

Zikism and the Nigerian Adoption of
Gandhi's Discourse of Colonial Resistance

By

Matthew Robert Redmond
B.A., Okanagan University College, 2002

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

© Matthew Robert Redmond, 2004
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Zikism and the Nigerian Adoption of
Gandhi's Discourse of Colonial Resistance

By

Matthew Robert Redmond
B.A., Okanagan University College, 2002

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Martin Bunton, (Department of History)
Supervisor

Dr. Elizabeth Vibert, (Department of History)
Departmental Member

Dr. Radhika Desai, (Department of Political Science)
Outside Member

Dr. Eric Roth, (Department of Anthropology)
External Examiner

Dr. Martin Bunton, Supervisor (Department of History)

Dr. Elizabeth Vibert, Departmental Member (Department of History)

Dr. Radhika Desai, Outside Member (Department of Political Science)

Dr. Eric Roth, External Examiner (Department of Anthropology)

ABSTRACT

The age of Gandhian resistance left a substantial mark on the landscape of colonial Nigeria. Until the emergence of the Zikist Movement in 1946 Nigerian nationalists were content to talk and write, going no further than superficially criticizing the colonial government. The emergence of the Zikists marked the beginning of "Direct Action," as Nigerian nationalists were pressed to support their words with action. Based on the ideological formulations of Nnamdi Azikiwe and Nwafor Orizu, the Zikists sought effective techniques to actualize their desire for national independence. Following in the footsteps of Gandhi, the Zikist Movement attempted to achieve independence through the use of non-violent civil disobedience, boycotts and politicized strikes. Despite the significant role they played in the Nigerian nationalist movement, the Zikists have been largely overlooked in the extant literature.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Dedications.....	vi
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 – Early Reformist Nationalism.....	36
Chapter 3 - The Emergence of the Zikists.....	59
Chapter 4 - Direct Action.....	73
Chapter 5 – Endgame for the Zikists.....	86
Bibliography.....	98

Acknowledgments

The embryonic ideas for this thesis arose when I was an undergraduate, studying African and Indian history with Dr. Sahadeo Basdeo. I would like to thank him for his academic passion, which spawned in me the interest in these topics. I would also like to extend my thanks to Dr. Greg Blue and Dr. Martin Bunton, who both really helped me shape the topic and thesis.

I would like to dedicate this work to my parents, for their undying love and support, constantly pushing me to achieve my potential in all of life's adventures

Chapter 1 - Introduction

It is these Revolutionary Movements, these Insurrectionary out-breaks, these Blitzkrieg operations, these Renascent Upsurges, these Rebellious Uprisings, these Universal Risorgimentos, these Merciless, massive, elemental waves, sweeping continents, submerging all countries, deluging governments, intoxicating peoples and races, and ploughing their irresistible ways to Destiny that compel us to become a People Renascent; to ASSERT, to DEMAND, to SNATCH, and if necessary, to SMASH our way into FREEDOM, into Self-Determinate Sovereign National Independence.¹

The question of India's influence over the Nigerian independence movement first confronted me as an undergraduate student. At the time I thought it was an interesting issue that deserved far more attention than it was given. It was not until later that I realized how cursory my introduction to the topic had been. I had been introduced to the different forms of nationalist struggles in Africa – violent and non-violent – and I was familiar with the suggestion that India had served as a model for Nigerians. But if Nigeria used India as a model, there had to be more depth to the relationship, more to it than just a shared belief in non-violence. Analysis of Ghana's history provides examples of a rich Gandhian discourse of non-violent civil disobedience, and yet for Nigeria there is very little explanation of the non-violent nationalist movement.

Searching for a greater understanding of Nigeria's non-violent trends I started examining secondary sources on Nigerian history. Though many writers make

¹ Adelabu was a Yoruban nationalist leader and prominent member of the National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Here is addressing directly the influence of the Gandhian struggle for independence in India, as well as other nationalist struggles, on Nigerian nationalism. Adegoke Adelabu, *Africa in Ebullition: A Handbook of Freedom for Nigerian Nationalists* (Ibadan: The Union Printing Press, 1951), p.35.

reference to Nigeria's history of non-violence there is very little discussion of why or how non-violence was used to achieve independence. Among those authors who specifically mention India's influence on Nigerian independence, discussions tend to be superficial, and simply based on the fact that India was the first colony to achieve independence, thus paving the way for others. It was only through the use of primary historical material that I was better able to understand the development of Nigerian nationalism, and see the role of its central actors and organizations.

Through this research I became more familiar with Nnamdi Azikiwe and his work on Nigerian nationalism and unity. Best known for his 1937 book *Renascent Africa*, Azikiwe founded the Zik Printing Press, which he used to propagate his nationalist doctrines. My primary source work began by sifting through newspapers searching for mention of India and of Gandhi's influence on Nigerian nationalism. Sorting through a decade's worth of *West African Pilots* and *Daily Comets* (1937-47), I found that Azikiwe not only closely followed Gandhi's nationalist exploits, but also promoted them in his papers.² It was at this point that I became aware of how marginalized the Zikist Movement was in historical studies of Nigerian nationalism. As a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement that incorporated Gandhian doctrines in its nationalist agitation, the Zikists became the focal point of my study.

Much of the secondary literature concerning the Zikist Movement distorts its significance as a nationalist force, either giving it no credit or merely treating it as an appendage of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). These authors neglect the influence of the Indian nationalist example in the creation of the

Zikist Movement. Many historians and former colonial officials entirely omit discussions of the Zikist Movement or incorrectly classify it as the NCNC youth wing. For example, among colonial officials, Governor John Macpherson (1948-53)³ believed that the Zikist Movement was merely the radical wing of the NCNC.⁴ When the colonial police raided the NCNC Federal Secretariat in Lagos in 1948 searching for seditious material, they stated that they saw no difference between the NCNC and the Zikists; yet, Sa'ad Zungur, NCNC Federal Secretary, responded by stating that "the NCNC is the whole and the Zikist Movement is only part of that whole," and Zikist Deputy President General Agwuna added, "an autonomous part too."⁵ Nigerian historian G.O. Olusanya ignores the significant role played by the Zikists in both "India and Nigerian Nationalism" and *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*. In "India and Nigerian Nationalism" Olusanya gives a superficial discussion of India's influence on the Nigerian nationalist movement. Rather than discuss the specificity of how India influenced Nigeria through the adoption of Gandhian methods, he merely presents several quotations from Nigerian leaders concerning their knowledge of Indian affairs. This article makes no mention of the Zikist Movement and its support for and implementation of Satyagraha⁶, a term we will discuss below; it simply states that India was a source of inspiration for

² The reason I chose these two papers was because they were representative of the major ethnic divide in Nigeria between North and South. I wanted to ensure that I read more than what merely a small portion of the population was exposed to.

³ Sir John Macpherson replaced Governor Richards as the Governor of Nigeria in 1948. Macpherson was more liberal in his colonial attitude than Richards, and served as Governor until 1953.

⁴ Ehiedu E.G. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950: The Significance of the Zikist Movement* (Zaria [Nigeria]: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1996), p.34.

⁵ *West African Pilot*, 29 October 1948, p.3.

⁶ Satyagraha is a term that will be discussed in greater detail below. Concisely, it is a form of resistance pioneered by Gandhi, which involves the use of non-violent civil-disobedience, peaceful picketing, boycotts and politicized strikes.

Nigerian nationalists.⁷ Although Olusanya mentions the Zikist Movement in *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939-1953*, he inaccurately claims that the movement was created as an organization whose goal was the protection of its “messianic” leader from assassination.⁸

Given the conventional communalist slant in historical accounts of Nigeria’s march towards independence,⁹ it is important to stress that both the Zikist Movement and the early NCNC were pan-Nigerian in disposition. In treating the NCNC as a pan-Nigerian body, however, one must separate the distinct phases of its existence. Between 1944 and 1951 the NCNC’s structural orientation was distinctly different from its post-1951 outlook, when the country was rocked by the emergence of communal strife. Until the 1951 creation of Obafemi Awolowo’s Action Group (AG) as a political party solely representative of the Yoruba, the NCNC had incorporated Yoruba, Hausa Fulani, and Ibo together. Prior to 1951 Azikiwe was simultaneously a member of Herbert Macaulay’s Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and leader of the NCNC. Confronted with a Yoruban united front, however, Azikiwe shifted the focus of the NCNC organization from that of a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement into an ethnically defined political party voicing Ibo demands. Many historians of Nigerian history gloss over the 1944-1951 period, over-generalizing and conflating it into a larger narrative of the communalism that dominated from the 1950s. For instance, according to Helen Metz, in the postwar period, party lines were sharply drawn on the basis of

⁷ See G.O. Olusanya, “India and Nigerian Nationalism,” *Indian Council for Africa; Indian Center for Africa*, Vol.V (5), Oct.-Dec. 1965.

⁸ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.115.

⁹ Historians of Nigeria have traditionally treated Nigeria’s history of independence as a time of ethnic conflict. Rather than emphasize the positive communal achievements of the Zikist, they have documented the rise of ethnic conflict and the resultant civil war.

ethnicity and regionalism; after the demise of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), the nationalist movement splintered into the Hausa- and Fulani- backed Northern People's Congress (NPC), the Yoruba-supported Action Group, and the Igbo-dominated National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.¹⁰ Metz over-generalizes to the point where she entirely misrepresents the post-war period. I argue by contrast that communalization did not arise until after an initial era of pan-Nigerian unity (1944-1950).

In *Nigeria and Ghana*, John E. Flint proposes to outline a concise history of the Nigerian colony, from its amalgamation to independence. Rather than focus on the truly national efforts of the Zikists and the NCNC before it gained party status in 1957, he focuses on communalism in the period 1951-1960, which he characterizes as an era in which Nigerian politicians fought amongst themselves rather than against the British.¹¹

Taking this 1951 shift in the NCNC into consideration makes it evident, moreover, that the Ibo people were not the only ethnic group using the Indian example. Rather, as a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement, the 1945-50 NCNC incorporated not only the Southeast and Southwest, but also the North. The Zikist Movement took the same pan-Nigerian disposition and organized across Nigeria, believing that the national confrontation with the British took precedence over any differences that may have been cultivated by the British under the guise of indirect rule.¹² Operating within the pan-Nigerian creed Azikiwe cultivated, the Zikists believed that "Tribal appellations cause tribal idiosyncrasies; these lead ultimately to vanity and superciliousness and

¹⁰ Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, p.41.

¹¹ See John E. Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

¹² For a greater discussion on the implications of indirect rule in Nigeria and Africa at large, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

disharmony ... Fante or Ga, Temne or Mende, Yoruba or Ibo, Bantu or Tuareg, Bubi or Hausa, Jollof or Kru - all are African - all are human beings."¹³

Despite the "backward" reputation of the Northern Protectorate, several of the most influential pan-Nigerian nationalists were recruited there. While many historians portray the north as culturally primitive, backward,¹⁴ and in many instances anti-nationalist, many northerners joined the Zikists. The most prominent of these was Habib Raji Abdallah, a widely known national activist elected President-General of the Zikists in 1947. The *West African Pilot* celebrated his election under the headline "Be This The Herald of Great Things," stating that "The Zikist Movement...made history at its first annual conference when it elected a Northerner as its President-General."¹⁵ This trend of promoting national unity continued for the following two years. In 1948 Osita A. Agwuna, Deputy President General, undertook a tour of the north on behalf of the Zikists and the NCNC to propagate their nationalist ideologies.¹⁶ The Zikists, more than anyone, realized the significance of national unity in their anti-colonial agenda.

This thesis will argue that the Zikist Movement was created as a result of the inefficiency of the NCNC's agitation. In the face of inadequate constitutional means of opposition, including petitions and verbal and written denunciations, Nduke Eze called urgently for "Actionism."¹⁷ The Zikist Movement that emerged in response to this call

¹³ Azikiwe, *Renasant Africa*, p.9. Also see Iweriebor's *Radical Politics In Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.5.

¹⁴ See John E. Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana*, as an example.

¹⁵ *West African Pilot*, August 8, 1947, p.2.

¹⁶ See *West African Pilot*, May 18, 1948, p.1, and Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.124-125.

¹⁷ Nduke Eze was a labor leader and co-founder of the Zikist Movement, discussed in greater detail below. *Nigerian Spokesman*, September 10, 1946.

was not merely an appendage of the NCNC; while closely associated, it was an independent structural entity employing Gandhian methods to emancipate Nigeria.

Neglect of the Zikists in many works on the Nigerian nationalist movement raises the question of which aspects of the independence movement historians have focused on and why. For example, many authors seem to favor examining the communal aspect of Nigerian history, glossing over organizations that promoted pan-Nigerian nationalism. This perspective is used to explain why Nigeria remained under British rule until 1960, and why democratic governance fell apart so soon after independence. Nevertheless, the Zikists had such a prominent impact on so many aspects of Nigeria's independence movement that it is difficult to understand how they can remain so neglected. Much like the NCNC, the Zikists embraced the entire colony, regardless of ethnicity. As we will see, they went further than the NCNC in achieving pan-Nigerian cooperation, as they were the first organization to have a northern Hausa-Fulani as President General.

As a result of the neglect to date of this rich period in Nigerian history, this thesis is a re-evaluation of Nigerian colonial history. In many cases it appears that historians of Nigeria have written history backwards, starting their work with the outcome in mind, and manipulating their portrayal of that history to best fit that outcome. The traditional interpretation of Nigerian history has stressed communalism, primarily focusing on ethnic conflict.¹⁸ Bearing this in mind it becomes evident why most historians of Nigeria gloss over or exclude the Zikist Movement.

¹⁸ We will see this later in Helen Chapin Metz's *Nigeria: A Country Study* (Washington: Federal Research Division [Library of Congress], 1992).

As mentioned above, the traditional portrayal of the Zikist Movement has been that of a NCNC youth movement, whose sole purpose was the protection of Azikiwe. These authors have portrayed Azikiwe in a very favorable light, as a nationalist with the best of intentions. My interpretation is considerably different. As we will find, the Zikist Movement was an independent structural entity, based loosely on the ideology of Nwafor Orizu's *Without Bitterness*, a critique and extension of Azikiwe's *Renascent Africa*. It was the Zikist Movement that finally pushed Nigerian nationalism into a new chapter of existence, one that was not based on talking and writing, but on action; and that action was formulated on Gandhi's doctrines of non-violent civil disobedience. As I elevate the status of the Zikist Movement from its neglect in the traditional literature, I must also re-evaluate Azikiwe's status. While many authors praise his nationalist efforts, the Zikists refocus our perspective. Bringing the Zikists into the equation one begins to see a more apprehensive side of Azikiwe. Though he is touted as the central pan-Nigerian nationalist, Azikiwe isolated the Zikists; rather than embrace the Zikists as a step towards Nigerian nationalist mobilization, Azikiwe turned face. As the Zikists appealed for Azikiwe's help with their civil disobedience movements, Azikiwe vehemently denied them this support; Azikiwe even denounced the Zikist Movement, despite its ideological connection with his nationalist rhetoric. While Azikiwe stressed the importance of non-violent civil disobedience in his publications, he was not willing to do any more than talk about it.

Though it appears that Azikiwe backed away from his own strong nationalist rhetoric, it remains to be seen whether the Zikists elevated him to a position he did not deserve, thus setting themselves up for disappointment. Either way, what is needed is

a reassessment of Nigerian history, stressing the communal cooperation within the Zikist Movement, and the use of that cooperation within the structure of non-violent civil disobedience. Nigerian nationalists were greatly affected by Gandhi's doctrines, and adopted a great number of those doctrines in the quest for self-determination.

The dominant Nigerian nationalist narrative revolves around two trends. The first is of Azikiwe as the central pan-Nigerian nationalist responsible for Nigeria's nationalist development. The second is of a country plagued with communalist conflict throughout its colonial history, and its consequent deterioration into civil war and military dictatorship thereafter. An examination of the often misrepresented Zikist Movement alters these perspectives. When taking the Zikists' role into consideration, one sees a different side to Azikiwe, a side not conducive to a strong nationalist leader, but one that was more willing to talk about nationalism than to act on its behalf. A study of the Zikist Movement also sheds light on a very important five year period in Nigerian history during which communalism was not the dominant discourse: rather pan-Nigerian cooperation was responsible for nationalist agitation. By considering the Zikist Movement as the pan-Nigerian nationalist movement it was, the history of Nigeria is given a greater density. The Zikist story gives Nigerian history more complexity, filling in gaps that have been left in many traditional Nigerian histories.

This thesis is composed of three sections that examine Nigeria's use of the Indian example. I start with Azikiwe and the Zik Printing Press because he, and by extension his newspapers, constitutes the dominant Nigerian nationalist voice. It was from Azikiwe's initial ideology that the Zikists emerged. Having set out the importance of the Indian example, and its national propagation, the thesis then discusses the

creation of the Zikist Movement and considers its direct application of Gandhian discourse. While the Zik Press enlightened the masses on the nature of Gandhian methods, it was left to the Zikists to implement these methods. Incorporating key elements of Satyagraha, the Zikists moved to undermine Britain's hegemonic hold on Nigeria, but found the task more daunting than they anticipated.¹⁹

Background

Preceding British colonialism there was no state known as Nigeria, nor a widespread belief that the amalgamation of the ethnicities occupying that landmass constituted a nation. According to historian Eghosa E. Osaghae:

What existed in the period before the establishment of colonial rule was a motley COLLECTION? of diverse groups whose histories and interactions, interlaced as they were by external influences...nevertheless crystallized in three clearly discernible regional formations.²⁰

The north was composed of Muslim groups linked to North Africa, the Mediterranean and the Arab world: composed of thirty-six ethnic groupings, the largest was the Hausa-Fulani.²¹ The west was composed of eight closely related ethnicities, the largest of which was Yoruban,²² while the east was occupied by eighteen ethnic groups, the most notable of which was the Ibos.²³ What one must remember when taking this ethnic diversity into account is that for the most part they were not necessarily in conflict, as

¹⁹ As we will see below, Nigerian nationalists faced a much more determined British colonizer than India. This point will become clear with the discussion of the Second Imperialism Movement.

²⁰ Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Nigeria Since Independence: Crippled Giant* (London: Hurst, 1998), p.2.

²¹ Osaghae, *Nigeria Since Independence: Crippled Giant*, p.xxi.

²² *Ibid.*, p.3.

²³ *Ibid.*

their relationships tended to be based on mutually beneficial dependence and interaction.

Before the conclusion of the Second World War Nigeria was a relatively quiet British colonial possession, modestly affected by nationalist sentiment as compared to South Asia. From the establishment of the divided jurisdiction named Nigeria in 1897, through the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates, to the 1936 creation of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), most Nigerians were not altogether opposed to British colonialism.²⁴ That feeling changed rapidly with the global developments that accompanied the Allied victory in 1945 and set the stage for Indian independence in 1947. The Indian independence movement clearly helped other British colonial subjects envision their own freedom.

In the late 1940s many young Nigerian nationalists sought to educate both their fellow nationalists and the masses concerning India's example and its relevance to achieving their own ambitions. Standing out as the most glorified Nigerian nationalist in the pre-independence period, Nnamdi Azikiwe planted the seeds of the Indian example through his leadership of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and the nationalist disposition he promoted in the Zikist Press Group. Yet while planting the ideological seeds of independence in the minds of young aspiring nationalists, Azikiwe was reluctant to cultivate for himself a Gandhian persona or to make the sorts of sacrifices expected of him by the program of civil disobedience as adopted by the Zikists in the Nigerian struggle. Nigerians found great inspiration from Indian achievements, taking from Gandhi techniques and ideas that would work in their

struggle for emancipation.²⁵ In 1936 Gandhi addressed the question of the application of his doctrines to Africa; he concluded that, since black people were in many ways the most “humiliated” in the world, they could become the best passive-resisters.²⁶ In fact, Gandhi suggested that “It may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world.”²⁷ Seeing similarities between their nations, early Nigerian nationalists believed that India’s example provided the key to national independence.

Seeing Azikiwe as a role model, many “renascent”²⁸ Africans moved to pick up the torch, including Kolawole Balogun, M.C.K. Ajuluchuku, Abiodun Aloba (a.k.a. Ebenezer Williams), and Nduka Eze, the founders of the Zikist Movement.²⁹ The roles of these leaders in the direction of the Zikist Movement are clarified by examining their education and career paths. Kolawole Balogun was born in 1922 in Otan Aiyegbaju, in present Oshun State. Balogun’s father was a produce trader who pushed him into education, which he started at Ebute Meta in Lagos, and finished in Ibadan. Between 1938 and 1943 he attended secondary school at Ibadan’s Government College. After a short hiatus with the United Africa Company (1944-46), he pursued a career in

²⁴ Toyin Falola, *The History of Nigeria* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. xv-xvi. Also see Helen Chapin Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 5th ed. (Washington: Federal Research Division [Library of Congress], 1992), pp.34-35.

²⁵ This point will be taken up in great detail below.

²⁶ Ali A. Mazrui and Michael Tidy, *Nationalism and the New States in Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p.17.

²⁷ Cited in Mazrui and Tidy, *Nationalism and the New States in Africa*, p.17.

²⁸The term “renascent” is borrowed from Azikiwe’s *Renascent Africa*. In this book Azikiwe makes a distinction between what he terms “old” Africa, “new” Africa, and the transitional period, “renascent” Africa. To put it succinctly, the older generation is “old” Africa, while the present younger generation is the “renascent,” looking to change and improve their continent. While the older generation is portrayed as content with colonialism, the new generation is willing to work progressively for a new national and international order. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), p.38.

