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## **NIGERIA: A NATION IN SEARCH OF SUSTAINABLE POLITICAL CULTURE BUILT ON SOUND IDEOLOGY.**

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### **ABSTRACT.**

*Nigeria is the creation of the British Colonial Government. Prior to the era of Colonialism, the entity that presently constitute Nigeria were diversified, although closely observed mutual trading relationship, but politically heterogeneous as well. Among them, cultural relationship differs but peaceful co-habitation was maintained. Trade that attracted the British and other European Nations to Africa gave way to the exercise of political domination, when the later became credible instrument to Economic control. Economic maximization saw the Europeans infringing on Natives political institution. The consequences of that was the imposition of strange political systems that was alien to the Natives. The pains of abandoning the age long traditional political institution left the colonists at war at various times with the indigenous people, who have no charity to embrace the new political arrangement. The emergence of the educated elites among the Natives created a class of people who were desperate to sustain the newly introduced party politics of the foreigners as an opportunity to remain politically relevant. The direct consequences of that was further relegation of the Native political institution to background in the political equation. In effect, several years after political independence, Nigeria has not been able to detach herself from the influences of the traditional system of Government; neither has it been able to embrace or create workable system of Government that can accommodate the two. It is in the light of the above challenges that the paper has offered lead ways toward creating directions to sustainable ideological based Political Culture.*

**KEYWORDS:** ETHNIC POLITICS, IDEOLOGY, PARTY POLITICS, COLONIALISM & COMMUNAL SOCIALISM.

## INTRODUCTION.

Colonialism left the region that later became or constituted as Nigeria (Niger-area) in a state of Political Confusion, and in disarray too, several years after the Country gained Political independence. This is more so, when one Consider the fact that ideology is nurtured and built over time by peoples that share the same vision, mission, aspiration and Cultural affinities. Such peoples are better positioned to up hold and to determine sustainable terms of harmonious Economic and Socio-Political relationship with neighbors. The British Colonial intervention truncated these cherished ideals, when it initiated forced intervention against these ideals. In effect, before the Coming of the Europeans, the groups that now constitute Nigeria were living peacefully, observing peaceful trade relationship and promoting inter-group cultural activities unhindered. By pulling together these groups into a Nation (Country) in what is often referred to as unholy alliance, the birth to ethnic politics was given in Nigeria.

British government lack of Patience, deep thinking and knowledge of the Political ideology of the indigenous people, which obviously contributed to the shallow knowledge of Party Politics among the natives since independence, is what is responsible for the myriads of Political challenges confronting the Nation presently. It should be recalled that the British met these groups at various levels and stages of Political development. At the initial stage, the people had no inclination that, they will at a point lose their home grown Political system on the account of the British interference. As noted earlier, these undue interferences in the local Politics created bad blood between the indigenous leaders and the foreigners. This obviously affected cultural borrowing, which would have enabled for peaceful adoption of some useful elements of the foreign Political system. Resistance as the case may be was thus seen as an option to imposition.

When the British intrigues of intimidation failed, they opted for the application of naked force, the 'gun boat diplomacy' and Politics of divide and rule ensued. Under the already Planted British Political stooges, from the traditional Political system, loyalty then moved away from the thrones of the traditional rulers to the center under the authorities of the surrogates, the elites, although momentarily. The consequences then were the growing tendency of ethnic Politics initiated by the various cultural organizations that were formed in urban areas.

Lack of genuine sense of Nationalism, Chequered group commitment to Nation building and growing tendencies of the creation of 'Ethnic Societies most times in Conflict with one another' <sup>1</sup> pervaded the Political clime. The elites in collaboration with the British, held very tight to the newly won Political Power, with false claim of representing National Unity, while secretly Promoting ethnic Politics.

To add salt to the injury, the British classification of traditional Political system into Centralized and Non-Centralized states over Nigerian groups, created an ideology of superior and inferiority divide. By going further to create Political office of the warrant chiefs in the South, while leaving the Northern Nigeria traditional Political institution intact, the Colonial Government frustrated the development of the indigenous Political institution in the south. This act also marked the beginning of the Colonial Politics of divide and rule. In other words, by acceding and working toward keeping the Central Political Power to the North, whose traditional Political system they admired after independence, the struggle for Political survival was initiated between Politically Polarized South, and the harmonized Political system of the Northern Nigeria.

