

Chapter 8: Nationalism in Nigeria

8.1 THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism is a strong feeling of belongingness and emotional attachment to a group called nation, and the desire of a people shown through emotional actions to defend and maintain their distinctive existence, political independence, prosperity and general welfare. Nationalism produces nationalist activities. A nationalist activity is an activity which has its aim at attaining and maintaining political independence of a people or creating an independent nation. It is an agitation for self-determination. In the African context, a nationalist activity is an agitation against alien rule. It is a protest against colonial domination. Nationalism in Africa also produced nationalist movements. A nationalist movement is an organized group which agitates and protests through speeches and actions against alien rule. It is organized to achieve self-government for the colonial people whom the nationalists represented.

Nigerian nationalism therefore is a strong feeling of belongingness and emotional attachment to Nigeria by Nigerians and their burning desire and determination to liberate themselves from colonial rule, oppression and exploitation. Nigerian nationalism produced nationalist movement and activities which were aggressive actions against the harsh conditions of colonialism and imperialism. Nigerian nationalism was therefore directed against British political domination, economic exploitation and social deprivation. The feeling of belongingness to one "nation" by the cultural pluralist Nigerians was produced by the fact of common harsh experience under colonial rule and common actions to realize a common purpose - *independence*.

Nationalism includes the feelings for a nation; sentiments and cultural identity. It entails a number of activities in which people show their disgust or dislike for an existing situation and express a preference for another. The sentiments also include expression of dissatisfaction with a condition of domination, exploitation and oppression. In the process, were involved a number of cultural and professional groups who had strong feelings against a situation in which equals were treated unequally. These groups included trade unions, political parties and/or cultural groups such as *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, Ibo State's Union, Edo Cultural Groups, etc. It also included churches such as the Aladura Movements, African Churches as well as individuals who were privileged to be the spokesmen of their communities during the period. The diverse groups had one thing in common, which was that they all perceived the need for a change especially in the political sphere which was considered as the key to other changes.

Nationalism, in this sense, is a sort of patriotism and its method included discrimination against the aliens. However, the resistant movements were themselves products of the colonial system which had in its package plenty of discrimination against Africans in opportunities and privileges. For instance, politicians wanted political independence; businessmen wanted economic independence; the religionists wanted religious liberation, civil servants wanted equal access to opportunities; etc.

8.2 FOUNDERS OF NIGERIAN NATIONALISM

Early Nigerian nationalists included the following:

Herbert Macaulay was the father of Nigeria nationalism. He was the founder of the Nigerian National Democratic Party in 1923 and the first President of the NCNC in 1944. He died in 1946 during a NCNC nationwide tour of Nigeria. John Payne Jackson was the founder and editor of the first Nigerian newspaper - the *Lagos Weekly Record* - established in 1891.

Sir Kitoyi Ajasa was the founder and the editor of the Nigerian Pioneer which he launched in 1914. Ladipo Solanke founded in Britain the West African Students Union (WASU) in 1924 which, between 1924 and 1945 was the principal social and political centre for Nigerian students in Britain.

Ernest Ikoli, Samuel Akinsanya, Dr. J.C. Vaughan, H.O. Davies, and Dr Kofo Abayomi were the founders of the Nigerian



Herbert Macaulay



Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe



Alhaji Ahmadu Bello



Chief Obafemi Awolowo

Fig. 8.1: Some founders of Nigerian nationalism

Youth Movement in 1936. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was a radical member of the Nigerian Youth Movement. He was one of the founders of the NCNC and the first Secretary-General of the party. When Herbert Macaulay died in 1946, he became the President of the NCNC, the position he held throughout the remaining nationalist days, 1946-1959. He had his own nationalist vanguard - the Zikist Movement formed by Kolawole Balogun, M.C.K. Ajuluchukwu and Abiodun Aloba. Between 1934 and 1954, Dr Azikiwe was undoubtedly the most vocal, fearless and celebrated nationalist leader in Nigeria. He founded the *West African Pilot*, *the Comet*, and other newspapers; and was the first Premier of Eastern Nigeria.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo was the founder and leader of the Action Group. He was a front-line nationalist and played leading roles in the struggle for independence. Chief Awolowo established *the Nigerian Tribune* and was the first Premier of Western Nigeria.

