

I would make especial mention of the answer as coming from one of the youngest entrants in this section. On its merits it stands very high in my final assessments.

Though there are occasional signs of immaturity of approach, the net effect is of a well-balanced and understood answer - and that, in your examiner's opinion - is an important factor to be considered.

Your committee may feel that the candidate has another two years in which to be placed in the prize-list. I merely would state that I would rank the script

8TH.

~~W+~~

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CLASS A.

Examine the position in world affairs today of any
commonwealth country, indicating the particular responsibilities
and opportunities which accrue from being a part of the
commonwealth.

"Nigeria and World Affairs"

Summary

'The nascent dilemma for Nigeria's statesmen is this:
The demands of the commonwealth, and the demands
of the African continent, and their not necessarily
compatible interests.

- This dilemma is apparent upon consideration of
- a) Nigeria's responsibilities as a commonwealth member
with its attendant opportunities
 - b) The impact of the African image on Nigeria with
its attendant opportunities and interests.

The test of Nigerian loyalties in commonwealth

and Continental affairs will be largely affected by the divergent outlook of Pan-Africanism and its many ramifications, which, at present, tend in part, to militate against Commonwealth principles.

Nigeria's potential opportunities in world affairs today are great and her membership in the Commonwealth can assist her in her potentially great future. This dilemma which will undoubtedly become acute, can be partially resolved by wise and sympathetic support of Commonwealth members.

At the moment Nigeria is still savouring the joy of her newly-found nationhood, she has now become an independent member of the Commonwealth as the Federation of Nigeria, and Britain can indeed be proud of her record in Nigeria. This achievement is a tribute both to British statesmanship and to the ability of Nigerian leaders, to discipline and a sense of responsibility.

For obvious, and natural reasons British rule had been resented in Nigeria once the Nigerians had begun to feel that their term of political apprenticeship had been duly served, and the agitation for its termination has been vigorous and sustained; nevertheless the Nigerian people on the whole are fully aware that

the British people have given their wisdom and sometimes their lives in building the Nigerian nation.

On October 1st 1960 sixty years of British rule in Nigeria came to an end and the exciting future of independence lay ahead.

"People do not believe in miracles these days; but the

Ernest Ikediace story of Nigeria in the last half-century is certainly the story of a miracle."

and before we examine present day Nigeria let us cast our minds back briefly over these sixty years of British rule.

Mr Ikediace goes on to say

"Those of us Nigerians who belong to an earlier generation feel we are living now in a world entirely different from the one we knew in our childhood. And all this has happened in such a short space of time."

At the beginning of this century there was no country such as the Nigeria we know today: it was then a mere "geographical expression," and it was many years before the different parts were welded together to form the great mosaic we know today as Nigeria.

Tribal horrors were common at the beginning of the century, particularly such things as the "long juju," a cult of priests who had kept the vast belt of country between Cross River and the Niger in a state of terror. So the British military forces and Administrative officers

started to build up the Nigeria that exists today.

Parents were persuaded to send their children to school, and where at first there was great reluctance, there are now so many children wishing to be educated that there are not enough schools to accommodate them all. Today Nigeria is the proud owner of two universities, and young men and women leave Nigeria every year to study abroad.

Similarly it is quite fantastic to think that it was only in 1906 that the first twenty-two mile stretch of road was opened, and that motor cars were then unknown - today thousands of cars rush about the streets of modern Nigeria.

Again, less than fifty years ago ocean-going ships could not enter Lagos because of the sand bar, and passengers had been put aboard by the uncomfortable method of the "Akara canoe" - today passengers have only to get to the quayside at Apapa where the ship is moored and walk on board, or they can go to Ikeja airport nine miles from Lagos, and take an aircraft to any part of the world; and Kano, in Northern Nigeria, the famous "mud-walled city" today boasts one of the most modern airfields in the world.