The British obviously created and handed to Nigeria, Politics of animosity built on Ethnic loyalty rather than National Consciousness, with clear understanding of what they stand to gain subsequently in crises situations. In respect to that, groups in Nigeria see National Politics as an avenue to Promote ethnic agenda rather than National development. For long the Nation has continued in search of true selfless Nationalists to pilot ideals and Political ideologies acceptable to all, to no avail. However, all hope is not lost, as this can only be achieved through or by sustaining African Communal Politics, indigenous to the people; this is where Communal Socialism falls, more so, as an acceptable indigenous Political system .

### **THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL NIGERIA SOCIETY.**

Traditional Political structure in Nigeria is built on Communal Socialism. In this system, Morality and strong claim to the throne by hereditary, highly influenced and dictates the selection of natives' Political leaders .This also has characterized both the Centralized and Non-Centralized Political system in Pre-Colonial Nigeria. In that respect, the Post Colonial Political legacy in what later became Nigeria was disjointed and in disarrayed Political institution, with no clear Political direction. This is more so, when one consider the fact that, ideology is built over time, and rested with the group that share the same aspiration and cultural affinity. Since political ideology is hidden in people's culture and tradition, the social behavior of the people is therefore influenced by culture and tradition. It is therefore pertinent to say that the indigenous Political system of Nigerian people is the expression of long held norms and belief system very difficult to let go. Ndoh and Emezi (eds) in their work declared thus, 'Political tradition involves the integration of cultural values into the body polity of a state or Nation' <sup>2</sup> .Although their exist cultural borrowing, but such was appropriated freely not by cohesion as obtained during the colonial era. In other words, colonialism truncated the indigenous Political system. This is true, since Social institution is the product a group ways of life, its existence and endurance is therefore informed by years of practices.

In olden days, some African cultures allowed the allocation of Political offices to prominent and wealthy individuals, on hereditary or on very rare occasion by election.' In the case of Nigeria, however, groups unification was so sudden, and included such widely differing groups of peoples that not only the British who created it, but the inhabitants themselves have often doubted whether it could survive as a political entity' <sup>3</sup> .In most Africa society the general belief and held political ideology is that, 'a king is born not made'. The same belief followed every traditional Political position before the arrival of the Europeans. In fact, I n African Political set up, certain offices are reserved to particular families, transferred and returned when there is no successor or returned when family was able to provide one. For instance, the office of the palace chief mourner in Oron Clan, according to Okon Uya, 'Each village and clan in Africa has its own dirge, and well known mourner .When a king is dead...the traditional mourner, who more often than not, is the traditional historian, will recite the activities of the kings' <sup>4</sup> In African Political tradition, hereditary and experience also count in the selection of Political Leaders as noted earlier. It therefore, emphasizes, that some African Political offices are not thrown open for contestants. Seniority (Age) in that regard, also played a remarkable role to the appointment of persons into leadership position, thus, 'the most popular and widespread form of native government has been through the administration of chiefs, the position of each one being determined by his rank plus his seniority in the order' <sup>5</sup> . Traditionally, in African Political structure, age and wealth as mentioned above played very important roles in the Political circle. Political rancor is rare because, everyone knows his or her position, duty and rights. When vacancy exists, the occupant to such office is known. For instance, among the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria, although Political offices are hereditary, the Oba could not act arbitrarily since their

exist mechanism to check his power. The Oyomesi for instance was traditionally empowered to cut the Oba's excesses. This is done by presenting to the Oba the poisonous drink of oat when there is evidence of the abuse of power. In African traditional Political institution, the concept of check and balances exist. In every sense, the African Political system has reflection of Democratic and Totalitarian system of Government

### **COLONIALISM AND TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTION.**

From research, it seems that the British adopted a Political approach most suitable enough for her to take control over Nigeria. In that respect, colonialism raised Political ideology that was subversive and at variance with the indigenous Political institution. Further to that and one may ask further, what has Colonialism bestowed Politically on Nigeria? The answer is not farfetched. Colonialism has rather created Political Confusion to groups who were living peacefully, though Politically apart in pre-colonial ages. Colonialism succeeded in consummating an unholy marriage on people who have divergence cultural expressions, and at various levels of Political development before the coming of the Europeans. When the Europeans arrived, they found sets of African people who were not ready to concede or compromise certain aspect of their Political expressions.