Sir Ahmadu Bello and Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa were the founders of the Northern People's Congress.

Sir Ahmadu Bello was the first Premier of Northern Nigeria while Alhaji Tafawa Balewa was the first Prime Minister of Nigeria.

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, and Sir Ahmadu Bello participated very effectively in all the Nigerian Constitutional Conferences before Nigeria attained her independence. Other Nigerian nationalists were Mallam Aminu Kano, the founder of the Northern Elements' Progressive Union; Chief Anthony Enahoro, the mover of the motion for Nigeria's self-government in 1956; Chief Michael Imoudu, the Nigerian veteran labour leader.

8.3 PATTERNS OF NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA

Nationalism in Nigeria had different patterns depending on who was involved at a given time. If politicians were involved, the pattern of agitation, the issue involved in agitation, the methods of agitation, etc. were different from that of the businessmen, the religious group etc. The three main patterns of Nationalism in Nigeria are discussed below.

Traditional Rulers' Nationalism

The earlier nationalist activities in Nigeria were those spearheaded by traditional rulers such as King Jaja of Opobo, Oba Ovoramwen of Benin, the Northern Emirs War of Resistance, Yoruba Oba such as Kosoko of Lagos, etc. The nationalism of these rulers were at the early stages of colonialism. They never accepted colonialism without resistance. In fact, some had to be deported, some dethroned, some imprisoned, etc. Jaja of Opobo had to be deported to Gold Coast (Ghana) because he opposed the economic destruction of his domain. The Oba of Benin was punished and deported.

The Northern Emirs fought various wars against the colonialists. Kosoko of Lagos was deported to Epe. There were other skirmishes initiated by lesser Obas. For instance the Iseyin riot of 1916 was basically a resistance to the colonial strategies of reimposing the authorities of Oyo on Iseyin. Most lesser Chiefs lost their titles because of their resistance to the alien style of government.

Religious Nationalism

The traditional rulers' nationalist activities were closely followed by the religious groups' nationalist activities. The colonialists had imposed their own religion and put their men as clergies thereby making the Africans second class members. For instance, in the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), the first African Bishop, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, before his death was a bishop only in name; in the catholic hierarchies, Nigerians could only rise to the level of Catechists and so it was for other churches. A situation therefore arose for the establishment of churches where Africans would be bosses. The African church and several Aladura churches were the results of the need for Africans to stand on their own in the religious sphere without renouncing their support for the Christian faith. At least, in these Churches, Nigerians were able to escape from the position of inferiority which hitherto was their lot.

Political Nationalism

Christianity brought with it western education and therefore, western tastes. Nigerians were given education for inferior positions such as messengers, cleaners and interpreters in the various spheres of life.

Some Nigerians were able to acquire good education which could make them stand their ground against the Europeans but they were discriminated against in employment, salary, positions and other privileges. These educated elites became disappointed because all peoples (white and black) were not treated alike. For this reason, the educated Nigerians started to query the essence of colonialism.

These Nigerians - Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Aminu Kano, H.O. Davies, Solanke, Obafemi Awolowo, Sardauna of Sokoto, Ernest Ikoli, Kitoyi Ajasa, etc. started to question the basis of colonialism. These Nigerians also realized that the continuing domination of Nigerians in the political and economic spheres meant slavery forever. These educated elites also abhorred the role of traditional rulers who were made partners with the white in the Indirect Rule system. For these and other personal reasons, the

educated Nigerians started to denounce colonialism and resorted to the formation of organizations that will help to put across their case. At first, it was West African organizations but later it started to be Nigerian. The Nigerian example of such organizations was Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party. Central to their agitation is that the educated ones were more equipped to participate in the governance of their people than the traditional rulers and that they should be allowed to participate in the governance of their people and in the running of the affairs of their country. These organizations later transformed into political parties and became actively involved in the agitation for self-rule.

In the colonial system therefore, there were three groups which could not agree on the management of the affairs of the country. The whites wanted everything for themselves and used traditional rulers as aids to get this done. The traditional rulers, even though resisted colonialism, started to benefit by becoming parts of the system and were therefore ready to resist any concession being granted to the educated elites. The educated elites, on the other hand, wanted better positions for themselves and therefore regarded the other two groups as collaborators. The atmosphere was therefore rife for nationalism, and the roles played by the three groups in the course of nationalism were dictated by their perception of the situation. The whites were determined to crush nationalism, the traditional rulers were ready for modification if it enhanced their power while the educated elites were poised to demolish colonialism.

