eastern House of Assembly with regard to this issue:

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>21</sup> Lucian W. Pye, "Personal Identity and Political Ideology", in Dwaine Marvick (ed.), Political Decision-Makers (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961), p. 309.

<sup>22</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 21.

I do not mean that it is a bad thing to know how the others live nor do I say that we should not allow ourselves to be influenced by the knowledge so acquired. Indeed we must, in order to keep abreast with modern trends, adopt the techniques and borrow the experiences of other nations. It is nevertheless imperative that we must have education which is fundamentally Nigerian in content. Only in a University of our own can our culture shine forth.<sup>23</sup>

Stonequist's statement on the marginal man as the key personality in the contact of cultures is relevant here: "It is in his mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpenetration. He is the crucible of cultural fusion."<sup>24</sup> Another example of the attempt at cultural fusion is in Zik's plea to the Methodist Boys' High School in Lagos, 1934:

Heirs and heiresses of the New Africa must now consecrate themselves for scholarly research into all the aspects of world society in general and African society in particular ...[scholars in past have] taught that the African race hasn't shown any capacity for civilisation....[thus there is need for a new African truth] If he is competent, and if his contributions are accepted by the confraternity of scholars, then his opinions are just as valid and acceptable as those of his colleagues.

Africans need to be scholars. We need to be creative. We must emulate and not imitate. In the end, we shall find that there is joy in scholarship.<sup>25</sup>

In the Western Region the Egbe Omo Oduduwa was formed as an organization to foster Yoruba culture. (The Yoruba is the majority ethnic group in the West.) However, the organization, in fostering traditional institutions, is concerned with Westernizing them. Awo, among the prominent

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<sup>23</sup>Op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>24</sup>Op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>25</sup>Op. cit., pp. 23-4.

founders, declared, "The new organisation pledged itself...to recognize and maintain the monarchical and other similar institutions of Yorubaland, to plan for their complete enlightenment and democratisation."<sup>26</sup>

At an annual assembly of the Ibo State Union in the Eastern Region (the Ibo predominate in the East) Zik offered advice as a fellow patriot to his people who have sought their livelihood in the West and North where they are a minority:

Obey the laws of those with whom you share the blessings of life, if fortune steers you to unknown lands. Respect the traditions of those in whose homeland you sojourn, but do not lose your social identity. Discharge your civic responsibilities without complaint. Exercise your political rights without apology. Never accept an inferior status in the scheme of things...Do not seek to dominate others and do not allow others to dominate you.<sup>27</sup>

Zik seems to be well aware of the problems of marginality; social-cultural independence is demanded among Nigerians as between Nigerians and other peoples.

#### RECOGNITION FOR EXCELLENCE

I posited the expectation that Awo and Zik demand deference nationally and internationally. The study reveals they want Nigerians and nationals elsewhere to respect their wishes in acknowledgement of leadership excellence on the bases of (1) Nigerian historical achievement, (2) competition, and (3) Nigeria's model function.

Historical Achievement. Perhaps it is Awo's and Zik's Western educational experiences during the colonial era that have made them so

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<sup>26</sup>Op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>27</sup>Op. cit., p. 251.



sensitive to their personal and national pedestals in history. They studied the glorious historical achievements of Great Britain and Europe and the beauty of Christianity, on the one hand (both factors used as justification for British rule), and learned of the "negative" or "non-existent" Nigerian history and the "evil" of indigenous religions, on the other. These teachings were reinforced by Western media then, and some still are reinforced today.

Thus Africa must have a recognized history and Awo and Zik must reach the zenith within it. Zik's self-image seems to be more godlike than is Awo's. Zik claimed,

I believe that if I am obliged to pay the price of leadership in the cause of African freedom, no matter how extreme and severe are the penalties, the prosperity of the black people of Africa shall enshrine my memory for ever in the national pantheon of Africa.<sup>28</sup>

As a scholar, he asserted,

It is the scholar who makes or unmakes society. He may not be appreciated by his generation, or even by generations after him. But time offers reward to scholars who lay foundations for the society of tomorrow, by immortalizing them in human history.<sup>29</sup>

And Zik published selections from his speeches to "enable critics to appraise more intelligently the role which I have played in many spheres of activity over three decades," and to "enable my compatriots to appreciate...my unrelenting stand on issues of fundamental importance."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 59-60.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. vii.

Awo in his autobiography lays claim to recognition:

During my eight years of office, apart from being Leader of the Party in power from February 1952 to September 1954 and Premier from October 1954 to December 1959, I also held specific portfolios at different times...The achievements of the Western Region Government during these eight years are truly phenomenal and remain the object of emulation by the other governments in the Federation, as well as the subject of special mention and constant praise by overseas visitors to Nigeria.<sup>31</sup>

When Awo's Action Group won the Western Region elections in 1951 with a platform of specific planks, it resolved to fulfill them. "The race before us was a historic and epoch-making one, and regardless of many obvious hazards we literally burnt with unquenchable ardour and enthusiasm to run it."<sup>32</sup> His conscious desire to make a mark in history permeates Awo's work. Here are a few of many illustrations: "It is to this party that history will attribute the credit for setting Nigeria's feet on the path to freedom through carefully planned constitutional and constructive means;"<sup>33</sup> "We, alone of all the Regions in Nigeria, have produced a revised Statute Book for our Region and we have also introduced a system of law reporting;"<sup>34</sup> "Undoubtedly, this [court jurisdiction conferral]...development is the first step of its kind in British territories in Africa;"<sup>35</sup> and "It was the Action Group that for the first

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<sup>31</sup>Op. cit., p. 227.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 280.

time in the history of Nigeria carried party politics and political consciousness to the rural areas and to the country's peasantry....the Action Group was the only party that published policy papers as well as a manifesto."<sup>36</sup> Zik, too, talks about excelling precedents. For instance,

The African Continental Bank will make history because it will be the first time in the economic annals of Nigeria that an indigenous banking organization has survived all attempts to destroy it and emerged to be a signpost in the struggle of our people to expand their economy by means of active Government participation in the ownership and control of this most potent medium of commerce and industry.<sup>37</sup>

The African must get his just due in the annals of history. The Action Group consciously determined to demonstrate that "given the opportunity the African hold his own in the art of efficient and stable government."<sup>38</sup> "I submit that 84 years of political autonomy are not sufficient to pass a final judgment on the political incapacity of the Liberian Negro," said Zik in 1931. He paraphrased Dr. Woodson that Liberia's first century compares favourably with that of the Virginia colony and quoted Commander A.H. Foote who presented this case:

'Let then the black men be judged fairly, and not presumed to have become all at once and by a miracle, of a higher order than historic nations through many generations of whom the political organization of the World has been slowly developing itself.'<sup>39</sup>

Competition. Awo and Zik flourished on competition, most notably as winning challengers of British rule and each other's rivals (as individuals or larger "self-systems," e.g., ethnic groups, political parties). In their demand-recognition for excellence--the element of competition

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<sup>36</sup> ibid., pp. 224-25.

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>38</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>39</sup> Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 2.

is characteristic. Awo wrote about the regional competition:

Above all, the level at which we had to start to provide for our people those modern amenities which we had promised them was very low indeed--much lower in many cases than in the Eastern Region with which the Western Region had always engaged in healthy competition in such matters.<sup>40</sup>

As a youth, Awo, encouraged by his father, strove to be equal. For example, "I...resolved never to pay another visit to Ikenne until I felt able to hold my own, and resume my former stature educationally among my classmates,"<sup>41</sup> and "I...resolved not to enter any employment in which I would find myself in a position of inferiority to my former classmates at Wesley College."<sup>42</sup> Awo and Zik want the Nigerian education system to equal if not surpass the education systems of Britain and other nations. Awo voiced this in 1934:

It [Yaba Higher College] was inferior in status to a British university; and under no circumstance would an institution of higher learning which bore the stamp of inferiority be tolerated by Nigerians.<sup>43</sup>

Zik praised the teaching profession because

the introduction of universal primary education has increased the number of our primary schools, the population of our school-going children, and the number of our teacher-training institutions. These achievements have enabled Nigeria not only to lead every other country in the whole continent of Africa, but also to be among the leading nations of the world in these respects.<sup>44</sup>

In regard to athletic competition, Zik expressed hope for Nigerians to equal if not surpass the outstanding performers.

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<sup>40</sup>Op. cit., p. 262.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>44</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 41.

After attending the...Olympic Games at Helsinki, and basing my judgment on the observation of the Nigerian participants there, I felt proud that, although Nigeria did not win any medals, yet in this competition against the best athletes in the world we were not the worst performers and we had gained supreme confidence in ourselves.<sup>45</sup>

Youth are given the opportunity to develop physically through athletics in order to excell in competitive sports and intellectual endeavors.

"We want them to worship their bodies and to preserve them as a symbol of perfection, because only in such a healthy temple can a healthy mind thrive successfully."<sup>46</sup>

When Ghana and not Nigeria received an invitation to the 1955 Bandung Conference, Zik implored his party not to feel out of the competition for recognition, not to feel hurt; "when we have arrived, instead of demanding respect, we shall command it. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent us from convening a Pan-African Conference or a Pan-Afro-Asian Conference when the time comes."<sup>47</sup>

Nigeria as a Model. The idea of commanding respect leads to another aspect of the "Recognition for Excellence" demand element of the operational code. Nigerian Regions and the Federation must be recognized for excellence in order to serve as models for other governments and peoples. Recounting the achievements of the Western Region Government under his leadership, Awo declared that they "remain the object of emulation by

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

the other governments in the Federation."<sup>48</sup> He also considers himself a worthy standard, e.g., "I preferred Local Government which portfolio I held for three years. In this regard it is pertinent to point out that the Sardauna followed my example a few weeks later and Dr. Azikiwe did likewise two years later."<sup>49</sup>

In 1955 Zik said, "The Government of this Region [Eastern] is determined to transform Eastern Nigeria into a model of parliamentary democracy in the continent of Africa."<sup>50</sup> Focusing on the development of the Federation of Nigeria, he contrasted the European with the Nigerian pattern in a 1952 address to party members. "The continent of Europe set a pattern for bloodshed in the attainment of liberty....But we in forgotten and neglected Africa know better."<sup>51</sup> In light of the Congo strife, it seems Zik would probably consider Nigeria now as a more important example for imitation. Nigeria is called upon to weave the pattern for other nations and exert a wholesome influence in world politics by spearheading and associating actively in progressive movements to raise the stature of the Negro and to abolish racial inequality everywhere.<sup>52</sup> Zik proclaimed, "Today Nigeria is free...to show the light to the peoples of Africa, everywhere."<sup>53</sup> Illustration of the demand to provide an archetype is found in Zik's welcome to Nkrumah before the Eastern House of

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<sup>48</sup>Op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>50</sup>Op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. viii.

of Assembly in reference to a Federation of West African States.

These African States may yet achieve what the independent and warring States of Europe and the volatile and sometimes undemocratic States of the Americas have never yet accomplished, that is, a unity undreamt-of; and become models of honest and democratic government, which will give hope to all Africa and offer a challenge to the rest of the world.<sup>54</sup>

### UNITY AND CIVILITY

Awo and Zik demand unity and civility in Nigeria as well as independence and recognition for excellence. Unity is viewed in terms of federation.

We [NCNC] believe in the creation of one country and we will always eschew the idea of breaking Nigeria permanently into three or more divided and weak units, which would be innocuous as a factor to be reckoned with either in Africa or in the community of free nations.<sup>55</sup>

Thus spoke Zik to the NAACP in New York in 1959. Although he earlier opposed the artificial division of Nigeria into three regions and feared inevitable Balkanization and chronic minority problems,<sup>56</sup> he later modified this view. In the 1958 Legislative Council at Kaduna he stated,

It is essential that ill-will be not created in order to encourage a Pakistan in this country. The North and the South are one, whether we wish it or not. The forces of history have made it so. We have a common destiny; so, too, have the East and the West [regions of Nigeria].<sup>57</sup>

Awo still favors the division of Nigeria according to the main ethnic and linguistic groups.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

I argued, there were differing standards of civilization as well as uneven stages in the adoption of western education and the emulation of western civilization...division of the country into regions along ethnic lines would enable each linguistic group not only to develop its own peculiar culture and institutions but to move forward at its own pace, without being unnecessarily pushed or annoyingly slowed down by the others.<sup>58</sup>

During the colonial period the Minorities Commission expressed the fear that such states as Awo advocated would emphasize tribal feelings. Awo's own comment on this was, "The groups to whom the Commission referred were not tribes at all. The English, Scots or Welsh will resent being described as tribes. They are ethnic units in Britain."<sup>59</sup> To the charge of wanting more states for merely political advantage Awo answered,

I have been accused by my political opponents of supporting the creation of new states in order to catch votes from the minority areas with a view to winning the last federal elections. I make no apologies for aspiring to win the federal elections. This is a legitimate objective...But a long-standing and a deep-rooted conviction. With me, federalism and the creation of more states is an article of faith.<sup>60</sup>

Probably Awo's stand on federalism is a reflection of his realization that it is difficult to develop civility within large territories when the inhabitants vary so greatly--"A sense of civic responsibility on the part of the generality of our people is still to be cultivated."<sup>61</sup> Zik's position on civility is manifest in this passage from an address to the NAACP in New York, 1959: "We [members of the NCNC] shall continue

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<sup>58</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 198-99.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 314.



the difficult task of inculcating a sense of one-ness in our people so as to crystallize common nationality."<sup>62</sup>

Underdeveloped civility in Nigeria and the regions (the Nigerian population has yet to be transformed from subjects to citizens with moral consensus and mutual identification) has probably caused Awo and Zik to emphasize loyalty and discipline from their followers in the elite. This is surrogate civility instrumental in nation-building; it also satisfies personality needs of the elite. For example, Awo mentioned as an important asset of his "charge" of the Western Region his team of Ministers, "unexcelled...a well-knit, highly disciplined and fanatically loyal team."<sup>63</sup> When he left Regional politics to enter the federal ring he paid public tribute to his cabinet and Parliamentary colleagues "for their patriotism, public-spiritedness and devotion to duty; and for their unwavering loyalty to the noble cause of our great party and to my leadership."<sup>64</sup> Zik also testified to the loyalty of his Cabinet to himself, and to the Public Service for their loyalty to the Government of the day.<sup>65</sup> The following illustrates the weight placed upon party civility or conformity:

Any party member who deviates from the norm of party policy must be seriously censured ... I do not intend to imply the cultivation of servility or clannishness which generate friction of an acrimonious nature, but within the bounds of reason one can be a party man without necessarily being regarded as chauvinistic or unpatriotic.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>63</sup>Op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>65</sup>Op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

## BLACK HUMANITARIANISM

For a humanitarian world Zik's hope and imperative lie in youth, "the spring of life."