This was the case when in 1865 Lagos had become a crown colony of the British Colonial administration and later the proclamation of 1885 over Niger Districts. At that time, it had dawned on Africans about the Motives behind the coming of the Europeans. In other words, the routine interference of the British with the traditional institution became obvious when they started to build sentiments into the local political affairs. Crowder aptly captured one of such gross interferences, when he stated, thus, 'Nigerian rulers now faces a Britain openly prepared to interface in their politics if they proved hostile to her trading interests' <sup>6</sup>. From 1850-1865 such gross and unwarranted interferences were recorded in the Niger Delta, Bini and the crown colony (Lagos). From the above account, it was obvious that the quest to exercise trade monopoly by the British merchants informed the unwarranted meddlesome attitude of the whites traders on traditional African Political institution. Again the British were able to interfere in the Political affairs with impunity due to several factors. One of such factors was well captured by Sally Dyson, thus, 'Every Country is born free but the principle of might is right deprived many Countries in Africa and other parts of the World of their birthright to independence and freedom' <sup>7</sup>. Demonstration of Naked power and assumption of superior power instigated the European powers to wrongly usurp the Political power of the traditional institution. In continuation, Dyson concurred, thus, 'British colonization of Nigeria has left an indelible print on this Country past and present in such a way that it is capable of influencing it future' <sup>8</sup>. Unlawful appropriation of power the hallmark of Nigerian Political system, had similarity when In the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, the British attempt at undermining the indigenous political institution when John Beecroft was appointed the consul for the Bight of Biafra and Benin in 1849. By imposing direct Political administration on what today is referred to as south-south of Nigeria, the traditional institution began to suffer insubordination.

The British concentration on the coastal region that recorded beehive of trading activities, lay credence to the fact that, Economic factor was pivotal to the Political steps taken to Politically occupy the indigenous space. This fact is buttressed due to series of bitter competition that characterize trade intercourse between Britain and other European Nations in one hand, and the indigenous Delta people. The ensued rivalry also pushed the frontier of trade, and expanded the British areas of operation in Nigeria. For effective exercise of the British Political control, trade agents were deployed hinterland. As trade moved into the

hinterland, the consul empowered the agents Politically, even as some of them were granted some Political power within the trade outposts. This intervention absolutely obstructed the indigenous traditional Political control during period when the agents began to move interior in their numbers. In fact, Crowder aptly noted the important role of the rivers of the Delta region, as among the direct consequences to the movement of the agents to hinterland of Nigeria, when he stated, thus, 'with its superb river highway, the Niger, that eventually led Britain to proclaim a protectorate over the Niger Districts, and thus lay the foundations of modern Nigeria'<sup>9</sup>

In effect, the British movement into the hinterland was not without some challenges. For instance, in what became Western Nigeria, tribal disputes in the Yoruba land affected free flow of trade. On several occasions the British parties were ambushed by warring Natives. At the other time, the Egba Yoruba have blocked the trade routes, preventing the Ibadan people from moving their goods to Lagos. The British government frowned at the attitude of the Egba people, as this would subsequently attract punitive measure. Back to Niger Delta, King Jaja of Opobo suffered the British trade intrigues when he left Bonny to cut off the British hinterland trade supply from the Imo River Estuary in Opobo.

King Jaja would be made to pay for his action when he was tricked into false negotiation with the British, and later banished to west Indies, only to return after a couple of years to die in Opobo. This is a clear case of the British ulterior plans of eliminating any individual that would stand against her Economic interest. The British applied the same measure against Jakpa, when the trade monopoly of Ologbotsere and Emaye house was regulated to serve the interest of the British. Similarly, out of fear of the British might Nana of Itshekri had signed treatise with the Consul Hewet, thereby bringing the Benin river region, Warri and part of Ijo land under the protection of the British. By conceding such authority to the British interest, the Natives leadership ostensibly compromised their Political authority.