²⁹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp. 33-34.

journalism, hired first by the *Nigerian Advocate*, soon departing to become the assistant editor of the *West African Pilot* (1947-48). From 1948-51 he attended the University of London, receiving a Bachelor of Law, while participating in the West African Student's Union (WASU) and the NCNC's London branch.³⁰ Strongly influenced by Azikiwe's educational and journalistic achievements, Balogun stated his passionate commitment to "the propagation of pan-Nigerian nationalism and national unity, anti-regionalism and anti-ethnicity, speedy national liberation through constitutional means if possible and a militant strategy of non-violence if necessary."³¹

Born in 1924 in Nnewi (present Anambra State), M.C.K. Ajuluchuku undertook his primary education at C.M.S. Central School. Awarded an academic scholarship, he attended Government College in Umuahia until transferring to Methodist College (an elite missionary school), where he graduated with a Cambridge School Certificate. From 1944-46 Ajuluchuku attended Yaba Higher College on a science scholarship, following this he took employment with the *Nigerian Advocate*. This was followed by two years as the assistant editor at the *Comet* (1946-47). From the *Comet* he went to America for higher education.³² While known for his literary skill, Ajuluchuku's true gift lay in organization; he made his greatest contributions to the movement during its early phase (1946-47), organizing numerous public and private meetings, while giving the movement's activities maximum publicity.³³

Abiodun Aloba was born in 1921 in Igbara-Oke, in present Ondo State. After completing his primary education at St. Paul's School in Igbara-Oke (1931-36), he

³⁰ S.A. Orimoloye, *Biographia Nigeriana* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977), pp.85-86.

³¹ Cited in Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.40.

³² *Ibid.*, p.41.

attended Government College in Ibadan (1938-43). After a brief stint with the UAC, Aloba entered journalism, where he became the assistant editor of the *Nigerian Advocate* (1945-46), followed by the *West African Pilot* (1946 and 1948), the *Daily Service* (1947), and the *Eastern States Express* (1949 and 1951-52).³⁴ Although Aloba was crucial in developing the movement's early publicity and attended all its early meetings, his later involvement was limited.

Born in Asaba (present Delta State) in 1925, Nduka Eze attended missionary schools until 1944. From 1944 to 1946 he was employed as a UAC Clerk, and shortly thereafter as assistant editor of the *Nigerian Advocate*. After a short time in journalism, Eze entered the labor movement as the Secretary-General of the Amalgamated Union of United Africa Company African Workers, Nigeria and Cameroons (UNAMAG).³⁵ Eze stressed the importance of both the youth and the labor movements. Speaking on the youth and Zikist Movement,

He acknowledged the inspirational role of their predecessors such as Macaulay and Azikiwe, but argued that in the current period it was the responsibility of youth to seize the gauntlet thrown down by their predecessors and advance the cause of nationalism further.³⁶

From the onset of Nigeria's serious anti-colonialist efforts after the Second World War, one can see that its leadership was similar to India's. In India, Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru were all lawyers, but perhaps their most important role in the nationalist

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Who's Who in Nigeria: A Biographical Dictionary* (Lagos: A Daily Times Publication, 1956), pp.71-73.

³⁵ James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p.304.

³⁶ *Nigerian Spokesman*, 11 September 1946, p.2.

movement concerned their journalism.³⁷ The leaders of Nigerian nationalism were primarily journalists, occupying many of the leading positions in both the NCNC and Zikist Movement. Educated in the United States, Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1937 and introduced a new form of journalism, one that, though often ungrammatical, was “racy” and “irreverent,” in ways many found to be “shockingly direct, even crude”.³⁸ Following in the footsteps of their charismatic leader, the leaders of the Zikist Movement were mainly young, prominent journalists. In their early twenties, three of the Zikist founding fathers were editors and assistant editors at major newspapers within the Zik Press Group. Balogun and Aloba worked for the *West African Pilot*, while Ajuluchuku was employed by the *Daily Comet*.³⁹ As was the case in India, to be a journalist in Nigeria at that time meant one had an interest in ideas and politics, and thus was engaged in propagating and organizing the nationalist movement.

Based on a relatively uncritical understanding of Azikiwe’s ideology as presented in *Renascent Africa* and Nwafor Orizu’s *Without Bitterness*, the Zikist Movement took shape.⁴⁰ Building on the pan-Nigerianism of the NCNC, the Zikist Movement sought to organize and incorporate the entire colony in its political movement, irrespective of class and ethnic differences. Prior to the fanning of communal flames in 1951, both the

³⁷ D. A. Low (ed.), *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle, 1917-47* (Missouri: South Asia Books, 1977), p.18.

³⁸ John E. Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p.160. See also Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939-1953* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1973), p.143.

³⁹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.34.

⁴⁰ While many historians and authors of Nigerian history have associated Zikism directly with Azikiwe on account of the apparent similarities between the movement’s name and Azikiwe’s nickname, Zik, the connection can be misleading. Rather, Zikism was created by Nwafor Orizu in his 1944 work, *Without Bitterness*. Also see Nwafor Orizu, *Original Zikism* (Onitsha: United Publishers, n.d.) and Nwafor Orizu, “Zikism: A Philosophy for a New Order,” *Tomorrow*, May 1944, pp.32-36. Orizu chose the name to pay homage to Azikiwe, from whom he took early inspiration.

NCNC and the Zikist Movement seemed able to achieve a broadly national level of harmony and cooperation.

The Zikist Movement was like a metaphorical octopus, incorporating many different arms into its organization in an attempt to impact every aspect of the colony. Zikist tentacles reached not only into the political and social life of the colony, but also into its religious and economic dimensions. While the movement utilized Satyagraha and non-violent civil disobedience within the political realm, it created subsidiary organizations to affect other pertinent areas. For instance the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons (National Church) was created in 1948 to directly address the independence movement's religious concerns. S.M. Juwe, a "prolithic [sic]" pamphleteer for the National Church stated:

Foreign churches mean foreign ideas and foreign traditions. Church is where dogmas and creed are used to hold men in subjection; that is why we get [sic] National Church to bring all Africans back from foreign ideas and traditions.⁴¹

Similarly, in the economic and cultural domains, the Zikist Movement became closely associated with Mbonu Ojike, the "Boycott King," pioneer of the "Cultural Renaissance Movement."⁴² This cultural revivalist movement aimed to remove unnecessary foreign commodities, invoking a fresh sense of nationalist fervor and cultural pride.⁴³ Ojike's boycott movement was based closely on India's Swadeshi movement, and aimed to cripple Britain's economic infrastructure and undermine its

⁴¹ S.M. Juwe, *Why is the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the God of Africa?* (Port Harcourt: Goodwill Press, n.d.), p.6. The description "prolithic" came from Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.89.

⁴² Wale Ademoyega, *The Federation of Nigeria: from Earliest Times to Independence* (London: Harrap, 1962), p.165.

⁴³ Cultural nationalism advocated the use of indigenous names, food, clothes, fashions, festivals, religions, and literature. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.92.

legitimacy.⁴⁴ While Ojike was never a registered member of the Zikist Movement, he participated in Nigerian Nationalist Federation of Labour (NNFL) movements.⁴⁵ Created as a Zikist radical splinter group of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the NNFL came to incorporate nearly half of Nigeria's affiliated unions.⁴⁶

Leaders of the Zikist Movement saw parallels between India and Nigeria, and thus sought to incorporate Gandhian methods to bolster their anti-colonial stance. In fact, as part of learning from external examples, Balogun suggested the possibility of "sending members of the Zikist Movement to India to learn the techniques of civil disobedience."⁴⁷ Concurrently, they were realistic in recognizing that they could and would only adopt certain parts of Gandhi's methods, not all of which were relevant in Nigeria. Balogun also stated that "in devising a strategy for Nigeria, external examples should be combined with locally formulated methods to produce a suitable strategy."⁴⁸

In India Gandhi fused politics and nationalist action with religion. Unlike Nehru's secularism, Gandhi saw politics and religion as intimately intertwined, everything having been originally derived from religious doctrine.⁴⁹ Faith in God was thus a necessary condition of the Satyagrahi's redemption, since "to practice Ahimsa and Satyagraha there had to be self-purification as also faith in God. For only an unshakable faith in God could give the Satyagrahi power to withstand the superior forces of violence."⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.115.

⁴⁵ Members of the Zikist Movement were registered, having to pay subscription fees and give periodic donations. These subscription fees and donations were how the Zikist Movement was primarily funded. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.38, p.94.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.215-217.

⁴⁷ Kolawole Balogun, *What Nigeria Wants* (Yaba: Chuks, 1947), p.1.

⁴⁸ Balogun, *What Nigeria Wants*, p.1. See also Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.130.

⁴⁹ Sankar Ghose, *Modern Indian Political Thought* (New Delhi: Allied, 1984), p.142.

⁵⁰ A Satyagrahi is a practitioner of Satyagraha. Ghose, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p.142.

The concrete goal of independence in Nigeria took precedence over the methods used to achieve it; in India, Gandhi insisted on letting his peaceful method of realizing independence take precedence over the ultimate goal.⁵¹ Therefore, the Zikists chose to adopt certain elements they believed would provide success, including non-violent civil disobedience, boycott campaigns, pickets and politicized strikes. They excluded other elements seen as impractical, including Gandhi's fusion of religion and politics, and his idealism of placing the means on the same level as the end. According to Okoye:

In the absence of material force, the *satyagrahi* believes that by insulting the dignity of the state, by outraging the decencies of public life, by defying all the rules which regulate the action of men, by obstructing any rule or law that inhibit life, by disrupting the whole sclerotic fabric of the status quo and doing things never before done or dreamed of by earlier reformists, by disciplined application of his moral power in defiance of violent tyranny and by non-co-operation, strikes, boycotts, sanctions and demonstrations he might oblige the oppressor to listen to his demands. Non-co-operation is essentially the notion that it is shameful to assist the oppressor in maintaining his domination.⁵²

Compared to Gandhi's experience in India, the Nigerian practitioners of such methods were not as successful; the majority of Nigerian nationalists were not as willing to make sacrifices for national independence. It appears that a major reason behind their unwillingness to participate was the relatively short period during which they had

⁵¹ Gandhi was known for ending civil disobedience activities when they began to leave the parameters of his idealism. Many believed he was compromising his political goals, but he believed in the strict application of his doctrines. For example, in 1922 Gandhi feared losing control of the Satyagraha movement he had launched in response to the Amritsar Massacre. Following the murder of twenty-two Indian constables at Chauri Chaura he demanded the abandonment of the movement, stating "God...has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that non-violent and truthful atmosphere which alone can justify mass disobedience, which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, willful yet loving, never criminal and hateful." Quoted in Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 306-307.

⁵² Okoye, *Vistas of Life*, p.191.

been subjected to colonial rule. The length of time Indians spent under the repressive state of British colonialism made them believe that they had nothing to lose, and that they should give everything they could towards the acquisition of independence. While Indians had endured colonial bondage for centuries, and had been the victims of great atrocities (for example, the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, the 1919 Amritsar Massacre), Nigeria's situation was different. There was a much shorter time span between the beginning of Nigeria's subjection to colonialism and the development of their nationalist movement; also, they did not have an incident of great atrocity that could serve as a potent symbol of the illegitimate and horrible nature of colonialism. Thus, beyond the core Zikist leaders the masses were not broadly receptive to Zikist calls for action against British rule. While the leading Zikists had grandiose plans for mass movements and protests, they lacked the ability to convince the masses to participate to the extent needed to shake British rule. While there were particular campaigns and agitations that achieved a significant following, there were many more that the colonial rulers brushed aside. The Sedition Trials (1948-50) highlighted Zikist weakness, as observers came to see that the secondary Zikist leadership was unwilling to make sacrifices for the movement. Rather than accept jail time as an act of martyrdom, many Zikists chose to pay a fine to remain free.

In short, for reasons that were in many cases beyond the Zikist leaders' control, the application of Indian methods was not as successful as Zikist leaders had envisioned. Fortunately, India had set in motion the process of decolonisation, which would reverberate throughout the British Empire, compromising British colonial attitudes. Following the conclusion of the Second World War, decolonisation became a

global reality, as nationalist forces around the world worked to end direct colonial rule.⁵³ While the NCNC and the Zikists, the two central pan-Nigerian nationalist movements, were not directly responsible for the eventual achievement of independence, they were not without importance in building anti-colonial pressures. They made significant contributions to Nigeria's intellectual and political history, while many of their leaders emerged after 1951 to lead the constitutional discussions that would eventually engineer self-government and complete autonomy.

Process of Nigerian Independence

The formulation of a Nigerian nationalism began with its unification in 1914. Disaffection among Nigeria's elite was nearly immediate, as they came together to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1922. On a superficial level the creation of this organization appears to have been a step towards nationalism and mass participation. But the NNDP remained a Lagosian elitist political party, whose membership consisted of doctors, lawyers and prominent businessmen who pursued not independence but a greater voice in the governance of Nigeria (especially where economic structures were concerned).⁵⁴ It was only when the effects of the Great Depression weakened the colonial economy that larger groups of people began to take interest in Nigerian independence.

Not an industrial nation, Nigeria was strongly affected by the Great Depression. According to Elizabeth Isichei, there was a precipitous drop in the buying power of

⁵³ Colonialism was to live on in the form of neocolonial exploitation, a phenomenon which remains prevalent today. As historians, if we consider decolonisation as the destruction of all colonization, we cannot claim that it ended with the admittance of Africa into the United Nations as autonomous states.

Nigeria's exports from 1929 on, the years of the Great Depression; simultaneously, the price paid for exports dropped, and the price of consumer goods rose.⁵⁵ The drop in the economy was accompanied by widespread unemployment and a drastic fall in both real wages and profits. Disenchantment with the colonial government became much more common, as Nigerians started to think beyond mere participation in the colonial bureaucracy to political independence from it.⁵⁶

In 1934 the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was created to "protest against the establishment by the Nigerian Government of a post-secondary educational institution in Lagos, the Higher College Yaba."⁵⁷ The young educated professionals in Lagos protested its creation because they felt it was educating a "half-baked" class of professionals to compete with them.⁵⁸ Although founded on and motivated by "occupational and professional jealousies," the movement quickly became politically active, fighting against imperialism, economic exploitation and social inequality.⁵⁹ The movement's public objectives were:

The unification of the different tribes of Nigeria by adopting and encouraging means which will foster better understanding and cooperation between the tribes so that they may come to have a common ideal; complete autonomy for Nigeria within the British Empire and economic opportunities equal to those enjoyed by foreigners.⁶⁰

Though the Second World War was an economic catalyst in industrial countries, the war further eroded Nigeria's economic situation. While the demand for primary

⁵⁴ Okoi Arikpo, *The Development of Modern Nigeria* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), p.57.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria With a Contribution by Peter Uche Isichei* (New York: Longman, 1983), p.416.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Arikpo, *The Development of Modern Nigeria*, p.58.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.59.

products increased drastically, imports were scarce; shortages, especially in food, began to spread. Based largely on the ideas expressed in the 1941 Atlantic Charter, declaring the universal application of the right to self-determination, Nigerians supported the war, despite its ill effects on their livelihood.⁶¹ The end of the war thus ushered in a new era in Nigerian history, one of intense nationalism and radical action.

Citing de Toqueville, Isichei theorizes that "a situation where things are improving can produce more revolutionary fervour than absolute deprivation and despair."⁶² After the conclusion of the Second World War Europe began the process of reconstruction and prices for primary products increased dramatically.⁶³ This contributed to Nigeria's economic development, increasing the people's desire for control over their own destiny. It was at this point that Nigerian nationalists began to formulate specific ways in which self-determination could be achieved, inaugurating the radical nationalist phase of the Nigerian struggle for independence with the Zikist Movement and their Gandhian discourse.

In 1946 British Governor Arthur Richards had implemented the Richards Constitution (the details of which will be discussed below). While the constitution was a step forward for Nigeria, allowing for a greater measure of self-government, it was most unwelcome. While there may have been parts of the constitution that Nigerians desired, they loathed the fact that it had been implemented from above without proper consultation. According to historian Okoi Arikpo:

After 1949, the attempts by the Governors and the Legislative Council to improve on the Richards Constitution convinced Nigerians of all political shades that self-

⁶¹ The 1941 Atlantic Charter was intended for use in Europe after the Second World War, specifically in countries that had been captured by Germany. Its basic principle was the universal application of the right to national self-determination in those countries, primarily in Eastern Europe.

⁶² Isichei, *A History of Nigeria With a Contribution by Peter Uche Isichei*, p.416.

⁶³ Nigeria's primary products of mass export were cotton, groundnuts, cocoa, and palm products. Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, p.429.

government was the ultimate goal of British policy in Nigeria.⁶⁴

Governor Macpherson, Richards' successor, quickly realized that Nigeria's disdain for the Richards Constitution would not dissipate. Although the Richards Constitution was intended to last nine years, Governor Macpherson could not wait. In 1951 he issued the Macpherson Constitution, whose creation involved substantial Nigerian discussion and input at every level, from the grassroots to the educated elite. After another substantial Constitutional Conference in 1953, the Lyttleton Constitution was put in effect.⁶⁵ Another constitutional conference in 1957 added several amendments, the substance of which became Nigeria's first independent constitution in 1960.⁶⁶ This rapid succession of constitutions maintained a common theme of increased Nigerian participation in both constitutional talks and ensuing self-government.

Setting the Stage

The application of Gandhian strategies in Nigeria between 1945 and 1950 was the result of several converging factors. On the one hand, the success Gandhi and Nehru achieved in India weighed heavily on the minds of Nigerian nationalists. With the 1935 Government of India Act, Gandhian strategies had achieved a level of self-government, and a sense of progressing towards self-determination. By 1945 the British government and Colonial Office had assured India that independence would follow the end of the war. As a source of inspiration for anti-colonial struggles, India was reaching its peak by 1945, having achieved many victories, while closing in on its final goal.

⁶⁴ Arikpo, *The Development of Modern Nigeria*, p.63.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.99.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

However, in London, the conclusion of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new phase of British imperialism. Although Britain quit India, Burma, Ceylon and Palestine following the War, these decisions were not intended to mark the “end of empire” in any general sense.⁶⁷ Rather, 1945 to 1951 represented a period of colonial rejuvenation throughout the remainder of Britain's colonial possessions, as Whitehall sought to restore their economic contributions to the imperial coffers. According to J. Gallagher, “Africa would be a surrogate for India, more docile, more malleable, more pious.”⁶⁸ It would be a radical misconception to believe that after World War Two the internationally weakened and economically debilitated British state considered decolonisation a necessity throughout the Empire.

With the end of the war the tide turned in British politics, as the Conservatives lost the July 1945 election to Clement Attlee’s Labour Party.⁶⁹ This political victory gave many Nigerian nationalists the false impression that their continued subjugation would be short-lived, as the Labour Party was thought to be the most anti-colonial mainstream party in Britain.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, global and domestic circumstances propelled the Labour leadership towards a staunch conviction in the need for dependencies. Between 1945 and 1951 the Labour Party subjected sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Southeast Asia and the Middle East to a “New Imperialism,” or “second colonialism.”⁷¹

⁶⁷ J. Gallagher, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.11.

⁶⁸ Gallagher, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire*, p.146.

⁶⁹ Nicholas J. White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), p.3.

⁷⁰ That being said, one cannot think that “anti-colonial” in this context meant support for immediate independence, as anti-colonialism had only ever constituted a minority theme within the party.

⁷¹ White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.7.

Between 1945 and 1951 Britain took a much more interventionist stance in colonial affairs on the African continent.⁷² This trend saw, for example, the dramatic increase in employment within the Colonial Office: “the number of employees at the Colonial Office increased by forty-five percent between 1945 and 1954”.⁷³ In fact, between June 1945 and September 1948, the Colonial Office attracted 4,100 new recruits.⁷⁴ The purpose of this “New Imperialism” was straightforward, namely to rejuvenate the British economy by relieving the indebtedness generated by the war, and reinventing Britain’s status as a world superpower. According to White, “(t)he Treasury in London became increasingly attracted to the potentialities of colonial economic development as a strategy to boost colonial exports to the dollar area, particularly following the convertibility crisis of August 1947.”⁷⁵ The Labour Party hoped to create what Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin termed a “Third Force” in international politics, whereby Britain, along with its dependencies and Western Europe, would be recognized as equal to the United States and the Soviet Union. According to Bevin:

Provided we can organise a Western European system ... backed by the power and resources of the Commonwealth and of the Americas, it should be possible to develop our own power and influence to equal that of the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. We have the material resources in the Colonial Empire, if we develop them, and by giving a spiritual lead now we should be able to carry out our

⁷² Governor Richards was extremely conservative concerning colonial affairs during his period in Nigeria. While he instituted a fairly progressive constitution he did so without consulting the people. After a tremendously difficult period in Jamaica, Richards believed that the slightest concession to Nigerian nationalists would open the flood gates to greater demands. This statement is not in contrast with the statement that the British were more interventionist during this time, as their intervention was devoted to maintaining their control of the colony.

⁷³ White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.10.

⁷⁴ C. Barnett, *The Lost Victory* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

⁷⁵ White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.8. For a greater discussion of the sterling and conversion crisis see G. Krozewski, “Sterling, the ‘Minor’ Territories, and the End of Formal Empire, 1939-58,” *Economic History Review*, xlv, 1993.

task in a way which will show clearly we are not subservient to the United States of America or to the Soviet Union.⁷⁶

Yet while this perception of the strategic value of empire was prevalent after 1945, it endured only until mid-1949, when the Soviets successfully illustrated their nuclear capabilities, and thereby ushered in the era of atomic hegemony.⁷⁷

An increased British interest and presence, as witnessed in the neo-Lugardian⁷⁸ attitude of Governor Richards, was contrary to what Nigerian nationalists had been longing for however. Soon after the 1941 Atlantic Charter and their participation in the Second World War, Nigerian leaders believed that their time had come to join the Commonwealth as an independent nation. But the years between 1945 and 1951 represented a time when Britain, seeing Africa as a mythological treasure chest, was unwilling to decolonize. The Labour Party wanted to exploit Nigeria as a means of relieving the debt crisis and reclaiming former glories.⁷⁹ It was during this time that Nigerians were increasingly vocal in demanding self-rule and that Nigerian nationalism took the lessons it thought it could from India and applied them to its own anti-colonial struggle.