Let it be a challenge to our youth to dedicate their lives to the service of their country, and let them learn to be good citizens by being good sportsmen and -women so that, in victory or in defeat, they may be more determined to make the world a better place than they found it.<sup>67</sup>

Cooperation among "people of colour" and support for the cause of colonial and dependent people is a high priority demand for Zik and Awo. In 1947 Zik said of Liberia,

Whilst the republic may be proud that, in the last hundred years, she has been the 'Lone Star' in the firmament of Africa, she should not rest on her oars, but she should make it possible for other African communities to join her as free and sovereign States in the family of nations.<sup>68</sup>

At the African Summit held in Lagos fifteen years later he said, "Today is no longer an era of anti-colonialist harangues"--positive action and consolidation are demanded.<sup>69</sup> Pan-Africanism limited to those Africans who believe in racial equality, among Awo's demands, should "aim at giving active support to all dependent African peoples in their struggles for liberation."<sup>70</sup>

It is apparent from many of their statements that the humanitarian world for these elite members is a parochial one. A European friend of Azikiwe's noted that "most of Zik's music is played on the black keys

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 47. See also Coleman, op. cit., p. 342, on Zik's belief "that in a renascent Africa the young must displace the old."

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>69</sup> Henry Tanner, "20 African States to Form New Body," New York Times, January 31, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Op. cit., p. 312.

and it is sweet, exciting, and stirring in African ears;...the white keys when used are often employed to stress a contrast or a disharmony."<sup>71</sup> Both Awo and Zik subscribe to Pan-Africanism, a pro-Africa "egocentric approach."<sup>72</sup> Legum writes, "Deep at its quivering, sensitive centre, Pan-Africanism rests on colour-consciousness."<sup>73</sup> It recognizes "the unique historical position of black peoples as the universal bottom-dog;" its "race-consciousness" is a "positive statement of one's race; but it does not seek to elevate that race above other races."<sup>74</sup>

To review the analysis presented thus far, Awo's and Zik's set of operational code demand elements include (1) independence--political, economic, and social-cultural, (2) recognition for Nigerian excellence on the bases of the country's historical achievement, competition, and model function, (3) Nigerian unity and civility, and (4) black humanitarianism. The next chapter focuses on Awo's and Zik's expectations; these provide the foundation for these demands.

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<sup>71</sup>W.J. Fox, in West African Pilot, March 22, 1947, as quoted in Coleman, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>72</sup>Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 131.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>74</sup>Idem.

## CHAPTER III

### EXPECTATIONS\*

Assumptions about past, present, and future events affecting Awo's and Zik's value position provide the foundation for their demands. I have analyzed the expectation set of elements into (1) traditional factors dysfunctional to demand realization, (2) modern dysfunctional factors, (3) assumptions about man, (4) political life, and (5) future prospects.

#### TRADITIONAL FACTORS DYSFUNCTIONAL TO DEMAND REALIZATION

Many traditional leaders subject to popular approval in the pre-colonial period were vested with inordinate privileges, prestige, and powers through British rule, and now they often resist diminution of their gains.<sup>1</sup> Awo has had to reckon with Obas and Chiefs.

In spite of agitation here and there against this or that Oba or Chief, the institution...was still held in high esteem by the people. But the traditional rights and privileges which the Obas and Chiefs wished to preserve were antithetic to democratic concepts and the yearnings and aspirations of the people.<sup>2</sup>

In response to the British creation of indigenous authority with a non-existent traditional basis, Zik argued before the Eastern House of Assembly in 1956;

The Bill [under debate] is an assurance to the Chiefs of this Region and other parts of the country that this Government is

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\*Indicators are statements which the author believes to be factual. See "Method" in Chapter I for discussion of indicators.

<sup>1</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pp. 6, 8. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), pp. 75-6.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 261.

not antagonistic to the institution of chieftaincy, where it is established tradition and custom of the people.<sup>3</sup>

The traditions of extended family and inheritance are seen as detrimental to individual upward mobility and territorial economic growth. About the extended family, Awo wrote,

In my childhood days, I saw in this unfailing concourse of relations staying in our house an excellent social arrangement. I enjoyed their company because they all tried to pamper me. But as I grew older, and still more as I write now, I have come to realise that it is an excessively burdensome social system.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the inheritance tradition, he said,

Mother and we her children were left destitute immediately after father's death.. We were the victims of a native law and custom which gives precedence to the deceased's younger brothers and sisters, and to the children of his older brothers and sisters in the disposal of inheritance.<sup>5</sup>

And those who had inherited my father's properties were indifferent to our privations.<sup>6</sup>

Zik rallied against the Osu System, "a tradition which enslaves the human soul and destroys human virtues."<sup>7</sup>

The Osu system includes any social way of living which implies that any person who is deemed to be an Osu or Oru or Ohu is subject to certain prescribed social disability and social stigma. An Osu may be a person who has been dedicated to a shrine or a deity and that person and his descendants are therefore regarded as social pariahs with no social rights which non-Oru are bound to respect. An Osu may be a person who is descended or can be proved to be descended from a slave and that person and his descendants are forever prescribed as social pariahs.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>7</sup>Op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-3.

"Chains of psychological slavery" are the cul-de-sac of many demands. At the Ibadan University Students' Union Zik reminded his audience that "the greatest task facing our generation is the salvaging of our people from the thralldom of intolerance, prejudice and superstition, which stems from ignorance and poverty."<sup>9</sup>

The Northern Region is the subject of much deprecation because of its deeply entrenched feudal aristocracy and its "psychological slavery." Compared with the Western and Eastern Regions it is relatively indifferent to progress and consequently hinders the Federation's forging ahead.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, its domination of the Federation is feared.<sup>11</sup> In Kano, Zik presented before the NCNC the impediments, "the scourge," to political development:

Because our people are just emerging from the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge, it has not been possible to inculcate discipline in the rank and file of our organization. Consequently, a lack of sense of proportion has been evident in their activities and has given rise to unnecessary squabbles and a scramble for leadership, irrespective of the fitness or otherwise of the ambitious ones. The result has been a dissipation of energy into channels which led to separatist tendencies and egomania.<sup>12</sup>

#### MODERN DYSFUNCTIONAL FACTORS

Stemming from British legacy, the most sensitive matter confronting Awo and Zik is a natural outgrowth of Western civilization as imposed by the British--the Nigerian inferiority complex.<sup>13</sup> The Europeans through

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 120, 268.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>12</sup> op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>13</sup> Leonard W. Doob, "The Psychological Pressure Upon Modern Africans," Journal of Human Relations, 8:465-72, Spring and Summer, 1960, p. 467.

all media labored to socialize peoples everywhere to the myth of "white man's superiority"--the white man has culture, the black man, none. Zik called for "mental emancipation" from the colonial indoctrination and servility in his Renascent Africa (1937).<sup>14</sup> In 1947 Zik responded to the myth; an African was victim of racial prejudice.

Why was this African so victimized? I will say it was due to the education of non-Africans with regard to the place of Africa in world society. Through the various media of education--the film, the radio, the press, the school, etc., the world has been mis-educated to regard people of African descent as backward, primitive, uncouth, boisterous, and ignorant. Consequently, the language of science has been prostituted to rationalize the myth of the racial inferiority of the African. The natural consequence was the creation of stereotypes of African personality and character....Those Africans who did not conform to such stereotypes were branded as 'the irresponsible intelligent-sia', 'agitator', 'know-all niggers', etc. The resultant effect is seen in the diverse ways in which the member of the master-race proceeds to justify his racial attitude in order to guarantee social control....segregation and discrimination.<sup>15</sup>

Zik strongly resents prominent American Negroes in the entertainment world who for money foster instead of fight the fallacy of racial inferiority.<sup>16</sup> "We have relentlessly fought any attempt to foist upon us the horrible stigma of racial inferiority,"<sup>17</sup> he told the NAACP in 1959.

Awo's writings are further documentation to the root and manifestation of the inferiority complex. He described his birthplace which is

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<sup>14</sup>Azikiwe, Renascent Africa (Accra, 1937), p. 25. Also A Selection, p. 135.

<sup>15</sup>A Selection, p. 147.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

characteristic of other areas beset with institutionalization of the white man's "superiority."

Notwithstanding its ostensible mirth, peace and tranquillity, the society into which I was born was one which was riddled with fear, uncertainty and suppression. There was the fear of the white man who was the supreme lord of any area placed under his jurisdiction. His word was law, and his actions would never be called in question by any member of the community...The barriers between the people and the white official were language, and the latter's undisguised aloofness. The sources of the people's fear of him were his strange colour, his uncanny power to shoot people down at long range, and his obviously unimpeachable authority. There was a fear of the white man's carriers and messengers who were a law unto themselves.<sup>18</sup>

As a child Awo thought the white man was a superman. "To me his colour symbolised delicacy, innocence and purity, because it resembled very much the colour of Ikenne children at birth. Why he remained white and we grew black beat my little imagination."<sup>19</sup>

Awo scorned to be a teacher or a civil servant in his early manhood. Passivity toward the superman was denigrated; "teachers appeared to me to be a race of meek and easy-going people, extremely obsequious in the presence of a white man."<sup>20</sup> Here is how he viewed Africans working in the British administration:

African 'yes-men'...would run when called by a white man...put their hands behind their backs in his presence...not dare to see anything wrong in anything the white man said or did, and punctuate every sentence they uttered before him with innumerable 'Sir's.'<sup>21</sup>

Awo aspired to be a shorthand typist, for such persons were said to "look

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<sup>18</sup> Op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 74; see also p. 249.



any white man in the face."<sup>22</sup> In 1928 Awo started work as a teacher and drifted into "the company of gay young men." The group resolved to demonstrate contempt for and equality with the white man whenever "the rare" opportunity offered itself refusing the customary "Sir" or hat gesture or refusing to fraternize or dine with him.<sup>23</sup> Awo confessed,

Ineffective though it was when it was made, the resolution had made a much deeper impression upon my mind than I realised at the time. It was not until 1953, a year after I had been in office as Minister of Local Government and Leader of Government Business in the Western Region of Nigeria, that I sincerely felt free to fraternise and eat with white officials.<sup>24</sup>

Zik attributes African victimization to the stereotyped content of Western education; Awo identifies another more recent cause of injustice and persistence of the inferiority complex.