The British, having effectively gained reasonable control over the Delta trade, it was obvious that the River Niger would become a major highway to the British trade agents when a consulate was opened in Lokoja in 1865. In spite of the initial set-backs, during the early years of trade intercourse, the British foreign office continued to show interest of taking full charge of Nigeria. For instance, 'in 1871 British foreign office sent W.H. Simpson to negotiate with King Masaba of Nupe for protection of all British traders on the river'<sup>10</sup>. By creating false friendly disposition, the British was able to take advantage of Masaba's authority.

The British gross interference into traditional Political institution were numerous, and deliberate measures often taken to sustain her control each time such act was perpetrated .In fact, when the Court of Equity was constituted in 1873, it was granted legal powers under the British legal system to try and banish traditional leaders. 'The establishment of this court equally granted the Consul the legal right to inflict fines of up to 200 pounds, imprisonment for 21 days, or order banishment for a year...' <sup>11</sup>. This interference was not restricted to the Niger region, but was extended to the Northern Nigeria. In fact, 'In 1875 and 1876 the Sultan of Sokoto was so fiercely attacked that no steamer dared enter the river' <sup>12</sup> the attack on the Caliphate opened a new chapter, and laid the British intention bare. It proved British resolute to dismantle the traditional Political institution, and on imposing foreign rule on them.

It was however George Dashwood Goldie Taubman, regarded as the founder of Modern Nigeria that successfully contented with the hostility of the tribesmen who obstructed the initial movement of the British to the Northern frontier. By collapsing all the British trading

activities into Conglomerate Goldie was able to achieve cohesion of purpose. When he granted the Royal Niger Company trade monopoly and subsequent charter, with measures of Political authority to exercise on behalf of the Government, he expanded the British Political domination. The name of the conglomerate keeps changing, but, 'in 1882, the National African Company was formed with a view to receiving a charter'<sup>13</sup> By virtue of this act, the stage was set for wide spread collision course.

Before Goldie's adventure, the British has recognized the Igbo, Ibibio, Efik, Tiv, Idoma, Birom, Angas, Mbembe, Ekoi, Efik etc. as stateless societies. On the same vein, she recognized Kanem-Bornu, Zamfara, Doma, Bini, Daima, Zaghawa, Igala, Nupe, Jukun, Oyo, Hausa etc. as centralized state. What she failed to realize was the consequences of bringing these groups together as a nation. To add salt to injuries, when the British began to create additional chiefdoms for Economic reason, Political misery was multiplied. It is true that there is a proven evidence, that the coming of the Europeans not only brought transformation to the traditional Political institution but it also 'led to the rise and consolidation of many chiefdoms and kingdoms on the coast'<sup>14</sup>. This brought the act of Governance to the grassroots. It equally led to the development of new states. The classical example occurred when the British colonial Government began to create strange and new political offices. In particular,' the institution of warrant chiefs was created and incumbents, with no legitimate traditional claims to such ruler ship'<sup>15</sup>. The new political order created by the colonial Government in Nigeria possessed the following characteristics. 'The new authority institutions established native courts, native treasuries, police, prisons etc'<sup>16</sup>. All these were in contradiction to the traditional system. For instance, in the native court nobody is taken to prisons it was either option of fines or banishment. In Eastern Nigeria, there were no professional policemen, but age groups were usually assigned the security responsibilities. Since some the institutions listed above existed in some centralized state, when the British replicated it, it was seen by those who were used to it as the height of the British double standard and an act of exploitation. For those who were coming from stateless societies they vehemently resisted the taxation in particular. These crises persisted until Nigeria gained independence.

From the foregone, it was obvious that the colonial government made no effort to give the indigenous people adequate orientation on foreign Political system before haranguing the federating units that constitute Nigeria to nationhood, the consequences is playing out presently. In all, British action on the traditional Political institution 'was disruptive and subversive of the traditional Nigerian society, its ethos, norms and values'<sup>17</sup>.

