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*The plight of Intellectuals in Achebe's A Man of the People*

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## **Dedication**

We warmly dedicate this work for the most people we admire .

To our beloved parents .

To our dear sisters and brothers .

To our friends .

## **Abstract**

The purpose behind the present study is to depict the situations of Nigerian society as reflected by Achebe's novel *A Man of the People*. The work portrays the problem of corruption in Nigeria Among the political. This study discusses post-colonialism as an era of struggle and challenges for the Nigerians and How later represented in African literature .As case study ,Achebe novel *A Man Of the People* had been the appropriate writings to portray the African condition after independence and we use the post-colonial theory and Gramsci theory to highlight the theme of corruption .These two theories are chosen for their direct relationship with the subject matter . The post-colonial suits the study since the novel is written in the post –colonial period , which witnessed waves of corruption at all levels .The major focus of this study is to explore How Achebe satirizes the major forms of corruption committed by the political leaders .Achebe suggested a coup at the end of the novel as the only solution to deter corruption . But the key solution of better Nigeria future is depended on her people, the organic intellectuals are the core of its political and social crisis. Addition to that the relationship between those truly educated class and the masses should be strengthened to develop their nation.

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## Introduction

African literature springs from the oral traditions, cultures, habits, and history. It is a little bit different from other continents because unlike other nations Africa was under the yoke of colonialism. During the colonial era the major issues raised by many African writers were issues related to culture, tradition, and religion. They were devoting their time on shaping a cultural nationalistic fiction as a means to assert indigenous identity. Such literature was written when there was a hope that after independence Africa will prosper. Such fiction therefore, “*tended to be dominated by a forward looking optimism*” .

As a result, novels like *Things Fall Apart* (1958) by Chinua Achebe and *the River Between* (1965) by Ngugi Wa Thiang’o were written. Such a hope however, gave place to despair soon after Africa got independence. The change of guard did not help in bringing about a change that Africa had longed for a long time. The new indigenous ruling African class involved itself in practices that were not different from earlier colonizers.

Corruption, snobbery, manipulation of media, politics of lies, politics of deception and self-aggrandizement, politics naturalization of election violence etc. and other evil practices disappointed the people. Sensing this authors like Ngugi Wa Thiang’o, Chinua Achebe and Ayi Kwei Armah had to relook at their roles as authors. They soon turned towards a mode of writing whereby they could express their anger and disillusionment. This anger and disappointment replaced the earlier promises of nationhood and self-assertion in their novels.

The novels present a world in the fictional rendering that resembles Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana. For instance, ‘*A Man of the People*’ is associated with a new phase of writing by an author, “in which Achebe takes a hard look at what we in Africa are making of our independence-but using Nigeria which I knew best” (Lindfors 23).

Corruption is a great enemy of development. According to Amartya Sen ,development can be perceived as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy.

Corruption does not allow this freedom to flourish. “Corruption in one way or the other infringes upon the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals...it adversely affects all categories of rights” .

Africa in general and Nigeria in particular fought a bitter fight to eradicate invaders hoping that their freedom and economic development will be realized. It is a paradox that Nigeria richly endowed by providence with human and material resources but still its population is poor.

Political leadership and corruption were two sides of the same coin .According to Igbeidi (2012), though the origin of corruption dates back to the colonial era, it remained a common denominator of all political leaders since independent. Nigeria was not fortunate enough to get a leader who commits himself/herself to the well-being of its society at the expense of his/her personal interest. In line with this Ebegbulem (2009) cited in Ogbeidi argues:

Nigeria had not had the good fortune of being governed well since its political independence in 1960 because ‘good and strong leaders’ have never been in the saddle. ...From the first democratic government in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced in the country today , Nigeria has unfortunately been managed by leaders who are narcissistic and corrupt.(p.5)

Achebe (1984) in his book entitled “*The Trouble with Nigeria*” concluded that the major problem with Nigeria is failure of leadership. For many years Nigeria was not successful to get ‘*a leader of the people by the people for the people*’.

Since corruption is one of the major themes in Post-colonial African literature .