There is a newfangled theory now being propounded with erudition and gusto in the countries of the so-called Western democracies. The proponents of this theory hold the view that it is inappropriate and hardly fair to expect a newly emergent African nation to practise democracy as it is known and practised in the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America. Every mortal blow that is struck by an independent African nation at the vitals of democracy is rationalised by these theorists as the African's peculiar method of adapting democratic usages to his barbaric and primitive environment...<sup>25</sup>

The nationals of these imperial powers, for a number of reasons which are well known, have always had a feeling of superiority towards the peoples of their former colonial territories. When these colonial peoples attain to freedom, though they are discharged from the bondage of political subjection and inferiority, they are regarded as nominally equal in status to their former masters....For it would appear that in their heart of hearts the white peoples, especially those of the Western world, still regard an African society as a group of inferior races...<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

The ideal of democracy is not liable to modification or distortion, even though mankind has invented different methods for its realisation...it is an affront to the African race to suggest that they are incapable of applying...[democracy].<sup>27</sup>

Democracy and a one-party system of government are mutually exclusive in Awo's and Zik's expectations.<sup>28</sup>

Other modern dysfunctional factors are (1) excrescences of Western civilization (artificial necessities and excessive materialist motivation) and consequent disruption of formerly tranquil societies; Awo and Zik criticize the pretensions of the worldly and urban.<sup>29</sup> (2) There is a lack of finances to produce the wealth which is instrumental for extensive social welfare programs.<sup>30</sup> In 1959 Zik told the NAACP that the greatest of Nigeria's problems is to raise the standard of living of her people.<sup>31</sup> (3) Nigerian inexperience in the art of diplomacy is another problem. With regard to diplomacy and the 1957 Constitutional Conference Zik declared,

The Nigerian delegations demonstrated their immaturity...He [the Colonial Secretary] and his galaxy of experts spared no effort to play on the vanity of the Nigerian delegations, whose gullibility in swallowing the soothing opium of flattery administered by experts in this branch of 'White Magic' beats the imagination.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>28</sup> Loc. cit., Azikiwe, A Selection, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 6, 289, 251, 242; Azikiwe, passim.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 98, 262; A Selection, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Azikiwe, loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

For Awo there emerges another factor portending doom for his conception of and desire for a united and happy Nigeria. This factor is Dr. Azikiwe himself. Awo wrote,

Indeed he is a believer in many good causes. The only puzzling thing about Dr. Azikiwe is that more often than not there is a wide gap between what he believes and what he preaches, and between what he preaches and what he practices.<sup>33</sup>

It was clear...from the general political and journalistic manoeuvres of Dr. Azikiwe over the years that his great objective was to set himself up as a dictator over Nigeria and to make the Ibo nation the master race.<sup>34</sup>

#### ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT MAN

As each historical period in all its fruition reflects the prevailing concept of man, so too does Awo's and Zik's operational code evidence their evaluation of man. To Zik "man is still a wolf to man."<sup>35</sup> Speaking in Dr. Frank Buchman's home in support of Moral Re-Armament in 1952, he expressed the belief that changing human nature was not difficult.<sup>36</sup> However, seven years later before the NAACP, his position had changed.

As students of human relations we know the fundamental social problems which confront those who are privileged to rule others. We also realize the impossibility of changing human nature in particular areas of social activities.<sup>37</sup>

Awo also assumes man on earth is an animal, and for this reason sees the beauty of democracy with its checks and balances.

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<sup>33</sup>Op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>35</sup>A Selection, p. 255.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

If he man is elevated to a position where he could feel unfettered by and above the sanction and conventions jointly imposed by his fellow-men, he would prove to be the savagest of savage animals. It goes without saying, therefore, that if absolute power is vested in any man, the chances are ten to one that he will use it to the detriment of his fellowmen and for his personal aggrandisement.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, these elite members view man as a noble animal. On the basis of what history has taught, Awo believes "however repressed it may be, mankind cannot permanently attune itself to the base and inhuman conditions of a dictatorship."<sup>39</sup> "Human nature is not susceptible to mass regimentation."<sup>40</sup> Zik quotes Tacitus, "'A desire to resist oppression is implanted in the nature of man.'"<sup>41</sup>

#### POLITICAL LIFE

Expectations about political life follow from assumptions about man. As man is a wolf to man, Zik sees man a target of his fellow man in the political arena.

I know that in any form of political control of human beings, man's acquisitive instinct, man's love of power, and the vanity of human wishes must make man a target of his fellow man, especially when the spoils of politics constitute the issue which confronts them.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> ibid., p. 271.

<sup>39</sup> Op. cit., p. 301.

<sup>40</sup> ibid., p. 304.

<sup>41</sup> A Selection, p. 83.

<sup>42</sup> ibid., p. 58.

In the same vein Awo realizes the function of his opponents' acrobatic displays of changing positions.<sup>43</sup> He perceives a political career in a democracy inevitably to entail hard knocks.<sup>44</sup> Courage,<sup>45</sup> timing,<sup>46</sup> stoic self-restraining and discipline, and an objective appreciation of historical and contemporary trends are considered requisites.<sup>47</sup> "All sorts of compromises, complications and disappointments," he frankly admitted, "are concomitants of political life,"<sup>48</sup> as are political parties singing their own praise.<sup>49</sup> and requiring money.<sup>50</sup>

Zik assumes the university is a training ground for political leadership and followership; Awo implicitly agrees. Zik's expectation is that "student self-government" develops these qualities.

Leadership is infused into the elected ones with the native ability and inculcates in them a sense of duty and responsibility. Student leaders are thus co-opted in making and enforcing by-laws of the university, which enable them to gain rich experience from the interplay of social forces which prevail in their miniature world. On the other hand,

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<sup>43</sup> Op. cit., pp. 244, 172.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 253.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

through followership students learn to appreciate what obedience, loyalty, faithfulness, reliability and other forms of social co-operation connote in the conflict of emotions which animates human activities. Thus equipped, they leave the precincts of the university to take their places in the arena of life as future leaders, since it becomes patent that it is only a good follower who ultimately develops into a good leader.<sup>51</sup>

Because the Eastern Region was traditionally governed, for the most part, by elected councils, Zik does not concern himself with political training for traditional rulers. Zik believes indigenous traditional rulers should continue to rule culturally and spiritually. Awo, on the other hand, is politically active in the Western Region where the Obas (High Chiefs) and Chiefs were and still are very influential at the local level. Consequently, he speaks of local government as a training ground for political leadership and followership for the traditional rulers so that they will be "the agents of their own people and answerable to them." About local government Awo writes,

It is the foundation on which the massive and magnificent super-structure of state, Regional or central government is erected. It is the training ground in political awareness and civic responsibility for a much larger number of public-spirited citizens than can ever have room to operate on the Regional or national levels.<sup>52</sup>

#### FUTURE PROSPECTS

"Africa is destined to become the continent of the present century," declared Zik.<sup>53</sup> Future prospects for demand realization lie with Nigerian

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<sup>51</sup>Azikiwe, A Selection, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup>Op. cit., p. 278.

<sup>53</sup>A Selection, p. 10.

and African youth of "stepped spirit."<sup>54</sup> Evidence of this abounds in the behavior of Awo and Zik with regard to education. On March 27, 1958, Zik broadcast over the NBC, "henceforth, this day shall be reserved as one set apart to glorify the daring and enterprise of Youth--that stage in the physical growth of man which is known as the spring of life."<sup>55</sup> On another occasion he asked why members of the older generation "have the audacity to misinterpret the yearnings and desires" of their youth. One of Awo's reasons for writing his autobiography is his belief that certain of his experiences "may serve as a source of inspiration and hope to some struggling youth."<sup>56</sup>

"Will Nigeria succeed in the realm of democratic concepts and practices?" asked Awo. The answer, he replied, "is in the womb of the unknown and unfathomable future."<sup>57</sup> His expectation, however, is that Nigeria's heterogeneous peoples are "a potential check on the emergence of a totalitarian form of government."<sup>58</sup> He believes that in Nigeria there is no need for the charismatic leader, the single national hero revered and loved by the masses, required "to infuse a sense of oneness and of common nationality in the peoples of Nigeria" and thus to sub-

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 51, 58. See James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), p. 342.

<sup>55</sup> A Selection, p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> Op. cit., p. ix.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>58</sup> Loc. cit.

stantiate the future solidarity of Nigeria.

Our struggles for independence have produced no martyr--no single national hero...Nigeria has won her independence without...simply because the manner in which Britain has handled our agitation for freedom is totally different from her cold and contemptuous attitude...toward other peoples I have no doubt that the good sense with which we attained independence will keep us together as a free and united people....all the leaders of opinion in Nigeria are unanimous in the determination to keep the constituent units in the country together.<sup>59</sup>

Perhaps Awo rejects the charismatic leader because (1) Zik has more personal popularity than he does, and (2) Awo relies upon his own and his elite followers organizational skill and the charisma not of the charismatic leader but of the traditional charismatic leaders.

An indication of Awo's belief in the groundwork acts and model function of the elite leaders is in this sentence: "As for the younger generation, they just cannot contemplate a Nigeria different in boundaries and smaller in size than the one which Britain bequeathes to us on independence."<sup>60</sup>

The outlook for a United States of Africa is viewed by both men as distant and visionary. Associations in which nationals retain political sovereignty, e.g., a Federation of West Africa or a Pan-African organization with membership confined to believers in racial equality, appears to them more logical.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 299-300.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>61</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 312.



It is unrealistic in the extreme to expect that African nations which have only recently won their independence from foreign rule would be willing to surrender or even diminish their sovereignty in the pursuit of what is quite plainly an ignis fatuus.<sup>62</sup>

What are the prospects for peace? "You may succeed in averting war between the two great blocs, but yours will be a hollow victory so long as any part of the world remains a colonial territory,"<sup>63</sup> Zik told the British Peace Congress in 1949. The Cold War is acknowledged but focus is upon the African continent and its descendants in other parts of the world. Africa is the parochial referent in Zik's declaration that "in the interest of world peace...one-half of the world cannot be democratic and the other half undemocratic."<sup>64</sup> The strictures of world opinion against imperialism are viewed as promoting peace. "The advocates of...[anti-imperialism] are growing larger in number and stronger in influence every day, with the result that colonial rule is fast becoming anathema to the imperialists,"<sup>65</sup> wrote Awo.

To this point of the discussion of my constructed hypothetical operational code of Awo and Zik, I have presented their demands and their expectations. The latter include traditional factors dysfunctional to demand realization, modern dysfunctional factors, assumptions about man, political life, and future prospects. These provide the foundation for their demands. Next, their reference identifications will be analyzed.

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<sup>62</sup>Awolowo; op. cit., p. 312.

<sup>63</sup>A Selection, p. 63.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>65</sup>Op. cit., p. 296.

## CHAPTER IV

### REFERENCE IDENTIFICATIONS\*

Because the reference identification segment plays an axial role in the operational code--they are sources of elite demands, expectations, rules of the game, and strategies--they merit special attention. The concept of reference identifications centers on process through which an individual relates himself to another individual, a group, or an abstraction and refers his behavior to the values of that individual, group, or abstraction. Reference identifications are relative to situations and contexts; in other words, they have boundaries which are dynamic in response to specifiable situational contexts. This concept is important because of man's conceptual level of functioning, which makes possible the regulation of experience and behavior in relation to values and norms at times beyond the immediate individual, group, or abstraction situation.<sup>1</sup> The underlying assumption is that human behavior is to a great extent organized and directed,<sup>2</sup> and that this direction comes primarily from reference identifications.

Reference identifications are defined as social frames of reference for self-evaluation and attitude formation within which the individual

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\*Indicators are discussed in "Method," Chapter I.

<sup>1</sup>Muzafer Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Muzafer Sherif and M.O. Wilson (eds.), Group Relations at the Crossroads (New York: Harper, 1953), p. 206 and pp. 203-31.

<sup>2</sup>Manford H. Kuhn and Thomas S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-attitudes," American Sociological Review, 19:68-76, p. 68.

acts and with which he identifies. A frame of reference, according to Sherif, denotes

the functional relatedness of all factors, external and internal, that are operative at a given time. All these external and internal factors enter jointly in determining psychological organization, perceptual or otherwise. Observed behavior is a consequence of organization thus produced. The external factors are the stimulus factors...Internal factors include motive both biogenic and sociogenic, attitudes, ego-attitudes, concepts, and other products of past experience.<sup>3</sup>

Within this frame of reference are external or internal anchorages, i.e., salient reference points which have more influence than others,<sup>4</sup> which

contribute heavily and at times decisively to the organization of experience and behavior. The properties of other parts in a frame of reference become defined and regulated in terms of their relation to the anchoring points.<sup>5</sup>

Reference identifications functionally serve as these major anchorings (social frames of reference) within the general frame of reference.

These may be negative reference identifications, i.e., there is motivated rejection of the individual, group, or abstraction norms and formation of counter-norms.

Reference identifications are axial to the other sets of elements in the operational code. They may be thought of as a set of cords which pass through other code segments and on which the segments revolve. Thus, demands may stem directly from reference identifications or indirectly from expectations. When the individual realistically wants in

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<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., pp. 210-11.

<sup>4</sup>Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper, 1956), p. 50.

<sup>5</sup>Muzafer Sherif, op. cit., pp. 213-14.

accord with facts he perceives affecting his value position, the facts are generally perceived through a selective process determined by reference identifications. Reference identifications are the source of rules of the game which delimit strategies. Strategies may also be influenced directly by reference identifications. Here is the model:



Awo's and Zik's analyzed reference identifications are (1) the "messianic-patriot," (2) their respective primary and ethnic groups, (3) intellectuals, (4) the "white man," and (5) Western nations. It is not my intent to discuss the situational factors, a problem for another paper.

#### THE "MESSIANIC-PATRIOT"

Awo wrote, "'When the disciples are ready, the master will appear' says the mystic: an eternal truth which is applicable to politics as it is to mysticism."<sup>6</sup> He and Zik both identify themselves with an ideal "messianic-patriot," the divine agent to rectify injustice and to deliver his territory to nationhood. In 1949 Zik spoke in this tradition: "I have chosen to exist as a dormant volcano, and to erupt at the appropriate time."<sup>7</sup> This identification is perhaps interrelated with Awo's and Zik's espousal of Christianity, especially its tale of an oppressed

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<sup>6</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), p. 271.