New towns have sprung up overnight in what was formerly a wilderness. Port Harcourt is now a flourishing town and Nigeria's second largest port, Kaduna, created by Lagos is now the modern capital of the Northern Region, and Enugu, now capital of Eastern Nigeria, is another of the new towns

Political changes are no less shattering in their scope - less than sixty years ago local rulers or chiefs wielded unlimited power, and slaves and peasants enjoyed no rights whatever. Although early in the century there was a proclamation against Nigeria this system persisted. Gradually the powers of the chiefs were brought under restraint, and the rights of all individuals, however humble, were protected. This certainly is one of the greatest benefits offered to Nigeria. The peasants, even the former slaves, have found new status. Sons of these formerly underprivileged classes have been to British schools and some of them are playing a leading part in the establishment of a democratic form of government based on the pattern of the British parliamentary system.

In December 1959 the first general election of members for the Federal Parliament of the country was held. Nine million voters, men and women, except in the Northern Region where women are not yet enfranchised, took part in this gigantic exercise - this surely is a record which few other countries in the world can match.

Throughout these years of British rule Nigeria and the Nigerians have been educated towards their independence. After the Federal elections of 1959, which brought into office the government which took full

control on Independence day, Nigerian leaders have been virtually running their own country. The preparation for the building up of a Nigerian administration has been careful; nevertheless some risks have had to be taken, and the new Nigerian government will certainly need the assistance of many of its expatriate officials, administrative, professional, and technical for several years to come.

"Inside Africa"

"The British must rule in Nigeria or get out"

J. Gunther.

this statement by a Nigerian has been disproved during the past years, but it is no good imagining that Nigeria is not faced with problems. The country's biggest internal problem is the knitting together of the three regions into a single federation, and the creation of adequate authority at the centre, cannot be safely assumed to have been solved until the central British power has been removed and a purely Nigerian government has proved capable of inspiring unity and asserting its authority.

Nevertheless, in the past six or seven years, the strong antipathy of the three regions to one another, and to a federal authority that might be set to bind them together has decreased. The Nigerian state, in, after all a political concept based upon British rule, not an African creation.

The difficulty lies mainly in the awareness of the Northern Region, with more than half the total population and a proud centuries-long Moslem tradition, that she is underdeveloped in comparison with the other two regions. In fact in 1959, when the results of the forthcoming Federal elections were uncertain, it seemed more than likely that the North, if it suffered an electoral reverse, might refuse to participate in a government in which it found itself inadequately represented. In the elections the Northern People's Congress won 134 seats out of 314 and later became the dominant partner in the Government alliances after independence. In the circumstances it seems unlikely that the North will show separatist tendencies and Britain and Nigeria alike can be proud of this achievement.

Nigeria is now independent, and on the assumption that this great country, with its experienced political leaders, and its relatively mature political background, will be capable of operating as a single nation, its impact upon African and world affairs is bound to be great. By virtue of its size alone it has claim to be one of the leading Afro-Asian states, and it is not likely that Nigeria will be impressed by the fact that other, and smaller African countries happen to have established international reputations a year or two ahead of her.

Already it seems certain that Nigeria will shortly be calling a conference of African States in Lagos, to match those held earlier in Accra, Conakry and elsewhere.

Nigeria's constitutional problems and her natural preoccupations with domestic problems existing in any new state, have led her to give little thought so far to international issues.

It is in these international issues that Nigeria faces her greatest dilemma; Nigerian leaders are now beginning to realise and appreciate as never before that the task that lies before them is fraught with many difficulties which they had previously but dimly suspected, if at all, when British advisers were there to see them through.

What must already be apparent to her leaders is that Nigeria's responsibilities and opportunities are two-fold since they would be related both to her position in the Commonwealth and her status amongst other African States. These two aspects will, ^{of necessity,} ~~not necessarily~~ appear together in Nigerian policies in the future, and it will be interesting to observe how far these two attitudes can be made to stay on mutually acceptable terms with one another.

It would be foolish, and indeed ignorant to suppose that these two demands on Nigeria's loyalty are perfectly compatible; they certainly follow

the same pattern and have agreements in some matters, and they might have in even more providing Commonwealth statesmen are willing to appreciate sympathetically Nigeria's position in a continent that will make increasing demands on her African nationalism; and providing also that African statesmen are generally able to recognise Nigeria's position regarding her link with the Commonwealth.

Even so, some aspects of Commonwealth policy could well become stumbling blocks for Nigerian statesmen if they are intent upon heeding the calls of leaders of other African states. Pan-Africanism is far from being at peace with all the principles of the Commonwealth and it is in these divergent interests - the call of the Commonwealth, and the expectations and demands of other African states, that Nigeria's future and indeed that of her neighbor, Ghana can be seen to pose a dilemma for her leaders.