The issue of corruption in literary works has attracted the attention of many critic writers including Achebe who attacks the corruptors through his artistic work '*A Man of the People*'. The researcher intended to explore how Achebe attacks corruption in Nigerian society during post-colonial era through satire in '*A Man of the People*'. Also How does Achebe portray the plight intellectuals? And How does Achebe reflect the socio-political realities of the African continent?.

The general objective of the study is to show how does the writer depict the post colonial Nigerian society with its conflicts between the old generation who is corrupt and the new intellectual generation who try to reform society. The specific objectives of this study are to identify the bankrupt intellectuals, corrupt politicians, and an ignorant public in the novel. Furthermore, to identify the types and forms of corruption committed by the officials that Achebe ridiculed in the novel, also to identify the socio-economic disillusionment of an independent African society ,and to show how the leaders abuse their posts to enrich themselves at the nation's expense.

This paper might be used as a springboard for other researchers who are interested to conduct a study on a similar topic. The study tries to show how does the writer depict the post colonial Nigerian society with its conflicts between the old generation who is corrupt and the new intellectual generation who try to reform society.

The focus of this paper is exploring the issue of corruption and how does Achebe attack the follies and vices of the corrupt politicians in Africa .The text under study is '*A Man of the people*' by Chinua Achebe .This study examines the causes, types and effects of corruption in Achebe's "*A Man of the People*" and explores how does the author condemn the evilness of corruption.

The study employs basically the post – colonial theory because the research is based on a critical analysis of the novel. Also it is the best way to find out how postcolonial nations and their subjects try to show the issue of corruption and how the writer attacks the corrupt politicians in the selected novel are analyzed through post-colonial theory. Aspects of corruption are identified and critically analyzed in relation to the social and political contexts of the novel and analysis the socio-political context of the novel (Nigeria during post- colonial era).

The dissertation is divided into two chapters; the first chapter is *theoretical and socio-Historical Background of the study* that sheds light on the post colonial theory mainly the ideas of Frantz Fanon the colonial legacy and the corrupt elite, political corruption in post colonial Nigerian society .The theory of Antonio Gramsci of the role of the organic intellectual in society . As the background of the study discusses the political and social situation of Nigeria especially in 1960s in addition to that we will introduce the post colonial Nigerian society and the corrupt elite who took power after the departure of the English colonization and a bibliographical information about the writer Achebe and his novel. Chapter two as the body of the research devotes with analyzing how does the writer depict the post colonial Nigerian society with its conflicts between the old generation who is corrupt and the new intellectual generation who try to reform society .

Research works that are relevant to the topic are going to be critically reviewed. The more we know the causes of corruption, the better we can decide on how to formulate policy instruments and strategies that are used to combat corruption. Macheke (2012) reviewed a research entitled “An Evaluation of Post-Colonial African Leadership: A study of Ayi Kwei Armah’s *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and Chinua Achebe’s “*A Man of the People*”.

The paper focuses on how a post-colonial African leader in Armah’s ‘*The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*’ and Achebe’s ‘*A Man of the People*’ have shifted from democratic

leadership to an autocratic type of governance , it denotes a type of corruption that shifts away from cherished values and ideals of post-colonial Africa .The main method employed is textual analysis. According to the researcher, the novels reveal the socioeconomic disillusionment of an independent African society. The leaders abuse their posts to enrich themselves at the nation's expense.

The other research conducted on Achebe's '*A Man of the People*' is by Abiodun that examines how Achebe condemns corrupt politicians through '*A Man of the People*'. And he said that Achebe has achieved condemning the African politicians in general and the Nigerian's in particular for their negative tendencies and by extension, condemning the ordinary people in the different African societies for their seeming endorsement of corrupt politicians. In studies researches deal with examining the issue of corruption.

What these theses share in common with our study is the issue they raised but they are different in the methodology they employed. This thesis focuses on identifying the major causes and types of corruption in Nigeria during the setting of '*A Man of the People*' having in mind the fiction is Realistic in nature. Examining the possible impacts of corruption on the characters portrayed (Nigerian society) Analyzing how Achebe depicts the post colonial Nigerian society with its conflicts between the old generation who is corrupt and the new intellectual generation who try to reform society.