<sup>7</sup>Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 167.

people from the ranks of which comes a leader under God's guidance to lead the chosen people to independence. Scriptural support from the Old Testament has been used by other Negro leaders, e.g., Jamaican leaders used it to justify their revolutions and give divine sanction to their activities;<sup>8</sup> Pan-Africanism is said to have begun "in the diaspora."<sup>9</sup> Awo's and Zik's use of divine sanction is not an alien kind of sanction in Nigeria, since, as previously discussed, the traditional societies are usually sacral.

Rebellious in his Wesley College experience (which included a highly unjust seniority and fagging system) Awo recalled his early crusader self-image.<sup>10</sup> Later, with regard to his first experience in Western Region internal self-government, he declared, "We [Awo and followers] regarded ourselves as crusaders in a new cause..."<sup>11</sup> In his autobiography a Jewish proverb is quoted: "'When the tally of bricks is too heavy, then comes Moses.'"<sup>12</sup> It seems that the Old Testament prophecy which Moses fulfilled in biblical times, Awo and Zik believe they are destined to fulfill in modern times. The Bible was written to preserve and communicate the "truth"; Awo and Zik each

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<sup>8</sup>Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>10</sup>Op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 272.

present for this generation and posterity their respective publications.<sup>13</sup> The biblical concept appears as a social frame of reference for Awo's and Zik's self-evaluation and attitude formation, and their behavior (as they describe it) occurs in conformity.

"If God spares me to return home alive," said Zik in 1928, "I pledge that I will join crusaders for human freedom anywhere in the world and we shall intensify the struggle for democracy in Africa."<sup>14</sup> Although the patriot reference identification implies fervent involvement with one's own country, Awo's and Zik's scope often includes Black Africa and Negroes everywhere.<sup>15</sup> Throughout his career Zik has had an "expansive, universalist, racialist orientation," according to Coleman.<sup>16</sup> Before the NAACP in 1959 Zik said,

Your kindness in inviting me to speak today underlines the basic community of feeling between coloured Americans and their brothers in Africa. We struggle towards the same ultimate objective; to revive the stature of man so that man's inhumanity to man shall cease. Your success shall be our success and your failure shall be our failure. In this basic unity lies the promise of great advancement for the black race throughout the entire world.<sup>17</sup>

Martyrdom, typical of many religious remedial and nationalist enterprises, is expressed by Zik after his conviction for seditious libel in 1937.

If because I am an instrument of destiny through which imperialism in West Africa is to be challenged and liquidated, and if in this mission I am compelled to pay the supreme penalty, then there is no need for me to quake or to quiver....At this

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. ix, 113. Azikiwe, op. cit., p. vii.

<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>16</sup> James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), p. 222.

<sup>17</sup> Op. cit., p. 22, also p. 90.

stage of my life, I cannot be mere flesh. I cannot be part of the corruptible phase of man's organism. I am a living spirit of an idea--the idea of a New Africa. I am a living spirit of an ideology--the ideology of the effacement of man's inhumanity to man.

Happily for the gospel according to the New Africa, there exist today on this continent Renascent Africans: literate and illiterate, poor and wealthy, high and low; and they have expressed to me by their words and deeds, during the last few days of the crucial moments of the existence of my flesh on this earth that the New Africa is born to me.<sup>18</sup>

In conformity with martyrdom Zik claimed he was willing to give up his position of command, to sacrifice his political career. "I relinquished leadership to another patriot...in order to demonstrate my good faith," he declared in a speech rescinding his decision to retire from active politics upon request of party leaders.<sup>19</sup> A comparable situation occurred after the second attempt on Zik's life; "[if] I have outlived my usefulness to the country I should step down."<sup>20</sup> During British rule Zik asserted that he had little concern for his future role in Nigerian political history; rather, he stressed his desire to be a "messianic-patriot", and a martyr if necessary, associated with others in the non-violent crusade against colonialism under sanction of, in his phrase, the "God of Africa."<sup>21</sup>

Prescience, another characteristic trait of the "messianic-patriot" reference identification, appears in both men's conception of themselves

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 57, also p. 48. See Coleman, op. cit., pp. 296-97.

<sup>19</sup> Op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 194-96.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 256 et passim.

as visionary; their image of others is that of the easily beguiled.<sup>22</sup>

Zik described himself as a young man in this way:

I saw visions: visions of Nigeria becoming a great country in the emerging continent of Africa; visions of Nigeria offering freedom to those in bondage, and securing the democratic way of life to those who had been lulled into an illusion of security under colonial rule.<sup>23</sup>

Evidence that Awo foresaw his eminence in Nigeria is found in this excerpt from a letter boldly asking a wealthy man for a large sum of money to finance his legal education in Britain: "You stand to gain absolutely NOTHING in the whole transaction, except the satisfaction that by helping me to achieve my ambition you are indirectly or even directly helping Nigeria or even Africa."<sup>24</sup> It is noteworthy that Awo became a fanatical admirer of the Indian National Congress and of Gandhi, Nehru, and Bose. His hero-worship may have led him to advocate non-violence, linguistic provincial boundaries, and federalism.<sup>25</sup>

#### PRIMARY AND ETHNIC GROUPS

The primary group as used here is (1) a group characterized by a high degree of solidarity, (2) its rules autonomously created and maintained in the regulation of the behavior of its members, and (3) physical

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<sup>22</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>23</sup>Op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>24</sup>Op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 160-62.



proximity or face-to-face relations among its members.<sup>26</sup> In the socialization of the individual it is a potent reference identification, particularly in the traditional and transitional society where the relative weight of loyalty and the relative degree to which political functions are performed is greater in the primary group than in the modern society where the secondary group norms and attitudes are more significant.<sup>27</sup>

Awo strongly identifies with his Christian father, who he believes impressed upon him to shun anything connected with paganism and to aspire to be among the new elite.<sup>28</sup> He makes many references to his father's and granny's (granny and his mother were pagans) encouragement against retreating from a fight, and he relates them to what he describes as his tough, fearless, and defiant behavior.<sup>29</sup> The format of Zik's book may account for his not speaking of his familial reference group.

Both men, however, make statements which indicate that they identify with their respective ethnic groups. Exemplification can be found in selections from Zik's address to the Ibo State Assembly in 1949.

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<sup>26</sup>Edward A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group," in Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner (eds.), The Policy Sciences, Recent Developments in Scope and Method (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), pp. 44-69; Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

<sup>27</sup>Verba, ibid., p. 47. The primary group was thought to lose in strength to secondary structure in various realms in response to a modern society. Recent findings, however, show that in such a society the primary group has a "potentiality for influencing individual opinion that larger, more specifically goal-oriented organizations do not have, " because of the 'diffuseness,' coupled with greater 'presence!' (p. 36)

<sup>28</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 11, 20, 27, 30, 49, 51.

<sup>29</sup>ibid., passim.

It would appear that God has specially created the Ibo people to suffer persecution and be victimized because of their resolute will to live. Since suffering is the label of our tribe, we can afford to be sacrificed for the ultimate redemption of the children of Africa.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of...natural advantages, which illustrate without doubt the potential wealth of the Ibo, we are among the least developed in Nigeria, economically, and we are so ostracized socially that we have become extraneous in the political institutions of Nigeria.<sup>31</sup>

The only worthwhile stand we can make as a nation is to assert our right to self-determination, as a unit of a prospective Federal Commonwealth of Nigeria and the Cameroons, where our rights will be respected and safeguarded.<sup>32</sup>

The above quotations also reflect Zik's messianic-patriot identification. Herethe reference is to his ethnic group as well as to himself. Although martyrdom is accepted, inequitable abnegation is rejected. Since an ethnic union comparable to that of the Ibos did not exist for the Yorubas (Awo's ethnic group), Awo thought one should be founded "in the interest of the federal unity of Nigeria." His expression is less emotional than Zik's.

The Yorubas were a highly progressive but badly disunited group. They paid lip-service to a spiritual union and affinity in a common ancestor--Oduduwa. But in all their long history they had waged wars against one another....They had something which was all their own to contribute to the common pool of Nigerian nationalism and nationhood. I decided, therefore, to do all that was in my power to infuse solidarity into the disjointed tribes that constitute the Yoruba ethnic group, to raise their morale, to rehabilitate their self-respect, and to imbue them with the confidence that they are an important factor in the forging of the federal unity of Nigeria.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>33</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 166.

Out of expediency Awo worked both with Yoruba Obas and Yoruba bourgeois to achieve his objectives.

#### INTELLECTUALS

Awo and Zik as intellectuals identify with individuals of a comparable bent. These intellectuals are those who received Western university training, particularly in the pre-independence period in the "hot-beds" of London and Paris where the coals of nationalism were fanned. The values, attitudes, and standards of this group have and are making a positive contribution to Africa; they have led to the establishment of schools and universities, and rational planning for social and economic development.<sup>34</sup> They also have an elitist mentality, or special calling. As Coleman points out,

Virtually the whole acculturative process--conscious indoctrination as well as unconscious imitation--has been directed toward stimulating a consciousness among educated Africans that they are superior and more advanced than their compatriots....This strand in colonialism is responsible for the necessary link believed to exist between Western education and the legitimacy of claims to political authority which has furthered the belief common among educated Africans that it is inevitable, if not a divine right that the educated few should rule.<sup>35</sup>

As Zik asserted, "It is the scholar who makes or unmakes society."<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, because many traditional societies are sacral in which power and authority are equated with magical qualities, as education is seen to lead to power and authority, it too takes on magical qualities and reinforces the belief that the educated should rule.

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<sup>34</sup>See Chapter II and Chapter VI.

<sup>35</sup>James S. Coleman, "The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa," in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 329. Awolowo concedes some local rule to the traditional rulers who are powerful.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., passim.

The following are illustrations of how intellectuals have acted as reference identifications for Awo and Zik. Zik, though active in politics and government, is not distantly removed from an earlier professorial role. His speech circuit includes innumerable institutions of learning,<sup>37</sup> and he played the determining role in founding the University of Nigeria. On the basis of Zik's "manner which was both charming and disarming" and his ability to "subtly and implicitly" lay "claims to fields of learning which were truly catholic and almost limitless," he is admired by Awo<sup>38</sup> who fears Zik may become a Hitler.

Awo, using the phrase "we of the fraternity of the pen," indicates his identification with writers.<sup>39</sup> "My interest in journalism and association with newspapers did not cease with the severance of my connection with the Nigerian Daily Times... 'Once a journalist always a journalist.'"<sup>40</sup> He bestows the highest praise on his colleagues in the legal profession. For example,

Chief Thomas...had a rare gift of intuition which bordered on the prophetic....He was a brilliant lawyer with a quick and acute perception of abstruse legal technicalities.... Chief S.L. Akintola...is a breezy, affable character who cannot be ruffled easily, if at all. His peculiar gift consists in his capability to argue and defend two opposing

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<sup>37</sup> ibid., passim.

<sup>38</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>39</sup> ibid., p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> ibid., p. 88.

points of view with equal competence and plausibility. This quality backed by his sense of humour and his capacity for nuances made him an insoluble puzzle to our opponents.<sup>41</sup>

#### THE "WHITE MAN"

As a result of the African colonial experience--the Europeans were the prestige and privileged group in Africa by virtue of their power, skills, and material possessions--the "white man" has provided for Awo and Zik a source of norms and a frame of comparison for making judgments and perceiving self-identity. Reward for conformity with the white man's values, standards, and behavior patterns was forthcoming in increased education, a higher standard of living and social status, and political independence concomitant with a minimization of the sting of inferiority. The white man appears as a reference identification throughout Awo's and Zik's books suggesting that he may be their most important reference identification. This identification is diffuse; it appears to encompass the political realm. Although all forms of independence--political, economic, cultural--are demanded from the white man, and he is soundly and repeatedly criticized, Legum points out that "rejection of the white man and all his works is never wholehearted." He continues, "Blacks are in a hopelessly ambivalent love-hatred relationship with whites."<sup>42</sup> The Europeans have independent nations; so too the Africans

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<sup>41</sup> ibid., pp. 258-59. See "Action Group Rift Reopens in Nigeria," Africa Report, May, 1962, p. 18, for personal and ideological controversy between Awo, AG national leader, and Akintola, deputy leader of the party and Western Region Premier.

<sup>42</sup> Op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit., p. 53; see also p. 43.

must have them. However, attaining independence through violence in the European pattern is rejected. Zik states, "The continent of Europe set a pattern for bloodshed in the attainment of liberty....But we...know better."<sup>43</sup>

Awo attests to the urbanized Nigerian intelligentsia's identification with the white man: "To a large extent, the British way of life was imitated and emulated."<sup>44</sup> His self-description<sup>45</sup> and attempts to develop specific qualities in his person provide warrant for the proposition that Awo identifies with Lord Chandos about whom he wrote,

Lord Chandos was a Colonial Secretary very much after my heart: businesslike, clear-headed, firm and precise. He did not suffer fools gladly....He was big and courageous enough to make up his own mind on any issue however vital and delicate. I adored him for his many good qualities...<sup>46</sup>

Awo's political behavior, as he describes it, conforms with that of Lord Chandos. For example, Awo stresses his organizational qualities, courage, and refusal to be anyone's puppet.

