

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPERATIVES AZIKIWE'S NEO-WELFARISM:

By

Asike, Jude ChinweubaPh.D

Department of Philosophy
University of Port Harcourt
asikejude@yahoo.com

And

Ihejiofor, Kingsley Ikenna

researchparksafrica@gmail.com

Abstract

Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism is an eclectic philosophy that combines elements of socialism, nationalism, and African humanism. As a sociopolitical framework, it emphasizes a holistic approach to development, prioritizing the well-being of the masses and promoting social justice. Neo-Welfarism seeks to harmonize the values of socialism, capitalism, and welfarism within the context of Nigeria's sovereignty. This philosophy presents a unique approach to fostering national development through policies aimed at reconciliation, economic planning, restructuring, and neo-colonial transformation for good governance. Utilizing qualitative research methods, this study draws logical inferences to support the thesis that Azikiwe's eclectic philosophy provides a viable alternative for addressing Nigeria's developmental challenges and achieving sustainable growth.

Key words: Neo Colonial transformation, Eclectic Philosophy, Neo-Welfarism, Capitalism, Socialism, and Welfarism

INTRODUCTION

With the division of Africa among six European countries at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885, colonialism in Africa began (Iregbenu 67). According to the African experience, colonialism gave the continent the sociopolitical climate it required. As some Africans started to have access to western education, they therefore armed themselves with pen and paper and started to fight colonialism in their own countries (67). This gave rise to African sociopolitical views put out by people like Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Obafemi Awolowo (Iregbenu 67).

Given that the government has failed to fulfil its portion of the unwritten social contract with its population, it is somewhat amazing that there appears to be little motivation for nationalistic concerns at this time. Chinua Achebe describes the situation quite well when he says that when two Nigerians get together, their talk will eventually turn into a laundry list of our country's shortcomings (Achebe 2). These national problems include anything from the worrisome level of governmental mismanagement to the executive mishandling of the state's highest authorities. Constant national turmoil, unstable politics, and social disturbances gravely affecting life and property are among its consequences. The irony, though, is that some people believe that these man-made societal vices are either divine commands or an unchangeable part of human nature.

This overall deterioration in our culture is mostly the result of ideological impoverishment.

The bad behaviours of the leaders are a reflection of the prevailing mindset and have permeated every aspect of society. We have thereby inverted our moral sensibilities (Nwala 230). Re-examining the alien ideology "imposed on us as a super structure by the colonial whites" with our indigenous ideology to form a social matrix, what Azikiwe calls Neo-welfarism, is the tall order facing us if we mean to regenerate our fatherland (Ezeani 15).

Demystifying the obscurity between welfarism and neo-welfarism in Azikiwe's philosophy is the problem this research aims to address in congruence with our introduction above. How do they diverge, if they are not the same? This paper also attempts to demonstrate how and why Azikiwe's political thought degraded welfarism to neo-welfarism.

The aim of this research is to examine Nnamdi Azikiwe welfarism and its implications in Nigeria. The objective is: To discuss Nnamdi Azikiwe's philosophy of welfarism and demonstrate it as a framework for Nigeria;

This research focuses exclusively on the analysis and evaluation of welfarism within Azikiwe's philosophy. In addition, we will just briefly mention other critics' work on welfarism during our investigation.

This piece of work attempts to eliminate any ambiguity and misunderstanding surrounding Nnamdi Azikiwe's concept of welfarism. This work aims to shed light on Azikiwe's concept of welfarism and his development of a distinct form of welfarism called neo-welfarism. It is hoped that this research will be significant in clarifying any confusion surrounding these ideas. Additionally, it is expected that future researchers on this topic will find this study to be a valuable starting point.

Biography of Nnamdi Azikiwe

Nnamdi Benjamin Azikiwe, born on November 16, 1904 and passed away on May 11, 1996, was widely known as 'Zik.' He held the esteemed position of being Nigeria's first President from 1963 to 1966 (The Times 8). Regarded as a pivotal figure in the nation's quest for independence, he earned the title of the "father of Nigerian Nationalism" (8).

Nnamdi Azikiwe was born in Zungeru, present Niger state, in North-central Nigeria to the family of Mr. Obededom Chukwuemeka Azikiwe and Mrs. Rachael Chinwe Azikiwe. The individual's parents hailed from Onitsha, a town in the Anambra State of South-eastern Nigeria (Igwe 15). During his birth, his father held a position in the colonial government and worked as a clerk for the Nigerian Regiment, a part of the British West African Frontier Force stationed in Zungeru. This was in the Wushishi District of Niger Province in the Northern Protectorate of colonial Nigeria

(15). Nnamdi spent his early years in Zungeru from 1904 to 1912. During this time, he immersed himself in the Hausa language, which had a profound impact on his life. Growing up, he developed a deep appreciation for diverse perspectives and cultures, fostering a sense of tolerance from a young age (Igwe 15).

Nnamdi's educational journey started in Onitsha, his paternal home, where he began his first primary education at the Holy Trinity School of the Roman Catholic Mission in 1912 (Igwe 16).

Due to Christian denominational differences, his father made sure he transferred from a Catholic Mission School to a school affiliated with a Protestant denomination, as he followed the Protestant faith. During the years 1912 to 1915, Nnamdi had the opportunity to attend

several primary schools due to denominational reasons (16). According to Agbafor Igwe, during this time, the young Nnamdi had to switch schools frequently due to his father's frequent transfers as a civil servant. Throughout his early education, he attended various schools, which exposed him to a wide range of Christian denominations and their unique doctrines. This diverse experience greatly influenced his Christian perspective (Igwe 16).