**Chapter one :**

***Theoretical and Socio-Historical Context***

## ***Chapter 01***—————***Theoretical and Socio-Historical Context***

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Postcolonialism is a significant field of literary studies that refers to the study of the literary, social and cultural heritage of colonial and imperial powers and focuses on the impact of hegemonic control and exploitation of the people who were colonized. It was mainly introduced as a field of literary studies during the 1970s. Furthermore, the postcolonial literature comes from the broadest term post colonialism which deals basically with the period of colonialism and its aftermath . The editors of ‘*The Empire Writes Back*’ state that post colonial literature and postcolonialism in general , also deal with the resultant colonialism which is cross -cultural discourse and its effects on the literature produced in post colonial world . In addition, African literature criticizes the change that occurred during colonization and in the present state of the postcolonial societies . Post colonial literature deals with the cultural change that occurred in post colonial societies and led to a cross –cultural in literature and society .

Writers do not write only to express their own feeling of loss and displacement they also express that of their own societies through depiction of their realities . It is obvious that the field of post colonialism is very wide and controversial notion that concerns mainly post colonial nations who suffered from the process of colonialization and the people who felt displaced because of it and are striving to define their status in society.

The first chapter sheds light on the theoretical and socio-historical context that consists of three parts , the first part is primarily theoretical , it will cast light on the post colonial theory and will be devoted to definitions , theoretical background and key concepts . That is, we will discuss concepts related to post colonial to have a clear idea about this field to better understand the mechanisms by which post colonial writers build up their works . That is, in order to better understand how the themes of corruption is explored in postcolonial literature .

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So; this part will shed light on the core of this field and all its aspects and how it works and the components of this field are and its most important founding figures. After dealing with the key notion of postcolonialism we have to understand in the first place what is meant by postcolonial literature in itself and the link between postcolonialism and the rise of postcolonial literature

In the part of Antonio Gramsci the Theory of Organic Intellectual starts by an overview of the pioneer of the theory of organic intellectuals Antonio Gramsci. Then we are going to define the theory of hegemony related to the organic intellectuals , in order to understand this theory we will deal the history of how the organic intellectual appeared . On the other hand , the second part will be devoted to definitions of this theory and its main principles. Furthermore, in all the world intellectuals face problems in their societies .For that , we are going to mention how Antonio Gramsci demonstrates the problems of organic intellectuals in his theory . By the end of this part we have to determine what is meant by the theory of organic intellectual to better understand the nature of this theory .

The last part of this study will provide information about the history of Nigeria during colonialism and its situation after independence also we will mention the main leaders of the Nigerian government after independence and their corrupt actions and its effect on political, economic, and society. After that, we are going to discuss how corruption date back to the colonial era as a serious problem that affects many African countries specially Nigeria .At the end of this part we will demonstrates how postcolonial African writers put pen to paper to portray problems in their societies and suggest reforms each using different literary techniques amongst the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe .

### ***1-Fanon Postcolonial Theory of Neo-colonialism :***

Bill Ashcroft , Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin declare “ *More than three –quarters of the people living in the world today have their lives shaped by the experience of colonialism the history of those people have been heavily punctuated , directed and is still redirected by colonialism and neo-colonialism.*” The term colonialism is often used interchangeably with imperialism .Colonialism is defined as a state of exploitive control and sovereignty over a geographical entity which beyond its borders . The people originally living in the occupied place are either brought under direct rule , displaced or annihilated ( Fanon 20). According to Selmon colonialism comes into existence within the concept of imperialism . “ *a concept that is itself predicated within large theories of global politics and which changes radically according to the specifics of those large theories*”(101). According to Yong(26.27)“Imperialism operates as a policy of state , driven by the ostentatious projects of power within and beyond national boundaries . On the one hand ,imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept grounded in exploitation , partnership and assimilation . On the other hand , colonialism is analyzed primarily as a practice by which colonial rule binds her colonies to herself , with a “Primary object of promoting her economic advantages (Nkrumarh 2) .So , colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other peoples land and goods involving power to create a form of domination by one nation to another (Lumba 2).