Perhaps identification with the British stereotype in Africa--persons preoccupied with cleanliness and meticulous toilet--leads Awo also to be preoccupied with these traits. This is just one of many interesting examples of the "white man" reference identification. Emphasis on cleanliness was the European reaction to the filthy conditions of the early industrial revolutions. The British came to exploit the Niger Delta's

<sup>43</sup>Op. cit., p. 53; see also p. 43.

<sup>44</sup>Op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., passim.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

and Oil Rivers' yield of high grade palm oil, because oil had to be added to tallow, the basic ingredient of soap, to make it lather. Warrant for speculation about Awo's identification with the stereotyped white man is found in Awo's frequent mention of cleanliness, especially with respect to persons admired. Describing his paternal grandmother, the first adjective about her he uses is "clean."<sup>47</sup> About his father, he said,

Father was a handsome and well-dressed person. He loved clean surroundings and always had a bath every day after the day's work (an unusual thing in those days in Ikenne Community).... Father's chief quarrel with me was that I was extremely untidy.<sup>48</sup>

The headmaster of Wesley College was "a very clean and handsome man, with superb sartorial taste,"<sup>49</sup> he stated, and then, "Shortly after my arrival ...I cultivated the habit of having a bath daily. I washed my own clothes--and pressed them by folding them, wrapping them up carefully, and using them as a pillow."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

## WESTERN NATIONS

In addition to their "messianic-patriot," primary and ethnic groups, intellectuals, and the "white man" reference identifications, Awo and Zik express strong affinity with Western nations as a reference identification. Their conformity to Western nation values is vound most notably in their belief in democracy, discussed below in the chapter on rules of the game.

Awo argues for federation in Nigeria, pointing to Western examples of Western-type federations--the constitutional pattern of India,<sup>51</sup> the cantons of Switzerland,<sup>52</sup> and the Provinces of Canada.<sup>53</sup> In 1955, confronted with no one political party possessing a clear majority over the others, Zik explained to his Party Leaders,

The question of whether...a hybrid government can be stable has been answered in the United States, whose Constitution, by the way is partially our model, and where the Republican and Democratic Parties have bridged the gulf of their differences by establishing an accord based on bi-partisanship. That...is a lamp to guide our feet towards the building of goodwill and understanding in Nigeria, in spite of our political differences.<sup>54</sup>

Zik recognizes that the problems of higher education which faced the United States in the nineteenth century are comparable to those before Nigeria and thus he seeks to profit from the lessons of the former by

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 175. Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>54</sup>Op. cit., p. 129.



promoting a land grant philosophy for Nigeria's universities.<sup>55</sup>

Many times Zik felt "that although United States fed him with bread of bitterness and sank into his flesh its tiger's tooth, yet he loved this 'cultured Hell.'"<sup>56</sup> He has a positive identification with the United States. He professes faith in it as a bastion of democracy, for in spite of hardships (e.g., "the full impact of the discrimination and economic insecurity that befell the average American Negro"),<sup>57</sup> he was able to forge ahead and realize his dreams.<sup>58</sup> He explains why "every act of injustice based on such extraneous factors as race, colour, creed or station in life" in the United States has been severely attacked and has evoked negative identification with the United States. "Because of... high esteem, the outside world expects the United States, like Caesar's wife, to be beyond reproach, so far as respect for human dignity is concerned, bearing in mind 'the spirit of 1776.'"<sup>59</sup>

Although Awo and Zik show no signs of positive identification with the Soviet Union in their recently published books, Coleman points out that during World War II "Nigerian readers of Azikiwe's publications in Nigeria, had Russia presented to them as an ideal, as the unique foreign

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>57</sup> Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p. 222.

<sup>58</sup> Azikiwe, op. cit., pp. 14, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

country whose experience and techniques Nigerian might well emulate."<sup>60</sup>

Coleman claims the fascination with Soviet Russia was based on

the alleged absence of color discrimination within Soviet Russia and among Communists...the rapid social, educational, and economic transformation of primitive and backward areas which Communists have claimed was brought about in the Soviet Union...[and] the political and economic unity imposed upon a large and culturally heterogeneous mass of peoples.<sup>61</sup>

However, with postwar developments imperial policy was pressured toward constitutional reform in Nigeria which in turn caused Nigerians to focus upon Western countries as models for their national evolution, rather than to focus upon the Soviet Union as a model.<sup>62</sup>

Awo's and Zik's reference identifications, revealed through analysis of their writings, were discussed in this chapter. These social frames of reference for self-evaluation and attitude formation are the "messianic-patriot," Awo's and Zik's respective primary and ethnic groups, intellectuals, the "white man" and Western nations. Now I turn to the rules of the game which derive from reference identifications and delimit demands, expectations, and strategies.

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<sup>60</sup> Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p. 248.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 250.

## CHAPTER V

### RULES OF THE GAME\*

Rules of the game are the parameters and guideposts prescribed for political strategies, i.e., ideology which delimits demands, expectations, and is derived from reference identifications. Awo and Zik profess Christian-sportsman ethics with an emphasis on humanitarianism and labor. Social democracy, with the overtone of salvation or optimism, is their ideology.

#### "RELIGIONS:" CHRISTIANITY AND SPORTSMANSHIP

Awo recounts his boyhood realization that Christianity, his father's faith, was "of a surety, superior in many respects to paganism;"<sup>1</sup> he succeeded in getting his mother "to break her mother's vow to the river god, and become a baptized Christian."<sup>2</sup> Later, however, he became an agnostic. "But," he declared, "I vehemently disavowed the legends and fictions which the Israelites and their successors in dogma have woven round Him."<sup>3</sup> During his 1944-46 stay in Britain, Awo attended some of the Sunday meetings of the South Place Ethical Society at Conway Hall.

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\*Indicators are assertions of belief in religious and/or secular creeds which establish the boundaries of behavior; also allusions to, reference to, and/or exposition of a creed, or part of it, in a context which implies acceptance.

<sup>1</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pp. 1, 109.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

He recalls his intellectual disturbance that "each meeting followed the pattern of a prayer service, with some minor variations."

'Why this imperfect and irrational imitation of the Christian mode of worship?' It dawned upon me, more than ever before, that human beings naturally love rituals and ceremonies. Whether they believe in God or not, they always like to worship and venerate something; a flag, or a shrine; the tomb or effigy of a dead hero or the person and presence of a living one; and so on and so forth. I sincerely thought that something was missing at the Conway Hall meetings of the South Place Ethical Society, and a process of re-evaluation of Christian ideals and practices as compared with agnostic, rationalist or atheistic concepts was generated within me.<sup>4</sup>

After espousing Christianity and then moving away from it, Awo eventually "returned to the Holy Bible and to the Christian fold."<sup>5</sup> Of the three factors to which he confesses he owes his success in life, Christianity is placed first; a spartan self-discipline is second, his wife, third.<sup>6</sup> Whitaker reports Awo "a keen Methodist" and also "a strict teetotaler" which "inclines some Muslims in all parts of the Region to his party."<sup>7</sup>

The concluding chapter in Zik's Selected Speeches is devoted to praise of the Church Missionary Society, particularly for its Nigerianization work (e.g., translating Christian literature into African

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Philip Whitaker, "The Western Region of Nigeria, May 1956," in W.J.M. Mackenzie and Kenneth Robinson (eds.), Five Elections in Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 25.

languages and appointing African bishops). For example,

The Society has been sending evangelists, teachers and physicians to teach us, to preach to us, to heal our physical infirmities, and to baptize us so that we may experience a new life in a new society that would be Christocentric. The seed which these evangelists with a mission had sown has yielded fruits of which the Society should be proud.<sup>8</sup>

Noteworthy is Zik's recurring reference to a divinity as "the God of Africa"<sup>9</sup> in his political speeches. Expressing Christian conviction with Biblical quotations, using Christian symbols in areas where missions were established in order to communicate to people in a language they understand, he does nevertheless universalize "God" in public articulation to include other than the Christian divinity--"We need to pray to God to show us the way to a peaceful and united country..."<sup>10</sup>

Hodgkin reports that Zik's "NCNC and its subsidiary, the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons, at one time made use of a large collection of nationalist hymns and prayers especially composed for...[party] purpose."<sup>11</sup>

The political relevance of Awo's and Zik's espousal of Christian moral values is apparent from the strategies they use to achieve their demands. These are discussed in the subsequent chapter. Internalization of such ethics, as seems to be the case for Awo and Zik, precludes their use of strategies of rapid political, economic, and cultural de-

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<sup>8</sup> Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 344.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., passim.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Hodgkin, African Political Parties (London: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 136.

velopment at the cost of individual depersonalization, as has been the case in totalitarian states.

Sportsmanship appears as a parallel ethic for Zik through his continual reference to and emphasis upon it. He "has all through his life been interested in sport," stated Whitaker.<sup>12</sup> Awo is also a sports enthusiast but on a lesser scale.<sup>13</sup> To the students at University College Ibadan Zik said,

Naturally, sportsmanship enters into the activities of student self-government....As a laboratory of leadership, student self-government must encourage the cultivation of the spirit of sportsmanship because through it the university students will better appreciate the practical meaning attached to the expression noblesse oblige.<sup>14</sup>

At the All-Nigerian Athletic Championships in 1954, Zik alluded to the Greek ideal.

A good sportsman will always be a person of exemplary character on and off the field of sport. In the battle of life, where the combative and competitive instincts are given free play, a good sportsman will not resort to foul tactics, no matter how tempting in order to gain success which, in the final analysis, is bound to be ephemeral....the spirit of sportsmanship...among other lessons of life, athletes absorb in youth to make their beautiful bodies a hallowed temple for beautiful minds to inhabit.<sup>15</sup>

Belief in the Christian love-mercy-justice tenets is exemplified by the following illustrations: "Non sibi sed alliis--not for us alone,

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<sup>12</sup>Whitaker, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>13</sup>See loc. cit., on the use of sports in political organizations.

<sup>14</sup>Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

but for others as well," is the motto of Zik's secondary school which he repeated in endorsing Moral Re-Armament "to contribute constructively to the progress of the world."<sup>16</sup> Before the Eastern House of Assembly he declared,

Aware of the foibles of humanity, we must not allow the mistakes and disappointments of the past to act as a stumbling-block to the hopes and achievements of the future. There must not be any scope for disintegrating forces to decoy us into a situation where we shall point an accusing finger at our fellow man, whilst we cannot claim to be without blemish. Nor should we encourage the exploitation of the ignorance and poverty of our people in order to satisfy the mercenary natures of the more privileged ones.<sup>17</sup>

Zik told the NCNC Annual Convention, "The sublimation of our ego-centric desires for the welfare of our people is the supreme test today for Nigerian politicians," and "We should be imbued with the love of our fellow man."<sup>18</sup> He entreated the representatives to observe sixteen canons of rectitude in public life, i.e., a modified "Ten Commandments."<sup>19</sup> In line with these his government condemned the practice of flogging as "bestial," "one of the relics of the medieval system of penology."<sup>20</sup>

"To laugh at infirmity or deformity is enormity," Awo was taught by his father.<sup>21</sup> He appears to have learned his lessons as witness these remarks to an Action Group meeting:

It is...evidence of weakness and utter demerit, for any group of people to attempt to commend themselves to the public by the negative process of belittling and condemning others.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

Our line of action is therefore clear. Whilst our enemies and detractors busy themselves with abusing and decrying us, we should direct all the machinery of our publicity towards the propaganda of the excellence and the relative superiority of our programmes and the suitability of the man who will be put forward to execute them.<sup>23</sup>

Awo, looking back upon his college life thinks the menial and domestic jobs students performed were "immensely admirable, and worthy of emulation not only by similar institutions but by all those who aspire to a position of leadership in any sphere of life." He believes this experience instills in a person "a sense of understanding and sympathy... a sense of humility, and...a belief in the dignity of all forms of legitimate labour."<sup>24</sup>

A corollary of the two men's Christian-sportsman morality is their belief in labor--hard work to reach one's goals. It is somewhat reminiscent of the Puritan belief in predestination and election. Those blessed by God would reveal His grace in their good works and success. Awo stated this essential ingredient in his recipe for success: "Those who desire to reach, and keep their places at the top in any calling must be prepared to do so the hard way."<sup>25</sup> This philosophy might be traced to experiences in Awo's youth. At that time he read The Human Machine and It's Up to You, an excerpt of which he quotes in his autobiography:

'Nobody can fool the jar of life.' The sine qua non for anyone who wants to get to the top, therefore, is to increase his size and weight in his particular calling--that is mentally, professionally, morally, and spiritually. Getting to the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. ix, 69.



top is one thing and remaining there is another. To maintain your place at the top you must make sure that you do not at any time shrink in size or lose in weight. But evaporation as well as wear and tear takes place all the time; and unless these are constantly replaced, the man who gets to the top by dint of his own specific size and weight is also sure to rattle.<sup>26</sup>

The discussion of strategy elements of the operational code show how this belief manifests itself empirically. Awo believes the essence of the above-mentioned philosophy is applicable to political or economic organizations as well as to the individual.<sup>27</sup>

For Zik the concept of hard work is expressed in terms of athletics and sportsmanship. "Shorter running events enable us to be more expeditious and determined in what we do," he said, continuing, "The longer running events make it possible for us to develop our stamina and a spirit which knows no defeat....The spirit of sportsmanship means studied resistance to the bitter end."<sup>28</sup> He hopes that indigent university students will be encouraged to work in order to meet their educational expenses: "The experience gained thereby will stand them in good stead in the struggle for survival in life. By making sacrifices, by being thrifty, and by working hard, such students will cultivate self-reliance and confidence."<sup>29</sup> Zik speaks from experience, for as a poor student, he was "compelled to work as a dishwasher, a steward, a coal miner, and even a boxer."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>30</sup> James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1958), p. 222.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Awo believes, "It is when...[democratic] freedom exists that man can grow into the self-reliant and fearless creature that God intends him to be."<sup>31</sup> Thus democracy is man's redemption. Zik has also voiced this belief, e.g., on his fifty-fourth birthday in 1958:

When I ruminate over the events of the last 21 years, I have every reason to be thankful to God for sparing my life to survive this historic struggle. Like Simeon of the New Testament, I am happy because I am a living witness of our imminent salvation. I can now see the Nigerian not appearing like a drooping spineless slave, but a freeman who stands erect and commands respect. And I am satisfied.<sup>32</sup>

Awo asserts that he and most of his colleagues are "democratic by nature, and socialists by conviction."<sup>33</sup> Even though in his opinion there is no satisfactory alternative to "a Nigerian administration by Nigerians...erected on the general consent and the united goodwill of the majority of the people," he recognizes that the existence of such a government also requires the existence of an enlightened community dedicated to democratic form and style.<sup>34</sup> This requisite has not yet been met in Nigeria. Awo presents his view on this problem.