8.4 FACTORS THAT CAUSED THE RISE AND GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA

Even though colonialism meant domination of Africans (Nigerians) by the whites, it nevertheless sowed the seed of its own destruction by providing education, introducing a new system of government in which traditional rulers were trained, introducing new economic systems in which Nigerians were involved, etc. In spite of these exposures, Nigerians were still made to look inferior in the system. They were discriminated against, hence they started to agitate for self-rule so that they could be opportuned to manage their own affairs.

With colonialism, new ideas were introduced to Nigerians through education. For the economic domination of the country to be possible, roads and railways were constructed. Nigerians were used as labourers and therefore earned money with which they started some business. Also they were given more opportunities to know one another. For instance, the railway constructions required labourers from the Yoruba, the Hausa, the Igbo, etc. who now had opportunity of relating closely and could therefore exchange notes on exploitation or domination which colonialism stood for. In the sphere of agriculture, new crops were introduced - cocoa, coffee, rubber -which increased the earning power of Nigerians. The few Africans who had the opportunity of being in the system were discriminated against. For instance, in the cocoa business, Nigerians were made to plant cocoa by the whites, and whites also told them how much to sell cocoa. In the civil service, there were European jobs and African jobs; there were European salaries and African salaries even for similar jobs. The whites were determined to maintain their superior position while the Nigerians were determined to change it.

The factors that caused the rise and growth of nationalist activities in Nigeria can be broadly discovered under *internal and external factors*.

Internal Factors

The internal factors which generated nationalist activities in Nigeria are outlined below:

(i) **Political Factor:** The whole concept and practice of colonialism was repulsive and repugnant to the people. It was quite unacceptable to the people that the decisions and policies about how they were governed were all made by the white foreigners and imposed on them. Elections were never conducted for Nigerians to select their rulers. These were imposed on them by the imperialists. Nigerians were not given opportunities to participate in the government of their land. The civil service, police and military

positions were monopolized by the British. The nationalists considered these situations as humiliating, inhuman and provocative.

(ii) **Discrimination against Educated Elites:** The educational system of the colonialists had created a group of educated people who were denied certain privileges. These educated people like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, H.O. Davies, etc. had education but were not absorbed into the system. The discrimination of the colonial administration was such that better educated Nigerians were regarded as inferior to the whites no matter how lowly educated. To worsen the situation for the educated Nigerians, the colonial government was more inclined to rely on the traditional rulers for advice than on the educated Nigerians.

(iii) **A Large Concentration of Educated Elites in the Cities:**

There was a large concentration of educated elites in the urban centres. This was as a result of government presence and the new opportunities for menial jobs and small businesses. They consisted of educated people who either were discriminated against or were refused employment because they were black. There was a very large concentration of unemployed 'standard six boys' in these cities. All these spear-headed the organization of nationalist movements. In the cities also were large concentration of idle men who could be depended on for spontaneous support.

(iv) **Establishment and Expansion of Newspapers:** There was a rapid growth of newspapers and journals. The media became the instrument with which the nationalists reached a large and expansive audience for the purpose of educating them and discrediting colonialism. For instance, *the Lagos Weekly Record*, established by John Jackson in 1891, the first newspaper to be established in Nigeria, was from 1891 to the early 1930's, a notable agent of propaganda of African nationalism.

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe established the *West African Pilot* in 1938, the *Comet* in 1935, *Eastern Nigerian Guardian* in 1949, and many other papers. Chief Obafemi Awolowo established the *Nigerian Tribune* in 1949. Other newspapers were the *Daily News* established by Macaulay in 1925, the *Daily Times* established in 1926, the *Nigerian Chronicle* in 1908, the *African Mail* in 1908, the *African Messenger* in 1926, *New Africa* in 1950 and the *Northern Advocate* in 1949. There were journals like the *Oduduwa* by the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, *Service* by the Nigerian Youth Movement, *WASU* by the West African Students' Union and a host of others.