European occupations invaded many parts of the world their arrival to African continent was in the fifteenth Century , seeking to obtain more gold and control over the era . Later on ,they turned to be the legal power which had a colonial status. Habib describes Americas , East indies , India , and Africa as “Immense scramble for imperialistic power between Britain , France , Germany ,Italy ,and other nations”.

African literature associated with continent \_driven for freedom from the foreign domination and the search for common identity. The most powerful literary texts associated with some of the most catastrophic events in the history of the continent(slavery and colonialism ).The process of colonization led to the foundation of a modern African literature ,it was during the high colonial period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that written literature spread across the continent .The major periods of African literary history have been associated with colonial encounter and its aftermath . (Gikandi xi. xii )

The effect of cultural ideological colonization was so deep, colonization went through new way , with colonization of mind . The term post-colonial appeared to cover all the existing cultures affected by imperialism from the first contact until now days (Sinvankar 489)

Writers from the third world witnessed an epoch of colonization try to regain a self – image about their former countries and people who have been a lot misinterpreted . The postcolonial literature embodies the range of works produced either by colonizer or colonized these literary works indicates the necessity to write about the effect of colonization to drawback a good image of Africa and to restore the native and cultural heritage that been disintegrated by the former over centuries (Denis 61)

Colonialism gave birth to African literature . The majority of African writers were the products of colonial institutions, they turned to writing to oppose colonialism, especially its political, cultural, and social programs and practices, or to question the central claims in its doctrine of rule and conquest. It is not accidental that the most significant period in the history of African literature, the first half of the twentieth century, was also the great age of African

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nationalism in both the continent and its Diaspora. African literature seemed to reach its high point with the two decades of decolonization, the 1950s and 1960s, when the majority of African countries became independent of their European colonizers.

Literature celebrated the coming into being of the new African nation and the assertion of a new culture and identity. By the late 1960s, it was apparent that the narrative of independence was not the Utopian moment many writers and intellectuals had anticipated and celebrated. Contrary to expectations, decolonization did not represent a radical break with the colonial past; rather, the institutions of colonialism seemed to persist and thrive and to become Africanized.

Intellectuals and writers unhappy with the continued domination of African countries by Western political and economical interests conceived literature to represent the crisis of decolonization and to imagine ways out of it. In effect, amidst what later came to be known, in the 1980s and 1990s, as the crisis of postcoloniality, creative writing and other forms of cultural expression continued to bear witness to the changing nature of African societies and cultures in the age of globalization. If literature has become important to the study of Africa's history and culture in a variety of disciplines ranging from anthropology to natural science, it is because it constitutes an indelible record of the continent's long past, its complicated present, and its future possibilities'.(Gikandi 13)

Post-colonial emerged due to anti colonial movement when the colonies of ex-European empires become independent sovereign state the period is accompanied by the desire to forget the colonial past but colonialism continues in a neo-colonial mode after taking different forms .Neo- colonialism or Neo-imperialism is considered as one of the crucial elements in postcolonial theory .It is a term coined by Kwame Nkrumah in his book

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“*Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* ” , he declares :

Neo-colonialism is ... the worst form of imperialism . For those Who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it , it means old – fashioned colonialism , the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look at its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case .(146)

This policy is more difficult than colonialism ;it is a situation where by a state is in theory independent but its economic and political policy is directed from outside by indirect forms of control .

The term postcolonial first appeared in the scholarly journals as subtexts in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's writings. By the mid-1990s, the term established itself in academic and popular discourse. Its subjects include universality, differences, nationalism, postmodernism, representation and resistance, ethnicity, feminism, language, education, history, place, and production (Ashcroft. Etal 2)

Sartre Hall declares that, “*So, postcolonial is not the end of colonization. It is after a certain kind of colonialism, after a certain moment of high imperialism and colonial occupation—in the wake of it, in the shadow of it, inflected by it—it is what it is because something else has happened before, but it is also something new.*”(Mishra 375-402 )

Postcolonial studies are based on the main aspects of colonialism and its pervasive effects which have persisted remarkably even after the end of the colonial rule .It can be seen as a continuous struggle between cultural identity and the historical past . Postcolonialism often involves the discussion of experiences of various kinds such as those of migration , slavery , suppression , resistance , difference , race , gender , place , and to the discourses of imperial Europe , such as history , philosophy , anthropology , and linguistics (Ashcorft Etal)