### **THE CRISES OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGICAL IDENTITY IN NIGERIA.**

Gwinn has defined Political party as, 'a group of people organized to achieve and exercise power within a political system'<sup>18</sup>. Group in that respect cut across tribes and creeds. People belong to a party by choice, by attraction and as a result of shared interest. Political party encompasses mere interest. It has the underline intention to contest for elective positions, with view to winning and assuming leadership position. In order to win Election, Political party must engage the use of propaganda, selection of candidates, finance of campaign and propounding ideology and manifesto. All these of course are at variance to African Political system that had no provision for electoral process that would lead to the election of political leaders. However, when in 1922 limited recognition was granted for Calabar and Lagos. The 1922 colonial constitution effectively took away the Political power from the hands of the indigenous Political leaders to few white surrogates.

Crises that greeted the imposition were spontaneous. The protest has bearing from social constraints. These constraints manifested through the following, thus:

- (i) Traditionalism and Social Alienation.
- (ii) Communal and Religious diversities and Problems of National integration.
- (iii) Underdevelopment, Classes and Social Stratification<sup>19</sup>

The initial uproar was from people whose political ideology revolved around the natural leaders. Meanwhile, apart from the elites, average Nigeria in 1922 was unperturbed of what was going on politically, because the level of knowledge and understanding about political changes had no direct effect on their daily lives of the people. Except those in Calabar and Lagos, the rest of the Country were far removed from the Politics of Lagos and Calabar. By creating electoral Politics for Lagos and Calabar, the colonists had wanted to experiment away from the majority of the people. The experiment however fall below standard, considering the fact that, the number for both cities were inadequate and could not have offered fair representation.

In effect, by handing over policy making body of the nation of people of diverse background, to the few British elements, in collaboration with the four elected Africans from Lagos and Calabar, the fear of Political imposition nursed by the traditional leaders was confirmed. In addition, 'the 1922 constitution was unpopular in the local press and other local circles because of the isolation of the indigenous leaders. Nigerian public opinion grew more and more dissatisfied with a constitution which did not give scope to Nigeria political aspiration'<sup>20</sup>. The crises that greeted the 1922 constitution were spontaneous and kept the colonists on their toes.

Constitution review was not the only approach adopted by the Europeans to suppress the indigenous Political institution, but the application of naked force as well. At early stage of the gun boat diplomacy, the British have made notable and elaborate Military Invasion and attacks on African indigenous Political institutions. According to Crowder, 'the first major operation undertaken by the new protectorate government was against the Aro guardians of the famous Arochukwu oracle which still retained its Political influence over most of the people of what used to be the Eastern region'<sup>21</sup> In other parts of Nigeria, the British colonial government or administration has used the act of treatise to subvert the traditional Political institution. By such virtue, the British imposed on the indigenous leaders the act of accepting written and signed document as an instrument of authority. This negates the old tradition of oath taking known and respected by non-literate African leaders. Because these leaders have no knowledge or were not properly explained to, of what they have signed with the Europeans even as they continued to resist the British. Crowder aptly stated this, when he stated, thus, the British 'took many punitive expeditions to bring the whole Iboland under the British administration'<sup>22</sup>. By 1904 what would cover the Nigerian space was pacified, thus, marking the beginning of effective British administration in modern Nigeria and the relegation of the indigenous Political system to the background.

Since the major focus of the colonial policy was economic in character, the presence of the European merchants, in trade relationship with the Natives, created sets of wealthy indigenous traders who were ever ready to work with the European politicians to the detriment of the traditional leaders. With the backing of the Europeans, these people with time began, to compete with the traditional Political status. In fact, in the area of the Political institution 'Hereditary began to give way to acquisition of wealth as the arbiter of influence in the Community'<sup>23</sup>. When new cities began to emerge, it were from these cities that the

British nominated collaborators were deployed to rule the indigenous people at first. In the southern Nigeria most warrant chief were appointed from these set of wealthy indigenous people. This concept as noted earlier on was a deviant to the concept of hereditary to the throne. British could be accused of deliberate act, this is because the brouhaha generated as a result of the imposition of leaders, and alteration of the traditional Political structure worked to favour the policy of divide and rule, her trade interest and economic growth on the long run. The growth however did not happen without some challenges, thus, the natives were not used to the taxation methods. It thus brought altercation between the British tax agents and the Natives. Again the rapid growth of the Nigerian economy was to have profound effects on the trading structure of Nigerian societies...it deprived many societies of their occupational exacters of trade tools' <sup>24</sup>