Gandhi's Discourse of Resistance

Gandhi was an extremely complex political figure, refusing to approach problems in ways that had been common throughout history. While most politicians believed that

⁷⁶ Cabinet memorandum by Ernest Bevin, 4 January 1948, (184, 2), pp.317-318. Cited in White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, pp.108-109.

⁷⁷ The era of nuclear hegemony was different from the era in which Britain had been dominant because standing armies and economic dominance were far less important, as the power of nuclear arms predominantly dictated world power status.

⁷⁸ The reference here to Richards being neo-Lugardian implies that he was ultra conservative when it came to the maintenance and elaboration of British rule in Africa.

the realm of politics was their first order of business, Gandhi believed it was merely an appendage to spiritual self-realization. Gandhi's goal was spiritually related, and politics were only used where they could help:

What I have been striving to achieve these thirty years – is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain *moksha*. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this end.⁸⁰

Gandhi's ultimate goal was the realization of "truth," and while based on religion it was not strictly limited to Hindu doctrine. According to Judith M. Brown, "Religion for Gandhi was not the doctrinal formulation of any one religious system but based on a basic truth underlying all formal religions."⁸¹ He described this as the "struggle for truth, the striving of the permanent element in human nature to find and express itself, to know its maker."⁸² It was in this desire for truth that Gandhi's belief in non-violence originated, as the uncertain nature of truth made it difficult to define positions of opposition; if the truth could not be known, violence could only be used to fight over and enforce opinion.

According to Gandhi:

The search for truth was the goal of human life, and as no one could ever be sure of having attained the ultimate truth, use of violence to enforce one's own necessarily partial understanding of it was sinful.⁸³

In this sense, if the truth is an unknown, then the use of violence to enforce someone's interpretation of that truth is unacceptable.

⁷⁹ White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.8.

⁸⁰ Gandhi to Ramdas Gandhi, 7 November 1932. Cited in M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Anthony J. Parel (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.373-374.

⁸¹ Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics, 1928-34* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.15.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Sumit Sankar, *Modern India: 1885-1947* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), p.179.

Political independence for India was not in itself Gandhi's primary motivation: he sought, rather, the complete removal of Western civilization from Indian society.

According to Gandhi:

The fault is not of men, but of the system...The true remedy lies, in my humble opinion, in England's discarding modern civilization, which is purposeless, vain, and...a negation of the spirit of Christianity.⁸⁴

Addressing this concern in *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi states:

It is perfectly true that [the English] used brute force and that it is possible for us to do likewise, but using similar means we can only get the same thing they got. Your reasoning is...saying we can get a rose through planting a noxious weed...We reap exactly as we sow...fair means alone can produce fair gains.⁸⁵

Gandhi believed that the only way to achieve a peaceful society was through the use of peaceful means, as the use of violence would only escalate if it were introduced.

While many Indian nationalists desired independence by any means necessary, Gandhi objected. He felt that the end could not be separated from the means, as the methods pursued were a most vital factor in determining the outcome. According to a conversation he had in 1931 with the Madras politician S. Satyamurti:

He sought political power for Congress for the sake of the improvements in people's lives which this would enable; but if that power could only be obtained in ways which would jeopardize the goal, then he would rather do without it.⁸⁶

Gandhi wanted to alleviate the suffering of all Indians, which he saw as rooted in colonialism; however, if he could not achieve this without the use of violence he would

⁸⁴ Mahatma Gandhi, *The Essential Gandhi: His Life, Work, and Ideas – An Anthology*, Louis Fischer (ed.) (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p.118.

⁸⁵ Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, pp.51-52.

⁸⁶ Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, p.16.

rather change nothing. It was in this sense that non-violence became so vital, as the society Gandhi envisioned for India was based on love, not violence:

They say 'means are after all [just] means.' I would say 'means are after all everything.' As the means, so the end. Violent means will give violent Swaraj...There is no wall of separation between means and end...I have been endeavoring to keep the country to means that are purely peaceful and legitimate.⁸⁷

In other words, the path to a peaceful society cannot be paved with violence, it must remain steadfast to the principles of peace. Opposed to violence, Gandhi sought to establish dialogue between enemies. As stated in his publication *Young India*, "My method is conversion, not coercion, it is self-suffering, not the suffering of a tyrant."⁸⁸ He believed that enemies should cooperatively search for the truth, stating himself, "I am essentially a man of compromise because I am never sure that I am right."⁸⁹ As a form of resistance, it was only when dialogue failed or was reduced "to an insincere exercise in PR," that Satyagraha was used.⁹⁰ Satyagraha can be defined through its three ideas: the spiritual nature of human beings; the power of suffering love; and the skillful use of the latter to reach out to and activate the moral energies of others.⁹¹

Satyagraha was Gandhi's practice of choice. Much like Gandhi's ideology, Satyagraha was a very fluid concept. The outward manifestations of Satyagraha were "fasting, non-violent picketing, various types of non-cooperation and ultimately in politics civil disobedience in willing anticipation of the legal penalty."⁹² It was with the

⁸⁷ *Young India*, 17 July 1924.

⁸⁸ *Young India*, 12 January 1928.

⁸⁹ Parekh, *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*, p.69.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.119.

⁹² Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, p.16.

application of Satyagraha that Gandhi both pushed the British for anti-colonial concessions and extended his influence and philosophy beyond Indian borders.

While the Zikists adopted Satyagraha as their primary form of resistance, they were selective about the elements used. Zikism was the driving ideological force behind the Movement, and the Zikists did not move to incorporate Gandhi's philosophy on truth, means, and ends. Independence was the Zikist's goal, and what they desired was a method by which to achieve it. While Gandhi's belief that Indians could have taken their freedom by force may be true, the situation in Nigeria would not have looked as positive. Nigerians believed that they were comparatively weak, and thus they looked to the only logical alternative, non-violent civil disobedience.⁹³

The High Tide of Radical Nigerian Politics

The phase of the adoption and application of key elements of the Indian nationalist movement's methodology has been described by historians of Nigeria as the period of radical political activism.⁹⁴ Although Nigeria's prewar history had seen the emergence of various nationalist groups (The West African Students Union; The West African Congress, named in the likeness of the Indian National Congress; and the Nigerian Youth Movement [NYM]), their approach to politics was primarily a matter of spreading ideas. Like Gandhi in his early years, Nigerians before 1945 limited their action to subdued criticism of government through negotiations and newspaper agitation. While pressing the Government of India for concessions in meetings with colonial officials, Gandhi had used the medium of print to spread his doctrines to the

⁹³ See "Weapon of the Unarmed," *The Daily Comet*, 14 January 1947.

⁹⁴ As illustrated in the title of Iweriebor's *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950: The Significance of the Zikist Movement*.

masses.⁹⁵ Stressing the importance of media Gandhi declared, "I believe that a struggle that chiefly relies on internal strength cannot be wholly carried on without a newspaper."⁹⁶

Progressive Nigerians started their criticism of British colonialism in much the same way, through the medium of newsprint. As a result of increasing literacy, more Nigerians became exposed to the ideas propagated by nationalists through the press.⁹⁷ Herbert Macaulay, known as the "Father of Nigerian Nationalism," developed the first newspaper critical of the British administration in 1922, the *Lagos Daily News*, though it was not nearly as critical as the later news groups.⁹⁸ Following in Macaulay's nationalist footsteps, Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1937 and founded the Zik Press Group. Through his newspapers and journals Azikiwe was able to project his message of anti-imperialism and cultural nationalism. Azikiwe, his editors, and their journalists often cited Indian examples in their writings with the purpose of teaching Nigerian nationalists.⁹⁹

Yet, while Nigerian newspapers attempted after the war to continue to inform their readership of various methods of resistance, younger nationalists became tired of limiting themselves to writing. These young nationalists were sick of only talking about methods that should be adopted and were eager to make them a Nigerian reality. Upon its formation in 1945, the Zikist Movement embodied the desires and energies of these avid nationalists. The Zikists were no longer willing to uphold a wait-and-see approach,

⁹⁵ For a greater discussion of the role of newspapers and journals in Gandhi's leadership of the Indian nationalist movement, see Milton Israel, *Communications and Power: Propaganda and the Press in the Indian Nationalist Struggle, 1920-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁹⁶ Quoted in S.N. Bhattacharyya, *Mahatma Gandhi: the Journalist* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p.8.

⁹⁷ Between 1900 and 1930 the number of literate Nigerians rose from 150,000 to 1,100,000. Thomas Hodgkin, *African Political Parties: An Introductory Guide* (London: Penguin, 1961), p.32.

⁹⁸ Wale Ademoyega, *The Federation of Nigeria: From Earliest Times to Independence* (London: George Harrap, 1962), p.119.

⁹⁹ In particular, the *West African Pilot's* standard section entitled "Show the Light and the People Will Find the Way" (always located on p. 2 of each issue), which will be discussed later in this study in greater detail.

as their predecessors had advocated; rather, they wanted to initiate change on their own timetable. Ehiedu Iweriebor refers to the movement as “initiatory,” since its members were prepared to create the occasion for direct engagement with the colonial state, not wait for opportunity to present itself. An example of the reactive ways of the less renaissance Nigerians was their response to the 1941 Atlantic Charter. Waiting for an opportunity to undermine the British, Nigerian nationalists saw the Charter as their opportunity; yet, rather than immediately demonstrating with civil disobedience, Azikiwe and others wrote critical articles which they then sent to the British Colonial Office.¹⁰⁰

Between 1946 and 1949 the Zikist Movement initiated direct action under the banner of “Positive Action,” and used political, religious, cultural and economic means to organize mass protests, petitions, and politicized strikes. But the Zikist application of Gandhi’s ideology was far less successful than it had been in India, and British officials were far less tolerant of its existence and actions in West Africa. The limited nationwide following of the movement - in contrast to the immense force mobilized by the INC in India - failed to make the British Colonial Office fear them; Governor Macpherson did not believe that crossing paths with the Zikists would jeopardize Britain’s position in the protectorate, nor its valuable economic interests. As such, on 12 April 1950 the British government started its systematic repression of the Zikist Movement, swooping in on homes, offices and headquarters, arresting Zikist leaders and confiscating their records and documents.¹⁰¹

During this trying time, British officials demonstrated their repressive efficiency, as they sought to destroy the leadership of the movement, and thus the movement itself. The weakness of the secondary Zikist leadership made the suppression of the movement very successful. Thirteen leaders were taken in the first swoop and sentenced to time in prison, where they were joined by another handful. The movement

¹⁰⁰ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.206.

¹⁰¹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.234-235.

was effectively decapitated after this, leaving no one to lead Nigeria to further Positive Action (a term discussed below), and thus to independence. Subsequently, the process of Nigerianization in the senior services was vastly accelerated, sapping the movement of many of its fervent educated devotees, who were now absorbed into the government's bureaucracy.¹⁰² Whereas, in 1939 there had been only twenty-three Nigerians in the senior service, by 1953 that number had grown significantly to 786.¹⁰³

The Road to Independence, 1950-1960

While the application of Gandhian strategies to the quest for Nigerian independence did not bring about an immediate cessation of British control, it nevertheless contributed to moving the colony into sincere constitutional discussions which marked a new phase of nationalist activity. Rather than dramatically fighting the British in an effort to garner independence, Nigerian nationalists participated in a number of constitutional conferences in London, where they were able to engage in the creation of a federalist constitution.¹⁰⁴ According to G.O. Olusanya, "The British, with an uncanny ability to realize the necessity for a change before it was too late, quickly adapted their colonial policy to suit the new imperial climate."¹⁰⁵ It was in this context that Nigeria's communal fires began to spread throughout the colony. In 1950 northerners believed that the creation of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) as a Muslim political party would best suit their political aspirations, combating the political dominance of a more educated south. In 1951, Chief Obafemi Awolowo created the Action Group (AG), a political party whose explicit purpose was Yoruban

¹⁰² Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.126.

¹⁰³ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.237-240.

¹⁰⁴ This was also the case in India, where current historiography illustrates that the true advances towards independence were achieved at the negotiating table.

¹⁰⁵ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.161. Olusanya considered the British "uncanny" in this sense because it always seemed that they were able to stay one step ahead of violent upheavals in the vast majority of their colonial dependencies; though, in Nigeria, history seems to illustrate that the British merely reacted to Nigerian nationalist action.

representation (Western Nigeria).¹⁰⁶ The founding of the NEPU and AG marked the depletion of the NCNC as a pan-Nigerian nationalist organization, as the majority of its Muslim and Yoruban members withdrew to join their communal brethren. In the face of newly established ethnically based political parties among the Yorubas and Hausa Fulanis, Azikiwe, as the leader of the NCNC, shifted the NCNC from a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement to a solely Ibo political party.

From late 1950 until the achievement of independence in 1960 Nigerian politics increasingly became a story of communal discontent and conflict. The central concern that rose to prominence was communal political power and post-independence representation.¹⁰⁷ Given the democratic direction the country was heading, the north developed a paranoia concerning its place within a Nigerian state. Having always lagged behind the south in terms of Western educational achievements, the northern elite felt that their lack of education would allow the south to dominate an independent state, even though majority rule in a federalist democracy might have made such northern concerns groundless. The southern regions had strong concerns about their role in the new nation, since numerically, the NCNC and the AG could form neither a majority nor minority government, given the demographic dominance of the North. As a result, in the years preceding independence Nigerian leaders' attention focused on communal interest, and on the ability of the new state to properly protect ethnic identities.

While Nigerian leaders struggled to avoid what some termed "Pakistanization," they were ultimately unable to maintain peace. Though it was true that Nigeria did not fragment upon independence, it would be a fallacy to believe that the country's peoples lived in harmony. Communal strife prior to independence erupted into civil war soon

¹⁰⁶ For a more detailed look at Awolowo and his nationalist career in Nigeria see Chief Obafemi Awolowo, *AWO: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

¹⁰⁷ Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p.386.

afterward, leading in 1966 to four years of chaos and decades of military dictatorship underlaid by ethnic antagonisms.

Chapter two of this thesis will discuss the reactive nationalism that predominated Nigeria prior to the creation of the Zikist Movement. Coming to focus specifically on the Zik Printing Press, this chapter examines the propagation of the Indian nationalist example, setting the backdrop for the emergence of the Zikists from the realm of nationalist rhetoric.

Chapter three goes a step further by discussing the ideological foundations and overall creation of the Zikist Movement. It is here that the discussion focuses on reasons for the formation of the Zikist Movement, and on the ways in which it adopted Gandhi's discourse of non-violent civil disobedience.

Chapter four takes a look into Zikist nationalist action, as they attempted to utilize the discourses borrowed from India. The Zikists experienced three distinct periods of action, progressing from their limited role as a supporter of the NCNC, to their independent use of pickets and protests, to the politicization of the labor movement.

By way of conclusion, this paper will consider the impact of the Zikist Movement on the political, social, cultural, intellectual and ideological landscape of colonial Nigeria. In this final chapter, the subject of Gandhi's reassessment in Indian historiography is also considered, with particular reference to the context of the Nigerian nationalist movement.

Chapter 2 - Early Reformist Nationalism

The attempt to introduce Gandhian doctrines was not the beginning of Nigeria's nationalist development, but rather the result of an evolving national consciousness and broader colonial trends. India's independence movement was nearing full force when Nigerians first became consciously nationalist, but it took time before Nigerian leaders became ready to adopt Satyagraha. The first step of the nationalist movement was much the same as India's,¹⁰⁸ with a growing number of educated Nigerians demanding a larger role in domestic governance. These early activists were not interested in the immediate cessation of colonial rule, but merely in a greater role for themselves within it; their goal was a closer working relationship with the colonial government, not its downfall. In the words of John E. Flint, "In fact, before the 1930s they were not even opposed to the fundamental nature of colonial rule, but only to certain aspects of colonial practice."¹⁰⁹ Although the emerging nationalist mentality would eventually demand a complete British withdrawal, it remained in its original accommodationist state for decades: not until 1945 were direct actions initiated against the British government in an effort to win self-rule.

The Formulation of a National Consciousness, 1920-1941

Rather than directly confronting the colonial government, against which they had grievances, progressively-minded Nigerians critiqued the government through writing and word of mouth. In the words of Iweriebor, the reformist nationalist approach was

¹⁰⁸ For a greater discussion of the birth of Indian nationalism please refer to S.B. Chaudhuri, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-59* (Calcutta: World Press, 1965); M.V. Ramana Rao, *A Short History of the Indian National Congress* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1959); and Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert, *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁹ John E. Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana* (Englewood Hills: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p.156.

that of "criticism of specific administrative and constitutional defects on newspaper pages, supplicatory delegations to the imperialist metropolis and appeals to a nebulous 'world opinion.'"¹¹⁰ Before Azikiwe's rise to prominence, and even during his period of leadership, moderate reformist agitation predominated within the nationalist movement.

While discussing the moderation of pre-1945 Nigerian nationalism it must be understood that Nigeria had a comparatively short colonial history. In fact, considering that the distinct parts of Nigeria were only amalgamated into a unified British protectorate in 1914, the emergence of Nigerian calls for self government seems relatively rapid: hence, Adegoke Adelabu's statement that, in comparison with India, Nigeria's progress can be considered phenomenal.¹¹¹ India had been subservient for over a century before Tilak put a voice to the demand for independence.¹¹² From the first sprouts of a national consciousness in the early 1920s, it took Nigerians much less time than it did the Indians to develop a full-blown independence movement.

According to Olusanya, Nigerian nationalism had its roots in "(t)he ferment of ideas" during World War One, when "the increasing nationalist activities in Ireland and India which in themselves were a product of that War, quickened the tempo of political activities in Lagos."¹¹³ In this view, nationalism proper started in Nigeria in 1920 to combat colonial injustices, but its first waves would immediately dissipate upon failure or success.¹¹⁴ The form of governance which Nigeria endured was at the root of many nationalist complaints, as it came to be hated by educated Nigerians because it limited

¹¹⁰ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.254.

¹¹¹ Adelabu, *Africa in Ebullition*, p.26.

¹¹² D.V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak, Father of India Unrest and Maker of Modern India* (London: J. Murray, 1956); also see Jyoti Sharma, *Tilak and Gandhi: Perspectives on Religion and Politics* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2001). Prior to the beliefs of Tilak and his "radical" followers, Indian nationalists were many of the most loyal subjects on the subcontinent, believing that British rule was the best way for India to develop into a modern nation-state.

¹¹³ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.30.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.16.

their hopes and frustrated their aspirations within political and judicial forums.¹¹⁵ By educating their colonial subjects while providing few productive outlets for their newly acquired skills, the British inadvertently created and equipped Nigerian nationalism. While still relatively loyalist, Nigerian nationalists at this stage had four main grievances: economic exploitation; lack of education; racial discrimination and segregation; and the lack of opportunities in higher government services.¹¹⁶

The year 1922 saw the implementation of a new Nigerian constitution, known as the Clifford Constitution; it also saw the introduction of Nigeria's reformist model of nationalism.¹¹⁷ Herbert Macaulay's establishment of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and its mouthpiece *Lagos Daily News* signify the beginning of our discussion.¹¹⁸ The trademark of both the party and newspaper was their limited social and geographic scope. For the most part their activities were confined to Lagos, the educational capital of Nigeria; a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement was still far from being developed. While the NNDP became a valuable nationalist voice for a decade following its creation, it never succeeded in creating branches outside the Nigerian capital.¹¹⁹

Considered by many Nigerians and historians as the "Father of Nigerian Nationalism," Herbert Macaulay began the *Lagos Daily News* as an instrument to educate Nigerians, as well as to critique British colonial policies, procedures and actions; Macaulay and the *Lagos Daily News* were precursors to Azikiwe and the Zik Press Group. In this interwar phase of the Nigerian nationalist struggle, newspapers drew attention to Gandhian methods and beliefs, yet for the most part the methods they

¹¹⁵ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, pp.13-15. For a greater discussion of the repercussions of indirect rule, please see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*.

¹¹⁶ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.30.

¹¹⁷ Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, p.38.

¹¹⁸ Ademoyega, *The Federation of Nigeria: From Earliest Times to Independence*, p.120.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

espoused remained as ideas. Foreshadowing the Zik Press Group, in 1920 the *Lagos Daily News* held that India's example would take hold of the nationalist consciousness in Africa:

West Africans have discovered today what the Indians ... discovered thirty-five years ago, that placed as they were under the controlling influence of a foreign power, it was essential to their wellbeing that they should make a common cause and develop national unity...We hope the day will soon come when...Hausas, Yorubas, and Ibos will make a common stand and work hand in hand for their common fatherland.¹²⁰

While discussions of Satyagraha were less influential at this time than they would become, this quotation from the *Lagos Daily News* illustrates that Nigerian consciousness of Indian events began well before the foundation of true anti-colonial Nigerian nationalism.¹²¹

A steady progression towards a more pan-Nigerian orientation can be witnessed from 1934 to 1944. Created in 1934 the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was an effort to initiate national cooperation across ethnic lines. It was here that the reactive attitude that characterized pre-Zikist Nigeria can be seen clearly.¹²² According to Olusanya, the importance of the NYM was as a critic of the colonial government, not as its

¹²⁰ *Lagos Weekly Record*, 20 April 1920. Also see Ali A. Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p.104, and Ali A. Mazrui, *Nationalism and New States In Africa*, p.17.

¹²¹ While one might think it self-evident that all African colonies would be paying attention to India as a model, it truly depended on their situation. For example, in colonies where white settler populations were dominant, the method of achieving independence could never follow the Indian example.