Nnamdi Azikiwe's unwavering commitment to the liberation of Africa was always accompanied by his deep concern for the well-being of Africans across the continent. Chief Mbazulike Amaechi, a former member of the Zikist Movement and a prominent Nigerian nationalist, points out that in the 1950s, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, set up a political training center in Yaba, a suburb of Lagos (Igwe 20). Chief Amaechi noted that in addition to training some members of the youth wing of the NCNC, Zik also reached out to his peers like Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, encouraging them to send their young people for political training. Many non-Nigerian youths, including Tom Mboya, Odinga Oginga, and Sam Nujoma, benefited from Zik's generosity and his strong belief in Pan-Africanism. They passed through NCNC's political training camp, thanks to Zik's support (20). Ultimately, the acclaimed playwright, Chinua Achebe, known for his straightforward and impartial comments, asserts that Nnamdi Azikiwe was the key figure in African independence. According to Achebe, it is clear that Azikiwe was the most influential political figure of his time, possessing a strong vision for Pan-Africanism (Achebe 41).

His collection of writings includes *Renascent Africa* (1937), *My Odyssey* (1970), *The Future of Pan-Africanism* (1961), *A Matter of Conscience* (1979), and *Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism or Welfarism?* (1980). Azikiwe passed away at the age of 91 on May 11, 1996, at the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital in Enugu after a prolonged illness. He was laid to rest in his hometown of Onitsha.

The Hermeneutics Understanding of Eclecticism in Azikiwe Philosophy

Azikiwe Philosophy's understanding of eclecticism can be explored through the lens of hermeneutics which is the theory and methodology of interpretation. It's approaches acknowledges that meaning is not fixed, but rather it emerges through a dynamic and interactive process of understanding and interpretation.

It is a kind of philosophy that imbibes different worldviews in dialectical oppositions with principles of building a solid structure of unity. It is a kind of Hegelian dialectics of oppositions of consciousness into treads of unity.

This approach acknowledges that meaning is not fixed, but rather it emerges through dialectical changes in nature.

Here, we should adopt Gadamer's approach on hermeneutics by acknowledging the concepts of:

1. Pre-understanding
2. Fusion of Horizons
3. Dialogue

Pre-understanding

Under this trajectory of pre-understanding, Azikiwe philosophy's eclecticism acknowledges that understanding is always preceded by pre-understanding, which is shaped by cultural, historical, personal factors.

Fusion of Horizons

Gadamer's propensity on the philosophical hermeneutics regarding the fusion of horizons, Azikiwe philosophy's eclecticism involves the fusion of different horizons which represents the integration of diverse perspectives and tradition.

Dialogue

Finally, on the spheres of dialogues, regarding Gadamer's interpretations, Azikiwe philosophy's eclecticism is characterized by a dialogical approach, which involves a conversation between different perspectives and traditions.

Thus, it is under this trajectory that we can see Azikiwe's philosophical eclecticism as a hermeneutic method that involves:

1. Selection of relevant concepts, ideas and traditions from diverse sources.
2. Integration of these selected elements into a coherent and meaningful whole.
3. The reinterpretation of these integrated elements in light of new understanding and perspectives.

Thus, under this disposition, Azikiwe consciously adopt the principles of philosophical eclecticism as a unified system of thought by integrating different theories, ideas and principles for a common unity in Nigeria. It is a system of development parading in to promote unity in development process.

Considerably, it is against this backdrop that Azikiwe asserts that:

...eclecticism is not syncretic because it does not attempt to reconcile or combine irreconcilables. Rather, it leaves the contradictions unresolved but blends incompatibles to make them practicable for utilitarian purpose... by this method of eclecticism, one can add, subtract, multiply or divide any idea and adapt it to situation or historical circumstances (ideology 14)

Critically, Azikiwe in the above passage is making a dialectical process of change in promoting new sociopolitical and economic development paradigm in post colonial administration in Nigeria.

So, in line with his socio-political thought, eclecticism is a system of building a new divergent and convergent theory in development process in Nigeria. It makes progress in uniting all dialectical oppositions.

Eclecticism therefore, in this Azikiwe philosophical perspective, enhances problem – solving in several ways:

1. It allows for the integration of different viewpoints, theories and approaches, which can provide a more comprehensive understanding the problems in Nigeria post-

colonial state.

2. Eclecticism in this way can lead to a more innovative and novel solutions in restructuring Nigeria as a post colonial state administration. It can bring collaboration, inclusiveness and collectivity among different cultural heritages in Nigeria. It can bring together diverse expertise and perspectives to tackle complex heterogeneity of culture in Nigeria. It can help in increasing flexibility in adapting to this new post-colonial sociopolitical culture in Nigeria by promoting holistic thinking.

Conceptual Framework

Any speech may be properly appreciated only if its fundamental ideas are explained. Here welfarism is the idea that needs explanation. Welfarism is a system in which the government offers a variety of free services to those who need them, such as medical treatment and money for those without jobs, care for the elderly, etc., (1688), according to the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* 9th edition. Though the concept of human wellbeing is understood in many different ways, the word "welfarism" is typically connected to the economic interpretation of welfare. Generally speaking, economists consider individual welfare in terms of utility functions. An aggregate of separate utilities or utility functions is what social welfare is (Kaplov and Shavell 11). Thus, welfarism refers to all theories that require us to assess the overall condition of a society and the fair distributions in particular by the welfare of the individuals in question, and only by their welfare.

“Welfarism is the judgement of the relative goodness of alternative states of affairs must be based exclusively on, and taken as an increasing function of, the respective collection of individual utilities in these states,” writes Amartya Sen (468). “Welfarism is the view that nothing but welfare matters basically or ultimately for ethics; it is therefore a normative theory about the foundations of morality,” writes Wayne Sumner (184). Finally, according to John Weymark, “welfarism is the principle that the relative desirability of social alternatives should in all circumstances be determined by a single social ordering of the feasible vectors of utility levels” (251).