### **REBRANDING COMMUNAL SOCIALISM TOWARDS BUILDING A CREDIBLE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN NIGERIAN SETTING.**

Communal socialism as an indigenous concept of Political ideology is built on norms, belief system and the tradition of the people. This system of politics offered the African unrestrained opportunity to Political intimacy and close daily interaction between the people with their leaders. This closeness enabled the indigenous Political leaders to routinely feel the pulse of their subjects and to often respond in such a way that build people's confidence and promoted mutual trust in Political administration.

In Communal societies, people lived in small scale societies, varying from a few hundred people to the large compact village. In such set up 'the lineage was the basic unit of social and political relations' <sup>25</sup>. In addition, deliberations were usually carried out by consultation and consensus. In effect, 'management of these usually dispersed groups without identifiable chiefs and rulers and their egalitarian principles of governance posed a major problem after their incorporation into the colonial Nigeria State' <sup>26</sup>.

In the case of Centralized States and Empires in Africa, the advent of Islam, strengthened the indigenous Political institution, but the advent of the Europeans weakened it. Political institution here also emphasizes the rule of authority over leadership. For instance, as the scope of Political sphere expanded, leadership positions of the Oba, Emirs etc became increasingly institutionalized. As power became more concentrated in the hands of some individuals,' at a point these leaders began to assume or be regarded as divine rulers' <sup>27</sup>, subsequently, appropriate institutions of succession with governing rules and regulations were evolved to confine rulership to a particular family or lineage' <sup>28</sup>. Lack of homogeneity in African states and Empires was informed by extensive conquest and incorporation of desperate groups and peoples into the state.

Presently, the difficulties created toward sustaining African Political ideological concept is borne out of heterogeneous nature of the ethnic composition. This is more so, because 'Every Nigerian tries to define the values and traditions of Nigeria in terms of what obtains in his own ethnic and cultural background' <sup>29</sup>. The consequences of the imposition of foreign Political culture on Nigeria, is conspicuous in the sense that for over 50 years of practicing of foreign Political system, the democratic governance being hoisted Nigeria has remained at the developmental level. In that respect, Prof. Sam Oyovbaire aptly captured the situation, thus, 'the problem of democracy in Nigeria revolves around how to forge a developmental process which is simultaneously participatory for individual rights, freedoms and socially integrative of multiple and competing loyalties and generative of economic growth and distributive justice' <sup>30</sup>. In Contemporary Nigeria, in communal socialism, power could flow



from either way, from ‘bottom up’ as in stateless society or vice versa. This is to say, the strength of the leadership emanate from the masses in consensus. In Centralized states power is more authoritative. The leadership drives the masses. In that respect, leaders direct the Political wheels from top-down. It is from this scion that late Dr. Michael Okpara the Premier of Eastern Region initiated his Political ideology termed ‘pragmatic socialism’. In Okpara’s ‘pragmatic socialism’ authority emanated from the government (top) in collaboration with individuals. Economically, government led the way by establishing farm settlements all over the region, encouraging private participation in the process. The government created marketing board entrusted with buying and grading of produce for export. Politically, government integrated the native Political structures and recognized their authority by grading them. Meanwhile, with the alien system now under the control of the elites, house of Chiefs were created to further oppress the indigenous leaders. However by recognizing the traditional Political institution as Okpara did in eastern region, the harmonious relationship that this elicited brought a momentary economic transformation in the eastern region of 1960s.