¹²² Anti-colonial movements (as India also illustrated), often started out as elitist movements that cooperated with the colonial structure but desired a larger role in it for themselves. With growing disillusionment with the colonial government and its continually broken promises concerning "democratic" progress, nationalists changed their opinion of the colonial government, and desired its removal. Frustrated with their continual oppression, these nationalist movements then faced a decision regarding the type of movement to use in opposition to their colonizer, be it violent, or non-violent. In both India and Nigeria, they chose non-violence (as compared with other colonies like Algeria and Kenya).

challenger.¹²³ Educated members of the NYM were willing to criticizing the government through mass publications, but unwilling to go further. The NYM had no plans to use mass action to influence British official opinion. Although it constituted the preeminent nationalist organization of the 1930s, the NYM did nothing more than suggest to the British that Nigeria was experiencing a nationalist awakening, which might in time expand into more active revolutionary activity.

The Era of Azikiwe Begins

Venturing to the United States for post-secondary education, Azikiwe received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in political science from Lincoln University in 1931, and a subsequent Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1933.¹²⁴ After teaching political science at Lincoln from 1932-1934, he decided to return to Africa, where he accepted a position in Accra, Gold Coast, as editor of the *African Morning Post*.¹²⁵ It was during his tenure in the Gold Coast that Azikiwe developed his nationalist ideology, publishing his ideological formulations in *Renascent Africa* in 1937. Though it would be seen as revolutionary by many West Africans, Iweriebor suggests that *Renascent Africa* is best understood not as an original philosophy, but rather as an amalgamation of Garveyism, African capitalism, Fabian welfarism, political pragmatism, and often misconstrued Marxism.¹²⁶ The central theme of the book is the contrast of young renascent Africans and the so-called old Africans. The transition to a new Africa was one that in Azikiwe's eyes had to occur as a result of the actions of the renascent Africans, with old Africans allowing them to accomplish

¹²³ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.40.

¹²⁴ "Biography of Nnamdi Azikiwe," <<http://www.bookrags.com/biography/nnamdi-azikiwe/>>, n.d.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.8.

their goals.¹²⁷ These renascent Africans were the vanguard of a movement to secure a new Africa by securing its emancipation from colonialism. The core of Azikiwe's ideology consists of five themes: spiritual balance, social regeneration, economic determinism, mental emancipation, and national or political risorgimento.¹²⁸

The beginning of Azikiwe's nationalist career in Nigeria saw him join the NYM.¹²⁹ Azikiwe found the NYM wanting; what he envisioned was a pan-Nigerian nationalist movement.¹³⁰ Following an internal power struggle in 1941, which he lost, Azikiwe quit the organization and joined the NNDP, which also failed to provide what he wanted. Following his dream for pan-Nigerian nationalism, he founded the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944. While the formation of the NCNC marked the beginning of the true battle for independence against the British,¹³¹ the organization still remained within the parameters of reactive elite resistance to colonial rule.¹³² The NCNC was willing to criticize British policies and actions, but it was not willing to mobilize the masses to achieve change.

¹²⁷ Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), pp.41-42.

¹²⁸ For detailed discussions of these "postulates," see Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa*, pp.121-34.

¹²⁹ For greater detail concerning the life of Azikiwe refer to Chudi P. Uwazurike, *The Man Called Zik of Africa: Portrait of Nigeria's Pan-African Statesman* (New York: Triatlantic Books, 1996). Also see K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965).

¹³⁰ Of the several aspects of the Indian nationalist movement, Azikiwe would put most of his efforts into national unity, wanting to avoid what he termed the "Pakistanization" of Nigeria. As we would see later in his career, on 4 March 1958 Azikiwe expressed his continuing support for pan-Nigerian nationalism:

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. Any attempt from any source to create dissension and make the North feel that it is different from the South and the West from the East, or to make any particular nationality or tribe in Nigeria feel it is different from the others, should be deprecated.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi, *Azikiwe: Selected Speeches of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

¹³¹ While 1944 marked the beginning of Nigeria's true independence movement, the early 1920's marked the time when Nigeria's nationalist consciousness was developing.

¹³² Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.74.

As the NCNC became the official organizational vehicle of the pan-Nigerian nationalist movement, the Zik Printing Press became its most influential organ. In 1937 Azikiwe founded the *West African Pilot* in Lagos, which remained the central forum for nationalist debate. Fluent in the languages of the Hausa, Ibos and Yorubas, Azikiwe organized his printing press to produce materials for the entire colony. Following the creation of the *Pilot* in 1937, Azikiwe established the *Eastern Nigerian Guardian* in Port Harcourt, the *Nigerian Spokesman* in Onitsha, the *Southern Nigerian Defender* in Warri, and the *Daily Comet* in Kano. Through this chain of newspapers Azikiwe was able to reach a broader Nigerian audience than any predecessor.¹³³

Yet, although Azikiwe was an avid supporter of Gandhian methods in his various publications, he was not the leader required to put them into practice. Despite being Nigeria's most prominent and outspoken nationalist leader, he was not willing to make grand sacrifices in the name of nationalism. In *Renascent Africa* Azikiwe describes the type of nationalist dedication needed in Nigeria: "Recently the story of an Indian patriot whose father was one of the wealthiest men in India was published in the *African Morning Post*. This man gave every penny he had towards the Indian Nationalist Movement," while "Gandhi gave everything but his loin cloth."¹³⁴ K. Jones-Quartey outlines what he claims are similarities between Gandhi and Azikiwe:

When Gandhi returned home to India he had the prestige of a leader. In a different way, when Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1937, he too already had the prestige of a leader. Gandhi had had professional training in England but had returned to start work not in India but South Africa...Azikiwe had come back from America and had started work in the Gold Coast.¹³⁵

¹³³ S.O. Idemili, "The *West African Pilot* and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism, 1937-60," (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), p.204; quoted in Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.2.

¹³⁴ Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa*, p.259.

¹³⁵ Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, p.137.

An examination of Azikiwe's later nationalist action, or lack thereof, contradicts such a claim. Azikiwe advocated Nigerians to be selfless and philanthropic, willing to sacrifice everything in the name of national progress; but, as we will see, Azikiwe's lack of dedication to the advancement of the movement had a detrimental effect on its outcome. Though Azikiwe later became unwilling to adopt a Gandhian lifestyle to lead Nigeria's struggle for independence, he nonetheless played a large role through the Zik Press Group in inspiring other nationalists to do so.

Through the *Pilot* and other papers, Azikiwe stood during the Second World War for nationalist action through an adoption of Gandhian techniques. Later, when the Zikists adopted Indian methods, Azikiwe continued to stress the importance of the Indian model. A survey of the *West African Pilot* around the time of Indian independence clearly illustrates this importance. When Gandhi and the INC steered India to independence, the Zikists began to apply their methods to Nigeria.

Azikiwe utilized the *Pilot* as his personal forum for national issues and concerns, and achieved unprecedented success. The *Pilot*, like his other papers, was an innovation in Nigerian journalism. While predecessors had attracted readerships largely from the upper classes, the *Pilot* appealed more broadly. According to Anthony Enahoro, the editor of the *Daily Comet*:

Those among the poorer people who were so privileged as to read newspapers looked upon them as the property of the gods of their time. But here was a novel type of newspaper, catering to the taste of people even in the remotest corners of Nigeria and, above all, edited by that colourful personality and those degrees! The people fell for him. The *Pilot* was made.¹³⁶

Using accessible language to bridge the language gaps throughout the colony, the ideas published by the *Pilot* came to be revered by the general population. Even

¹³⁶ Quoted in Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p.223.

Awolowo, who after 1951 became Azikiwe's chief political opponent, appreciated the nationalist value of the *Pilot*:

The *Pilot*, whatever its literary defects, was a fire-eating and aggressive nationalist paper of the highest order, ranking in this regard with the *Nigeria Daily Telegraph* under Ikoli, and the *Lagos Daily News*, but much better produced.¹³⁷

Awolowo went even further in his praise, stressing that the *Pilot* was "the very thing the youth of the country had been waiting for."¹³⁸

The secret to Azikiwe's success as a journalist, and thus to the success of his string of papers, was his education. Trained in the U.S., rather than in Britain, Azikiwe had been exposed to a very different atmosphere from the one most of his peers knew.¹³⁹ In turn, Azikiwe created a new form of journalism, one that was described as "racy" and "irreverent," even if often ungrammatical.¹⁴⁰ According to Olusanya, Azikiwe's "journalism, which was shockingly direct and crude, was the type that was needed in political warfare, and with his widely dispersed but powerful propaganda it was easy for him to capture the imagination of the people."¹⁴¹ The *Pilot's* new style opened the door to a mass readership, since it was easily accessible to those educated in mission schools with no higher education.¹⁴²

In addition to informing the reader, Azikiwe's papers also aimed at providing direct instruction. On page two of all Azikiwe's publications was an editorial section

¹³⁷ Quoted in Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, p.147.

¹³⁸ Quoted in Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, pp.147-8.

¹³⁹ Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana*, p.160.

¹⁴⁰ The contention here is not as to which country had a longer and greater history of "racy" newspapers and tabloids, but the type of education that each country came to represent. Admission to a British post-secondary institution was a difficult task for those Nigerians that were not rich, as foreign students were not permitted to work during study. On the other hand, there were no such restrictions in America, opening its schools to a greater range of people, thus attending those school with different attitudes than the elite that went to Britain. *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.143.

¹⁴² Education and literacy in Nigeria had been on the rise since the dawn of the century, as the number of literate rose from 150,000 to 1,100,000 between 1900 -1930. Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London: Frederick Muller, 1956), p.32.

where Azikiwe and his writers could directly address the Nigerian populace, and stress the importance of events and ideas. These sections had different titles in each newspaper; for example, "Truth, Justice, Public Service" was *The Daily Comet's* section title, while "Show The Light And The People Will Find The Way" was that of the *West African Pilot*. It was in this section that Azikiwe propagated ideas to the masses, telling readers didactically how these ideas applied or should apply to their life and consciousness.

An examination of these sections in both the *Pilot* and the *Comet* illustrates that articles here can be separated into two distinct categories, namely those aiming to inform readers about options for practical activity, and those aiming to inspire Nigerian nationalism, broadly speaking. Commencing with pragmatic themes, one can see how vividly Azikiwe used the Indian cause as a foundation for building a broad, pan-Nigerian movement.

Both the *Pilot* and *Comet* published a multitude of articles not only informing Nigerians about the Gandhian strategy of struggle, but also describing its pragmatic adoption in Nigeria. Such articles began before Indian independence. On 18 January 1947 the *Pilot* published "What Are We Doing?" This article discussed the methods by which Nigeria would have to achieve independence, considering that it had "neither guns nor bayonets." Since Nigerians lacked the means to successfully fight a war of violence, non-violence had to be the method of choice, which meant directly adopting the approach laid forth by Gandhi:

The time draws near when the unarmed peoples of this country may try what a war of non-violence can do. And once we work in the best of faith, there can be no doubt that what non-violence had done for India it can do for Nigeria.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ *West African Pilot*, 18 January 1947, p.2.

"What Are We Doing" was accompanied by a series of articles aimed at promoting the mass adoption of Gandhian methods. In "Weapons of the Unarmed," published on 14 January 1947, one of India's most valuable lessons is discussed: "in the fight for freedom, an unarmed slave-nation cannot afford to think of armed revolution."¹⁴⁴ Indonesia, Burma, and Indochina had all seized their freedom from Europe through violent revolution, but none of them would have succeeded had not Pearl Harbor compelled the reluctant imperialists (Britain, U.S. and France) to "arm the native."¹⁴⁵ Nigeria was not in that same situation, and therefore could not rely on violence and bloodletting to escape colonialism. According to "Weapons of the Unarmed":

The African colonies are unarmed. An insurrection would fail before it began. The weapon of the unarmed must be the path India trod under Gandhi and Nehru. This leader is merely a lesson - to teach Nigerians that the unarmed cannot think in terms of armed revolution. With the aeroplane and the atomic bomb, that would be suicide. Satyagraha - that is the weapon. We ask our readers to memorise it, because it is an expression they may come to hear more of one of these days.¹⁴⁶

After planting this seed in the minds of Nigerians, the Zik Press Group went into great detail about Satyagraha.

On 1-2 April, 1947, the *Daily Comet* published two articles by its editor, V. Olabisi Onabanjo, entitled "Gandhi and Passive Resistance." This two-part series went into great depth concerning not only Gandhi's life and career, but also the origins of his philosophy, the tenets of Satyagraha, and its application to politics. Onabanjo's

¹⁴⁴ *The Daily Comet*, 14 January 1947, p.2.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *The Daily Comet*, 14 January 1947, p.2.

successive articles also had suggestive headings, such as “Gandhi’s Beliefs,” “A Powerful Agent,” “Satyagraha,” “Training Necessary,” and “A Living Example,” to name a few.¹⁴⁷ The contents of these articles were valid and insightful, providing Nigerian readers with a clear understanding of what it took for India to achieve independence. Onabanjo stated that Gandhi was a living example for Nigeria, and described Satyagraha in the following terms:

Its use, therefore, is indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals, do away with despotism, and destroy the ever growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East.¹⁴⁸

After Gandhi’s death in January 1948, the *West African Pilot* published another in-depth article about Gandhi and his techniques for gaining independence, entitled “Doctrine of Spiritual Resistance, Of Truth That Fallen Gandhi Preached.”¹⁴⁹ From these descriptions of Gandhi’s beliefs and practices, Azikiwe’s group once again plunged into commentaries on Nigeria’s prospects for self-government, and the road that should be followed. “From India’s Freedom” directly stated that Nigerian nationalists had to follow the example laid forth by Gandhi and Nehru, or Nigeria would remain in perpetual bondage:

Hard work and a never weakening fight must continue all the time . . . And we must take this opportunity to call upon the leaders of this great country to bear in mind all the time and fortitude of Gandhi and the courage of Nehru, the many great attributes of leadership which have led India to the very doors of that freedom. For except they [sic] study these

¹⁴⁷ *Daily Comet*, 1 April 1947, pp.2-3. *Daily Comet*, 2 April 1947, pp.2-3.

¹⁴⁸ *Daily Comet*, 2 April 1947, p.2.

¹⁴⁹ *West African Pilot*, 2 February 1948, p.2.

examples and follow them, we may sermonise for a thousand years, but Nigeria will remain in chains.¹⁵⁰

The message in the article "After Burma Who?" championed freedom and remained consistent with "From India's Freedom," in pleading for strong leadership and greater action. According to "After Burma Who?", "(i)f India had done nothing but talk and rave and rant, she would certainly not have got where she is today."¹⁵¹ Pressing the issue further:

We still talk too much in this country. Like crabs in a barrel, those who cannot rise by their own honest endeavors will not permit others to do so. We 'demand' and we 'condemn.' But that is where it all ends. Let India and Burma be a warning to the people of this country that if they want to be free, now or ever, they will have to do more than merely proclaim their right to freedom. In short, they must have to plan effectively or act constitutionally. May Nigeria be next after Burma.¹⁵²

These two articles, both published by Azikiwe's papers, represent two significant reflections on Nigerian nationalism at the time, namely that the nationalist movement was doing nothing but talk, and that there was no effective leadership willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

Close to India's date of independence in 1947, Azikiwe's publications had begun to shift from pragmatic to inspirational. On 24 February 1947 the *Pilot* published an article entitled "Would Nigeria Follow?" In a philosophical sense, this short article was intended to illustrate the illegitimate nature of British imperialism. To do so, it focused

¹⁵⁰ *West African Pilot*, 25 February 1947, p.2.

¹⁵¹ *West African Pilot*, 1 February 1947, p.2.

¹⁵² *West African Pilot*, 1 February 1947, p.2. While it may appear odd that this article was published before both India's and Burma's date of independence the article discusses them as being "for all practical purposes....out of the Empire." In the case of Burma, the discussion is of how their new "Interim Government" on the Indian pattern would lead to self-determination. Also, although the title of the article

on the case of Indian colonialism as a means of showing how Indian independence crushed both the notion of inherent white supremacy and Britain's intention to maintain her colonies forever. The author states:

And so the bungle and the blunder and the rot went on until this day of interim government in India. It is therefore gratifying that in less than a year of the existence of this new deal, the British should now declare categorically that they will quit India in about sixteen months' time....This knocks the bottom off the idea that the British are resolved to hold on to their dependencies forever. And so India is to be free? Would Nigeria follow?¹⁵³

On 17 April 1947 the *Pilot* ran "Ties That Bind Asia With Africa." The discussion focused on the scholarship scheme Nehru promised to create for Africans under which the Indian government would grant academic scholarships "to promote closer cultural links between the youths of Asia and Africa."¹⁵⁴ Observing that Indians constituted the largest block of Asians in Africa, the author noted Nehru's sympathetic view towards Africa:

In his [Nehru's] latest book "The Discovery of India," he also pleads for a free Africa. Now, as the Chairman of the first All-Asia Conference, Nehru unveiled India's sympathetic attitude towards Africans. May African leaders emulate the good in the Indians. May Indian independence take complete form next year. And may India continue to be a source of inspiration to us here where many cross roads to freedom are yet to be crossed. Freedom of Indians and Africans will serve to strengthen those ties that bind us.¹⁵⁵

concerns Burma, the main thrust of the article which becomes relevant to this thesis is its discussion of India.

¹⁵³ "Would Nigeria Follow," *West African Pilot*, 24 February 1947, p.2.

¹⁵⁴ "Ties That Bind Asia With Africa," *West African Pilot*, 17 April 1947, p.2. More information concerning this scholarship scheme was included in the 15 April 1947 issue of the *Pilot*.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Aiming to eradicate communalism, Major Akinwande-Jones wrote an article entitled "India's Freedom On After Years Of Great Strife: Flag To Be Hoisted Today." To commemorate India's day of independence this article discussed her achievements. Proclaiming the success of a "bloodless fight for freedom," Akinwande-Jones declared, "What a lesson to us Nigerians in our fight for freedom and self-determination!"¹⁵⁶ Inspiring Nigerians to transcend communal differences, Akinwande-Jones stated:

The national flag of India has therefore a communal, a national, and an international significance . . . From these we observe that those who conceived the idea of this flag did not think in terms of caste and communities, country, or this globe of ours, but in terms of the whole universe.¹⁵⁷

In the same 15 August 1947 issue of the *Pilot* there was another article entitled "We Salute The Indian Flag," which stressed the importance of the day for a country whose history had been marked from 1000 B.C. by a series of invasions, strifes, and famines. Rejoicing with them, the *Pilot* urged consideration of India's achievement:

Let Nigerians of every class and opinion stand in reverence of these tireless men and women, these 400,000,000 people, these forty-five different races of mankind speaking 200 languages and occupying 2,000,000 square miles of God's earth. Let us, both Northerners and Southerners alike, think today about these 562 states of which mighty India is composed.¹⁵⁸

This statement aimed to inspire Nigerians to see beyond problems of size and diversity, as India had to overcome bigger challenges:

Our plight cannot be as tedious nor its end as far. India is a lesson to us all. From her weakness Nigeria should learn something to make us strong. We applaud all outside forces and circumstances which influenced the realisation of this

¹⁵⁶ *West African Pilot*, 15 August 1947, p.1.

¹⁵⁷ *West African Pilot*, 15 August 1947, p.2

¹⁵⁸ *West African Pilot*, 15 August 1947, p.2

Flag Day. India, there is your flag; Nigeria, where is thine?¹⁵⁹

While all of these articles published by Azikiwe appear to be boldly nationalist calls to action, the truth was that Azikiwe himself was not prepared to take action at this stage. Later compared to Gandhi by the British author Jones-Quartey, Azikiwe had indeed been Nigeria's nationalist hero from the day he returned in 1937; he was the leader whom the masses idolized.¹⁶⁰ But rather than step to the helm of the nationalist movement and support the Zikist authors who called for mass action, Azikiwe turned face. He denied the Zikists support, going so far as to condemn them as young radicals. It seems unconscionable that Azikiwe would make these bold nationalist pronouncements, and then as the figure of the time who could do the most to truly actualize them, would simply back down. But he did so.

Thus, while Azikiwe provided Nigeria with the ideas and ideals of Gandhi and the Indian nationalist movement, that was as far as he was willing to venture. Like the people his articles criticized, he too was mainly a talker, willing to criticize the colonial government, but unwilling to organize against it. Yet although he refused to lead a mass mobilization, Azikiwe remained an important figure for propagating the Gandhian ideas of mass resistance that the Zikists would adopt.

Setting the Stage for the Zikists

The two principle factors that established the atmosphere for the creation of the Zikist Movement were NCNC inaction and the 1945 General Strike.¹⁶¹ Keeping in

¹⁵⁹ *West African Pilot*, 15 August 1947, p.2

¹⁶⁰ Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, pp.136-7.

¹⁶¹ Within the context of this time frame (1944-1945) we must distinguish the strike and nationalist inaction as two separate factors. The reason is that the NCNC at this time was not associated with the

mind the reactive stance of Nigerian nationalist agitation until this time, the mid-1940s represented a period of nationalist inaction. As we have seen, nationalists were still talking through their regular mediums, but they accomplished very little. Politically, the central problem with their style of nationalism was the British audience it confronted: until 1948 Nigeria was under the control of Sir Arthur Richards.¹⁶² Richards began his tenure in 1943 as a very stubborn colonial governor, having previously faced serious unrest in Jamaica in the late 1930s. In Nigeria he was conservative and "obstinately" anti-nationalist.¹⁶³ Governor Richards worried that if he were to grant Nigerian nationalists concessions then he would be seen as weak, and Nigerian nationalists would capitalize upon that weakness and push for greater concessions.¹⁶⁴ Iweriebor describes Richards thus:

In his determination to strengthen the colonial collaboration with chiefs, his emphasis on localism, his unwillingness to acknowledge the existence of genuine nationalist sentiments and the potential of nationalism as a social and political force, and his antipathy to the nationalist intelligentsia, he was a throw-back to the Lugardian era of early conquest, imperialist self-assurance, and authoritarian governance.¹⁶⁵

Although Nigerian distaste for Richards was strong, his constitutional proposals of 1945 "marked the real turning-point in Nigeria's progress towards independence."¹⁶⁶ When announcing these proposals, which were to take affect in January 1947, Richards maintained three objectives: "to promote the unity of Nigeria, to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country and to secure

labor movement. Rather than work together for the betterment of Nigeria, the two were autonomous. The relationship between nationalist politics and labour demands would change in the later years of the 1940s.