(v) **The Oppressive Indirect Rule System:** The policy of Crown Colony meant that the territory was being governed for the benefit of Britain. Two systems were involved - the central administration which was predominantly European and responsible to the British government, and the local administration in the form of Indirect Rule. The local administration involved the participation of both Europeans and Nigerians. The Europeans were the Residents and District Officers while the Nigerians were the traditional rulers. The District Officers had immense privileges while the traditional rulers were not better than messengers in the system.

The traditional rulers were dictatorial and oppressive to the people. Moreover, the system neglected the educated elites. This angered the educated elites. The Egba Uprising (or Adubi War) of 1918 and the Aba Women Riot of 1929 were violent reactions against the oppressive Indirect Rule system. To worsen the situation for the traditional rulers, lands were acquired and made into forest reserves without compensations to their source of income. This angered the traditional rulers immensely.

(vi) **The Policy and Practice of Social Segregation:** As part of the discrimination, the colonial government practiced what was known as Colour Bar. There were special institutions for the whites and different types for the Nigerians. For instance, the Creek Hospital and the Bristol Hotel, both in Lagos were for the whites. The Government Reservation Area remained the exclusive preserve of the whites and indeed the Police Stations were planted between the G.R.A and the Peoples' area. This social discrimination gave the whites the feeling of superiority to such an extent that Nigerians were allowed into the white areas only as stewards, cooks or houseboys and the Nigerians were housed in what the British officials called Boys' Quarters. In such a system, a Nigerian of about 70 years of age would remain a 'boy' until he left the job. Even in all civil service, Nigerians were only allowed to play subordinate roles.

European jobs and salaries were more attractive than the Nigerian jobs and salaries. The difference was not because of better education or better performance, it was because the white was white and black was black. The blacks were made hewers of wood and drawers of water by their white masters.

(vii) **The Formation of Political Associations/Parties:** Political associations/parties played leading roles in stimulating nationalist feeling and actions in Nigeria. The earliest among these were the National Congress of British West Africa established in 1920, the West African Students Union (1925), the Nigerian Youth Movement (1936) and the Nigerian National Democratic Party formed in 1923, which was the first political party in Nigeria. Later, the NCNC, the Action Group and the Northern People's Congress came into being to demand self-rule for Nigeria. The most national, vocal and fearless party in this task of nationalist struggle was the NCNC, with its

militant youth wing - the Zikist Movement formed in 1945. The political parties became the vanguard for the mobilization of the people, for the education of the people and for the ultimate take-over of power from the colonialists. Indeed, the political parties played an important role in the negotiations for self-government.

(viii) **Economic Factors:** The civil servants were poorly paid; the farmers were made to grow what the white wanted, told the price to sell and who the buyers were. The few companies or firms were owned by the British who completely monopolized trade and commerce. Nigerians were only subordinates in the economic sphere. There were shortages of goods, increase in urban population and decrease in rural population. Cost of living was rising but there was no increase in the standard of living. This led to the general strike of 1945 in which workers demanded increase in cost of living allowance.

Hubert Ogunde staged plays in this respect and he was, sent to prison for this. Nigerians were economically exploited and oppressed.

(ix) **Absence of Social Amenities:** The government was a 'law and order' government. There was no provision of infrastructure such as good water supply, electricity, good roads, medical facilities, educational facilities (schools, colleges, universities, public libraries). No efforts were made to build industries, but rather Nigerians were made mere producers of raw materials for British industries.

(x) **Development of Industrial Unions:** As the idea of collective bargaining among wage earning groups started to grow, the African clerks in the government service organized themselves and formed the Nigerian Civil Service Union in 1912.

In 1921, the artisan in government railroads joined with other technical workers and formed the Mechanics Union. In 1931, the mission schoolteachers organized and formed the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT). During the Second World War, the number of labour unions in Nigeria rose phenomenally from five to seventy and continued increasing rapidly with the result that in 1954, it rose to 177. The Nigerian Trade Union Congress was organized as a central coordinating body for all the union. The workers' complained about low wages, high cost of living, social discrimination and exploitation by the British. The workers' bitterness resulted in the General Strike of 1945 involving 17 unions. The strike lasted for 37 days. The strike had the support of Dr Azikiwe who politicised the labour movement and linked it to the nationalist movement.