Just this dilemma appears to be imaginary, its existence will be apparent once a consideration of Nigeria's responsibilities and opportunities has been made (although, if earlier proof were needed a review of recent Ghanaian foreign policy would soon reveal the existence of the choice). In the newer state the problem is still dormant, and, as yet, her foreign policy is almost entirely coloured, influenced and dominated by Nigeria's warm relations with Britain and the Commonwealth.

Her responsibilities are, as yet, seen through the eyes of a government under the influence of decades of tutelage for which Nigerians have affectionate memories. The Nigerian image of public service to her people and the outside world is, therefore, still markedly a western and European one.

She has, however, been building up the nucleus of a foreign service and is thus better prepared to take her place in the United Nations and in the councils of the Commonwealth. What the broad lines of her policy will be has not yet been defined although it may be forecasted that she will join the large number of African states which favour a neutral bloc, as between the Great Powers.

Similarly Nigeria has shown her obvious opposition of apartheid; and concerning the Congo, one prominent Nigerian Statesman declared,

"Nigeria will not be another Congo."

Could any contrast be greater than the methods and results of colonial administration in these two countries?

While she may continue to rely upon Britain for help in her military training, Nigeria has clearly stated that any kind of defence pact or the granting of foreign bases in Nigeria can only be negotiated after the full establishment of independent Nigeria. It is not likely that, in the current state of African opinion, Nigeria

will be in any hurry to take on commitments of this kind, especially as her influence in Africa would almost certainly be greater as a neutral than if she joined a Western alliance.

Britain and the Commonwealth must wish to see Nigerian influence in Africa as strong as possible, since she shows promise of being the most level-headed and constructive of the new states. Her contacts with countries other than Britain are bound to multiply rapidly as her potential influence in Africa comes to be realised, and she will no doubt seek for aid and advice wherever it can be found. She is, however, likely to be cautious about accepting aids from Communist countries, a course which would be particularly suspect in the North, owing to strong Moslem traditions.

Beyond these wide generalisations, forecasting the world role of independent Nigeria in greater detail would be an impossible undertaking. Much will inevitably depend upon the particular difficulties into which she runs, and the sources from which she can get help in surmounting them.

How long this pro-Commonwealth, pro-Western image will remain fixed for Nigerian statesmen is equally difficult to assess, although some natural re-orientation must be expected of a people who are not European, and

who are part of another civilization.

Nigeria has almost unlimited opportunities and these opportunities which the present and future hold for Nigeria will undoubtedly take the major part in deciding how far she can retain her fondness for Commonwealth institutions, whilst feeling the call of the African continent.

Geographically she is excellently placed for trade, and in a dominant position in the African continent, furthermore her area of 335,700 square miles makes her one of the largest African states.

In discussing Nigeria's economy, one begins with her people. Her population, probably forty million is by far the greatest of any African country; and even by African standards Nigeria is thickly populated. This population offers Africa's best market, even if annual income per head is estimated at £30 compared with Ghana's £65. This market may be the key to Nigerian economic development. For without industrial development income per head is unlikely to rise significantly.

Farming, certainly still offers great possibilities for there is still land which has not yet been cultivated and could be cultivated, particularly for cocoa, as a cocoa producer Nigeria is already not far behind Ghana and cocoa land throughout the tropical world is very scarce. The production of ground nuts and cotton crops

has expanded to such an extent that tonnages previously thought to be records are now regarded as normal. Nigeria's rubber has suffered from poor processing; plantations may remedy this: and the output of the Nigerian farmers can improve and increase particularly where cattle raising is concerned.

Nigerian hardwoods, though of excellent quality, gained a bad reputation after the war because the trade attracted unscrupulous operators, but standards have now improved. Food production for the internal market can be both more efficient and more profitable.

Most important of all is the palm oil and kernel trade which last year earned £40 million, a quarter of Nigeria's total export earnings, and vast quantities of palm oil are consumed locally. Yet most of the trees are self sown and receive little care, new trees, high yielding strains, proper planting and fertilizers could even further increase yields.