¹⁶² Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.126.

¹⁶³ R.D. Pearce, "Governors, Nationalism and Constitutions in Nigeria, 1935-1951," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. ix, no.3 (May 1981): pp.294-5.

¹⁶⁴ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.126.

¹⁶⁵ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.23.

greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs.”¹⁶⁷ For the first time the North was to be included in Nigeria’s Central Legislature and regional councils were created in the North, East and West. Although this was a leap forward in terms of Nigerian self-government it was criticized by Nigerians on two fronts. The first complaint was that the creation of regional councils would be responsible for exacerbating Nigerian tribalism; according to Dr. Kenneth Dike:

Undoubtedly the Richards Constitution is a dividing line in Nigerian Constitutional development. Before it the keynote in Nigerian politics was unification towards a centralized state and the realization of common nationality...But with the Richards Constitution this tendency towards unification was on the whole arrested.¹⁶⁸

The second complaint was that the constitution was instituted without proper Nigerian consultation; in other words, the constitution was imposed from above rather than brought about democratically. It was in the wake of Richards’ rejection of even the most moderate nationalist demands to change his constitution that Nigeria’s previously reactive nationalism came to assume a more confrontational and initiative style.

The British attitude before the Second World War was one of indifference towards Nigerian nationalism, and in December 1940 Governor Bourdillon¹⁶⁹ told Nigerian nationalists that they would get out of the War what Britain would - mere survival.¹⁷⁰ Every time the NCNC approached the colonial administration in London

¹⁶⁶ Crowder, *A Short History of Nigeria* (New York: Praeger, 1962), p.242.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in Crowder, *A Short History of Nigeria*, p.242.

¹⁶⁹ Governor Bourdillon was the governor of Nigeria for the duration of the Second World War, after which he was replaced by Governor Richards.

¹⁷⁰ While it may seem that there was very little for the British to “pay attention” to as far as Nigerian nationalism was concerned prior to WWII, Nigerians were constantly making demands of the colonial government; the difference after WWII was that Nigerians became more vocal, while simultaneously

they were brushed aside; in 1945 and 1947 the NCNC went to London to protest colonial mistreatments, and both times their concerns were merely paid lip-service by the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones.¹⁷¹ Within the relatively short-lived period of British colonial rejuvenation between 1945 and 1951, in which the British attempted to utilize their colonies to reinvent their world power status, some Nigerian nationalists came to believe that if they were to achieve greater self-government they would have to take action beyond "talking."

Disheartened by the lack of British response to their public demands, Azikiwe and the NCNC decided to rest. Unlike Gandhi who when pressed with the disappointment of constitutional demands changed his approach to the directness of Satyagraha, Azikiwe shrank from the challenge; rather, he came to the conclusion that their failures indicated prematurity.¹⁷² Following the failure of the 1947 NCNC delegation's meeting with Creech Jones, Azikiwe and the NCNC fell into a period of inactivity.¹⁷³

In addition to post-war NCNC inaction, the 1945 Nigerian General Strike was another crucial turning point in the history of the nationalist movement.¹⁷⁴ Although nationalist and labour activists worked for separate ends prior to the strike, its

attempting to force the British into concessions. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Nigerian Nationalism*, p.51.

¹⁷¹ Arthur Creech Jones (1891-1964) was a British Labour Politician, the chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau during the Second World War, and the Colonial Secretary from 1946-50. White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, pp.16, 136.

¹⁷² Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.144.

¹⁷³ The delegation was lead by Azikiwe, and was composed of the leaders of the NCNC. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Nigerian Nationalism*, p.110.

¹⁷⁴ While it may seem that the chronology is off in this section by discussing the inaction of Azikiwe and the NCNC in 1947 prior to the 1945 General Strike, one must keep in mind my the focus on the Zikist Movement, and its rising independence from both Azikiwe and the NCNC. The General Strike garnered Azikiwe great national exposure, but he was unwilling to capitalize on it; while the Zikist Movement used the momentum on the Strike to build upon their own nationalist ambitions.

conclusion would illustrate the value of their cooperation, and its impact would shape the new Zikist Movement. In 1945 Nigerian workers resumed their agitation for both increased wages and cost of living allowances (COLA), claiming that the cost of living had increased 200 per cent between 1942 and 1945.¹⁷⁵ Under the sponsorship of the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union (ACSTWU), which represented twenty-two unions and 90,000 workers, the strikers demanded a minimum wage and a fifty per cent COLA increase.¹⁷⁶ While the government refused their demands, the more radical workers held a mass rally on 19 May, stating "the workers of Nigeria shall proceed to seek their own remedy with due regard to Law and Order on the one hand and starvation on the other."¹⁷⁷ Following this rally the moderate leader of the ACSTWU, T.A. Bankole, withdrew union support, but this did not hinder the dedicated labor representatives.¹⁷⁸

Confronted by Nigeria's assertive labour movements, the British colonial government was faced with the unfamiliar position of relative helplessness. As summed up by Frederick Pedler (colonial office official):

We must not be hurried into wage increases and cost-of-living bonuses. Any concessions will increase the demand for imports; on the other hand if concessions are necessary to keep African labour from striking etc. they will have to be made.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ *Annual Report*, Department of Labour, and the Resettlement of Ex-Servicemen, 1945 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1946), pp.8-9.

¹⁷⁶ Robin Cohen, *Labour and Politics in Nigeria* (London: Heinemann, 1974), pp.161-2. These workers came from four large groupings: railway, postal, telegraph, and technical workers. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.87.

¹⁷⁷ *New Africa*, vol.4, no.7, July 1945.

¹⁷⁸ *West African Pilot*, 21 June 1945, p.1.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Frederick Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.132.

Having offered greater and greater concessions between 1942 and 1945, colonial authorities were beginning to feel helpless. According to historian Frederick Cooper:

Governors, the substance and symbol of colonial authoritarianism, had not usually confessed their impotence. The rhetoric of limited power and the repeated wage concessions showed how basic were the challenges to colonial authority and how potentially far-reaching any attempt to address the underlying social issues was.¹⁸⁰

The relative weakness of British colonial officials in Nigeria continued well into the strike, resulting in a favorable outcome for the workers, and the potential for greater demands in the minds of union leaders and nationalists alike.

Labour leader Michael Imoudu returned from a two-and-a-half year involuntary exile to lead the radical workers who remained devoted to the strike.¹⁸¹ Under his leadership the General Strike commenced on 21 June, representing the first such phenomenon in the history of colonial Nigeria.¹⁸² The strike was a combined effort of railway men and the Nigerian civil service, composed of 18,500 railway men, 5,500-6,800 public worker employees, 2,900 employees of the Lagos Town Council, and numerous other public sector workers.¹⁸³ Lasting between thirty-seven and forty-four days, depending upon occupation, and involving 31,000-33,000 workers, the General Strike successfully paralyzed the public sector.¹⁸⁴ The state deemed the strike illegal but was reluctant to use its repressive apparatus; believing that the strike was a

¹⁸⁰ Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, p.134.

¹⁸¹ Imoudu had been banished from Lagos in 1943 as a result of his leadership role in a railway strike. For a greater discussion of Michael Imoudu see Wale Oyemakinde, "Michael Imoudu and the Emergence of Militant Trade Unionism in Nigeria, 1940-1942," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* [JHSN], vol.3, no.3, December 1974, pp.541-561; Mbazulike Amechi, *The Forgotten Heroes of Nigerian Independence* (Onitsha: Etukokwu Publishers, 1985), pp.28-38.

¹⁸² Ehiedu Iweriebor, "Proletarians and Politics in Colonial and Post-Colonial Nigeria, 1912-1964," *Africa*, vol.41, no.1, March 30, 1986, pp.35-37.

¹⁸³ Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, p.135.

“political weapon” in Azikiwe’s hands, the governor banned his newspapers. But acting governor, G.C. Whiteley, admitted his own weakness:

There is little more I can do in the way of positive action to end the strike...[The] mood of the people of Lagos in general is such that there are few lengths short of violence to which they would not go to secure greatly increased wages. With a population which is largely either uneducated or semi-educated, among which an anti-European Press has had considerable license, it is no use to appeal to reason.¹⁸⁵

The Tudor Davies Commission, which was appointed by the government, awarded the workers a fifty per cent COLA increase.¹⁸⁶

The significance of the General Strike cannot be underestimated in regard to the rise of radical political action in Nigeria; Governor Richards certainly believed the strike’s “real object” was political.¹⁸⁷ In fact, according to Cooper, the granting of increased wages reflected the British fear of broader social and political disorder in the colony.¹⁸⁸ Prior to the strike the Nigerian nationalist movement was entirely isolated from the labour movement, and the two had little or no impact on one another.

According to Iweriebor:

By organising the General Strike, withstanding the colonial state’s intimidatory tactics and finally winning its demands [the movement] demonstrated the possibilities of militant and organised action as a strategy for wresting concessions from the colonial regime.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, p.135.

¹⁸⁵ Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, p.135.

¹⁸⁶ See *Inquiry into the Cost of Living and Control of the Cost of Living in the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria* (London: HMSO, 1946). Also see Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, pp.134-35.

¹⁸⁷ Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society*, p.135.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.136.

¹⁸⁹ In this source “it” refers to the labour movement. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.27.

By extension, the radical labour representatives who initiated the strike became close associates, if not members, of the emerging Zikist Movement; and, as we shall see, the Zikists created a labour branch within their movement that incorporated the strength of labour into the struggle for nationalist demands. Thus, both the General Strike and the void in the established nationalist leadership paved the way for the Zikists to assume an important role during the coming six years.

The emergence of the Zikist Movement and radical nationalist politics in Nigeria was similar to the rise of militant nationalist movements in other colonies (specifically India). While nationalism had begun with the notion of elitist self-interest, Azikiwe aimed to spread the doctrine of Nigerian nationalism throughout the colony. Using the Zik Printing Press Azikiwe was able to reach a broad Nigerian audience, stressing the importance of Gandhian discourse in Nigeria's push for independence. Though vocal in his beliefs, Azikiwe left the actual adoption of Gandhi's anti-colonial discourse to the Zikist Movement, who picked up the nationalist torch during the period of NCNC inactivity, and tried to emulate Gandhi's Indian achievements.

Chapter 3 - The Emergence of the Zikists

When we realise that it was a black man Mr. Henry Blair, a full-blooded Negro, who in 1836 invented the corn harvester; when we realise that Tarik Ibn Ziad who led the Moors into Spain and conquered that country in 711 A.D. was a black man; and when we remember that as far back as 760 B.C. the black man was not only fit to rule himself but did govern an empire; you will agree with me that the harder we strive to put this bleeding continent back on her rightful place the better for us and posterity.¹⁹⁰

The creation of the Zikist Movement in 1945 marked the beginning of a new era in Nigerian nationalism, one in which people were unwilling to sit back and wait for independence to be granted, but eager to take action. The evolution here was somewhat reminiscent of the development of the Indian nationalist movement, progressing as it did towards Satyagraha and civil disobedience.¹⁹¹ Although named after Azikiwe, Zikism came to represent a strategy he himself was unwilling to embrace in his constitutional endeavors to force Britain's hand. And while many historians have claimed that Zikism's creation was a result of a rumor of an assassination attempt on Azikiwe's life, it was in fact a highly ideologically driven nationalist organization, and not simply a movement of youths protecting Azikiwe as the leading nationalist symbol. It was instead based on the self-identification of young men as "renascent Africans," claiming responsibility for their destiny. They were prepared to take active steps to secure self-determination quickly.

¹⁹⁰ Habib Raji Abdallah, "Zikism as I Understand It," ("What Is Zikism?") *West African Pilot*, 13 August 1947, p.2.

¹⁹¹ Prior to Gandhi's leadership of the INC and the Indian nationalist movement, the INC was split into the moderates and the radicals; Gokhale lead the moderate constitutionalist, while Tilak embraced a radical and violent strategy. Wolpert, *A New History of India*, p.259.

Ideological Foundations

The Zikist Movement was based on the two distinct, yet intertwined philosophies presented in Azikiwe's 1937 *Renascent Africa* and Nwafor Orizu's 1944 *Without Bitterness*. While Azikiwe laid the foundation in *Renascent Africa*, Orizu was responsible for creating the specific ideology that became known as Zikism, an elaboration and systematization of Azikiwe's ideology.

Orizu found Azikiwe's work lacking coherence, failing to focus on the most pertinent issue, colonialism. *Renascent Africa* failed to incorporate a concrete analysis of colonialism as a system of domination:

Although conceived as a nationalist counterpoint to colonial society and ideology, it makes only oblique and circumscribed reference to colonialism as the historical phenomenon which created the negative political, social, economic and cultural conditions against which it is counterpoised.¹⁹²

To Orizu, the five pillars upon which Azikiwe's ideology is based align neatly with theories promoted in post-war Britain that outlined a "stage-by-stage evolution to political maturity."¹⁹³ Therefore, *Renascent Africa* was not seen as a large break from colonial ideology, but merely a new expression from the mouth of a Nigerian nationalist.

Without Bitterness was responsible for creating Zikism, the true foundation of the Zikist Movement. Nwafor Orizu was inspired by Azikiwe at a young age and followed his example by taking an American education.¹⁹⁴ Seeing the flaws in *Renascent Africa*

¹⁹² Quoted in Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.8.

¹⁹³ In post-war Britain this theory was promoted by gradual evolutionists including Arthur Creech Jones, Labour's Colonial Secretary, and Andrew Cohen, head of the Africa division of the Colonial Office. White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.16.

¹⁹⁴ *Renascent Africa* was published in 1937, and *Without Bitterness* in 1944. See Coleman, *Background to Nigerian Nationalism*, pp.242-45.

described above, Orizu sought to systematize and expand Azikiwe's ideology.¹⁹⁵

Orizu's Zikism has four central pillars: "Social Faith," "Political Zikism," "Economic Zikism," and "Religious Zikism," all of which were directed towards the achievement of independence.¹⁹⁶ "Social Faith" stated that a struggle for liberation must have a social myth as its foundation, giving its members the conviction needed to achieve their goals. For Orizu Zikism's social myth was "African irredentism,"

African irredentism must mean the redemption of Africa from social wreckage, political servitude and economic impotency; it also means extricating Africa from ideological confusion, psychological immaturity, spiritual complacency, and mental stagnation. It must mean the development of a new literature by Africans to interpret African culture realistically to other peoples.¹⁹⁷

It was upon this conception of "African irredentism" that Zikists would cultivate the conviction to succeed.¹⁹⁸

Orizu's pillar of a "Political Faith" filled a glaring gap in *Renascent Africa* by providing a focused critique of colonialism. Anchoring his position in opposition, Orizu argued that, because colonialism did not derive its power from the grassroots of society, it was illegitimate and had to be replaced:

Zikism does not quarrel with law and order and political organization in Africa, but they must be the law of the people to be legal. The order must come from popularly established authorities of the people to be obeyed. Political organisation must be the handiwork of the people, for the people, to be accepted. It does not aim at a change of authority in an old

¹⁹⁵ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-50*, p.9.

¹⁹⁶ Not only were these pillars aimed at Nigerian independence, but also African independence as a whole. *Without Bitterness* has been understood by many Africans as propounding a "universal" or at least a continent-wide philosophy. Nwafor Orizu, *Without Bitterness: Western Nations in Post War Africa* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1944), pp.297-301.

¹⁹⁷ Orizu, *Without Bitterness: Western Nations in Post War Africa*, p.306.

¹⁹⁸ African irredentism is a larger conception of Nigerian nationalism. While African irredentism refers to the independence of Africa at large, Nigerian nationalism applies that concept to itself on a smaller scale.

imperialistic structure of government but a totally new state which will usher in a new Africa.¹⁹⁹

“Economic Zikism” embraced a mixed economy that combined state control of certain economic sectors in the overall framework of capitalism. The development of Nigeria’s economy would be based on the promotion of African capitalism, augmented by scientific planning, agricultural development, and industrialization.²⁰⁰ The final component of Zikism was religious and was seen by the Zikists as no less vital to its overall goal. Orizu believed that a universal God was vital to Nigeria’s nationalist cause. According to “Religious Zikism” British colonization was based on the notion of a Christian civilizing mission. Orizu felt that, if God were universal, then He could provide support for the movement towards freedom; if God were universal, then “African irredentism” had to be considered a sacred program. As such, with the support of God, he thought there was no way Nigerians could fail in their mission for self-determination.²⁰¹

While Orizu provided a coherent critique of colonialism, connecting his distinct pillars together to form the grand objective of independence, neither he nor Azikiwe expanded upon the methods by which independence would be achieved. Both nationalists failed to conclude their ideologies by illustrating how self-rule should be achieved. Though neither of these authors connected Zikism with Gandhism in these two works, Azikiwe propagated Indian doctrine through his press, and in 1946 the leaders of the Zikist Movement coupled Zikist ideology with Gandhian strategies of independence.

¹⁹⁹ Orizu, *Without Bitterness: Western Nations in Post War Africa*, p.335.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.317-321.

The Emergence of the Zikist Movement

Not long after the publication of *Without Bitterness* the educated elements of Nigeria's youth picked up the torch of Zikism.²⁰² Disappointed with the direction of the NCNC and its constant failures, Kolawole Balogun, co-founder and first president-general of the Zikist Movement, set out to create a new and more effective mass movement. In February, 1946, Balogun distributed invitations to twenty prominent young men from Lagos, asking their opinion on the current national predicament.²⁰³ Their response was the creation of the Zikist Movement, in which M.C.K. Ajuluchuku, Abiodun Aluba, and Nduka Eze joined Balogun as the founding fathers. Perturbed by the lack of effective nationalist action, the Zikists made it their central duty to keep the nationalist movement on track by finding a form of progressive action. Unlike the Indian nationalist movement, whose leadership was filled with lawyers (Gandhi, Nehru), the source of power chosen in Nigeria was the press. Ajuluchuku, Aluba and Balogun were rising stars in the newspaper field; all three were employed in the upper echelon of the *Pilot*, as editors and assistant editors, and thus had great influence over what the general population read and the ideas it encountered. Eze also worked with the labor movement, providing a connection with a broader spectrum of the population.²⁰⁴

The four founding fathers gave voice to the prevalent belief in the vast deficiencies of past nationalist movements, affirming the use of radical action as the only possibility for nationalist progress. According to a Zikist statement in the *Pilot*:

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.336-43.

²⁰² When discussing the Nigerian "youth" I am referring to the demographic of university eligible citizens, roughly nineteen to twenty-five years of age.

²⁰³ *West African Pilot*, 19 February 1946, p.3.

²⁰⁴ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.33.

We have talked much and written a lot about our desire for self-rule. But it is not mere talking and mere writing that will help us through the colossal task that is ahead of us.²⁰⁵

According to Eze:

In an age with special reference to Nigeria where the governmental structure is not democratised, it becomes obvious that constitutionalism is not an effective weapon to be used by any body who calls himself a nationalist.²⁰⁶

Evidently, the Zikist Movement came to represent a youth that was tired of nationalist inactivity.

It did not take long for the movement to catch on and its membership to expand. Zikists came from a variety of backgrounds, including young teachers, students, ex-servicemen, traders, clerks, artisans, and journalists.²⁰⁷ With an initial membership of approximately 2500, the Zikists' influence began to spread nationwide.²⁰⁸ The Zikists were dedicated to remaining true to their ideological belief in pan-Nigerianism; Eze was sent on a national tour aimed at making connections in all communities, creating branches throughout the colony.²⁰⁹ Zikist branches quickly began to flourish throughout the provinces; according to Ajuluchuku, by 1947 the movement had twenty-nine branches throughout Nigeria.²¹⁰ The propagation of the Zikists' message

²⁰⁵ *West African Pilot*, 2 March 1946, p.2.

²⁰⁶ *Nigerian Spokesman*, 10 September 1946, p.2.

²⁰⁷ *West African Pilot*, 5 October 1948, p.4.

²⁰⁸ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.39.

²⁰⁹ *West African Pilot*, 12 June 1946, p.3.

²¹⁰ Wale Ademoyega, *The Federation of Nigeria* (London: Harrap, 1962), p.135.

continued until the movement's suppression in 1951, then totaling thirty-five branches nationwide and establishing itself as the most pan-Nigerian nationalist network.²¹¹

Rather than being a one-dimensional movement like many of its predecessors, the Zikist Movement was dedicated to advancement in five sectors: political, economic, cultural, social and welfare, and educational.²¹² Demanding self-government alongside the overall betterment of Nigerian society, the Zikists adopted non-violent civil disobedience as a method of struggle that had already proven successful against the British.

The Adoption of Gandhianism

While both Azikiwe and Orizu neglected to theorize strategies to accommodate the actualization of their ideologies, Mkwugo Okoye succeeded. A prominent Nigerian theoretician with great influence over the formation of the Zikist Movement, Okoye wrote *Vistas of Life*, a compilation of his previous publications, stressing both the importance of the Zikist ideology and the means of attaining it.²¹³ Okoye argued that organization and mass participation were the two necessary elements Nigeria needed.²¹⁴ Stressing the importance of mass civil disobedience, Okoye believed that non-violence would be appropriate, considering the success Gandhi experienced.²¹⁵ Okoye believed that:

²¹¹ The thirty-five towns that contained branches are: Lagos, Ibadan, Ife, Abeokuta, Ago-Iwoye, Oshogbo, Benin City, Warri, Sapele, Burutu, Obiaruku, Agbor, Ogwashi-Uku, Asaba, Okigwe, Calabar, Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Zaria, Makurdi, Jebba, Gusau, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Minna, Bida, and Ilorin. Ademoyega, *The Federation of Nigeria*, p.135.