Review of Related Literature

This is a review of related literature on the socio-political philosophy of Azikiwe. It is literarily not a debate but a quest for the hermeneutics understanding of African socio-political thought. The debate around the existence of "African Philosophy" was one of the reasons why Azikiwe's philosophical ideas had received little attention. The issue of whether there exist African thinkers is similarly debatable. We do not, however, want to explore the world of debates surrounding the existence of African philosophy in this study. The enormous amount of labour required to organize Azikiwe's philosophical thoughts into a coherent whole is another, maybe most important, reason why little attention had been shown in them. This is so because Azikiwe's philosophical concepts are dispersed throughout many political discourses and need for diligent, patient, and thorough study to sort and combine them into a cohesive whole. This could be the reason why so many scholars avoid taking on such a huge assignment.

Numerous essays have been written on the socio-political and economic philosophy of

Nnamdi Azikiwe and the consequences of his opinions for the status of this issue. Four of such comments will be examined in this chapter. The main goal of this review is to underline the aspects of Azikiwe's ideas on "welfarism" and the circumstances surrounding his development of "neo-welfarism," which the writers to be examined have highlighted. This review will so make room for the uniqueness of the current work.

In his 1989 book *Azikiwe and the Nigeria Civil War*, Lambert Ejiofor argues that the pragmatic application of choosing and organizing is the best aspect of the widely acknowledged ideologies of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism (Ejiofor 133). For the simple fact that none of them adequately satisfy the many human needs, he believes they are all inadequate. In this regard, Ejiofor quotes Eze Nwokereke as saying that any theory based on human nature that overlooks such diversity would always be biased and insufficient. This is one of the main reasons he believes socialism, capitalism, and welfarism are insufficient since they all concentrate on a different facet of human nature that ignores others (Nwokereke 111).

In addition, Lambert Ejiofor makes a strong case that Azikiwe's rejection of socialism keeps the nationalism pattern alive, political chieftains learn unopposed, and together they make the path to socialism barbarous and perverted. Even more so, Marxian socialism encourages name-calling, polarization, clannishness, and tyranny (Ejiofor 129).

Lambert Ejiofor goes on to say that Azikiwe opposed any philosophy that contradicted African support of private property ownership and promoted private entrepreneurship. "Why should we swallow wholesale any doctrine which purport to indoctrinate us with ideas which are definitely contradictory to our own philosophy of life," Azikiwe questioned (Ejiofor 133). Azikiwe maintained that the traditional Africans were democratic in their institutions while economically they were "welfarists," sharing things together. Ejiofor further supports Azikiwe's assumption that what Nigeria needs is an ideological re-orientation and not ideological imposition. According to him, Nigeria should not be an exception and that no human nation can prosper without an ideology based in its history (Azikiwe 1980: x). Indeed, one could regard ideological issues as the outcome of self-alienation from the foundation of Africa. Azikiwe therefore says that the foundation of his theory was the idea that Nigeria has, among many other disciplines, political science, sociology, economics, jurisprudence, philosophy, and religion. It only takes reorientation, then, to bring them up to date with modern ideas and standards (Azikiwe 127).

Joseph Omoregbe contends that the political system of traditional African society was based in an ideology that included "capitalism," "socialism," and "welfarism," and that this ideology served them well. "All we need to do is go back to our roots, adopt this system of combining capitalism with socialism and update it to suit contemporary African society" (165). He praised the unity of our forefathers, who managed to live and be supported despite their many languages and traditions (165).

Omoregbe underlines even more how Azikiwe supported a socialism-capitalism compromise influenced by our indigenous values. This was made abundantly evident in Azikiwe's 1964 May 15th presentation at the University of Nigeria Nsukka, "Tribalism, instrument of National Unity." Azikiwe states that:

My point is that our ancestors, in spite of their heterogeneous languages and cultures, have bequeathed to us a legacy of political and economic ideologies which sustained them and enabled them to survive. Now that we are confronted with welfare system, such evidence of humanitarianism

problems of co-existence and we are ensconced in a wilderness of alien ideologies, which are making a terrific impact on our ways of life, the obvious move is for us, like a seaman who has drifted from salt to fresh water, without knowing it, to cast down our bucket where we are and draw fresh water to assuage our thirst. Yes, we must dig deep from our roots to discover this secret of successful co-existence (Blackpast1).

Because none of them was completely evil, Azikiwe maintained that these systems needed to be eclectically and pragmatically harmonized by incorporating what he believed to be the positive aspects of each.

Commenting on Azikiwe political philosophy in his book "Azikiwe's Political Idea: Dreams of African Revolution," 1989, Michael S.O. Olisa concurs that it is safe to say that Zik's liberal democracy political philosophy is typified by pragmatism, gradualism, inclusiveness (in its ability to accommodate aspects of other philosophies), humanism, and welfarism (Olisa 88). According to Azikiwe, this ideology is a vernal and dynamic interpretation of welfarism that synchronizes into a social matrix of the finest aspects of the widely acknowledged ideologies of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism. Neo-welfarism, it may be said, is based on the belief in private enterprise, which is supported by state involvement in the private sector and state cooperation in management technology for the purpose of effectively and profitably managing statutory corporations and parastatal commercial enterprises, including government-owned, government-controlled, and government-sponsored companies (88–89).

The ideas of capitalism, socialism, and welfare would therefore be harmonized in a socioeconomic mold that included aspects of a planned economy, an indigenous rationalized economy, and a mixed economy. Such a neo-welfarist society would reject and successfully manage elements that might encourage monopolies, inflation, profiteering, and the establishment of artificial scarcity as the cornerstone of the economic structure.