(xi) **Cultural Factor:** The British regarded our culture as primitive and imposed their own. culture on Nigerians. They exported to Nigeria their language, religion and system of government. All the traditional laws and practices were replaced with British ones. They carted away costly traditional African works of art and kept them in British Museums. They used English names to replace African names. In other words, they tried to destroy the whole African culture by attempting to replace African ways of life with those of the British. These policies and actions provoked the nationalists who denounced and fought against them.

External Factors

Although there were factors within Nigeria which made nationalist activities inevitable, other influences from outside contributed to its form and intensity.

(i) **Activities of Black Americans and their Movements:** With colonialism, a group of people had been created who regarded themselves as Nigerians wherever they were. The students, the businessmen, etc. from all parts of the country started to see themselves as one people outside the country. These Nigerians were also opportuned to meet people from other parts of Africa and the World whose ideas became useful for their nationalist movement.

There were black Americans like Marcus Garvey, Dr W.E.B. Du Bois, Blaize Diague, etc. who organized Pan-African movements to demand for African participation in African affairs. They agitated that Africans should rule themselves. Dr W.E.B. Du Bois organized five Pan-African Congresses in Europe and America, the last being the Manchester Conference. Marcus Garvey organized conventions in the U.S.A. All these movements were aimed at uniting the Blacks, giving them political education, and stating the case for the liberation of Africa. These movements influenced the nationalists tremendously.

(ii) **The Atlantic Charter:** After the World War II, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain and President Franklin Roosevelt of U.S.A. drew up the Atlantic charter which provided for the principle of self-determination. The third clause of the charter states the '... right of all people to choose the forms of government under which they will live...' The charter, it was argued by Prime Minister Churchill, did not cover the colonial people. This angered them and made them intensify their nationalist activities.

(iii) **Effects of the Second World War:** The events of the Second World War also encouraged nationalism. Nigerians fought side by side with the whites against the Germans. From their experience, they discovered that the whites were not superhuman. They saw the whites at close quarters, saw their weaknesses and discovered that they were even stronger and more brilliant than the whites. On the other hand, Nigerians were made to fight the war on the ground that colonial people should be allowed to rule themselves. Nigerians fought faithfully because they thought after the war, self- rule would be granted just for the asking.

Another outcome of the war was that Nigerian soldiers who returned home started to share their experience with their brothers. Such stories included the unveiling of white vulnerability, and the whites' strategy of using the police to protect themselves. Indeed, the Nigerians' performance in the war became a household gossip. Furthermore, their return meant the presence in the country of an enlightened corps who could be made use of for nationalist agitation. After all, their demobilization meant unemployment.

(iv) **Activities of Nigerian Students Abroad:** The Nigerian students in overseas institutions, particularly in Britain and America, were tremendously influenced by the liberal knowledge which they imbibed. They were taught of liberty, fundamental human rights, equality, the rule of law and the principles of democracy. They moreover saw the practice of democracy, equality and human rights in these overseas countries. These students imported their ideas. Some of them organized themselves into associations for fighting colonialism. For instance, the West African Students' Union (WASU) was formed in Britain in 1924 to mount pressure on the British government to grant some measure of autonomy to Nigeria. The membership of WASU provided a training ground for these nationalists as they became firebrands in the movements later. Nigerian students in the U.S.A. came back with the American concept and practice of liberal democracy. Student bodies in the U.S.A. sought for social equality and self-determination for Nigeria.

(v) **The Coming into Power of the Labour Party after World**

War II: The ascendancy of the labour party to power in Britain was also a favourable factor in nationalist agitation. The labour party was in favour of self-rule and Nigerians took advantage of it.

(vi) **The Independence of India:** India gained her independence from Britain after a long period of struggle by Indian nationalists under Ghandi. This fired a lot of inspirations, encouragements, and hope to our nationalists as they realized that colonized people could one day gain their independence.

(vii) The Formation of the United Nations Organization (UNO):

The UNO was established in 1945. One of its objectives was the termination of colonialism and imperialism. When the UNO was established, it opposed colonialism. The UNO Declaration

of Human Rights in 1948 also opposed to colonialism and imperialism. The nationalists got a lot of encouragements and inspirations from the UNO opposition and from the world charter of human rights.

(viii) The Opposition of the U.S.A and U.S.S.R: The two world powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, had no colonies and this accounted for their opposition to colonialism. The colonial policies of two major colonial powers, Britain and France, were criticized by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. This boosted the morale of the nationalists and encouraged inspiration.