## **CONCLUSION.**

Colonialism has created Political problems very difficult to solve in Africa. The Introduction of a brand system of Democracy by the western world has succeeded in alienating the people from the already established Political culture. The consequence of this is that for the past sixty year, the Nation has been wandering in the Political wilderness, in search of Political ideology that will hasten the process of nation building. Presently, the challenges of failure to develop an ideology or philosophy that could sustain durable democratic principles reared its ugly head, following the wind of military coup that has swept across African Continent after sixty years of Political independence from the colonial rule. From the utterances of the coup leaders, their reasons may be justified considering the undue interferences of the metro poles on the internal affairs of African continent. Neo-Colonialism has proved to be more dangerous than Colonialism because its mechanism is hidden from the public knowledge, and the acts of the perpetrators usually protected through the coordinated support of the internal and external collaborators. Most internal collaborators are not Nationals of the host Nation but are planted by being engaged by the Multi-National corporations to do the bidding of former colonial masters. They worked to corrupt the Political leaders of host nations, whom they most often sponsored to leadership position on condition of being permitted take certain economic advantages. A clear indication of such is Nigeria, one of the largest producers of crude oil but have no single functional refinery. Nigerians are importing refined oil with hard currency from overseas, leaving the final consumers the burdens of spending fortune to buy a liter of petroleum products.

The Challenges on how to develop an idea or philosophy that could sustain durable democratic principles in spite of several experiments could remain a furlough if we continued to rely on the Western concept of Political ideology. It is of interest to note that, their seemed not to be a harmonious relationship between the traditional leaders and modern Politicians. As it stands now the new elites consider the traditional leaders as rivals and the relationship among these classes of leadership has been at arm’s length. The Politicians seemed to have trained focus to silence the native leaders; even as they had been systematically relegated as an appendage to the new Political order. They have no leading role to play under the present Political equation. It is not uncommon to see a ward councilor elected under the modern Political system disregarding the office of a paramount leader. This is a clear case of mortgaging the traditional Political system anchored on sound morality to mediocrity.

In the quest of building sound Political ideology, the way forward is to build synergy between the traditional institutions with the new Political order. This is because, since the world is dynamic there is need to accommodate changes. In that regard too, traditional rulers should be constitutionally empowered and assigned leading roles in the act of governance. This will not only restore sanity in the Political equation, but install indigenous Political concept. For instance, in the area of security, there must be strong collaborative effort between the Political leaders and the traditional leaders, considering the fact, that the traditional rulers are better positioned to interpret the moral behavior of their subjects. They are also inclined through knowledge of history to dictate likely crime suspects. Even in the emerging cities, traditional leaders are in better positioned to explain patterns of group habitation, associated profession, and associated crimes pattern. What this translates is by constitutionally engaging the traditional leaders crime will nipped from the root.

Again if we accept an ideology to be a state of incorporate of a body of beliefs and attitude which must be shared by a group, it could therefore be expressed in a set of doctrines giving guidelines for action in a specific situation, as in symbols, primarily to achieve a definite social, Political and economic programme. According to Nwabughuogu, ideology has three basic functions to play for a given group, thus:

- (1) It defines the common interest of a group and sets the goals for the group to attain.
- (2) It guides the group in pursuit of the goals which they have set out to attain and brings the leaders and the led together in pursuit of the goal.
- (3) It influences the demands that the followers make on their leaders. Thus, it controls the ambitions and aspirations of individuals in a society and compels them to make sacrifices for common goods <sup>32</sup>.

From the above explanation, it is obvious that, the durable Political ideology cannot be built without the consent of the groups that make up the Nation Nigeria. And this can only be achieved when the groups accept to concede certain Political belief system for the sake of national unity. The 'onus' therefore lies with the elites who must explore areas of building common ground among the groups in order to facilitate groups interest for the sake of harnessing potential areas to the act of nation building. In that regard, national interest should be placed above primordial ethnic or regional interest.

Building an indigenous Political ideology in Nigeria may be sounding very strange because of the high illiteracy level in Africa; this of course has made it difficult to drum an ideology into the minds of the people. To worsen the matter, previous attempt with 'Nkrumaism and Zikism' were too shallow and tended to have been self centered. These ideologies died with the initiators because apart from been nurtured by the natives, it also lacked dept in African cultural contents. One party ideology which was once routed for suddenly became dominant feature, because it 'has been that far from being unifying forces' <sup>33</sup> as it has only succeeded in creating further cleavages in the society. From the foregone, it is obvious that all these ideologies have neglected the traditional leaders, thus, the difficulties in sustaining a unified nation. Communal socialism should therefore be worked up to assign greater responsibilities to traditional institution under integrative system of government that would also allow them to retain power on hereditary, where as the elites should continue with party politics with routine electoral process.

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