²¹² *West African Pilot*, 25 April 1946, p.3.

²¹³ Mkwugo Okoye, *Vistas of Life: A Survey of Views and Visions* (Enugu: Eastern Nigeria Printing Corporation, 1962).

²¹⁴ Okoye, *Vistas of Life*, p. 188.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.190.

In the absence of material force, the *satyagrahi* believes that by insulting the dignity of the state, by outraging the decencies of public life, by defying all the rules which regulate the action of men, by obstructing any rule or law that inhibit life, by disrupting the whole sclerotic fabric of the status quo and doing things never before done or dreamed of by earlier reformists, by a disciplined application of his moral power in defiance of violent tyranny and by non-cooperation, strikes, boycotts, sanctions and demonstrations he might oblige the oppressor to listen to his demands. Non-co-operation is essentially the notion that it is shameful to assist the oppressor in maintaining his domination.²¹⁶

In this sense, Satyagrahi opposed laws they felt were unjust with non-violence in the hope that either the laws would be immediately abandoned by their oppressor, or that the oppressor's use of violence on the submissive Satyagrahi would wreck havoc on his conscience, necessitating a meeting of the minds.

In *What Nigeria Wants* Balogun stated the necessity of formulating a meticulous strategy for Nigerian independence, avoiding a reactionary role in colonial developments; nationalists must work according to their own schedule, not that of the British.²¹⁷ Due largely to Okoye's theoretical contributions, the Zikist Movement yielded an insatiable interest in non-violent civil disobedience and the mass application of Satyagraha.²¹⁸ But while Gandhi's ideology had been based on religion, Nigerians adopted practical elements, embracing Gandhian strategies under the idiom "Positive

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.191.

²¹⁷ Kola Balogun, *What Nigeria Wants: A Close Study of Indian Struggles With Special Reference to Nigeria*, (Yaba: Chucks, 1947), p.1. This pamphlet was originally given as a public lecture entitled, "India Is With Us," which was printed in the *West African Pilot*, 2 June 1947.

²¹⁸ The Indian national struggle had been closely monitored by the vast majority of Nigerian nationalists, even outside the Zikist-NCNC circle. See G.O. Olusanya, "India and Nigerian Nationalism;" Obafemi Awolowo, *AWO: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp.159-61; and Obafemi Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p.25.

Action.”²¹⁹ Writing of the Zikist Movement Iweriebor states that, “From 1947 it began to enunciate radical strategies of liberation under the rubric of “Positive Action” in the context of the colonial state’s determination to operationalise the much-criticised 1946 constitution.”²²⁰

Although Balogun neglected a proper definition of “Positive Action” in *What Nigeria Wants*, it appears he did so because its association with the masses’ understanding of non-violent civil disobedience had been concretely established through previous publications. “Positive Action” was composed of two concrete components; on the one hand there were boycott campaigns, and on the other mass demonstrations, pickets, and politicized strikes.²²¹ According to Olusanya, “The Zikists’ main weapons of struggle were strikes, boycotts, pickets and non-violent civil disobedience campaigns - all of which were borrowed from the INC.”²²² Elected Zikist President-General in 1947, Osita Agwuna identified their methods as “positive action, including a country-wide general strike, refusal to pay taxes, and a boycott of foreign goods.”²²³ The nationalist campaign was relatively all-inclusive, “against colonial cultural, social, religious, economic and political ideas, values, usages and institutions.”²²⁴ The goal of these two overarching components was simple: the strategies aimed to illustrate mass strength and delegitimize the colonial government

²¹⁹ Iweriebor claims that although “Positive Action” is historiographically known as Nkrumah’s formulation in Ghana, it was chronologically developed in Nigeria prior to its adoption in Ghana in 1949. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.127.

²²⁰ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.118.

²²¹ As one can obviously see, the tenets of “Positive Action” were not identical to Gandhi’s beliefs, given the inclusion of armed sabotage.

²²² Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p. 114.

²²³ Quoted in Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p.298.

²²⁴ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.127-8.

and its institutions of oppression, thereby forcing self-determination. Unlike Gandhi's ideological underpinnings, the goal of independence in Nigeria was more important than the means of its achievement; therefore, although the movement attempted to remain non-violent, it would not be confined to it.²²⁵

While non-violent civil disobedience represented the means, there was another necessary element illustrated by the Indian struggle. The most important lesson concerning "Positive Action" which the Zikists took from India was the dedication of its leadership. According to Balogun, India's success stemmed from its leadership, specifically its charismatic and "populist" nature, noting Gandhi's and Nehru's ability to associate with the masses.²²⁶ According to *What Nigeria Wants*:

The thorough planning and steady execution of Gandhi's non-violence methods accepted by Nehru, in loyalty to Gandhi's leadership; and utilized, for the benefit of Indian Swaraj, which was proclaimed and sustained by the dynamic leadership of the Congress Members who were undaunted by the police, martial law and detention powers.²²⁷

As Balogun illustrates with this statement, leadership was vital in the success of the Indian nationalist movement, but it would become one of the elements the Zikists ultimately could not fulfill.

Positive Action and the Masses

"Positive Action" is a philosophy whose success is based on mass participation. There were three central ways the Zikists involved the masses: participation in general anti-colonial demonstrations, in the labour movement, and in the National Church of

²²⁵ Wolpert, *A New History of India*, pp.306-7.

²²⁶ *West African Pilot*, 2 June 1947, p.2.

Nigeria and the Cameroons. Reaching the masses through their close affiliation with major national newspapers, pamphlets and public lectures, the Zikists preached the need for mass participation in the realization of freedom, and they organized mass meetings to demonstrate against specific instances of colonial injustice.

Perhaps the most effective tool to reach the masses was the national labour movement. Eze became the central Zikist economist, believing:

Working class solidarity and...economic freedom of the workers depended not on parleys with the employers, not on negotiating machinery for the settlement of disputes, but on the overthrow of Imperialism. To confine working class agitation to the strict issue of wages, conditions, pensions, etc., was to pursue the shadow instead of the substance.²²⁸

Eze connected the labour movement with the overall nationalist movement, illustrating that economic improvements would be frivolous and superficial without the achievement of independence. The idea of pursuing a better relationship with the means of production was only a minor part of the battle when those means remained in foreign control.

In 1947, when the Trade Union Congress (TUC) decided to break its affiliation with the NCNC and incorporate politics into its mandate, the Zikist Movement decided to create a labour wing. The NCNC-TUC affiliation had been relatively short lived, enduring after the 1945 General Strike until 1947, when the TUC decided it needed to create its own political party. The Zikists created the Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL) as an "alternative national labour centre."²²⁹ The NNFL was able to recruit twenty unions into its ranks, making it the second largest labour federation to the

²²⁷ Balogun, *What Nigeria Wants*, pp.7-8.

²²⁸ Nduka Eze, "Nigeria's Union Split," *West Africa*, 25 August 1962, p.935.

TUC, and becoming an intricate part of the Zikist nationalist plan for "Positive Action," as politicized strikes and boycotts became its most effective tools.²³⁰

Another way the Zikists chose to spread their message for national unity and the need for "Positive Action" was through religion. While the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons was portrayed as the religious arm of the Zikist Movement, it was intensely political; it created and propagated a "quasi-religious theology of national liberation."²³¹ The National Church was determined to use the pulpit as a platform for political change, from where speakers could address a large following concerning the necessity for independence. The National Church was determined to develop a theology outside the norms and influences of foreign Christian churches, and to do so independence from Britain became a prerequisite. The creed of the National Church was:

I believe in Herbert Macaulay, the Prophet, the doyen of Nigerian journalists and politicians and his only political son Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was conceived by mother Nigeria, born of the noble Chinwe Azikiwe, suffered persecution under the regime of the new autocrats; whose life assassination was attempted in Lagos. The third day he escaped assassin's bullet to Onitsha and sitteth at the right hand of Obi Okosi, whither he was consecrated the "Oracle of Onitsha" from thence he shall show the light to the people. I believe in Zik's philosophical freedom from want and oppression, the communion of the NCNC and the Zikist Movement from Alien Domination. Liberty Everlasting.²³²

²²⁹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics In Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.215.

²³⁰ While the NNFL contained twenty unions, the TUC had thirty, and there were 70 throughout the nation that were not affiliated at all. *Nigeria: Annual Report of the Department of Labour and the Settlement of Ex-Servicemen, 1949-50* (Lagos: Government Printer, 1950).

²³¹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics In Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.88.

²³² CO 537/4727, Nigeria Political Summary, January-March, 1949. Cited in Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.88.

The National Church used the idea of Azikiwe as a martyr for the nationalist cause in an effort to garner wider recognition for his philosophy, and thus the Zikists themselves.

This statement of belief was consistent with the further proposition that:

God sends his prophet to various nations from age to age to lead, teach, succour, defend and reform his human creations in travail, despair and decay. Thus the Arabs had Mohammed ... [the] Russians had Lenin ... [the] Indians had Gandhi ... and Africa has Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.²³³

The National Church was able to infuse an element of divine intervention in the Zikist nationalist cause, lending to the idea that their movement was God's will. This being said, the Zikists' use of religion was not in any way similar to Gandhi's. While Gandhi based his entire doctrine on religion and the search for religious truth, the Zikists used it not as a base for their ideology, but as a larger outlet to reach the masses; for the Zikists religion was a means of effective propagation rather than an underlying principle.

While religious services were a large part of the National Church's initiatives, its central means of propagating nationalist ideology was through "quasi-religious liturgical exercises enacted on occasions it considered to be of national significance."²³⁴ It was on these occasions that participants sang the Church's hymns, which were created to infuse Nigerian nationalism with the notion of an independent church. It was through these hymns that the Church was able to address the masses.

To a large extent the Zikist Movement was able to extend its ideological beliefs to the general public, appealing for mass participation in their acts of "Positive Action." While not every call for participation was answered, the Zikist Movement was able to initiate many acts of non-violent civil disobedience during its relatively short existence.

²³³ Cited in Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p.302.

Formulated upon the ideological guidelines laid forth by Azikiwe and Orizu, the Zikist Movement marked a change in the mindset of many nationalists, as the time for action had come; it now appeared that independence would have to be earned through direct dialogue and confrontation. The Zikist Movement has come to represent the radical nationalist period of Nigerian history, as they chose to apply Gandhian discourse to their own ideological ambitions. Non-violent civil disobedience became the method of choice, as the Zikists moved to illuminate British illegitimacy and force national self-determination.

²³⁴ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.90.

Chapter 4 - Direct Action

If Britain could throw away the imperialist yoke of the Romans, I see no reason why we should not throw down the imperialistic yoke of Britain. If we tell the governor to come down, he will not; we must drag him down. We must rise against the enemy imperialist.²³⁵

Unlike previous nationalist movements in Nigeria, the Zikists were not content discussing India as a role model, but desired to replicate Gandhi's struggle. After adopting non-violent civil disobedience as the method by which to achieve their ideological goals, the Zikists set about its application. There were three distinct phases of Zikist action, from 1946 to 1947, 1948 to 1949, and 1949 to 1950. What distinguished these stages from one another was the focus of the movement in each period, as it shifted from its close affiliation and cooperation with the NCNC, to freely applying non-violent civil disobedience, to a growing focus on boycotts and the labour movement. The discrepancy between the first two stages was the level of the Zikists' control over the nationalist movement, as prior to 1947 they were an emissary of the NCNC pan-Nigerian nationalist movement. Before Azikiwe and the NCNC recede into the nationalist shadows in 1947 the Zikists worked closely with them, providing funds, and organizing mass meetings and demonstrations. Between 1946 and 1947 there were three central nationalist controversies in which the Zikists participated: the 1946 NCNC national tour, the Bristol Hotel incident, and the 1947 agricultural ordinance debate. To a great extent, the Zikists were able to incorporate the notions of "Positive Action" through mass meetings and demonstrations.

²³⁵ This statement was made by Oged Macaulay, a prominent figure of both the NCNC and the Zikist Movement, and was used by the police during his sedition trial for his involvement in the Zikist Movement. *West African Pilot*, 27 November 1948, p.1.

Stage One, 1946-47

In 1946 Azikiwe organized an NCNC delegation to meet in London with Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones. The delegation was to discuss its dissatisfaction with the 1945 Richards Constitution and the "obnoxious ordinances," which were a series of ordinances implemented by the British throughout 1945, including the crown lands ordinance, the public lands acquisition ordinance and the mineral ordinance.²³⁶ Financial support for the trip was to be accumulated through an NCNC national Nigerian tour, in which the Zikists were to play a vital role raising funds, organizing NCNC meetings and rallies throughout the colony, and initiating their own anti-Richards protests. To raise funds the Zikists held public lectures, collecting entrance fees to be donated to the "NCNC Fund."²³⁷ Two such lectures were given on 2 December and 19 December, entitled "This The Hour Calling the Youths of Nigeria," and "Everyone's Role in the Battle for National Liberation."²³⁸

The Zikists also became active through direct protests of the Richards Constitution. In late 1946 a British Parliamentary Delegation toured the entire colony, meeting with local representatives in an effort to build amicable relationships between British parliamentary institutions and the emergent institutions in Nigeria.²³⁹ In two instances Zikist leaders were able to meet with the delegation and air their displeasure with the colonial government's constitutional innovations. Balogun argued that the administration of Nigeria was "dictatorial" rather than "consultative," and "that in order to ensure full co-operation between Nigeria and Britain, the colonial administration must

²³⁶ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.114-115.

²³⁷ *West African Pilot*, 29 November 1946, p.2.

²³⁸ *West African Pilot*, 27 December 1946, p.2.

²³⁹ The delegation was composed of Lord Llewellyn, Lieutenant J. Callaghan, Colonel F. J. Erroll, E.H. Keeling, Dr. S. Segal, F.W. Skinnard, and C.W. Dumbleton. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics In Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.107.

learn to respect public opinion, tolerate criticism and co-operate with the NCNC."²⁴⁰ Though this British delegation was not in a position to grant concessions, they were impressed with the Zikists' fiery determination. According to delegation member Dr. Segal:

What struck me most was how well they might have represented the Youth Movement of almost any country today with their zeal and earnestness and burning passion to set the world aright.²⁴¹

Though the British did not act immediately upon Zikist demands, their eyes were opened to that facet of Nigerian nationalism that was no longer willing to tolerate imperial exploitation and false gradualist promises.²⁴²

Diversifying beyond their close association with the NCNC and desire for its success, the Zikists were responsible for the nationalist response to the Bristol Hotel incident on 22 February, 1947. The Bristol Hotel Incident was an act of blatant racism, as a foreign employee of the hotel refused to accommodate Ivor Cummings, assistant to J. L. Keith, director of colonial scholarships.²⁴³ A mass rally was held at Oko Awo playground, where the Zikists, NYM, and NCNC demanded a ban on racism in Nigeria, and called for the employee's deportation.²⁴⁴ Rejected by the Governor, the Zikists

²⁴⁰ While Balogun was ready to take radical action to secure independence for Nigeria, he had to be open to the idea of cooperation as a form of progress. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics In Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.107.

²⁴¹ In this quote Dr. Segal refers to the Zikist Movement as the "Youth Movement." S. Segal, M.P., "West African Impressions: A Report on the Parliamentary Delegation which visited the West African Colonies early this year," *West African Review* (May, 1947), pp.544-46.

²⁴² What is meant here by "false gradualist promises" is that at the time of the Richards Constitution the British were admittedly acting as colonial gradualists, stating that there would be a constitutional evolution in Nigeria that would eventually lead to autonomy; yet this constitution was viewed as a step back by Nigerian nationalists, as they were not consulted during its creation.

²⁴³ John Flint, "Scandal at the Bristol Hotel: Some Thoughts on Racial Discrimination in Britain and West Africa and Its Relationship to the Planning of Decolonisation, 1939-1947," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. XII, no.1, October 1983, pp.74-93.

²⁴⁴ *West African Pilot*, 3 March 1947, p.1.

gave an ultimatum: meet their demands or direct action would be taken, and the hotel would be seized. On the date of the ultimatum a group of youths assembled at the hotel and bombarded it with stones. The colonial response was jarring, as many participants were injured by the colonial police force.²⁴⁵ Despite the successful repression of the protest, the Governor submitted to the demands, exiling the offender and issuing a statement banning racism in all public forums. The application of direct "Positive Action" yielded desired results, increasing the Zikists' resolve to employ it.

In June the Zikists applied their methods in their rejection of the 1947 agriculture ordinance, which aimed to facilitate the British export of agricultural goods out of Nigeria. This ordinance was a further exhibition of Britain's pervasive exploitation of Nigeria, illustrating that the Nigerian economy was little more than a source of raw materials for British interests.²⁴⁶ This ordinance was set to "provide for the regulation of the growing of agricultural crops, for the control of plant diseases and pests and for the preparation, marketing, storage, transporting, shipping and export of agricultural produce."²⁴⁷ Awokoya described the bill's neglect of Nigerian considerations thus:

If Government interest in the domestic consumption of Nigeria is to be judged by the attention it receives in the agricultural bill, it would be reasonable to wonder whether the interest of the Nigerian public ever intruded into government consideration when drawing up the Bill. From the first to the last there was not a single mention of the word "food," while the word "export" occurs innumerable times. ... One would have expected a Nigerian Government drawing up a Nigerian agricultural bill to consider first and foremost Nigerian overall agricultural needs. ...We seem to have been considered in the Agricultural Bill merely as a

²⁴⁵ *Nigerian Spokesman*, 14 March 1947, p.1.

²⁴⁶ For a detailed examination of the Ordinance see S. Oluwole Awokoya, "Wanted: A New Deal for Nigerian Agriculture," *West African Review* (October 1947), pp.1150-1.

²⁴⁷ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.112.

convenient labour force for the preparation and transportation of dietetic needs of some other parts of the world.²⁴⁸

On 29 June the Zikists organized a mass meeting at Glover Memorial Hall in Lagos, attended by over a thousand concerned Nigerians. At this meeting the participants rejected the bill, demanding it not be submitted to the legislative council. A month later, on 31 July, five representatives of this meeting met with the director of agriculture, A.G. Beattie.²⁴⁹ As a result of the national protest Governor Richards postponed the legislative consideration of the bill until April 1948, by which time John S. Macpherson had replaced him as governor. Governor Macpherson saw the bill as unjust, believing that it was too negative and lacked the ability to be "inspirational"; he therefore amended it to conform to his more liberal beliefs.²⁵⁰ Although the amendments were not drastic, Zikist action had forced a British compromise.

With the conclusion of the Agricultural Ordinance agitation in 1947 the Zikists moved into the second stage of their nationalist engagement, one in which their actions were far less restricted by their association with other, less radical, nationalist organizations. From the period of the withdrawal of the NCNC from nationalist agitation until the suppression of their movement, the Zikists were granted a freer range of nationalist expression, able to more closely implement the methods of "Positive Action" espoused by Mokwugo Okoye and Kolawole Balogun.

²⁴⁸ Awokoya, "Wanted: A New Deal for Nigerian Agriculture," p.1150.

²⁴⁹ The five representatives included Dr. Maja, Mbonu Ojike, K.O.K Onyioha, H.O. Davies, and Rotimi Williams. *West African Pilot*, 1 August 1947, p.1.

²⁵⁰ *West African Review*, October 1947, p.1225.

Stage Two, 1948-49

Throughout the latter half of 1947 the pursuit of non-violent civil disobedience became more vigorous throughout Nigeria. With the independence of India on Independence Day, 13 August, 1947, India illustrated that non-violent civil disobedience was an effective method of anti-colonial nationalist agitation. As a result, in December 1947, the Zikists' Deputy President-General Agwuna stated that his organization was going to turn "positive ideals into positive action in the new year."²⁵¹ Maintaining their faith in "Positive Action," 1948 marked the beginning of Zikist Gandhian strategy.

The Zikists initiated their campaign calls for "Positive Action" on 27 October, 1948, when Agwuna delivered a lecture entitled "A Call For Revolution."²⁵² Preaching to an assembly of 5000, Agwuna lectured against fear of the colonial state, speaking of the need for the mass adoption of civil disobedience and boycott campaigns.²⁵³ Agwuna believed that the key to mass participation in civil disobedience would be mass anger towards the colonial government in the wake of the anticipated arrest of Azikiwe. Although Azikiwe would not be arrested, Agwuna desired his incarceration by the colonial government in order to propel Azikiwe to become the "Nehru of Nigeria."²⁵⁴ Adding to Balogun's theory of the necessity of great leadership, Agwuna believed that Nigeria's freedom lay within the masses, not solely within its leadership; as such, he wanted Azikiwe to precipitate mass participation by becoming a martyr for the nationalist cause.

The Central Executive of the Zikist Movement issued the "Call" to each of its branches, urging their preparation for mass civil disobedience. Yet while the intention was there, the means for creating this movement failed. The foremost reason for the

²⁵¹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.126.

²⁵² Anthony Enahoro, *Fugitive Offender: The Story of a Political Prisoner* (London: Cassell, 1965), p.95.

²⁵³ Although the speech did not directly discuss Gandhi, its content was heavily laden with Gandhian discourse, as Agwuna's intent was to spark mass civil disobedience movements. The speech was published in the *Pilot* after its inclusion in the sedition trials. *West African Pilot*, 9 November 1948.