It has been said that democracy is liable to abuse, especially in an unsophisticated society; and that through the instrumentality of democracy the wrong type of people may be thrown up as the government of the day. The question is: who are to judge

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<sup>31</sup>Op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>32</sup>Op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>33</sup>Op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>34</sup>Loc. cit.

the type of persons who should be appointed to rule a particular people? The answer is: the people themselves. If their estimation of what is good does not accord with that of the minority elements among them, the latter group can only wait and hope, and continue to advocate what they believe to be good until, if they are indeed right, the majority swing to their side. I fervently prefer the inconveniences of democracy to the inarticulate and fearful material comfort of a dictatorship, even granting that such comfort ever comes the way of the majority under a totalitarian system.<sup>35</sup>

And Zik, with a chaismatic orientation, said, "We must not betray the masses. They are our backbone....Blessed are the common people. God loves them, that is why he made millions of them."<sup>36</sup> Consequently, a good government must be concerned with the welfare of all its citizens and, according to Awo, "it must display special concern for the afflicted and those whose talents are in the danger of being buried or destroyed....the poorer or less fortunate the citizen, the greater the attention he requires from the government; and the richer or more fortunate the citizen the less."<sup>37</sup> Accepting his election as President of the Senate, Zik appealed to the legislative body to bear constantly in mind "that the welfare of the people is the supreme law."<sup>38</sup> Two years earlier, as Premier of the Eastern Region, he announced the intention of his government to use local government councils as instruments of policy in the hope that Government be brought closer to the people.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Op. cit., p. 270; see also pp. 266-67.

<sup>36</sup>Op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>37</sup>Op. cit., pp. 268-69.

<sup>38</sup>Op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 278-79. See p. 112, Zik's attack on the electoral college.



Their belief in social democracy is related to populism, "a denial that the 'nation' could be found in existing authoritative institutions and an assertion that the root of the future lay in the 'folk.'" <sup>40</sup>

Awo and Zik were alienated from the indigenous authorities of their society and also the foreign British rulers. Thus, the "people" become, Shils writes, "supports in the search for the salvation of their own souls and their own society."<sup>41</sup>

Awo's and Zik's rules of the game, as I have constructed them, are, generally speaking, the Christian-sportsman ethic and social democracy. These rules, derived from reference identifications, delineate the universe for the men's actions which are structured by their demands and expectations. Let us now turn to these strategies.

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<sup>40</sup>Edward A. Shils, "The Intellectuals in the Development of the New States," World Politics, 12:329-68, April, 1960.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 349.



## CHAPTER VI

### STRATEGIES\*

Awo's and Zik's demands, expectations, reference identifications, and rules of the game have been analyzed, and I now present operational code elements classified as "strategies," i.e., intellectual programs believed to provide the means for success. Nine elements will be analyzed: (1) persevere, (2) plan, (3) be rational and gradual, (4) develop secondary socializing institutions, (5) use efficacious pen and tongue, (6) secure elite support, (7) secure other support, (8) maneuver psychologically, and (9) maneuver internationally.

#### PERSEVERE

"'Per ardua ad astra,'" stated Awo. His strategy for success is "a single-minded definiteness about one's object in life; an intense concentration of all the energies of one's body and of all the forces of one's brain and mind on the attainment of one's chosen objective, and finally in the pursuit of one's aim, perseverance."<sup>1</sup> For example, knowing discretion lay in extricating himself from a hostile crowd, he stood his ground in perseverance of his objectives.<sup>2</sup> When he preached formation of the Egbe (a Yoruba cultural society) and people responded with indifference or undisguised boredom," he persisted in this as he did in

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\*Indicators are statements of actions or behavioral dispositions to achieve demands. See "Method," Chapter I for discussion of indicators.

<sup>1</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pp. 1, 109.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 151.





comparable situations.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he did learn first to feel sure he had the capacity to work for his goals.<sup>4</sup> Another example of perseverance is Awo's and the Action Group's determination that in spite of counter influences they would move as fast as they could towards their "ramified, variegated and complex goals." On this point Awo wrote, "we were inflexibly resolved that nothing on earth should deter us."<sup>5</sup> With reference to obtaining self-government for Nigeria in 1956, Awo, considering the North's obstruction, declared, "To us...it did not matter whose horse was gored, so long as the path of our great objective was indefectibly pursued."<sup>6</sup> That perseverance is Zik's strategem is summarized in his sportsman's statement, "The spirit of sportsmanship means studied resistance to the bitter end."<sup>7</sup> (See above discussion of Zik's sportsman and Christian ethic which limits demands and strategies.)

#### PLAN

Planning as a strategem is closely related to these two Nigerian leaders' sense of history and faith in themselves to play decisive roles therein. Awo had this sequential program for the main episodes of his

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>7</sup>Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 46.

life: (1) become "formidable intellectually," (2) become "morally invulnerable," (3) "make all the money that is possible for a man with my brains and brawn to make in Nigeria," (4) "acquire a profession," (5) "make more money," and then (6) "start a new offensive," i.e., publicly inaugurate the Action Group. The entire sequential program was accomplished.<sup>8</sup>

Here is further illustration of Awo's planning strategy: In the colonial period, when his criticism of the condition of the Ibadan library angered the British administrator and chiefs, he executed thoughtful preparatory measures before meeting the chiefs who were to deal with him as they pleased.

I...took certain steps to forestall them, or at best to make sure that those who mattered in the enlightened politics of the country knew what had happened and was going to happen to me...I wrote the full story of the incident, sent a copy to the Resident himself, and sent copies to the editors of all the Nigerian newspapers, to legislators in Lagos, to Sir William Geary, Bart., a popular British lawyer who was a strong critic of British rule in Nigeria, to Oba Samuel Akisanya, then General Secretary of the Lagos Youth Movement. - I telegraphed a summary of the story to the newspapers and to the same people, and urged them to view the matter with grave and urgent concern...<sup>9</sup>

Awo acknowledged the British had never "spurned or contemptuously turned down" properly organized country-wide demands for independence; consequently, "methods of approach were meticulously devised" to "mobilize public opinion."<sup>10</sup> Awo makes plans temporally for the future, situationally for emergencies, and substantively in politics and government.<sup>11</sup> His

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<sup>8</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 81.



Action Group, a case in point, was the first political organization to develop "a definite government program in a series of policy papers dealing with all aspects of government activity (for example, education, agriculture, health and local government)."<sup>12</sup> Zik is also a firm advocate of planning. Here is an illustration of how his planning strategy operates in the area of social change:

Events are moving in Africa at such a cyclonic pace that those who have been in the vanguard of the struggle for human freedom in that continent must plan for constructive leadership, otherwise the silent revolution which has gripped Africa will not bring happiness to its teeming millions. The aims of reforms should be to bring about healthy and desirable changes in society, otherwise our struggle for political freedom will be meaningless, since it would be an avenue to enable power-seekers and political opportunists to give a false impression to the outside world that Africans are incapable of making democracy work as a way of life.<sup>13</sup>

#### BE RATIONALLY GRADUAL

"We inched along patiently, tactfully, confidently," wrote Zik in recounting the national struggle. Employment of constructive agitation (propaganda and constitutional powers) "to encroach and impinge upon the remaining preserves of British rule with a view to forcing it into retreat and complete surrender" is indicative of the rational-gradual approach taken both by Zik and Awo. Awo asserted, continuing, "you achieve the same objective of political liberation whilst you maintain at home orderly progress and increased prosperity among the citizens."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), p. 350.

<sup>13</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>14</sup>Idem.; Awolowo, op. cit., p. 298.



Three years before Independence he told his party:

We are right now on the threshold of paradise, where we will reign with other members of the Commonwealth of Nations. After sixty years or so of journeying, we only require three years to go to arrive there. We must not do anything rash to send us several years back from the gate of heaven.<sup>15</sup>

Desirous of more states in the Federation, Awo exhibited the rational-gradual strategem in the view that the creation of a Mid-West State without the COR State would only be a temporary triumph for the NCNC over the Action Group; "the creation of the Mid-West State was found to have the effect of sustaining the agitation for and bringing about the creation of the COR State."<sup>16</sup>

Zik, to achieve his demands, beseeched the Ibo people and the Senate to be rationally gradual. To the former he said,

It is categorically imperative that Ibo people must not allow themselves to be transformed by the forces of prejudice into beasts who know only the law of the jungle, that is might is right. Rather, let knowledge and reason prevail so that they may agree with others, when they must, and disagree when necessary, and let them do both these things without losing their bearings.<sup>17</sup>

The prevalence of knowledge and reason is a gradual process. To the latter, "Our main function is to allow time, the healer of all wounds, to steady but not to arrest the robust hands of the accredited representatives of the electorate."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>17</sup> Op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 143.



Lacking necessary resources, Awo and Zik introduce goal-achieving schemes on skeletal or stopgap bases in order to maximize realization of their demands.<sup>19</sup> Zik proposed the establishment of a Community Development Corps in the Armed Forces of Nigeria which will be "used for public works and also to impart skill, instil discipline and stem unemployment."<sup>20</sup> He rebuked the tendency of University College Ibadan towards "squandermania" in proclaiming, "What this country needs is a first-class institution of learning and not a first-class exhibition of streamlined buildings..."<sup>21</sup> Limited funds, he feels, should be allocated for the reasonable purpose of education, the glitter can come later.

#### DEVELOP SECONDARY SOCIALIZING INSTITUTIONS

Inculcating patriotism and the right loyalties by means of the schools and the political party, predominant socializing institutions, is viewed as a key strategy. Hence Zik supported a Bill in the Eastern House of Assembly "to the effect that a full-fledged university should be established in this [Eastern] Region without further delay." This was done "in order that the foundations of Nigerian leadership shall be securely laid, to the end that this country shall cease to imitate the excrescences of a civilization which is not rooted in African life."<sup>22</sup> Zik believes that in Northern Nigeria where modern education and other changes have met resistance, "The average African child should be educated

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<sup>19</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 276; Azikiwe, op. cit., pp. 201, 23.

<sup>20</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 282-83.



to appreciate that the status quo is not the best of all possible worlds."<sup>23</sup> In drawing up the NCNC program on education, Zik emphasized "education of the head, hand, and heart, to enable...children to gain knowledge and acquire skill and to cultivate a sense of duty to the community."<sup>24</sup> To a special convention of the NCNC in 1959 Zik declared, "We shall create uniform conditions of service for teachers and establish a National Text Books Committee in order to expurgate from the minds of our youths the inferiority complexes indoctrinated in them by certain authors."<sup>25</sup>

Zik realizes how education prepared him to take a place "in the romance called life...to challenge cant and hypocrisy, to sift the chaff from the wheat, and to cultivate objectivity in assessing human situations and problems."<sup>26</sup> As Premier of the Eastern Region, he was instrumental in the provision of university primary education,<sup>27</sup> minimum standards for schools,<sup>28</sup> and an expansion of the school system, scholarships, and grants-in-aid.<sup>29</sup> In developing the schools Zik appealed to the Nigerian Union of Teachers for their cooperation without which

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 36.



Government programs instituting and accelerating reforms would be seriously hampered:

Yours is a heritage accumulated from the experience of by-gone years. But you are now teachers of a new Nigerian society. Let us work together to face new problems in such a way as to transform this historic heritage into an imperishable legacy.<sup>30</sup>

His Government extended incentive and security to the teachers to insure its educational policies. It assumed responsibility for the salaries and prerequisites of teachers in the Eastern Region.<sup>31</sup> Awo has participated in comparable activities.