Except for an oil refinery, mineral processing offers little prospect for industry. Tin and columbite reserves are expected to be exhausted in perhaps ten years; there is, however, talk of a tin smelter. Nigeria's coal is poor in quality, but a chemical industry based on it is a possibility. Iron ore is low grade, but there are large supplies and the Federal Government will

certainly try to establish an iron and steel industry. Mineral oil will probably, in the next decade, become Nigeria's most important single export, worth perhaps £50 million a year.

If the first phase of Nigeria's industrialisation is processing local materials, the second is supplying the local market. Textile production, using Nigerian cotton has begun; there are modern breweries, vehicle assembly plants, printing works and some plastic manufacture. Many other industries are established or planned.

Nigeria, however, enters her industrial revolution under several handicaps. There is shortage of local capital, managerial talent and technical skill, which external capital and management can remedy only up to a point.

David Williams The economic prospect is good, indeed Nigeria is
editor of "A land that can prosper" adding "Political instability is
"West Africa" probably the one thing which can injure it"

As for ^{as} her political opportunities are concerned, Nigeria already has a well-trained civil service on the basis for a good government, consisting of Nigerians trained by the British for the ultimate goal of independence. In this Nigeria can once again be contrasted to the Congo where the Congolese were not trained sufficiently to be able to take over when independence was suddenly

thrust upon them. In her good government Nigeria can well set an example to her neighbours. It can therefore be seen that Nigeria's opportunities, geographic, economic and political are indeed worthy ones. The same opportunities are appearing for other African communities in this present age, and the facts that they are natural concomitants means that the pressure on Nigeria, moral, economic and political, to favor a Pan-African attitude on affairs will be very considerable despite the religious and ethnic differences amongst Africans.

How much Nigeria will be influenced by such states as Ghana, the Congo and the North African states is difficult to determine; but Nigerian statesmen, trained as they are, are not likely to forget that potentially Nigeria could play the leading part in African affairs.

It could mean that Nigeria will draw away from the Commonwealth either in fact or in spirit, since so many of the other African states are outside the Commonwealth and are hostile or indifferent to its purpose and values through ignorance of its concepts; The dilemma then, is a real one and is emphasized by the contrasting outlook and principles of the Commonwealth and some African States such as Egypt with its anti-colonial sensitivity and its own imperial ambitions; ambitions which, indeed, may be threatened by the emergence of independent

Nigeria. Indeed in the face of some aspects of Pan-Africanism and nationalism the dilemma which faces this new state would appear well nigh impossible to resolve.

The ease with which Nigeria can find and maintain an honourable relationship with both Commonwealth and other African states, will depend to a very great extent upon how far she is aided in her national policies by wise support from other members of the Commonwealth to which Nigeria belongs.

The Times
28.4.1960.

"Any country that is really of the Commonwealth partnership knows that an emergency will find friends on its side"

Providing this new state can lean upon her Commonwealth allies until she is fully able to stand "on her own feet" so to speak, Nigeria can be sure of a great future.

The Times
28.4.1960.

"Also common to all Commonwealth members is the benefit of the vast network of lines of communication, cultural, strategic, juridical, and economic upon which the Commonwealth rests. Among groupings within the United Nations it is unique ----- The English language is a bond of incalculable importance, not least with those countries whose mother tongue it is not; for through it the western culture is spread to them ----" Underlying all is a huge substructure of the material

apparatus of intercourse. Hundreds of millions of pounds have been sunk in the network of harbors and airports, docks, sidings, warehouses and signal stations, manned by expatriate experts all round the world; also in aircraft and above all in ships, Commonwealth ships carry two-thirds of our Commonwealth trade. The network carries not only merchandise but thought; cable and wireless, a joint Commonwealth concern is too often taken for granted. So, without a plan, without direction, without a doctrine, the Commonwealth goes on simply because every member gets some benefit from it and no-one inside has any obvious interest in breaking it up."

"This is Nigeria's heritage and as an independent member of the Commonwealth her chances of achieving a reasonable degree of stability at home, and of creating for herself a position of influence in world affairs, especially in Africa are indeed great. In the hectic phase of African politics upon which the Continent has now entered, the independence and integrity of her most populous state may prove to be the event which will begin to give to Africa, some real weight in world affairs.

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