²⁵⁴ *West African Pilot*, 9 November 1948, p.2.

failure of the "Call" was the attitude of Azikiwe himself: he did not offer himself up for imprisonment. In fact, it was at this point that Azikiwe and the NCNC began to pull away from the Zikist Movement, denying all association; Azikiwe even spoke out in opposition to the Zikist radical call. The Zikists had made the mistake of putting too much stock in Azikiwe's "militant rhetoric." According to Eze:

The Central Committee decided that whether Zik liked it or not, the struggle would be spearheaded by him but we miscalculated for we did not know that we were dealing with some one who was intuitively cleverer than ourselves.²⁵⁵

Azikiwe was "intuitively cleverer" than the Zikist leadership because he was opportunistically able to distance himself from the movement, and thus from martyrdom. As it happened, Azikiwe was adamantly opposed to becoming a martyr in any nationalist sense; he was willing to proclaim the need for sacrifice, but not willing to embody it.²⁵⁶ Macpherson later substantiated the Zikist claim that Azikiwe's imprisonment would have spearheaded the movement, believing that had Azikiwe joined the Zikists, the consequences for the Nigerian colonial state would have been dire.²⁵⁷ Lacking a martyr figure of Azikiwe's prominence, the mass appeal of the movement was seriously weakened.

The Zikists also failed to properly prepare the colony for their "Call To Revolution." In fact, the Zikist Central Executive decided to act before giving their branches enough time to react to their revolutionary directive. Anxious to start their mass campaign, the Zikists overlooked the importance of proper preparation. The

²⁵⁵ Cited in Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.154.

²⁵⁶ The reason that I say this is because in 1945 Zik was considered a martyr for publishing in favor of the General Strike. On the other hand, that action was nowhere near the level of dedication required for him on behalf of the perceived national advancement of Nigeria.

²⁵⁷ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.154-5.

result of these two failures has been termed by one Nigerian commentator the "Rally That Never Was."²⁵⁸ Derived from Agwuna's lecture and Abdallah's article in 1948, the "Call For Revolution" was never answered by the Nigerian masses; there were no spontaneous outbursts of mass civil disobedience throughout the colony, nor were there involuntary mass arrests. Rather, the main reaction was on the part of the state, which arrested the leaders of the "Call," Agwuna and Enahoro, prosecuting them for acts of sedition.²⁵⁹

Despite the miserable failure of the "Call For Revolution," the Zikists maintained their course of "Positive Action." On 7 November the Zikists reaffirmed their desire for action, as highlighted in a speech given by Abdallah:

This is an important day indeed - the most important perhaps, in the history of our country. I call it the most important because it is today that we have to decide whether we are to be free or remain hereditary bondsmen who know not that they who must be free must themselves strike the blow. We have passed the age of petition. We have passed the age of resolution. We have passed the age of diplomacy. This is the age of action, plain, blunt and positive action. I want to make the following declaration: this seventh day of November 1948, I Habib Raji Abdallah, by the grace of God, President-General of the Zikist Movement and Field Secretary of the NCNC do hereby declare myself a free and independent citizen of Nigeria.²⁶⁰

The "Call For Action" was subsequently distributed to the branches of the Zikist Movement, calling for civil disobedience. This directive outlined the current goal of the movement, which was the release of political prisoners; if the colonial government failed to adhere to their demands, the Zikists would initiate a go-slow strike, progressing into

²⁵⁸ Habib Raji Abdallah, "Rally that Never Was," Part IV, *Spear* (October, 1968), pp.28-9.

²⁵⁹ *West African Pilot*, 1 November 1948, p.2.

²⁶⁰ *West African Pilot*, 27 November 1948, p.2.

mass demonstrations and political sabotage.²⁶¹ The response to this "Call" was greater than its predecessor, but remained limited; people in both Onitsha and Enugu responded with action; in Onitsha participants overcame the state's repressive response and held successful demonstrations, while those in Enugu were repressed.²⁶²

In protest against the sedition trials, people in Onitsha declared 20 November a "Day of National Mourning." The observance of this day was to include a general strike throughout Onitsha, with a boycott of all business activities. Despite several foreign businessmen who attempted to bypass the strike, it was extremely successful, crippling the entire city.²⁶³ The boycott resulted in the arrest of twenty-one youth participants; the events in Onitsha finally illustrated the strength of properly applied civil disobedience. In combination with civil disobedience the Zikists began to plan the incorporation of armed sabotage, storing weapons in the event of a violent confrontation with colonial officials.²⁶⁴

Stage Three - The Era of Eze

In 1949 Nduka Eze was elected President-General of the Zikist Movement, bringing with him a socialist belief that the mobilization of the labour movement would signify the destruction of colonialism. Still smarting from their abandonment by Azikiwe and the NCNC the year before, the Zikist Movement finally started to actively distance

²⁶¹ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.167.

²⁶² Enugu failed as a result of two coalescing factors: mobilization and participation were not as great as in Onitsha, and as a result, colonial repressive measures were far more effective.

²⁶³ Some foreigners tried to remain open for business, but they were demonstrated against, and subjected to violence and aggression, and thus succumbed to the desires of the Zikist nationalists. The strike also spread to other towns, including Nkpor, Ogidi, Ogbunike, Abatete, Unuanya, Obosi, Oba, Orafite, Nnewi, Nsugbe and Asaba. *West African Pilot*, 23 November 1948.

itself from both Azikiwe and his NCNC; faith in Azikiwe had given the Zikists little more than an ideological base from which to work. The Zikists began to seek contacts and associations with foreign radical movements, from the Gold Coast, India, USA, USSR and Britain.²⁶⁵ Although these external movements provided very little in the way of practical help, they provided radical literature and inspirational value. But the central consequence of these associations was the removal of the movement from the damaged relationship with Azikiwe, who appeared pro-Zikist in ideology but was adamantly anti-Zikist in practice.

Based on the failure of mass demonstrations within the rubric of "Positive Action," the Zikists altered their strategy to one based on politicized strikes and boycotts. In early 1949 Zikist members of the Trade Union Congress (TUC) argued that the labour movement must be politicized through an affiliation with the NCNC. Many TUC leaders did not support the politicization of their congress through a direct association with the NCNC; rather, they desired to create their own labour party in an attempt to join the political forum.²⁶⁶ As a result, on 17 March, 1949, the labour radicals of the Zikist Movement, as previously noted, formed their own labour organization, the Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL). This development deeply concerned the colonial state, and Governor Macpherson feared the NNFL would succeed in advancing Nigeria's anti-colonial struggle.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Despite the Zikist stocking of weapons, the Nigerian nationalist independence movement never turned into an overtly violent affair (as was the case in Algeria).

²⁶⁵ Mokwugo Okoye, *A Letter to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1979), p.25.

²⁶⁶ *West African Pilot*, 9 December 1947, p.3. The article was entitled "Affiliation of the T.U.C. to the N.C.N.C.," by H.P. Adebola.

²⁶⁷ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.218. Please refer to the discussion of the NNFL in the introduction for an understanding of its size and strength as the second largest federation of trade unions, second only to the TUC.

Without wasting time, the NNFL started to make demands of the colonial government, the most important of which was a minimum wage. Basing their demand on increasingly high rents and food costs, the NNFL met with Governor Macpherson, who believed that their demands were unfounded, but at the same time was deeply concerned about their control of the labour movement. The workers demanded an immediate response.²⁶⁸ Macpherson's denial of NNFL demands commenced a five-and-a-half month NNFL national tour, promoting labour concerns and national unity.²⁶⁹

Unable to organize a general strike, one of NNFL's central members, the Amalgamated Union of United Africa Company Workers (UNAMAG), began strike preparations. With Eze as their leader, UNAMAG initiated a confrontation with the United Africa Company (UAC). Positing the confrontation in an imperial light, Eze claimed that UAC mistreatment of employees was yet another example of European oppression of Africans.²⁷⁰ Demanding a minimum wage for all UAC employees and an increase in the Cost of Living Allowance, Eze set the nationwide strike for 6 May 1949. Faced with UNAMAG's resolute determination, the UAC caved to their demands, granting UAC workers a national minimum wage.²⁷¹

The minimum wage provided only a temporary reprieve, as the UAC initially neglected the Cost of Living Allowance issue. In May 1950 UNAMAG demanded a twelve-and-a-half percent increase in the Cost of Living Allowance; the UAC did not react with the same fear of this demand, refusing to meet Eze's request. In response, UNAMAG held a general strike from 2-11 August, effectively paralyzing the UAC in Lagos and the Provinces.²⁷² Eze called off the strike on 11 August as a result of UNAMAG's great success, as once again the UAC capitulated to union demands and

²⁶⁸ *West African Pilot*, 3 September 1949, p.1.

²⁶⁹ *West African Pilot*, 16 September 1949, p.1.

²⁷⁰ *West African Pilot*, 31 March 1949, p.2.

²⁷¹ See "Wage Increases for U.A.C. Staffs," *West African Review* (July 1949), p.787.

²⁷² *West African Pilot*, 12 August 1950, p.1.

increased the Cost of Living Allowance. Although the NNFL's subsequent call for a general strike went unanswered, its achievement through the success of UNAMAG was incredible, providing "Positive Action" with a far more effective channel.

The Iva Valley Massacre, also known as the Enugu Shooting Incident, proved to be the final Zikist act of anti-colonial radicalism, leading to their direct repression by the colonial state. Culminating from a number of complaints concerning working conditions at the Enugu mining camp, workers began a slow-down strike in November 1949. The colonial state reacted unfavorably towards strikers, bringing in state police. Feeling that his men's lives were in jeopardy, Officer F.S. Philip ordered his platoon to open fire on a group of strikers, killing twenty-one and injuring fifty-one.²⁷³ Viewing this incident as another in a long list of colonial atrocities, the Zikists quickly seized the opportunity.

The Zikist branches throughout the country began to inform and incite the general populace, holding mass demonstrations and popular protests. The Zikists organized protest demonstrations in Enugu, Aba, Umuahia, Owerri, Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Awka, and Calabar.²⁷⁴ While the police forces suppressed these uprisings, Arthur Creech Jones and Governor Macpherson established a commission of enquiry.²⁷⁵ This enquiry made two observations; the first was that the Chief Commissioner of the Eastern Province, Commander Pyke-Nott, was in the wrong for failing to react to miner demands; the second was a severe criticism of the Zikists for their role in exacerbating the event into mass protests throughout the colony.²⁷⁶ This British criticism of the Zikist Movement did not come without repercussions, as it was

²⁷³ Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria*, p.119.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.118-121.

²⁷⁵ Members of the Commission included Sir William Fitzgerald (chairman), Mr. Justice S.O. Quashie-Idun, Mr. Justice A.A. Ademola and R.W. Williams. The Commission held its proceedings in Enugu between 12 December, 1949 and 5 January, 1950. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.229.

²⁷⁶ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.229.

factored into the British Government's decision in February 1950 to persecute and suppress the movement (discussed in detail below).

After professing and propagating their belief in Gandhian discourse, the Zikists set about using them to the best of their ability. There were three distinct phases of civil-disobedience that corresponded with the leadership of the Movement, moving from picketing and protest, to strikes and labour unrest. Evidently, Zikist leaders did not possess the same qualities as Gandhi, including his organizational skills. Perhaps more to the point, the Zikists faced an entirely different British force than the INC had in India, as Indian independence started the British on a trend of renewed colonial interest and activity. While protesting against the Richards Constitution, the Agricultural Ordinance, and Bristol Hotel incident, among others, the Zikists failed to reach the full potential of the methods they emulated. The Zikists followed in Gandhi's footsteps, and while their impact was felt by the British, they never reached the level of success the same movements reached in India.

Chapter 5 - Endgame for the Zikists

Historians of Nigeria have largely neglected Nigeria's history of communal cooperation. In many instances Nigeria's history has been written backwards; the outcome was civil war and ethnic conflict, and it appears easier for the historians to discuss aspects of Nigerian history that paint the same picture. In doing so, these historians have lost sight of the positive aspects of Nigerian nationalism, as these nationalist characteristics are not easily assimilated into a discussion of communally divided Nigeria. It is when Nigerian history begins to incorporate the positive nature of communal cooperation that it becomes more difficult to explain Nigeria's degradation and continuing national difficulties.

Confronted with the idea that Nigeria adopted a Gandhian discourse of non-violent civil disobedience, the traditional interpretation of Nigerian history becomes problematic. If Nigerians adopted elements of a Gandhian struggle, then there must have been national cooperation, irrespective of communal background. Glorified by most historians of Nigeria for his nationalist contributions, Azikiwe is the obvious starting point. But Azikiwe was not the Gandhi of Nigeria; the Zikists, an ill-known nationalist movement, were the true nationalist pioneers. Although the Zikists were a nationalist movement based on communal cooperation, they have been neglected in the traditional historiography. It was here that this paper's reassessment of Nigerian history began, examining the positive aspects of Nigeria's colonial period.

The Zikist Movement was a positive force in Nigerian nationalist history, incorporating communal cooperation with Gandhian techniques of civil disobedience. While the vast majority of historians of Nigeria have neglected the importance of the Zikist Movement, they have overemphasized Azikiwe's importance. In many cases it seems Azikiwe was a negative factor in Nigeria's nationalist progress, similar to

historiographical reinterpretations of Gandhi that alter perceptions of his involvement in the Indian nationalist movement. Azikiwe was eager to preach the need for change in Nigerian society, but remained unwilling to lead the movement required to achieve that change, leaving the Zikists to fend for themselves. The Zikist Movement played a vital role in Nigeria's nationalist history, despite failing to achieve their ultimate goal of independence.

Repression of the Zikists

The conclusion of the protests surrounding the Iva Valley Massacre coincided with the formal end of the Zikist Movement, as the colonial government began its systematic attack on the movement's organization. While coordinating demonstrations against brutality by the colonial state in the Iva Valley incident, the Zikist Movement held its Second Annual General Conference to decide future actions. It was at this Kaduna Conference that many Zikist leaders finally realized the fallacy of their infatuation with Azikiwe. Unimpressed by Azikiwe's continual opposition to their movement, which embodied his nationalist ideology, Secretary-General Okoye proposed that the movement change its name.²⁷⁷ Okoye claimed that the "Zikist" name no longer provided an "inspirational luster," and that based on Azikiwe's opposition to the movement, it should be changed; despite a strong argument, the majority voted against Okoye's recommendation as, despite Azikiwe's failures, many continued to see him as their philosophical leader.²⁷⁸

The focus of the conference immediately shifted to future Zikist anti-colonial actions, reaffirming their commitment to "Positive Action." The Zikists decided to organize a "D-Day," upon which civil disobedience would simultaneously spread throughout the colony. The Zikists were to deliver a second "Call For Revolution" to

²⁷⁷ Okoye, *A Letter To Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe*, p.25.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

outline the course of "Positive Action"; in an attempt to better coordinate this effort, the second "Call" was to be delivered concurrently throughout Nigeria.²⁷⁹

Contrary to Zikist plans, the colonial government struck before D-Day. On 8 February 1950 the colonial government raided Zikist headquarters and members' homes and offices. Zikist leaders were arrested and imprisoned, while their documents and articles were confiscated. Among these documents were two *Zimo Newsletter's* entitled, "What Satyagraha Means to Us," and the "Call For Revolution."²⁸⁰

While the imprisonment of its leaders negated a Zikist counter-strike, many Nigerians spoke out against colonial aggression. For example, anti-colonial messages were graffitied on the walls of the Nigerian Secretariat; one such statement was "Our Souls Rebel," which stated:

If you are a Nigerian, you must not allow these whites to dominate you.
You must slap a whiteman who stands in the way of your civil liberty.
The Indians have their freedom through torture, persecutions, oppressions and repressions.
Nehru who was called a charlatan is today the Prime Minister of India.
He dined with the King of Britain.²⁸¹

This statement provides a vivid example of how anti-colonial ideas became more pressing during the prosecution of the Zikist Movement, and with them the continued use of India as an example and source of inspiration.

At his trial Okoye illustrated why he was among the movement's primary leadership, remaining true to his ideological beliefs under judicial duress and colonial pressure. Okoye stated, "African Redemption is our motto: Civil Disobedience is our

²⁷⁹ "Call For Revolution," *West African Pilot*, 20 February 1950.

²⁸⁰ The *Zimo Newsletter* was the Zikists' official publication, created in mid-1949 as an organ of the movement. These two particular issues were used during the sedition trials to illustrate the revolutionary fervor of the Zikist leadership. Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.211.

method, and the achievement of that Redemption shall be our reward."²⁸² Okoye ascertained that the repression of the Zikist Movement would not signal the end of Nigerian discontent and action, as the Zikists represented not merely their individual members' malcontent, but the voice of the youth, the renascent:

You are the symbol of that state, appointed by and accountable to it, and you are one of its instruments of oppression and repression in so far as the nationalist movement is concerned... I, too, am a symbol of the present moment, a symbol of African nationalism resolved to liquidate imperialism and achieve independence. I represent African youth in its quintessence of revolt against servitude and exploitation, in its glorious idealism that hopes for the best for Africa and will stint nothing that her liberation demands. It is not me therefore that you seek to judge and condemn, but rather the millions of people of Nigeria-Africa, and that is a titanic task even for a proud Empire.²⁸³

Okoye delivered this speech to the court during his sedition trial, as a leader of the Zikist Movement. It is the court which he labels a symbol of the state, which by extension is a tool for the repression of Nigerians. In addressing the court, Okoye stresses his belief that he is not merely an individual, but rather a representative of the millions of Nigerians that desire the destruction of colonialism, and that his persecution will not mark the end of their struggle for freedom.

Although the leadership of the Zikists remained steadfast to their ideology of freedom, the colonial government was uncompromising. On 12 April 1950 the Zikist Movement was pronounced illegal and given one month to end its affairs. Governor Macpherson claimed "the movement's suppression as necessary to maintain law and order," to which the Zikist response was "that the action of Sir John Macpherson as a

²⁸¹ *West African Pilot*, 10 February 1950, p.2.

²⁸² Mokwugo Okoye, *The Beard of Prometheus* (Ilfracombe: Stockwell, 1967), p.60.

representative of the British government was a further demonstration of the political enslavement of Nigerians.” The suppression of the Zikist Movement involved the arrest and trial of all Zikist leaders, effectively decapitating the movement. The colonial government also confiscated all Zikist publications, using them as evidence in their trials against its leaders. Zikist incorporation into the Nigerian bureaucracy neutralized many of the most radical Zikist leaders, as Britain began to Nigerianize the civil services and include Nigerians in the creation of their constitutions.²⁸⁴

The suppression of the Zikist Movement, achieved through its legal condemnation and the arrest and trial of its leaders, garnered it greater support than the organization had sustained during its nationalist activity; many Nigerians saw the government’s action as “high handed,” siding with the Zikists.²⁸⁵ Given that the movement could no longer drag him into becoming its martyr, Azikiwe reconsidered his public position towards it. In 1950, Azikiwe not only sided with the Zikist Movement, from which he had been dissociated for the past two years, but also called for “immediate revolutionary action”; not surprisingly, very little was done in the way of actualizing his statement.²⁸⁶ In fact, by this time even the colonial government was confused by Azikiwe, who was willing to proclaim Nigeria’s right to nationalism but never substantiate it. An official colonial statement on Azikiwe described his actions as “zigzagging,” stating:

The disturbing element is that each time he swings he goes a little further than the time before and although he is adept at stopping just short of the limit, the danger is that his own momentum will one day carry him beyond.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ Okoye, *The Beard of Prometheus*, p.61.

²⁸⁴ “Rule, Britain; Flourish Zikism,” *West African Pilot*, 18 April 1950.

²⁸⁵ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.247.

²⁸⁶ Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, p.249.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.250.

Although the Zikist Movement had been destroyed, its leaders, both free or incarcerated, believed that Nigeria's struggle for independence had just begun.

Ajuluchuku, acting Secretary -General, stated:

We are satisfied that we have carried out our national service ... towards the ultimate extermination of imperialism in Africa.

The fate of the Zikist Movement has been the fate of other great movements in history.

We shall allow the symbolism of imperialism to hold sway today. But tomorrow, the ideals for which the Zikist Movement lived and died shall rise again...

The Zikist Movement may be banned, but the youth of this country shall continue to fight ... against the ogre of foreign domination and alien enslavement until freedom be won, and Africa be for Africans.²⁸⁸

For Ajuluchuku, the Zikist Movement stood for principles that were to be achieved in the future. In a sense, the Zikist Movement was ahead of its time in Nigeria, as its goals would come to be more prevalent in the coming years while Nigeria progressed towards complete independence.

Recent academic study into Gandhi's impact on the Indian subcontinent has diversified the historiography, with several authors reconsidering his overall impact. One of the most common critiques of Gandhian action focuses on his role in slowing the progress of the independence movement, arguing that in many instances, especially between 1928-9, Gandhi acted as a brake on mounting pressure for further rounds of all-India mass action.²⁸⁹ Because Gandhi considered the means as important as the

²⁸⁸ Cited in *West African Pilot*, 27 April 1950, p.2.

²⁸⁹ Sankar, *Modern India*, p.281.

end, he often compromised the efficiency of mass struggle to satisfy his personal beliefs. Bhikhu Parekh summarizes Gandhi's critics:

In their view his basically conservative, puritanical, pro-bourgeois, and pacifist thought hindered the development of radical political movements, harmed the long-term interest of the dalits [formerly untouchables], burdened the Indian psyche with a sense of guilt about economic development, hampered the emergence of a strong and powerful state, and perpetuated unrealistic and confused ideas about human sexuality. His introduction of religious language into politics alienated the Muslims and rendered the partition of the country unavoidable.²⁹⁰

From this angle, there would appear to be very little that Gandhi achieved for India, participation causing more damage than good. Despite the concerns of academic critics, Gandhi's role in both national and international politics cannot be underestimated. Gandhi was seen in Nigeria as an inspiration, and thus a role model. From outside India, Gandhi's discourse and methodology looked to be an effective method of non-violent struggle. In Nigeria, the extent to which Gandhi's strategies might have actually burdened the indigenous movement was not widely discussed.

The Nigerian application of Gandhian strategies was not as it appeared to have been in India. Though the leadership of the Zikist Movement wholeheartedly supported the achievement of its ideological goals, the majority of the country lagged behind; it was during the Sedition Trials that observers came to understand that the secondary leadership of the Zikist Movement was unwilling to make sacrifices in the name of advancement.²⁹¹ However, the movement's impact was felt by the colonial government. Nigerians were restive and no longer willing to accommodate colonial

²⁹⁰ Parekh, *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*, p.111.