8.5 EFFECTS OF NATIONALISM ON NIGERIA

The effects of nationalist activities were far-reaching on Nigeria. These are discussed under the folio wing headings:

Rapid Constitutional Development

The aim of nationalism in Nigeria was self-rule. With activities of the nationalists, several constitutional conferences were held at which the political future of Nigeria was considered. From 1946 to 1960, about three constitutions were given to Nigeria. In 1946, Nigeria had the Richards Constitution under which Nigerians were first brought together as one group with the Northerners being represented in the Legislative Assembly. Richards Constitution also introduced regionalism into Nigerian politics and created three regional Assemblies with African majority. The legislative Council also had African majority in its membership. The new constitution did not satisfy the aspirations of Nigerians. Consequently, the NCNC mounted pressure for its change. Following this dissatisfaction, a conference was held at Ibadan in 1950, popularly known as the Ibadan Conference to evolve a new constitution. The outcome of the Ibadan Conference became what was known as the Macpherson Constitution.

The landmark of the Macpherson Constitution was the attempt at federation and the creation of regional assemblies of elected representatives. The collapse of the Macpherson Constitution led to the establishment of the Lyttleton Constitution which gave Nigeria true federalism. The position of Premier for each Region was created before the expiration of that constitution. The 1957 and 1959 Constitutional Conferences were used to tidy the efforts to attain independence which was attained in 1960.

The road to independence was not rosy for the nationalists. People like Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe and Anthony Enahoro were imprisoned for demanding independence for Nigeria. Workers were killed for agitating for fair treatment; an example is the Enugu Coal Miners' Massacre; newspapers were banned, etc. In short, Nigerians were humiliated; insulted and disgraced for demanding independence for the country.

Even the nationalists were not in agreement on everything. The north-south division was a stumbling block to independence. The political parties were not one in their demands for independence. Some wanted immediate independence; some wanted a slow approach to it. The consequence of this was that the three regions-West, East and North became self-governing on varying dates before the country ultimately attained her independence.

The Attainment of Independence

The most apparent consequence of nationalism is that Nigeria attained independence on October 1, 1960 as a sovereign state within the Commonwealth, with the Queen of England still the Head of State, and represented in Nigeria by a Governor-General. In 1963, Nigeria became a Republic with her own citizen as Head of State known as the President of the Republic. Thus, nationalist activities contributed immensely to the termination of colonialism in Nigeria.

Political Training

Nationalist movements gave leadership training to Nigerians. During the period of nationalist activities in Nigeria, the Nigerian elites had very useful political education. This political training adequately equipped the Nigerian leaders to take over political powers from the British when Nigeria attained her independence.

Formation of Political Parties

One of the important outcomes of Nigerian nationalist was the formation of nationalist movements. The nationalist movements like

the NNDP, the NYM, the NCNC, the Action Group and NPC turned into political parties. Nigerians learnt how to organize political parties and operate multi-party system based on Western liberal democracy.

Formation of Trade Unions

Nationalist activities resulted in the formation of Trade Unions. Trade Unions were used by nationalists like Michael Imoudu, to fight against the exploitation and oppression of workers by the colonial administration.

Successful War Against Radical Discrimination and Social Inequality

The Nigerian nationalists successfully fought against social inequality and racial discrimination nurtured by colonial administration in Nigeria. Thus, towards the late 1950's, Nigerians were not discriminated against in public places and institutions and were given their rightful places in the Nigerian public service.

Spread of Education

The activities of the nationalists resulted in the spread of education in Nigeria. Many schools were built and the University of Ibadan was opened in 1948 as a result of their activities.

Replacement of Native Administration System with Modern Democratic Local Government System

The nationalists violently opposed the Indirect Rule system because it was dictatorial, oppressive and exploitative. As a consequence of the nationalist opposition, the native administration system was replaced in 1950 with the modern democratic local government system.

Establishment of Newspapers

Nationalists established many newspapers in Nigeria, These helped to train Nigerian journalists. Nigerians expressed themselves through these newspapers. The newspapers also gave Nigerians very useful political education. Thus, political education by the press and nationalist movements/parties was an essential effect of nationalist activities. The result of all these in the present Nigerian government and politics is the evolution of a political culture of freedom of the press and the preservation of fundamental human rights.