Finally, according to Agbafor Igwe, Neo-welfarism was developed to address the issues of ideological disarray and lack of significant progress that plague the new governments (Igwe 258). In this sense, Igwe and Azikiwe agree on the need of eclectic pragmatism in addressing African issues, especially in light of the many traumatic experiences that led to them. Those encounters resulted from the economic, political, cultural, and even spiritual devastation of Africa brought about by European colonization of that continent. This colonial muddle does not exclude Nigeria. Apart from being the suitable approach to overcome the colonial mess, eclectic pragmatism is also the best approach to address some enduring issues such as tribalism, frequent coup d'état, religious endeavours, and the ongoing question of an efficient developmental ideology (Igwe 131).

Political instability, religious intolerance, and tribalism can all have a workable answer thanks to eclectic pragmatism. According to Agbafor Igwe, "Zik argues that tribalism and national unity are not mutually exclusive. If only the eclectic and practical approach is used, Azikiwe argues, tribal passions can be used as a powerful tool for national unity (Igwe 132).

The relationship between the aforementioned scholars on the subject is evident from the review above, demonstrating that welfarism is a moral development of capitalism that calls for the government to rescue the people from the appalling level of life that capitalism brought them into. According to Joseph Omoregbe, traditional African culture had a political structure based on an ideology that included elements of capitalism, socialism, and welfare,

and it served them well. "All we have to do is return to our origins, embrace this concept of fusing socialism and capitalism, and adapt it to fit modern African society. Lambert Ejiofor believes that the useful application of pragmatic selection and arrangement is one of the best aspects of the widely acknowledged

ideologies of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism. Agbafor Igwe believes that eclectic pragmatism is the best approach to address issues in Africa and agrees with Azikiwe. The neo-welfarism, he adds, is designed to address the issues of ideological disarray and inadequate growth that plague the new governments.

The scholars listed above were examined in the part before this one, and this one point up certain gaps. They don't illustrate how to use Azikiwe's welfarism. Apart from that, their ideas of welfare are utopian and idealistic. It seems more to be a made-up concept of an ideal quality of existence or society. This study emphasizes the notion that as man is egoistic and self-interested by nature, welfarism is hard to practice or accomplish. This part finds, in contrast to the reviewed scholars, that welfarism as a social philosophy has certain drawbacks. The fact that it offers necessary services at no cost presents an inherent issue. There will be a tremendous rush of individuals to take advantage of these free services as soon as it is known that they are free, in line with Azikiwe's theory. Because welfarism is more of a theory that is difficult if not impossible to materialize, Azikiwe argued for a new ideology he called neo-welfarism. Azikiwe believed that eclectic- pragmatism may help attain this neo-welfarism.

Azikiwe's Conception of Welfarism

Nnamdi Azikiwe believes in his book, *Ideology for Nigeria* that welfarism is a socioeconomic system in which the state bears primary responsibility for the social and individual welfare of its citizens. In cases when individual means are insufficient, he adds, it is the complexes of policies, attitudes, and beliefs that drive the state to provide its citizens with the minimal standards in education, health, housing, pension, etc. (Azikiwe 87). In *Ideology for Nigeria* (Azikiwe 76) it should also be mentioned that welfarism is the socio-political theory that Azikiwe used to develop the neo-welfarist philosophy. Thus, Azikiwe explain welfarism as follows:

A social system where the state assumes primary responsibility for the individual and social welfare of it citizen. It is the complexes of policies, attitudes and believes which animate the state to provide its inhabitants with minimum standard in education, health, housing, pension, etc. where individual means are inadequate

Welfarism mostly demands that the state take sufficient care of the citizens' political, social, and economic well-being. As part of its welfare program, a state frequently creates national insurance against sickness, old age, poverty, unemployment, and industrial accidents. Benefits for

unemployment are paid to jobless people who have contributed somewhat to a social security fund. There are free or very low fees for several "paramedical services" including laboratory technology, physiotherapy, radiography, nursing, and midwifery. The welfare state therefore strives to maximize the number of people it benefits by offering its citizens almost free basic services. A moral development from capitalism, welfare demands that the government

rescue the populace from the appalling level of living that capitalism brought them. Using gradually increasing taxes, the government attempts to transfer money from the wealthy to the impoverished. Fundamentally appealing is the way that welfarism advances the humanistic idea of mutual assistance.

As a critic, Azikiwe praises welfarism for its objectives but cautions that its providing of necessary services at no cost has its own challenges. There will undoubtedly be a huge rush to take advantage of these free services as soon as word spreads that they are offered. Ultimately, Azikiwe says, experience in Europe and America has demonstrated that poverty, ignorance, ill health, and misery remain predominate despite the abundance of welfare programs designed to lessen the "stings of capitalism." "There is need for a more positive action to liquidate these factors which make life a bane to the greatest number of our people," he said. We are therefore back at the beginning in our quest for a more suitable ideology for a better society (Ideology for Nigeria 87). He concedes that while welfarism cannot totally cure the issues brought about by capitalism, it does not address some of them. Since the issues remain, we "are back to square one." He therefore deems welfarism to be insufficient and unsatisfactory and turns to neo welfarism.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, this study shows that welfarism has certain value that any significant socioeconomic ideology needs to have. That is the essence of its humanity. Fundamentally appealing is the way that welfarism advances the humanistic idea of mutual assistance.