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Every situation of conflict determines the rise of movements of resistance for African literature .There are several critics who propose counter discursive strategies as social protest and medium of political reassertion ,among those writers, who strongly contributed to the development of postcolonial accounts introduced main assumptions of postcolonial theory and laid the groundwork for a postcolonial terminology, among those writers were France Fanon's *Black skin white Masks*(1952), and *the wretched of the Earth*(1963),Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978)

France Fanon was one of the most influential theorists in postcolonial studies .Fanon's message –when all else fails, violent revolution against oppression is the only option left open to colonized people . Henry Louis Gates regards him as ‘‘a global theorist ’’(457) , and Edward Said calls him a ‘ ‘true prophetic genius’’ Poul Sartre wrote about Fanon's influential work *The Wretched of the Earth* ,and insisted that the work conveys a crucial message for European ‘ ‘Europeans , open the book, look inside .....Have the courage to read it , primarily because it will make you feel ashamed , and shame’’(242)

Fanon never felt accepted as a black men, he became ambivalent about his French identity that create an inferiority complex . Ultimately , his experience led him to the belief that racism deeply embodies in the French society.

Inferiority complex is the psychological state that prevents the colonized people from self-Inferiority realization and advancement . it is so hard to remove the process of decolonization because the colonizer praised in the mind of the colonized .colonization is not established by an outside force but rather from within .In other words, the colonization process is not done by the white man only but with the help of colonized people.(Sadeghi 48-54)

Fanon produced tow enduring books , the first book inspired by his experience *Black Skin White Masks* its regarded as the most influential lived experience of racism . Fanon insisted on

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race as the primary factor for understanding the binary world of the colonizer –colonized relationship .

In the eyes of white culture, he argued , black culture is inferior and thus colonization becomes both necessary and desirable an act of civilizing charity to rectify the unfortunate condition of being black . For Fanon , to make one self known was to remove the white mask of the so- called European norm and show one’s true face a black face , the face of a man who would , like any other man , white or black , reject oppression , pain ,and suffering.

The second book *The wretched of the Earth* presents a clear prediction of the lasting legacy of neo-colonialism and an account of postcolonial condition yet to account such as corruption .this work provide an analysis of movement decolonization and struggle toward what he called African revolution and the need for new kind of humanism .Fanon dictum that colonialism does not come to an end with the declaration of political independence, or with symbolic lowering of the last European flag .As Fanon says in his impassioned study of the effects of colonialism , *The Wretched of the Earth (1961)* “centuries will be needed to humanize this world which has been forced down to animal level by imperial power” .(Fanon100)the withdrawal of the colonizers from their erstwhile colonial territories is by means adequate for settling of gold scores. Fanon explains *How* and *Why* colonialism must be destroyed by using violence against the colonizer to drive him out by force in order to make a new state . ‘ ‘ *we should flatly refuse the situation to which the western powers wish to condemn us. Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdraw their flags and their police forces from our territories* ’’( Fanon 101).

According to Fanon :violence is a necessary tool to counter the colonial threats , he justified the use of violence to tow reason : first ,he believed that the colonization itself is an act of

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violence which is sustained by a continued threat .Secondly, he argued that under colonialism non – white people are forced into second class citizenship.

It is clear that ,postcolonial nations faced a difficulties to associate with the decolonization process, they cannot escape the influence of years of colonial rule even after gaining the independence ,they still subjected to colonial structures .The result is that classism endures and the separation between the bourgeoisie and the lower classes continues ,the preservation of this status paves the way for neo-colonial domination by economic, political, and cultural means .

Furthermore, Fanon seminal work based on the idea that colonization operated under the assumption that Europe represents the only course of progress ‘‘ Binary Opposition ‘’.

All the colonialists who were white , beautiful, educated , masculine, civilized ,and Christian. While , all the natives of colonies ,who were black, ugly , un educated , savage , feminine ,and pagan .Fanon’s literary work contributes to raise African awareness about the system that colonizer adopts toward decolonization. In this regard , he insists that decolonization entails the creation of ‘‘ new’’ people .In *The Wretched of the Earth* (35-36)says that:

Decolonization, which sets to change the order of the ,is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. But it can not come as a result of magical practices, nor of natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding , Decolonization , as we know , is a historical process : that to say that it can not be understood , it can not be come intelligible nor clear to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content.....