Awo and Zik, as primary exponents of party ideals and programs, strategically work towards coalescing their respective political parties into organized machines. The political party in Africa is both a political "organizational weapon" and a socializing institution comparable to the United States political parties at the turn of the century which performed a socializing function for immigrants. Awo's plan is that Action Group members in the Western and Federal Governments "be fully seized of party policies on specific subjects so that they might be properly guided in their approach to and in their handling of such subjects."<sup>32</sup> With regard to developing the Action Group, he wrote,

Only people in whom we could absolutely trust should be invited to the membership of the new party at the early stages. I thought three things were indispensable to the success of the new venture. The first was...action.

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<sup>30</sup> ibid., pp. 42-3.

<sup>31</sup> ibid., p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 266. (See "Action Group Rift Reopens in Nigeria," Africa Report, May, 1962, p. 18, on controversy over issue of party supremacy.)

There had been a good deal of gaseous effusions on the part of Nigerian politicians in the past, so much so that it had often been said of them by our white administrators that our politicians could only bark but never bite....second...there should be discipline, and consensus of minds on fundamental principles among those who were to constitute the foundation of the new organization...third was secrecy. Any new political party that was formed in any part of the country must reckon with fierce and unbridled hostility from Dr. Azikiwe.<sup>33</sup>

At Awo's suggestion the Action Group, for maximum unity and strength, was organized into Local Committees, the smallest units in towns and villages, which send representatives to Divisional Committees from which representatives constitute the Regional Body.<sup>34</sup>

The "fierce and unbridled hostility" attributed to Zik is inherent in Zik's concept of the objective of political parties, viz., "conducting of election campaigns involving the use of every conceivable device for convincing and persuading the electorate that the policies which its candidates represent are preferable to those of their rivals."<sup>35</sup> The following excerpts from an address to the National Executive Committee of the NCNC in 1958 convey some aspects of Zik's strategic technique in developing his party--rallying party spirit and loyalty with the plural "we," chastisement, and forgiveness:

I have summoned this meeting...for three reasons: first, to give every one of us a fair chance to appraise the fortunes of our great Party; second, to create an atmosphere which will enable all of us to appreciate that, like lost sheep, we have forgotten our great Party and have followed the

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 218-19.

<sup>35</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 303.

selfish desires of our own hearts; third, to forgive and forget the past and re-dedicate ourselves to the great task confronting the nation between now and 1960.<sup>36</sup>

Your central Working Committee met this morning and I am authorized to announce a general amnesty for all members of our great Party who were suspended or expelled within the last year.<sup>37</sup>

I am convinced that if we can establish peace and unity within our rank and file, it will enable us to marshal our forces and thus aid others to preserve the corporate existence of Nigeria.

As I see our internal problems as a Party, we must go back to essentials. First, we must develop a sense of humour and be wise enough to appreciate the folly of expending our energies against ourselves whilst around us lurk implacable and un-principled enemies. Second, we must reaffirm that under a unified command our army of liberation can march forward in unity that is based on loyalty to one common ideal. Third, we must appreciate how puny we are in the cosmic scheme of things and humbly seek for divine guidance through prayer.<sup>38</sup>

Guidance and direction for government representatives lies in consultation with party hierarchies in order to, as Zik expresses it "avoid unnecessary embarrassment."<sup>39</sup>

Although Awo and Zik strive for disciplined party elites, their respective parties are what Hodgkin calls "mass parties." They appeal to the mass for members or at least nominal supporters and "attempt to impose their own new type of structure on society."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Hodgkin, African Political Parties (London: Penguin Books, 1961), pp. 69-71.

## USE EFFICACIOUS PEN AND TONGUE PROPAGANDA

The efficacy and often paralyzing thrust of Zik's articulation, in many ways comparable to sensationalist, pugnacious American yellow journalism, is revealed in Awo's "concession" to him:

You only had to disagree with him on any issue, however minor, and you at once qualified to go on the black-list. At the same time, he skilfully lauded himself to the very skies. Almost every day there were letters to the Editor, published in the Pilot, [Zik's newspaper] eulogising Zik.... Some of the writers acclaimed him as the 'Gandhi of Africa', whilst others declared that certain things that he had said, written, or done had 'elec-zik-ified' them....Whatever any one may say about Dr. Azikiwe, it will be readily conceded to him that he was the first consummate propagandist that Nigeria produced. He observed neither modesty nor reck in inflating his own ego or in deflating that of his opponent.<sup>41</sup>

Another of Zik's frequently used propaganda techniques is what might be termed "the welcome-punch." Witness the 1954 federal election campaign speech over NBC in which Zik broadcast a welcome to the opposition which would visit the Eastern Region to campaign. It is welcome "so long as it is responsible and constitutional in its methods." Then Zik punched.

It is with regret that we learn of the wave of terrorism which is now sweeping the Western Regions, due to the forces of intolerance and bigotry which have been unleashed by irresponsible elements....Whilst the Eastern Region will readily grant asylum to any political refugee or emigre, yet I must emphasize the fact that Easterners resent intolerance and bigotry, no matter from what quarter they stem, and will not allow their importation into the Eastern Region without protest.<sup>42</sup>

Such statements as, "Although they parade the slogans, 'Freedom for All', and 'Life more Abundant', the Action Group do not believe in democracy

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<sup>41</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 137. See pp. 138-40.

<sup>42</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., pp. 54-5, also see p. 176.



but prefer Fascism for Nigeria,"<sup>43</sup> is typical of Zik's denigration of his opposition.

Beside his use of the combat function of the media, Zik relies upon the pen and tongue for educational objectives, e.g., explaining that if the electors unwisely elect their local councils, the councils will not provide them with the services to which they are entitled and for which they partially pay.<sup>44</sup>

Awo's strategy also includes heavy reliance upon the pen and tongue. Writing incessant newspaper criticism,<sup>45</sup> open letters, and books<sup>46</sup> has served him well. "To go to town in a big way," he said in The Autobiography, was personally to write editorial comments in his paper, the Nigerian Tribune.<sup>47</sup> The Action Group publication of policy papers as well as a manifesto on regional and federal subjects (the AG was the first party to do so) was Awo's tactic to utilize the "magic" of the written word.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to the opposition's derogatory style--"evidence of weakness and utter demerit," Awo advocates a positive approach:<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>45</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 232-33.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 224-25.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 226.



Whilst our enemies and detractors busy themselves with abusing and decrying us, we should direct all the machinery of our publicity towards the propagation of the excellence and the relative superiority of our programmes and the suitability of the men who will be put forward to execute them.<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, Awo does not fully practice what he preaches. For example, in The Autobiography he attacks Zik, a major opponent, by using the technique of "guilt by association": "I am implacably opposed to dictatorship as the doctrine of Herrenvolk whether it was Hitler's or Dr. Azikiwe's."<sup>51</sup>

#### SECURE ELITE SUPPORT

"The man who gets to the top by dint of his own specific size and weight is...sure to rattle [in the jar of life]."<sup>52</sup> This statement provides insight to the personal, political, and economic philosophy which leads Awo to adopt the strategy of securing a loyal, intrepid, and enlightened supportive elite. Awo's comments on his idea for the design of a Nigerian federal system provide illustration.

By 1940 I had already made a name for myself, and I knew that if I spoke my mind in any influential circle, I would command audience if not support. Nevertheless, I was somewhat hesitant, because I knew that in the Nigerian context my ideas were novel and were likely to evoke acrimonious controversy. I decided to try them on my intimate friends first, and see how they reacted....They thought the ideas were bright and ingenious but highly explosive. As I could get no further with them, I dropped the matter.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> ibid., p. 227.

<sup>51</sup> ibid., p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> ibid., p. 70.

<sup>53</sup> ibid., p. 162-63.

Launching the Action Group, Awo also secured a firm elite core of people for whom he could vouch and whose loyalty to his new party he could absolutely trust.<sup>54</sup> Differing from previous Nigerian political organizations, the Action Group leadership was collegial at Awo's insistence.<sup>55</sup> Awo believes that one of the ways to secure and maintain elite support is by developing well-organized and disciplined political parties.<sup>56</sup>

Zik appears to place more emphasis on individual leadership than Awo. However, his appeals to scholars, students, influential groups (e.g., the NCNC Executive Committee, the Nigerian Teachers' Union), and other intrepid and enlightened supporters indicate a strategy of utilizing core elite support to supplement his personal dynamicism. Both Awo's and Zik's personal ascendencies rest in part on their respective competent supporters.<sup>57</sup>

#### SECURE OTHER SUPPORT

Other support, ranging from the Obas (Kings) and Chiefs to the community and peasantry is also sought.<sup>58</sup> In the West the new political elite allied itself with the Yoruba Obas to build the Action Group.

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>55</sup>Coleman, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>56</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>57</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 217, 254. Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 78.



Taking charge in the Western Region, Awo worked "to harness the influence of the Obas and Chiefs" for his purposes and at the same time modified their rights and abrogated "such of their privileges as were considered repugnant, to an extent that would both satisfy the commonalty and make the Obas and Chiefs feel secure in their traditional offices."<sup>59</sup> Zik told his party convention,

I cannot parley with those who regard politics as a synonym of ambition animated by an unbridled quest for leadership and power. If I did so, then I would be giving support to opportunists and thereby deceiving the masses upon whose support we have relied, and must continue to rely, as a political organization.<sup>60</sup>

Political expediency and political philosophy have encouraged parties to enroll the masses to gain their support. For these reasons Awo and Zik in broadcasts concentrate on and reiterate a few points to make themselves easier to understand by illiterates.<sup>61</sup>

#### MANEUVER PSYCHOLOGICALLY

Appealing to an opponent's sense of pride is often an advantageously employed gambit. For example, Awo relates his encounter with Sir John:

I assured Sir John that we had no desire to be unnecessarily critical of or obstructive to the new constitution. It must be borne in mind that the constitution had been named...after him; and it was in the interest of his own reputation as well as for the good of Nigeria that the constitution should work, and be workable to conscientious nationalists....I likened him to the manufacturer of the new model of a car....And the moment the manufacturer was satisfied that the defects complained of were genuine, it would be his urgent duty to put them right not only in the car of the complaining customer, but in those of the other customers who had not yet discovered them.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 262.

<sup>60</sup>op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>61</sup>Philip Whitaker, "The Western Region of Nigeria, May 1956," in W.J.M. Mackenzie and Kenneth Robinson (eds.), Five Elections In Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 71.

<sup>62</sup>op. cit., p. 235.



Social ostracism is another weapon in the arsenal. Awo and his colleagues also used this on Sir John.

We had passed a resolution forbidding all our members from fraternising socially with Sir John. The reason we gave for this action was that we were satisfied that he was wilfully obstructing the political progress of Nigeria, and that his mischievous actions in certain matters tended to impair the unity of the country. Sources close to him indicated that he was more infuriated and agonised by the reason we gave for our action, than by the resolution itself.<sup>63</sup>

Rituals, celebrations,<sup>64</sup> and athletic events are gambits used to unify and build an ethical code. About athletic events, Zik said, "We now place enough emphasis on such abstract notions as fair play and equity as to give them concrete form in our social conventions."<sup>65</sup> The introduction of legislation "to have it clearly written in black and white in a statute book that any person who lives in this country is allowed to do so in peace and on a basis of racial and social equality so that man shall learn to respect his fellow man"<sup>66</sup> is illustrative of one of many psychological maneuvers used to boost morale.

#### MANEUVER INTERNATIONALLY

The strategies of Awo and Zik are also operative in the international arena. Important code elements are to guide Nigeria in a democratic political evolution (to provide a prestige model for other nations)<sup>67</sup> and to agitate constructively. This latter, Awo believes, is a pragmatic action which "in the present war-tired and violence-surfeited world has the knack of evoking considerably sympathy and active support from the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 239, also see p. 69.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>65</sup> Op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>67</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 300.

nations of the free world."<sup>68</sup> Since the United Nations is concerned with encouraging self-determination of peoples, promoting human rights, and fostering economic and social development--high priority demands of Awo and Zik--much foreign policy revolves around this organization.<sup>69</sup> To inspire respect Nigeria associates actively with "progressive movements which are busily engaged not only in demolishing racial bigotry but also in spreading knowledge of the fundamental equality of the races of mankind," using "its good offices to persuade African States which practise racial snobbery to mend their ways," and dissociating itself "from organizations (e.g., Nigeria imposed a formal ban on trade with South Africa) which condone the practice of race prejudice by their members."<sup>70</sup>

Cooperation with other independent African States "with the aim of establishing unity of outlook and purpose in foreign policy" and advertising "the importance of Africa in world affairs"<sup>71</sup> is advanced with the rational-gradual approach.<sup>72</sup>

The prerequisites of political integration in Africa are the economic and social integration of African peoples....It would be capital folly to assume that hard-bargaining politicians who passed through the ordeal of victimization and the crucible of persecution to win their political independence will easily

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>69</sup> See Thomas Hovet, Jr., "African Policies in the United Nations," The American Behavioral Scientist, 5(8):28-30, April, 1962.