Ingredients/Components of Welfarism

For many years, the welfare state has shaped economic, political, and philosophical study of the concept of welfare; that is, the belief that the state should be responsible for pursuing, supporting, or guaranteeing at least some minimal level of welfare (Hamlin 1). A highly contentious area of the conceptual terrain, the term "welfare" has been extensively disregarded by economists, philosophers, political theorists, and a broad range of more pragmatic politicians, policy analysts, and social observers (Hamlin 2). One way to think about each group is as working on a map that shows the key aspects of "welfare" and sets them in connection to other normative landscape elements like "rights," "needs," "equality," "justice," and so forth. Alan Hamlin adds that three key aspects—individual wellbeing, social welfare, and the connection between the two—are the main emphasis of the economists' map of welfare.

Individual welfare

According to Alan Hamlin, it is crucial to highlight a potential ambiguity in the connection between preferences, choices, and welfare before delving deeper into the subject (3). Preferences can be seen as externally determined traits of individuals, existing separately from their choices. This raises the question of how preference and choice are related. While preference can be a factor in decision-making, it is not always guaranteed that individual choices will align directly with preferences. It is worth considering that someone might opt for option a when option b is also available, even though they actually prefer option b. Preference is closely tied to our desires and wants (Hamlin 3).

One important question that arises when considering a theory of individual welfare, as Hamlin points out, is whether welfare is meant to fully encompass an individual's well-being. If not, then it becomes crucial to understand how good and welfare are interconnected at the

individual level (Hamlin 4). The credibility of any specific explanation of welfare will rely on the resolution of this fundamental inquiry. If welfare is considered to be synonymous with what is considered good, the preference satisfaction theory of welfare can be easily criticized by viewpoints that argue for other aspects of the good that are not necessarily related to preference satisfaction, such as needs satisfaction or freedom (4). However, if we consider welfare as just one aspect of the overall good, we can easily address these criticisms. The true challenges lie in explaining why we focus on welfare as a key aspect of individual well-being and in exploring how welfare relates to other aspects of the good.

Welfarism and Social welfare

The transition from focusing on individual welfare to considering social welfare brings forth a range of additional concerns that go beyond what is typically addressed at the individual level. The Arrow theorem, as discussed by Arrow in 1962, places clear limitations on how we can interpret a social preference ordering. Additionally, the social setting introduces the connection between social welfare and a broader concept of social justice, as explored by Hamlin. The validity of welfarism hinges greatly on how individual welfare is understood and interpreted. If we interpret individual welfare as individual good, regardless of whether it is based on informed preferences or not, then the assertion of welfarism can be simplified to the idea that social good is comprised of individual good. In this perspective, every individual's well-being is seen as a contribution to the greater good of society, with no other factors playing a role in this collective benefit. This particular understanding of welfarism differs from the mainstream, as it is commonly associated with economists' limited view of welfare as utility, which is determined by individuals' actual preferences. This alternative perspective on welfarism aligns more closely with Broome's principle of personal good and other individualistic theories of good. However, it remains a subject of debate. This broader understanding of welfarism challenges the idea that there are certain goods that are purely social in nature, separate from the well-being of individuals (Hamlin 8).

If the distinction between welfare and good at the individualistic level is upheld, there remains significant debate surrounding welfarism. In these circumstances, it is argued that while all social good can be traced back to individual good, not all individual good necessarily contributes to the greater social good. At the social level, only the aspect of individual good that is encompassed by welfare should be taken into consideration. An alternative justification for this particular form of welfarism relies on the argument against paternalism, as discussed by Hamlin (8). If one defines individual welfare in terms of actual preference satisfaction, it can be argued that while this approach may overlook certain aspects of individual well-being, it remains the most reliable basis for the overall social good. Naturally, there are those who may challenge this argument by suggesting that there are additional elements of the individual's well-being that can be objectively understood and therefore should be taken into account when considering the overall societal well-being (8-9).

Azikiwe on the Welfare State

Regarding the concept of the welfare state, there is a lack of consensus among scholars when it comes to defining it clearly and definitively (De Frel 6). Cochrane and Clarke provide a limited definition, stating that the welfare state involves the state's participation in social security and social services (4). Once more, one could argue that this definition is quite limited (De Frel 6).

According to Asa Briggs, a welfare state aims to intentionally alter the influence of market forces in three ways. Firstly, it seeks to provide individuals and families with a minimum income. Secondly, it aims to assist them in dealing with social contingencies that could otherwise lead to personal or family crises. Lastly, it strives to ensure that all citizens have access to the highest possible standards of social services within an agreed-upon range (Briggs 16). According to Briggs, a proper welfare state must comply with three specific objects as outlined in this definition. While Briggs does place significant emphasis on these three objects, the definition remains rather limited, as it solely concentrates on the redistribution and allocation of money. It fails to consider other crucial elements of welfare, such as social care (De Frel 6).

Given this observation, it is crucial to direct our attention towards Azikiwe's perspective on the welfare state. The issue of determining the ideology that would bring about the political and economic liberation of Africans from colonial rule became a prominent topic of discussion during the transition from the colonial era to the post-colonial era (Haaga and Sasa 152). African social and political thinkers, as described by Onyeaghalaji, were open to incorporating foreign ideologies into their own, sometimes without questioning them, and adapting them to fit African perspectives or even asserting that they align with traditional African culture. Overall, they present their ideas for African political liberation and economic independence" (Onyaghalaji 250).

Azikiwe embarked on his exploration of political philosophy, which would eventually give rise to the ideology of Neo-welfarism. This journey involved a thorough evaluation of the credibility and feasibility of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism (Haaga and Sasa 153). Through his insightful analysis, he envisioned the potential to combine the strengths of these three political systems and create a new system for Nigeria as it sought to achieve self-realization and self-governance in the post-colonial era (153). According to Azikiwe, a state that embraces new-welfarism should strive to establish favorable conditions for the successful implementation of democratic principles. It is important to foster cooperation with other nations in order to develop and utilize our human potential and natural resources for the benefit of all. According to Azikiwe (1980: 279), a state that follows neo-welfarist principles should establish socio-political structures that enable both political freedom and economic security.