²⁹¹ For a greater discussion of the extreme level of dedication of the primary Zikist leaders see Iweriebor, *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950*, pp.171-210.

servitude, and without proper British guidance would again threaten stability within the colony. Compounded with other considerations, the 1950s would mark the end of British colonialism in Africa, commencing Nigeria's constitutional journey towards independence.

Britain's initial post-1945 reaction was to hold Nigeria tighter, believing that colonial development would help alleviate their economic doldrums. Between 1951 and 1957, despite an acute awareness that the economic value of colonial dependencies was decreasing, Britain remained steadfast to the notion of Empire.²⁹² The Conservative governments of both Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden continued Clement Atlee's and Ernest Bevin's strategy of creating a "Third Force" to resist the emergence of American hegemony.²⁹³ Though utopic in outlook from the beginning, Britain's ultimate disenchantment with the "Third Force" was precipitated by its failure to revive the drowning British economy. As a Colonial Office official noted in 1952, as part of a reassessment of the political role played by colonial dependencies, "the whole conception of Commonwealth development as the solution to our difficulties is becoming something of a castle in the air."²⁹⁴

Accompanying the economic failure of colonial development was the state of British public opinion after 1945. The creation of a British welfare state necessitated the diversion of funds from other divestitures, of which colonialism proved the most questionable. And while White claims that the change in public opinion towards anti-colonialism was "ethically based," evidence illustrates that such reassessments

²⁹² White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.25.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.29.

²⁹⁴ Quoted in White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.111.

emerged primarily out of self-interest. According to R.F. Holland, "one reason why colonies were ditched was to 'release resources' for domestic welfare spending."²⁹⁵

A prevalent concern among the British youth was their forced participation in Empire. Young people of voting age came to resent colonial conscription, reflecting their desire to avoid a death in "distant and sweltering jungles."²⁹⁶ Economic considerations taken into account with public opinion marked a change in British policy, which was solidified with the election of Harold Macmillan as Prime Minister in 1957.²⁹⁷

In 1956, following the debacle of the Suez Crisis, Harold Macmillan became British Prime Minister. With Macmillan came the idea of maintaining colonial influence without the formal structure of colonialism; while independence would be granted to the African colonies, Britain hoped to retain influence. According to John Darwin, decolonisation became the "continuation of empire by other means."²⁹⁸ According to Macmillan the loss of Empire was not a sign of weakness, but an illustration of new conceptions of power; according to White decolonisation was not a drastic change in Macmillan's course, since "though we no longer had authority, we still had great influence." In a speech delivered in Singapore in 1958, Macmillan stated:

Now, once again, having lost our pre-eminence in material strength, we had to learn to exert our influence in other

²⁹⁵ R.F. Holland, *European Decolonisation, 1918-1981: An Introductory Survey* (London: Macmillan, 1985), p.209.

²⁹⁶ White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*, p.32.

²⁹⁷ The 1956 Suez Crisis of course also precipitated a reconsideration of British colonial policy in the face of American and Soviet opposition.

²⁹⁸ J. Darwin, "The Fear of Falling: British Policies and Imperial Decline Since 1900," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xxxvi, 1986, p.42.

ways. Once more we should be living by our wits, as we had in earlier periods of our history.²⁹⁹

Macmillan believed that by meeting, rather than opposing, African nationalist demands, he could build amicable and friendly relations between Britain and emerging nation-states, perpetuating a great deal of British influence in the region.³⁰⁰ With Macmillan came the “Winds of Change,” and the independence of Nigeria in 1960.

After a decade of tribal conflict and animosity, a sharp change from the pan-Africanism of the Zikist and NCNC era, Nigeria achieved independence. Independence did not address the communal problems that had been exacerbated under indirect rule, and the country broke down in 1966 in civil war and the end of its first Republic.³⁰¹ Violence erupted throughout Nigeria, leaving behind the non-violence of its radical pan-Nigerian nationalist roots, the Zikist Movement. Reflecting on how decolonisation progressed towards violence in many colonies, A. Mazrui wrote in 1978 that: “Sociology and history have helped to radicalize African strategies of resistance, and the Gandhian chapter in the annals of black nationalism has come irresistibly to a close.”³⁰²

The Zikist Movement has been repeatedly and seriously misrepresented in the historiography of Nigeria. It was not a youth movement of the NCNC whose sole purpose was to uphold and protect Azikiwe’s nationalist image; rather, it was a fiercely ideological movement whose goal became the adoption of Gandhian techniques of colonial resistance in an effort to achieve national self-determination. The Zikist

²⁹⁹ PREM 11/2219, Record of the Final Session of the Annual Conference of the Commissioner-General, Southeast Asia, 19 January 1958.

³⁰⁰ The belief was that bitterness and hostility would have been accompanied by a denial of British involvement in the independent futures of their ex-colonies.

³⁰¹ For a detailed discussion of the failure of the application of European history through the adoption of the nation-state in Africa, please refer to Basil Davidson, *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (London: James Currey, 1992).

Movement is the embodiment of nationalist action in Nigeria, as Nigerians attempted to move past mere nationalist rhetoric and institute policies that would change their future. Zikist action was paid great attention by the colonial government, and impacted the colonial state's decisions and policies. Even after its suppression, its leaders went on to impact Nigeria's politics from within the system, a strategy which became much more effective than attacking from the outside.

Analysis of the Zikist Movement illustrates the simplistic approach many historians have taken concerning Nigerian nationalism and the achievement of independence. Very little in the sense of nationalist activity was achieved outside the Zikist Movement. With this in mind, it becomes apparent that many historians have adopted simplistic ways of explaining Nigeria's current national problems, thus avoiding more complex issues. For instance, Nigeria was not a communally divided colony throughout its existence, as some authors claim. In an effort to illustrate the communal nature of Nigeria after independence, especially with the onset of the civil war, historians have glazed over Nigeria's rich history of national cooperation, which was embodied by the Zikist Movement and their ideological foundations. Both Azikiwe and the Zikist Movement aimed to bring the colony together, believing that communal divisions would do nothing more than prolong Britain's hold over the colony.

One of the disappointing realities the Zikists came to face was the problematic stance of Azikiwe himself. Through his initial endorsement in his printing press, observers could not help but believe that he wholeheartedly supported the adoption of Gandhi's discourse of colonial resistance. Despite his published rhetoric, however, Azikiwe's political support was superficial at best. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the

³⁰² Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, p.119.

historical record why Azikiwe was so reluctant to lead the Zikists and Nigerians towards self-determination. Perhaps the Zikists' plans for his martyrdom were enough to shy him away from a substantial role, quickly leading to his public opposition.

While it may be true that the Zikist Movement did not encounter the perceived level of success Gandhi had with similar doctrines, one cannot discuss Nigerian nationalism without giving a great amount of credit to the movement. Prior to the Zikists, Nigerian nationalism had been confined to the pages of newspapers and pamphlets. The Zikists altered that nationalism in a radical sense, pushing it beyond talking and writing to the point of direct anti-colonial action. And though their actions did not bring Britain to her knees, it was enough to start earnest constitutional discussions between Britain and the leaders of Nigeria, leading to Nigeria's independence in 1960.

Bibliography

- Abdallah, Habib Raji. "Rally that Never Was," Part IV. *Spear*, October, 1968.
- Abdallah, Habib Raji. "Zikism as I Understand It" ("What Is Zikism?"). *West African Pilot*, 13 August 1947.
- Adelabu, Adegoke. *Africa in Ebullition: A Handbook of Freedom for Nigerian Nationalists*. Ibadan: The Union Printing Press, 1951.
- Ademoyega, Wale. *The Federation of Nigeria: from Earliest Times to Independence*. London: Harrap, 1962.
- Akinsuroju, O. *Nigeria Political Theatre (1923-1953)*. Lagos: City Publishing Association, 1953.
- Allen, Christopher and R.W. Johnson. *African Perspectives: Papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa Presented to Thomas Hodgkin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Aluko, Olajide. *Ghana and Nigeria 1957-70: A Study of Inter-African Discord*. London: Rex Collings, 1976.
- Amechi, Mbazulike. *The Forgotten Heroes of Nigerian Independence*. Onitsha: Etukokwu Publishers, 1985.
- Annual Report*, Department of Labour, and the Resettlement of Ex-Servicemen, 1945. Lagos: Government Printer, 1946.
- Arikpo, Okoi. *The Development of Modern Nigeria*. Middlesex: Penguin, 1967.
- Awokoya, S. Oluwole. "Wanted: A New Deal for Nigerian Agriculture." *West African Review*, October 1947, pp.1150-1.
- Awolowo, Chief Obafemi. *AWO: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.
- Awolowo, Obafemi. *The People's Republic*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Awolowo, Obafemi. *The Strategy and Tactics of the People's Republic of Nigeria*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Awolowo, Obafemi. *Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1966.

- Azikiwe, Nnamdi. *Renascent Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1968.
- Azikiwe, Nnamdi. *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria formerly President of the Nigerian Senate formerly Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Balogun, Kolawole. *What Nigeria Wants: A Close Study of Indian Struggles With Special Reference to Nigeria*. Yaba: Chuks, 1947.
- Barnett, C. *The Lost Victory*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Bello, Sir Ahmadu. *My Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Bhattacharyya, S.N. *Mahatma Gandhi: the Journalist*. London: Asia Publishing House, 1965.
- "Biography of Nnamdi Azikiwe," <<http://www.bookrags.com/biography/nnamdi-azikiwe/>>, n.d.
- Blackwell, Fritz. *India: A Global Studies Handbook*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Bose, Ashish, Vinod Kumar Singh, Mithu Adhikary and Anita Haldar, *Demographic Diversity of India: 1921 Census, State and District Level Data: A Reference Book* Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp, 1991.
- Brass, Paul R. *The Politics of India Since Independence*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Bretton, Henry L. *Power and Stability in Nigeria: The Politics of Decolonisation*. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Brown, Judith M. *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics, 1928-34*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Burns, Sir Alan. *History of Nigeria*. London: Ruskin House, 1969.
- Calcutta Forward*. August 19, 1935.
- Carland, John M. *The Colonial Office and Nigeria, 1898-1914*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Choudhary, Sukhbir. *Growth of Nationalism in India (1919-1929)*, Vol.II. New Delhi: Trimurti Publications, 1973.
- Chaudhuri, S.B. *Theories of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-59*. Calcutta: World Press, 1965.

- Cohen, Robin. *Labour and Politics in Nigeria*. London: Heinemann, 1974.
- Coleman, James S. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Decolonisation and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Copland, Ian. *India, 1885-1947*. London: Longman, 2001.
- Cronje, Suzanne. *The World and Nigeria: The Diplomatic History of the Biafran War 1967-1970*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972.
- Crowder, Michael. *A Short History of Nigeria*. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Crowder, Michael. *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*. London: Hutchinson, 1970.
- Crowder, Michael and J.F. Ade Ajayi (eds.). *History of West Africa*. Vol. 2. Essex: Longman, 1984.
- Daily Comet*, 1945-50.
- Darwin, J. "The Fear of Falling: British Policies and Imperial Decline Since 1900." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xxxvi, 1986.
- Davidson, Basil. *Which Way Africa*. Middlesex: Penguin, 1971.
- Davies, H.O. *Memoirs*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers) Limited, 1989.
- Ekundare, R. Olufemi. *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960*. London: Methuen, 1973.
- Emerson, Rupert and Martin Kilson (eds.). *The Political Awakening of Africa*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Enahoro, Anthony. *Fugitive Offender: The Story of a Political Prisoner*. London: Cassell, 1965.
- Eze, Nduka. "Nigeria's Union Split." *West Africa*, August 25, 1962.
- Falola, Toyin. *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* Englewood Cliffs: Zed Books Ltd., 1987.
- Falola, Toyin. *The History of Nigeria*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999.

- Ferkiss, Victor C. *Africa's Search For Identity*. New York: Braziller, 1966.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Flint, John E. *Nigeria and Ghana*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- Flint, John. "Scandal at the Bristol Hotel: Some Thoughts on Racial Discrimination in Britain and West Africa and Its Relationship to the Planning of Decolonisation, 1939-1947." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. XII, no.1, October 1983, pp.74-93.
- Gallagher, J. *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Gandhi, Mohandas K. *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.
- Gandhi, Mahatma. *The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology of His Writings on His Life, Work and Ideas*. Louis Fischer (ed.). New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Gandhi, M.K. *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. Anthony J. Parel (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Ghose, Sankar. *Modern Indian Political Thought*. Delhi: Allied, 1984.
- Gupta, Anirudha. "A Note on Indian Attitudes to Africa." *African Affairs*. Volume 69, Issue 275 (Apr., 1970): pp.170-178.
- Hardiman, David. *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas*. London: Hurst & Company, 2003.
- Hargreaves, John D. *Decolonisation in Africa*. London: Longman, 1988.
- Hatch, John. *Nigeria: A History*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1971.
- Hodgkin, Thomas. *African Political Parties: An Introductory Guide*. London: Penguin, 1961.
- Hodgkin, Thomas. *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. London: Frederick Muller, 1956.
- Hodgkin, Thomas. *Nigerian Perspectives: A Historical Anthology*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

- Holland, R.F. *European Decolonisation, 1918-1981: An Introductory Survey*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Defile, S.O. "The *West African Pilot* and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism, 1937-60." Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980.
- "India: Historical Demographical Data of the Whole Country," <<http://www.library.uu.nl/wesp/populstat/Asia/indiac.htm>>, 1999/2003 "populstat" site: Jan Lahmeyer.
- Inquiry into the Cost of Living and Control of the Cost of Living in the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria* (London: HMSO, 1946)
- Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of Nigeria With a Contribution by Peter Uche Isichei*. New York: Longman, 1983.
- Israel, Milton. *Communications and Power: Propaganda and the Press in the Indian Nationalist Struggle, 1920-1947*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Iweriebor, Ehiedu. "Proletarians and Politics in Colonial and Post-Colonial Nigeria, 1912-1964." *Africa*, vol.41, no.1, March 30, 1986.
- Iweriebor, Ehiedu E.G. *Radical Politics in Nigeria, 1945-1950: The Significance of the Zikist Movement*. Zaria (Nigeria): Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1996.
- Jones-Quartey, K.A.B. *A Life of Azikiwe*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1965.
- Juwe, S.M. *Why is the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the God of Africa?* Port Harcourt: Goodwill Press, n.d.
- Karlekar, Hiranmay (ed.). *Independent India: The First Fifty Years*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Kohn, Hans and Wallace Sokoldky. *African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965.
- Krozewski, G. "Sterling, the 'Minor' Territories, and the End of Formal Empire, 1939-58." *Economic History Review*, xlvi, 1993.
- Laitin, David D. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Laws of Nigeria*, Revised Edition. Lagos: Government Printer, 1948.
- "Linguistic Relations: Diversity, Use, and Policy," <<http://www.folium.ro/world-encyclopedia/india/63.htm>>.

- Low, D.A. *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle, 1917-47*. Missouri: South Asia Books, 1977.
- Lugard, Lord F.D. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1965.
- Lugard, Lord F.D. *Federation and the Colonies*. London: MacMillan, 1941.
- Lugard, Sir F.D. *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record*. London: Frank Cass, 1968.
- McCauley, Martin. *Russia, America, and the Cold War*. Harlow (Essex): Pearson Education Limited, 1998.
- McKay, Vernon. *Africa in World Politics*. New York: Harper, 1963.
- Mair, Lucy. *The New Africa*. London: C.A. Watts, 1967.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Englewood Cliffs: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Mazrui, Ali A. *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Mazrui, Ali A. and Michael Tidy. *Nationalism and the New States in Africa*. London: Heinemann, 1984.
- Metcalf, Thomas R. *Modern India: An Interpretive Anthology*. London: MacMillan, 1971.
- Metz, Helen Chapin (ed.). *Nigeria: A Country Study*. Washington: Federal Research Division [Library of Congress], 1992.
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J. *Theories of Imperialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Nanda, B.R. *Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus: Studies in Indian Nationalism*. London: George Allen, 1974.
- Narain, Prem. *Press and Politics In India, 1885-1905*. Bombay: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970.
- Natarajan, S. *A History of the Press in India*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962.

Nehru and Africa: Extracts from Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches on Africa, 1946-1963.
New Delhi: Indian Council For Africa, 1964.

New Africa, vol.4, no.7, July 1945.

Nicolson, I.F. *The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960: Men, Methods, and Myths.*
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Nigeria: Annual Report of the Department of Labour and the Settlement of Ex-Servicemen, 1949-50 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1950).

"Nigeria: Census History," <<http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/nigeria/nigeria54.html>>, Library Congress and allRefer.

"Nigeria: Ethnicity," <<http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/nigeria/nigeria56.html>>.

Nigerian Spokesman.

Nwigwe, Henry E. *Nigeria - The Fall of the First Republic.* London: Ebony Press, 1966.

Okoye, Mokuwugo. *A Letter to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1979.

Okoye, Mokuwugo. *The Beard of Prometheus.* Ilfracombe: Stockwell, 1967.

Okoye, Mokuwugo. *Vistas of Life: A Survey of Views and Visions.* Enugu: Eastern Nigeria Printing Corporation, 1962.

Olusanya, G.O. "India and Nigerian Nationalism." *Africa Quarterly.* Vol.5. Oct.-Dec. (1965): pp.188-191.

Olusanya, G.O. *The Unfinished Task: Lectures and Published Papers on Foreign Policy and Nigeria's Development.* Benin City (Nigeria): Sankore Publishers, 1991.

Olusanya, G.O. *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939-1953.* London: Evans Brothers, 1973.

Olusanya, G.O. *The West African Student's Union and the Politics of Decolonisation, 1925-1958.* Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1982.

Onimode, Bade. *Imperialism and Under-Development in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty.* London: Zed Press, 1982.

Orimoloye, S.A. *Biographia Nigeriana.* Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977.

- Orizu, A.A. Nwafor. *Without Bitterness*. New York: Creative Age Press, 1944.
- Orizu, A.A. Nwafor. *Original Zikism*. Onitsha: United Brothers Press, n.d.
- Orizu, A.A. Nwafor. "Zikism: Philosophy for a New Social Order," *Tomorrow*, May 1944.
- Osaghae, Eghosa E. *Nigeria Since Independence: Crippled Giant*. London: Hurst, 1998.
- Oyemakinde, Wale. "Michael Imoudu and the Emergence of Militant Trade Unionism in Nigeria, 1940-1942." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN)*, vol.3, no.3, December 1974.
- Oyinbo, John. *Nigeria: Crisis and Beyond*. London: Charles Knight, 1971.
- Paden, John N. *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986.
- Parekh, Bhikhu. *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Pearce, R.D. "Governors, Nationalism and Constitutions in Nigeria, 1935-1951." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. ix, no.3, May 1981.
- Perham, Margery. *Lugard: The Years of Adventure, 1858-1898*. London: Collins, 1956.
- Perham, Margery. *Lugard: The Years of Authority 1898-1941*. London: Collins, 1960.
- Phillips (Jr.), Claude S. *The Development of Nigeria Foreign Policy*. Northwestern University Press, 1964.
- PREM 11/2219, Record of the Final Session of the Annual Conference of the Commissioner-General, Southeast Asia, 19 January 1958.*
- Rake, Alan. *New African Yearbook*. London: I.C. Magazines, 1978.
- Ray, Amal. "Decision-Making and Federalising Process in India and Nigeria." *India Quarterly [India]*, 1973 (29) (4).
- Ramana Rao, M.V. *A Short History of the Indian National Congress*. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1959.
- Robinson, Charles Henry. *Nigeria: Our Latest Protectorate*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1900.

- Romulo, Carlos P. *The Meaning of Bandung*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1956.
- Saben-Claire, E. "African Troops in Asia." *African Affairs* (1945-46): pp.151-157.
- Sankar, Sumit. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.
- Segal, Ronald. *African Profiles*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1962.
- Segal, S. M.P. "West African Impressions: A Report on the Parliamentary Delegation which visited the West African Colonies early this year." *West African Review*, May, 1947.
- Sharma, Jyoti. *Tilak and Gandhi: Perspectives on Religion and Politics*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2001.
- Sharwood Smith, Sir Bryan. *Recollections of British Administration in the Cameroons and Northern Nigeria 1921-1957: "But Always As Friends."* Durham: Duke University Press, 1969.
- Shevade, S.V. *Indian Culture Over the World*. Dr. Sharad Hebalkar (trans.). New York: Vantage Press, 1994.
- Sisson, Richard and Stanley Wolpert. *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Sitaramayya, Pittabhi. *The History of the Indian National Congress: Volume II (1935-1947)*. Bombay: Padma Publications LTD., 1947.
- Tahmankar, D.V. *Lkamanya Tilak, Father of India Unrest and Maker of Modern India*. London: J. Murray, 1956.
- Tamuno, T.N. *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914*. London: Longman, 1972.
- Temu, A. and B. Swai. *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique*. London: Zed Press, 1981.
- Thompson, A. and Dorothy Middleton. *Lugard in Africa*. London: Robert Hale, 1959.
- Uwazurike, Chudi P. *The Man Called Zik of Africa: Portrait of Nigeria's Pan-African Statesman*. New York: Triatlantic Books, 1996.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Virilio, Paul. *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology*. New York: Autonomedia, 1986.

"Wage Increases for U.A.C. Staffs," *West African Review*, July 1949, p.787.

West African Pilot, 1945-1951.

West African Review, October 1947.

White, Nicholas J. *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*. New York: Longman, 1999.

Who's Who in Nigeria: A Biographical Dictionary. Lagos: A Daily Times Publication, 1956.

Wolpert, Stanley. *A New History of India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.