<sup>70</sup> Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>72</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 311-12.

surrender their newly-won political power in the interest of a political leviathan which is populated by people who are alien to one another in their social and economic relations.<sup>73</sup>

Thus, for these reasons and also for prestige, Nigeria hosted the African Summit held in Lagos, January 25 to 30, 1962, succeeding in moving twenty nations closer toward formation of a cooperative association comparable to the Organization of American States.<sup>74</sup>

Awo regards defense and foreign affairs as complementary: "the one is intended to discourage or resist external aggression, and the other to cultivate external friendship." Welfare politics are chosen; power politics, rejected.<sup>75</sup> Neutrality is also discarded.<sup>76</sup> This is Awo's view of neutrality:

In the present world context, when atheistic materialism is threatening to destroy or stifle all that is best and noblest in man, neutrality in international affairs, whether passive, positive or independent, is an unmitigated disservice to humanity....neutrality, as the basis of the foreign policy of certain nations, is no more and no less than the projection, conscious or unconscious, of the deep-seated prejudices which those nations have had towards some of the countries of the Western democracies.<sup>77</sup>

For Nigeria to best practice welfare politics, foreign investment is solicited, accepted, but regulated to preclude infringement upon national sovereignty. "Investment should be made in partnership with indigenous capital supplied by the government or any of its agencies or by Nigerian

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<sup>73</sup>Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>74</sup>Joseph R.L. Sterne, "The Lagos Conference," Africa Report, 7(2):3-6, 23, February, 1962, p.6.

<sup>75</sup>Awolowo, op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 310. Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>77</sup>Op. cit., p. 310.



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businessmen."<sup>78</sup> If help is desired from more than one nation, it is sought, but "it is immoral to play two opposing forces against each other in the process."<sup>79</sup> Awo and Zik, in pursuit of welfare politics, individually go abroad on economic missions as well as send their representatives. For example,

The Government of the Eastern Region appointed an Economic Mission to Europe and America with the following objects in view: to attract investors to Eastern Nigeria for the purpose of economic development; to make more contacts for the expansion of our trade, commerce and industries; to seek cooperation in training and recruiting technicians; to make arrangements for facilitating higher vocational education in Eastern Nigeria.<sup>80</sup>

This was done "irrespective of prejudiced criticism and inspired opposition to this policy."<sup>81</sup> Zik seeks "the co-operation of citizens of African descent"; "all we need is capital investment, technical and managerial skills before...resources can be put to their fullest uses for the benefit of my people and the investors."<sup>82</sup>

Awo and Zik attempt to create goodwill through scholarships for Nigerian students to study abroad, welcome acceptance of teachers and students from abroad,<sup>83</sup> international athletic meets, and motion picture censorship. "In these days of much misunderstanding among human beings in the world," claims Zik, "athletes have a unique charge to become

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>80</sup> Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

ambassadors of goodwill between their country and the outside world."<sup>84</sup>

"Films which portray the Negro race in a derogatory and humiliating manner" are censored "because they tend to create a spirit of resentment and bitterness on the part of Africans, thus embarrassing race relations in this part of the world."<sup>85</sup>

Although Awo and Zik employ the same strategies (these appear to conform with their rules of the game), they seem to differ in the emphasis they place upon them. Perhaps it is Awo's rejection of the charismatic leader as necessary for Nigeria, and/or his own lack of charisma, which makes him place more reliance upon planning, an elite following, and organization. Zik's strategies appear to be more emotional.

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<sup>84</sup> ibid., p. 32.

<sup>85</sup> ibid., p. 153.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

In this study I have attempted (1) to contribute data for a refined theory of elites and comparative politics, and (2) to provide part of a much needed foundation for American foreign policy making toward Africa. Relying primarily upon a qualitative analysis of The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Zik's Selected Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, I have developed the outlines of Awo's and Zik's operational code. I conclude that Awo and Zik--each directly or indirectly a leader of his respective ethnic group, political party, and federal region--have comparable (although not completely identical) approaches to political life. Zik's language is more forceful and passionate than Awo's.<sup>1</sup> For example, in their discussions of democracy and the masses cited earlier in this paper, Awo speaks of democracy with all its shortcomings, particularly the illiterate mass, in a rational-gradual manner. Zik, on the other hand, appears more demagogic in referring to how a leader can act to benefit the mass. However, it is probable that the differences are stylistic and not substantive. Therefore, I speak of their operational code. Because of Zik's reputation as a dynamic and colorful rhetorician, he has been called the "man of words;" Awo has received the epithet of "man of action."

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<sup>1</sup>A problem of potential Western bias arises here. In Western thought where moderation constitutes a total style, strong language usually suggests authoritarianism or extremism. (Daniel Goldrich, personal communication, July, 1962). This may not be the case in Tropical Africa.

## THE OPERATIONAL CODE

Categories Formulated. In the introductory chapter of this manuscript, I formulated tentative guides for the organization of content which was systematically extracted from Awo's and Zik's books. In this section the categories, or operational code elements, which are based upon, but not limited by, these guides are summarized. Awo and Zik demand independence--political, economic, and social-cultural; recognition of Nigerian excellence on the bases of the country's historical achievement, competition, and model function; Nigerian unity and civility; and black humanitarianism.

Among the more prominent expectations considered dysfunctional to realizing their demands are these: traditional rulers with inordinate powers gained through British rule, some traditional customs and prejudices, the Nigerian inferiority complex, excrescences of Western civilization, lack of finances for extensive social welfare programs, and Nigerian inexperience in the art of diplomacy. Man is assumed both to be an animal and to be a resistant to oppression. These assumptions color their expectations about political life which entails hard knocks, compromises, complications, and disappointments. On the positive side, academic education is viewed as training ground for political life. Awo's and Zik's expectations about the future are that Africa is destined to become the continent of the present century; youth is the key to realizing their demands; Nigeria will most likely succeed in a democratic style and structure; a United States of Africa is a distant prospect; and world peace will be an unreality so long as there are colonial territories.

Awo's and Zik's reference identifications are the "messianic-patriot," their respective primary and ethnic groups, intellectuals, the "white man," and Western nations. Christian-sportsman ethics, with an emphasis on humanitarianism and labor, and social democracy, with overtones of salvation and optimism, are their rules of the game. Their strategies include persevering, planning, being rationally gradual, developing secondary socializing institutions, using efficacious pen and tongue propaganda, securing elite support, securing other support, maneuvering psychologically, and maneuvering internationally.

Findings Not Foreseen. Awo and Zik have a distaste for and reject neutrality as a means of fulfilling their demand for national sovereignty and independence. Awo wrote, "To pretend that neither of two diametrically opposed ideological camps is right or wrong, especially if we occupy an influential position in the assembly of nations, is to encourage evil-doing and to damp the ardour for well-doing."<sup>2</sup>

African bloc action, continental or regional, is perceived as a dream to be realized in the distant future because each African country jealously cherishes and guards its independence of action. Racial dissension within and between countries is also viewed as a Gordian knot which must be unraveled. In spite of these obstacles, however, Awo and Zik believe they should work toward the African unity.

The Nigerian inferiority complex and elite members' sensitivity to it loomed unexpectedly as almost the greatest modern factor dysfunctional to realizing their demands. This seems to be the basis of many elements

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<sup>2</sup>Obafemi Awolowo, Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), p. 310.

of the operational code, particularly with regard to desires to equal the Europeans (who implanted the complex) and to dispel the myth of Negro inferiority.

No evidence was found that the elite identify with the communists who achieved many goals comparable to those of the Nigerians. Perhaps the explanation for this lies in the conflict between communist identification and democratic rules of the game. Awo and Zik seem so imbued with the ideology of democracy and so committed to the Western model of representative government, that they feel taunted when Westerners condone an African interpretation of democracy which clearly violates Western conceptions and practices; they meet the insult with stricture and reprimands. Awo and Zik identify with black African countries, but not with all underdeveloped countries. This parallels Awo's and Zik's parochial "black humanitarianism."

#### IMPLICATIONS

What are some of the important implications of Awo's and Zik's operational code? The present study was justified on the grounds that these men are the social models and integrators of their societies, possessors of diffuse authority, actors in the international scene, and a gauge of evolving patterns. First, their operational code, as discovered in this study, supports Shils' proposition that the elites of the new states demand modernity. They mean, as Shils has written,

dynamic, concerned with the people, democratic, and egalitarian, scientific, economically advanced, sovereign, and influential....the 'interests of the people' are the engines of the dynamic society...the 'people' are not merely objects





of the care and solicitude of their rulers, but they are, as the 'nation,' also alleged to be the source of inspiration of these rulers.<sup>3</sup>

Awo's and Zik's code includes the strategy of securing competent (enlightened and skilled) elite support. They demand a welfare state, including the economic and social well-being of their people; indigenous traditions selectively fused with Western innovation; and a dynamic independent nation which has influence in the world arena. Their "hard work" doctrine leads them to exalt all forms of labor which are instrumental in realizing their demands.

Second, the operational code supports the proposition that the gap between the elite and the masses "renders certain elements of 'tutelary democracy' or oligarchy almost inevitable."<sup>4</sup> Although Awo and Zik demand and expect the masses to participate in the process of value negotiation sometime in the future, the level of participation presently demanded and expected is low, tutorial elite behavior high. This is because of the contemporary educational status of the masses. With increased education, there will probably be a concomitant increase in Awo's and Zik's demand for broadly based political participation.

If my constructed operational code is valid, a third implication is that the democratic model which has guided Nigeria's movement to independence, viz., a "regime of civilian rule through representative institutions in the matrix of public liberties,"<sup>5</sup> will continue to influence the polity and society. The democratic model is an integral part of Awo's

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<sup>3</sup>Edward Shils, "Political Development in the New States (I)," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2(3):265-92) April, 1960.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 281. See also Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik: A Selection From the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. 50.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Shils, "Political Development in the New States (II)," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2(4):379-411, July, 1960, p. 380.

and Zik's future demands and expectations. Their reference identifications are with democratic nations. Their belief in social democracy excludes non-democratic strategies. The post-independence era has thus far shown that democratic competition is encouraged. Awo's and Zik's concern for loyalty and discipline from their elite followings is comparable to the allegiance British political party leaders demand from their followers. This democratic commitment casts doubt upon the generalizability of Shils' proposition about elites in underdeveloped countries--that the "elites' notions are too undifferentiated and the exigencies of life are too demanding for them to select a single model, and to strive towards it unswervingly through thick and thin."<sup>6</sup> A corollary to this implication of democratic commitment is Awo's and Zik's political "distance" from states which have one-party rule, i.e., in the former's words, "counterfeit democracy."<sup>7</sup>

Fourth, their operational code includes identification with their respective ethnic groups and other individuals and groups. If Eisenstadt's finding--that Israeli immigrant identification with the new society is largely effected through the mediating function of the elite--can be applied to the identification of Nigerians to their State, then Awo and Zik are helping followers who identify with them (and thus have some feeling of security within the new system and of belonging to it) to make the transition from the traditional to the modern as they, the elite-members, perceive and communicate it. Hence, they are increasing

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 381.

<sup>7</sup> Awolowo, op. cit., p. 305.

national integration and civility. The charismatic leadership existing in the East with Zik and to a lesser extent with Awo in the West (Awo has utilized the descent myth by organizing descendants of the mythical founder of the Yoruba peoples) serves as a vehicle for the transfer of loyalties and legal authority to the territorial authority.<sup>8</sup>

A sixth implication, based upon Awo's and Zik's belief that it is man's nature to resist oppression, is that they will tend to avoid oppression and to support and demand support from others for those who attempt to resist it. Thus they expect and will assist, within the parameters of their operational code, rebellious, "modern" movements in Africa. They give moral support and economic assistance (usually indirect, e.g., applying economic boycotts against oppressors) rather than the military training and aid given by such countries as Algeria, Ghana, and Guinea.

#### FUTURE RESEARCH

In this study I have outlined the hypothetical operational code of Awo and Zik. That such a formulation has significance for political science and public policy is aptly pointed out by Lasswell: "Effective social and behavioral science depends upon perfecting a continuing, comprehensive survey of world predispositions."<sup>9</sup> He answers the appropriate question of how elite studies will affect elites, recognizing this as a special case of how the social sciences affect society:

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<sup>8</sup>See David E. Apter, The Gold Coast in Transition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 320, on the function of charisma.

<sup>9</sup>Harold D. Lasswell, "Agenda for the Study of Political Elites," in Dwaine Marvick (ed.), Political Decision-Makers (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961), p. 280.

To the extent that procedures and results are public and competitive, democratic tendencies are favored, since they foster the simultaneous improvement of insight and understanding.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, necessary future research includes (1) the further development, adaptation, and refinement of the code model, (2) testing the code against action to assess its validity, (3) testing a refined code over time in order to assess the extent to which transformation has taken place in the code and in the elite, and (4) discovering the situations during which elements of the operational code are differentially manifested. Some specific aspects of the operational code may be worth pursuing. Here are two examples: What are the consequences of Awo's style as opposed to Zik's style? Is the former's rational and programmatic approach or the latter's flamboyant and emotional appeal more efficacious? What impact does each have on the subsequent elite? the mass? Another area for investigation is the extent to which the elite project their operational code in the texts used in schools. A National Textbook Committee was created to expurgate the doctrine of Negro and African inferiority. Texts might be examined to see what is emphasized, what ideas the youth are being socialized to, what symbols are employed. European education created the new Nigerian elite--Awo and Zik--with a democratic orientation; Nigerian education might create a different kind of elite.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 281.

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