Azikiwe on Neo-Welfarism

Due to the frequent military coups and resulting poor governance in Africa during the 1970s and 1980s, along with the influence of Cold War ideologies, Azikiwe believed that it was important to establish a government that would be well-suited to the African context. Thus, he put forward a socio-economic ideology that he called neo-welfarism (Ombati 4). In his publication, *Ideology for Nigeria*, which was released in 1980, Azikiwe aimed to find a balanced approach that navigates between the realms of capitalism and socialism. After carefully evaluating the major socio-economic and political systems, he found them lacking. However, he recognized that each system had some positive aspects. In an effort to create a more balanced approach, he developed a system called "neo-welfarism" by combining the best elements from each system. As an economic ideology, neo-welfarism combines elements from capitalism, socialism, and welfarism within a socio-economic framework influenced by indigenous African values. This approach allows both the state and the private sector to have ownership and control over the means of production, distribution, and exchange. At the same time, the state takes responsibility for social services, ensuring that citizens receive the necessary support based on their needs and a defined minimum standard.

This does not exclude the involvement of voluntary agencies in any aspect of social services. The foundation of neo-welfarism rests on a blend of diverse philosophical perspectives and a practical approach.

Regrettably, the ideals of pragmatism and eclecticism have been systematically eradicated from the political discourse in Nigeria, leaving no room for a balanced approach. The fuel subsidy crisis was just one of many instances where the principles of socialism and welfarism have been replaced by a strong emphasis on capitalism. Ultimately, Neo-welfarism emerges as a political philosophy that embraces a diverse range of ideas and takes a practical approach. With its incorporation of selected ideas from various systems, it becomes an eclectic and composite system of thoughts. It doesn't alter, but rather combines conflicting perspectives. It is not syncretic because it does not try to reconcile the irreconcilable. When evaluated based on its practical outcomes, this approach proves to be advantageous for the majority.

In this study, we will thoroughly examine and analyse Azikiwe's views on welfarism. While his understanding of welfarism may have been limited, we will explore his concept of neo-welfarism. It is worth mentioning that Azikiwe has embraced a new form of welfarism known as neo-welfarism. Therefore, the main focus of this paper will be on Azikiwe's fresh approach to welfare in his socio-political and economic ideology.

Implications of Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism for Social Cohesion Implications

Firstly, through the consideration of regional disparities and the promotion of a more balanced distribution of development, Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism had the potential to alleviate feelings of marginalization and resentment among various regions and ethnic groups, ultimately fostering social cohesion.

Furthermore, Azikiwe's advocacy for welfare-oriented policies could have potentially resulted in increased access to essential services and an elevated standard of living. This, in turn, may have cultivated a stronger sense of collective prosperity and alleviated social tensions.

Furthermore, the focus on participatory governance has the potential to increase citizen engagement and ownership in the development process. This, in turn, can strengthen the social contract between the government and the people and foster social cohesion.

Finally, Azikiwe's focus on national unity and integration may have played a significant role in fostering a more robust sense of national identity and shared goals among the various ethnic groups, potentially laying the groundwork for greater social cohesion.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that the practical application and results of Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism in Nigeria were shaped by a range of political, economic, and social factors. As a result, its effect on social unity may have been a blend of both positive and restricted outcomes.

The Strengths of Azikiwe's Neo Welfarism

Neo-welfarism aims to revive a genuine democracy and promote economic and political progress in Nigeria, according to its main objective (Ideology for Nigeria 129). This portrays

the ideology as being comprehensive, as it is widely accepted that a person's political and economic life influences other aspects of their existence. Karl Marx similarly argued that the economy serves as the foundation for various forms of social consciousness (Omoregbe 118). Therefore, the fundamental goals of Neo-welfarism have far-reaching effects that encompass various fields, providing numerous advantages to Nigeria, humanity, and beyond.

Azikiwe's approach is highly praiseworthy. This is because it not only incorporates innovative ideas from various systems, but also strives to achieve practical outcomes that benefit humanity. Azikiwe describes eclectic pragmatism as a concept in philosophy that refers to a comprehensive system of thought that incorporates ideas from various other systems (Ideology for Nigeria 111). This method is crucial because it rejects the idea of blindly adhering to a single set of rules and conventions. Instead, it acknowledges and chooses from various sources, selecting the elements that are practical and beneficial. Eze Nwokereke appreciates Neo-welfarism for its ability to incorporate the positive elements of various systems while eliminating their negative aspects, all in service of humanity. Nwokereke argues that adopting a neo-welfarist approach can help address social injustice and prevent the dehumanization of individuals that often occurs under socialism. In this perspective, people are not reduced to mere puppets of authority, but are valued as thinking, purposeful individuals.

In addition, Ikechukwu Kanu argues that neo-welfarism rejects unfounded conjectures about socio-political issues. It focuses on the tangible, practical, and valuable aspects. What benefits does Neo-welfarism bring to Nigerian democracy with its approach of eclectic pragmatism? Zik has put forth the notion that the value of any ideology is determined by its capacity to bring about liberation. According to Ikechukwu Kanu, Azikiwe emphasizes that the practical solutions to society's problems are what determine the usefulness of any concept, idea, or theory. From this perspective, pragmatism emphasizes the importance of directing human efforts and intelligence towards the liberation and fulfilment of individuals within society.