Decolonization never takes place unnoticed for it influences individuals and modifies individuals and modifies them fundamentally . It transforms spectators crushed with their inessentiality into privileged actors . With the grandiose glare of history’s floodlights upon them . It brings natural into existence ,introduced by new men , and with it new language and a new humanity . Decolonization is the veritable creation of new men . But this creation owes nothing of its legitimacy to any supernatural power ; the ‘‘thing’’ which has been colonized becomes man during the same process by which it frees itself .

Fanon called for an ideological resistance and shifted from decolonization of the land to decolonizing of the mind and insisted on the necessity to turn towards the future instead of repeating the past . (Bert 2)

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Edward Said is one of the founders of critical – theory of postcolonial in his seminal work *Orientalism* published in (1978) represents the literary discourse of resistance and examines the processes by which the ‘Orient’ was, and continues to be, constructed in European thinking, Orientalism played a great role towards defining and shaping the notion of post colonialism

Said defines the concept as ‘*western style for dominating restructuring and having authority over the orient*’.

In literary context refers to the discourse by the about the East, Orientalism refers to the attitudes of the West ‘‘Orient’’ towards the East ‘‘Occident’’ and its contribution to the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its ‘‘other’’ to make connections between the production of knowledge and the exercise of power. Said speaks of certain shapes and structures about the orient such as Orientalism constructs binary oppositions between the orient and the occident where the orient is everything that the occident is not, also shows How certain stereotypes. Said defines the term ‘oriental’ as :

“a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, land, landscape and sociology description, about what ‘we’ do and what ‘they’ cannot do.

European described the orient as barbaric and savages their mission is to civilize those uneducated because they considered themselves as masters in the world. Said seeks to remove the European’s false representations and to correct a whole history. (Said 39)

The key idea of Said’s most influential book was that Western knowledge about the East is not based upon facts or reality but on certain preconceived ideas and stereotypes. He argues that the West’s (Occident) view of the East (Orient) came from a belief in cultural superiority and Western imperialism. By projecting people of the Orient and especially the Arab world as volatile, irrational, backward, vicious, tyrannical and threatening, the West has created a false and dangerous stereotype of ‘otherness’ and this has facilitated and justified western

imperialism. Viewing the Orient in demeaning stereotypes has allowed people in the West to convince themselves that they are superior and therefore entitled to dominate and to “civilise” the “other”. Although, it challenges readers to question the stereotypes that relegate people who are different from to the role of ‘others’.(Ashcrof , etal 153)

### **2-Antonio Gramsci’s Theory of the Organic Intellectual :**

Antonio Gramsci :(1891\_1937) is an Italian Marxist philosopher and communist politician, also he is one of the most frequently referenced political theorist and cultural critics of twentieth century who wrote on political theory ,sociology and linguistics. He attempted to break from economic determination of traditional Marxist thought .So, he considered a key of neo-Marxist his pre-disciplinary ideas and especially his articulation of hegemony are commonly referred to in international relations, social and political theory, political economy, historical sociology, critical geography, postcolonial studies, cultural studies, literary criticism, feminism, new social movements, critical anthropology, education studies, media studies and a host of other fields.( Gramasci 4-5)

Gramsci was arrested by fascist authorities in 1926 after drafting his famous essay "Some Aspect of the southern question". the most enduring and influential component of his legacy is the 33 notebooks penned between 1929 and 1936 that together constitute the *Quaderni del carcere (Prison Notebooks)* His prison notebooks are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century .The basic themes in Gramsci 's prison notebooks (1926\_37) are the role of intellectual and class consciousness in political struggle and the rootedness of cultural and intellectual life in history. the absence of deterring economic lows in history and the status of Marxism which often called the philosopher praxis as a theory of human experience and social change .All of these themes as bear on his crucial notion of hegemony.