KEY POINTS

Meaning of Nationalism

Nationalism is a strong feeling of belonging and emotional attachment to a group called nation, and the desire of a people shown through emotional actions to maintain their distinctive existence, political independence, prosperity and general welfare.

The Founders of Nigerian Nationalism

The founders of the Nigerian nationalism include Herbert Macaulay, John Jackson, Ladipo Solanke, Ernest Ikoli, H.O. Davies, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief ObafemiAwolowo, SirAhmaduBeilo, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Kofo Abayomi and others.

Patterns of Nationalism in Nigeria

(i) *Traditional Rulers 'Nationalism*

This is a strong feeling and attachment to the homeland expressed by traditional rulers through their resistance to alien rule.

(ii) *Religious Nationalism*

These are reactions by the religious bodies and individuals against the dictatorship of foreign religious leadership and the destruction of African culture.

(iii) *Political Nationalism*

These are emotional and sentimental reactions by the educated elites to free their father-land from foreign rule.

Factors that Caused the Rise and Growth of Nationalism

Internal Factors

- (i) Foreign rule was inhuman, oppressive, exploitative, and undemocratic.
- (ii) Discrimination against educated elites,
- (iii) Increase in the number of educated elites,
- (iv) Expansion in the Nigerian press,
- (v) Indirect Rule was oppressive and exploitative,
- (vi) The policy and practice of social segregation.
- (vii) Formation of political association and parties,
- (viii) Economic exploitation of the people,
- (ix) Absence of social amenities,
- (x) The development of industrial unions,
- (xi) Destruction of Nigerian culture, which angered the educated elites.

External Factors

- (i) Black Americans formed movements which promoted the idea of African unity and emancipation.
- (ii) The Atlantic charter which provided for self-determination.
- (iii) Nigerians who fought during the Second World War came back home with new orientations and attitudes for self-rule.
- (iv) Nigerian students abroad imported the ideas of liberal democracy of Western Europe.
- (v) The labour party in Britain which was opposed to colonial domination came to power after World War II.
- (vi) The independence of India was a good example for Nigeria.
- (vii) The formation of the UNO which was opposed to colonialism.
- (viii) The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union were opposed to colonialism and imperialism.

The Effects of Nationalism

- (i) Rapid constitutional development.
- (ii) Nigeria gained her independence in 1960 and became a Republic in 1963.
- (iii) Political training was given to future leaders of Nigeria.
- (iv) Formation of political parties.
- (v) Formation of trade unions.
- (vi) War was successfully waged against racial discrimination and social inequality.
- (vii) Spread of education.
- (viii) Replacement of native administration with modern democratic local government system.
- (ix) Establishment of many newspapers in Nigeria.

SAMPLE EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Essay Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and patterns of Nigerian nationalism.
2. What were the major contributions of Herbert Macaulay, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe to Nigerian nationalism?
3. What factors led to the rise and growth of nationalist activities in Nigeria?
4. What external factors were responsible for the increase in the national activities in Nigeria?
5. What were the effects of nationalist activities on Nigeria?

Objective Questions

1. The father of Nigerian nationalism is
 - A. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe.
 - B. Chief Anthony Enahoro.
 - C. Chief Obafemi Awolowo.
 - D. Sir Ahmadu Bello.
 - E. Herbert Macaulay.
2. The first newspaper to be established in Nigeria is
 - A. Lagos Weekly Record.
 - B. Daily Times.
 - C. West African Pilot.
 - D. Nigerian Tribune.
 - E. Nigerian Chronicle.
3. Which one of these nationalist associations was formed in Britain?

- A. Nigerian Youth Movement.
 - B. Nigerian National Democratic Party
 - C. West African Students' Union
 - D. National Convention of Nigeria and Cameroon
 - E. Action Group
4. Which of these factors was not responsible for the growth of nationalist activities in Nigeria?
- A. Indirect rule
 - B. Social segregation
 - C. Atlantic charter
 - D. The policy of assimilation
 - E. Increase in the number of educated elites
5. One of the effects of nationalist activities on Nigeria was
- A. economic equality.
 - B. political training of future leaders of Nigeria.
 - C. Southern Cameroon became part of Eastern Region.
 - D. destruction of Nigerian culture.

Answers

- 1. E
- 2. A
- 3. C
- 4. D
- 5. B