One significant aspect that greatly supports the ideology of Neo-welfarism is that it offers a viable alternative to the two opposing economic doctrines prevalent in the modern world - capitalism and socialism. Furthermore, it combines the positive aspects of both capitalism and socialism. By adopting this approach, it could act as a guiding principle to alleviate the current tensions caused by rigid adherence to different ideologies. According to Joseph Omoregbe, Neo-welfarism offers a solution to the social injustice associated with capitalism. It will prevent the negative impact of excessive control by state authorities, which can degrade human dignity and reduce individuals to non-entities. After highlighting the strengths, it is now important to address the limitations that are the focus of this research.

The Weaknesses of Azikiwe's Neo Welfarism

Now, it is important to assess the limitations of neo-welfarism. While neo-welfarism has the potential to greatly benefit humanity and Nigerian democracy when implemented effectively in daily life and governance, it is not without certain inherent flaws that need to be addressed. It is important to approach the ideology with caution and attention to detail in order to achieve the desired outcome. Therefore, it is appropriate and valuable to identify and thoroughly examine the objections against neo-welfarism.

Agbafor Igwe raised a critique of Azikiwe's neo-welfarism, arguing that Azikiwe's

presentation of it as a synthesis of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism suggests a shift towards a mixed economic system. It is our belief that Azikiwe should have established a clear boundary line between his ideology and mixed economy for the sake of clarity. It is important to evaluate the claim made by Azikiwe regarding the mixed economic system and its encouragement of private and public ownership of the means of production and exchange in the Neo-welfarist economy (Igwe 251). Due to this reason, it is likely that many people will view Neo-welfarism as a 'mixed economy'. Agbafor Igwe further points out that Azikiwe's presentation of neo-welfarism may be easily dismissed as a mere neologism for a mixed economy. However, it is important to recognize that the two concepts are not identical (251).

One significant concern that raises doubts about the credibility of the theory of Neo-welfarism is its inability to clearly define the specific aspects of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism that should be effectively integrated into the African economic system. Azikiwe presented arguments against each of the economic systems, but he maintained a neutral stance without explicitly stating his acceptance or rejection of any of them (Okaneme 133). Okaneme, referencing Agbafor Igwe, suggests that the lack of clear definition of the positive aspects of the different systems incorporated by neo-welfarism renders this ideology somewhat vague and empty. The neo-welfarism can be seen as a somewhat shapeless ideology. Therefore, it is a name that lacks a specific meaning (Igwe 249).

Okaneme argued that while Azikiwe proposed a Neo-welfarist state that combines elements from different economic doctrines and allows both private and public ownership of the means of production, he did not specify how individuals and the public would acquire productive means in a way that promotes profit motive and individual initiative without exploiting others (133).

As a result, the current research suggests that Azikiwe did not differentiate between mixed economy and neo-welfarism, which he considered to be a new form of welfarism. Therefore, it is suggested that Azikiwe could have provided clearer and more straightforward information. In order for neo-welfarism to be embraced as the political and economic ideal in the Nigerian democratic principle, it is crucial to have a clear and unambiguous definition and understanding of its concept. It is worth noting that while Nnamdi Azikiwe's vision of harmony among ideologies may not be achievable in practice, Nigeria's democracy can still benefit from incorporating positive aspects of capitalism, socialism, or welfarism.

Summary

This work explores the endeavours of Nnamdi Azikiwe to address the ideological and administrative challenges faced by Nigeria and its political system. Azikiwe's perspective led to a shift in focus, moving away from assigning blame for Nigeria's challenges and instead turning inward to explore the root causes of these issues and potential remedies (Nwokereke 106).

Azikiwe passionately and thoughtfully worked to develop a practical ideology, drawing inspiration from indigenous influences and not relying on any specific existing ideology. Instead, he extracted elements from socialism, capitalism, and welfarism - the three major forces that shape human interaction in the world. Lawrence Ugwuanyi suggests that Azikiwe had a contradictory approach to African identity. While Azikiwe emphasized the importance of returning to African roots, he also utilized Western ideas and advancements to develop African nations. Azikiwe believed that Africans needed to transcend their basic instincts and embrace the complexities of modern society. It is clear that Azikiwe embraced the benefits of

modernity with a Western perspective, using it as a means to advocate for the establishment of African states (Ugwuanyi 60).

Upon careful analysis, it becomes apparent that this research suggests that neo-welfarism, a new form of welfarism as described by Azikiwe, lacks the necessary elements to effectively challenge and replace socialism, capitalism, or traditional welfarism as the optimal alternative. It is worth

noting that each of these systems possesses its own inherent flaws. Azikiwe's failure to pinpoint the positive aspects of each economic doctrine that should be combined into a cohesive whole is a significant cause for concern regarding his neo-welfarist ideology. Consequently, the lack of clarity in neo-welfarism regarding the level of private and public involvement in economic activities poses a risk of perpetuating the negative aspects of both capitalist and socialist economies. In a thought-provoking manner, Lawrence Ugwuanyi criticizes Azikiwe for overlooking the complex conflicts and power struggles that shape contemporary Africa (61).

This research highlights the potential risks associated with Azikiwe's ideology, including its susceptibility to foreign influence and its lack of specific guidelines for implementing beneficial aspects of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism, among other concerns. Despite these concerns, it remains crucial to acknowledge Azikiwe's ideology for its potential to greatly benefit Nigeria if effectively implemented.

Conclusion

After thoroughly examining the subject matter in this research, we have provided a comprehensive explanation of Azikiwe's socio-political and economic ideology, including concepts like welfarism, the welfare state, and neo-welfarism. This research also reveals that Azikiwe's stance on welfarism was limited within his socio-political and economic framework. Nevertheless, this research provided a thorough analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of welfarism, as outlined by Azikiwe. However, Azikiwe refrained from taking a definitive stance on whether it should be embraced or rejected. Instead, he advocated for a fresh and practical ideology called 'neo-welfarism,' which can be achieved by embracing the principle of eclectic-pragmatism he put forth. Exploring Azikiwe's welfarism has proven to be a challenging task, as it requires a thorough examination of what he referred to as neo-welfarism, the core of his ideology. Nevertheless, this research has managed to shed light on the issues linked to welfarism and other concepts in Azikiwe's socio-political and economic ideology. This, in turn, gave rise to the development of neo-welfarism through the adoption of the principle of eclectic-pragmatism. This research delves into the profound meaning and conducts a thorough analysis of Azikiwe's views on neo-welfarism, highlighting its central role in his ideology.

Now, this research will carefully examine and shed light on the problem discussed in the first chapter. The previous chapters have already discussed Azikiwe's perspective on neo-welfarism and

Asike, Jude Chinweub & Ihejiofor, Kingsley Ikenna - The Socio-Political Imperatives Azikiwe's Neo-Welfarism ...

why he considers it an improvement over traditional welfarism, to avoid repeating the same information. Nevertheless, this research highlights the distinction between the universal or European notion of welfarism and Azikiwe's neo-welfarism. In addition, Azikiwe's neo-welfarism incorporates elements of capitalism, socialism, and welfarism. While they share this commonality, they diverge in the sense that neo-welfarism is centered around African perspectives, as Azikiwe believes. When considering the other questions raised, it is crucial for a country to fully embrace a particular socio-political and economic ideology. This commitment will serve as a guiding force for the policies implemented for the benefit of its citizens. This research suggests that adopting an indigenous ideology would be the most effective approach, as it would effectively address the pressing issues specific to that country.

In conclusion, this research highlights the presence of both inherent and perceived loopholes in Azikiwe's ideology. However, it emphasizes the significance of neo-welfarism, the new form of welfarism advocated by Azikiwe. It asserts that neo-welfarism is a valuable pursuit that should not be disregarded. This is because the ideology holds immense value for not only the Nigerian nation but also for the world at large. This work advocates for the values of democracy, humane principles, justice, the reconciliation of opposites, and both economic and political liberation.

Works Cited

Achebe, Chinua. *There was a Country. A Personal History of Biafra*. Allen Lane, London, 2012.

Achebe, Chinua. *The Trouble with Nigeria*. Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd, Enugu, 1983. Azikiwe, Nnamdi. *Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism, or Welfarism?* Macmillan

Publishers, Lagos, 1980.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi *Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism and Welfarism?* London: Heinemann Press, 1975.

BlackPast, B. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Tribalism: A Pragmatic Instrument for National Unity*. Retrieved from <https://www.blackpast.org>. August 07, 2009. Accessed 10th of November, 2020.

Ejiofor, Lambert. "Azikiwe and the Nigeria Civil War." African-Fep Publishers, Onitsha, 1989. Ezeani, Geo'Ben. *Redeeming Nigeria Through Massists Ideology*. Juddy Best Publishers, Yola,

1987.

Hornby A.S., Deuter, Magareth., Bradbery, Jennifer. *et al. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*.

9th Edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2015.

- Igwe, Agbafor. *Zik: The Philosopher of our Time*. Fourth Dimension Publishing Company, Enugu, 1992.
- Igwe, Austin Uchechukwu. "Zik of Africa: An Appraisal of the Contributions of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe to African Socio-Political and Economic Growth in the Twentieth Century". *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 3, No 4, 2015.
- Iregbenu, Paul Chinenye. "The Unoriginality of African Socio-Political Theories: A Justification." 2014.
- Kanu, Ikechukwu. "The Political Philosophy of Azikiwe as an Ideology of Political Regeneration for Nigeria." In: *Bassey Andah Journal*. Vol. 3. 2010. p. 182.
- Kaplow, Louis and Shavell, Steven. *Fairness versus Welfare*. Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Nwala, Uzodinma T. *Nigeria: Path to Unity and Stability*. Nigeria Books and Publishing Co. Ltd, Nsukka, 1997.
- Nwokereke, Eze. *Trends and Perspective in African Socio-Political Philosophy*. Copycraft Publications, Abakaliki, 2002.
- Omoregbe, Joseph. *Knowing Philosophy*. Joja Publishers Limited, Lagos, 1990.
- Omoregbe, Joseph. *Socio-Political Philosophy: A Systematic and Historical Studies*. Joja Educational Publishers, Lagos, 2010.
- Okaneme, Godwin. "A Critique of Azikiwe's Political Philosophy of Neo-Welfarism." *Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Philosophy*. Vol. 10. No 1, 2015.
- Olisa, Michael S. "Azikiwe's Political Idea: Dreams of African Revolution." *AfricanaFep Publishers*, Onitsha, 1989.
- Sen, Amartya. "Utilitarianism and Welfarism." *Journal of Philosophy*. Vol. 76. 1979, 463-489.
- Sumner, Wayne. *Welfare Happiness and Ethics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.
- The Times. "Dr. Azikiwe to Be First President." London, England. 17th September, 1963, via The Times Digital Archive. p. 8.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. Nnamdi Azikiwe President of Nigeria. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nnamdi-Azikiwe>. Accessed on the 17th of January, 2021.
- Ugwuanyi, Lawrence Ogbo. "The Philosopher-King and the Modern State in Africa." In *West Africa Review*, Issue 22, ISSN: 1525-4488. 2013, pp. 60-61.
- Weymark, John A. "Welfarism on Economic Domains." *Mathematical Social Sciences* 36. 1998, 251-268.