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(Rogers 2)

In 1848 Karl Marx proposed that the economic recessions and practical contradictions of a capitalist economy would provoke the working class to proletarian revolution, depose capitalism, and restructure social institutions. (Filippini xi)

To that end Antonio Gramsci proposed a strategic distinction between a war of position and war of manoeuvre. The war of position is intellectual and cultural struggle where in anti-capitalist revolution creates a proletarian culture whose native value system counters the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian culture will increase class consciousness, teach revolutionary theory and historical analysis and thus manipulate and propagate further revolutionary organization among the social classes. On winning the war of position, socialist leaders would have the necessary political power and popular support to begin political manoeuvre warfare of revolutionary socialism.

Antonio Gramsci helps to develop and understand "social class" through Marxist analysis of "economic class", thus cultural hegemony that culture is the norms of a society, which are instituted by the ruling class that must be investigated to discover their philosophic roots as basic of social class domination in the same of praxis of knowledge the intellectuals and proletariat which indeed addresses their social and economic needs as social classes.

In a society, culture hegemony is a complex of social structures that each social and economic class has a social purpose that allows its organic to behave in the same way of other social classes and co-existing with them. (Jones 16)

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As result of their different social purposes, those classes will be able to integrate into greater social mission in the society. When a man , a woman or even a child receive the social structures of bourgeois cultural hegemony personal common sense of structural role by signal person applies common sense to cope with normal life which explains the small social order that each experiences like status quo of life in society ,that emerged of common sense.

The hierarchy of bourgeois culture \_most men and women Consider themselves with their immediate personal concerns rather than with distant concerns .The effects of culture hegemony are considered to the personal level that each person in a society lives a meaningful life in his or her social classes. The cultural hegemony is manifested and maintained by an existence of different circumstances that are not always fully live it by the men and women .(Jones16.17)

The Marxist theory of cultural hegemony is the best known theory for Gramsci, namely the notion of civil society ,which is a direct expression of hegemony. Which describes how the state and ruling capitalist class(the bourgeoisie)use culture institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies ,that can manipulate the value system and norms of society, so that their view become the word view .

In Gramsci view hegemony is not simply a matter of domination but it is an ideological rather than violence, economic forces or coercion that means the way in which a governing power propagates its own values and norms ,so that become the "common sense" values of all. In contrast to authoritarian rule ,cultural hegemony is hegemonic only if those affected by it thus maintain the status quo and struggle over its. However hegemonic power is used to maintain content to the capitalist order rather than using force power to maintain order. This

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cultural hegemony is produce and reproduce by the domination class through thr institution that form the subaltern.

Gramsci gave much important to the role of intellectuals in society. He stated that all men are intellectuals ,that all have intellectual and rational faculties ,but not all men have the social function of intellectuals in the society. He sees modern intellectual not like talkers rather than practically mined and organizers who produced hegemony through ideological .additionally ,he distinguishes between a traditional intelligentsia which they see themselves as a class apart from society, and necessary groups that each class functions from its own ranks "organically". (Jones 82)

According to Gramsci is the duty of organic intellectual s to speak and perform in their societies and their politic spheres, who represents those ignoring groups of society, that Gramsci referred to as subaltern. the theory of hegemonic power by Gramsci needed to be challenged by building a counter hegemony he means that as part of the organic intellectuals and others within working class ,need to hence alternative values and an alternative ideology as opposite to bourgeois ideology. He believes that the final war of manoeuvre was only possible in developed and advanced capitalist societies ,when the organic intellectuals won the war and working class building a center hegemony.(Jones82)

For Gramsci the need to create a center hegemony for working class was not to introduce Marxist ideology into the consciousness but to rest orate the existing intellectuals activity of the masses and make it the status quo which make Gramsci on important voice to this day.

Intellectuals plays a great role in Gramscian scheme of thought, which is called the theoretician of superstructure because of the role assigned to the intellectuals .Similarly in what written by Gramsci ‘ *Every social group coming into existence ...creates together with*

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*itself, organically one or more strata of intellectuals .Which give it hegemony and awareness of its own functions not only in the economic but also social and political fields''.*

A Social group attains its true characteristic through the efforts of their intellectuals of that particular group. Gramsci notes that the development of capitalism is attached by the growth of new types of intellectuals. In modern world, he notes the new types of intellectuals not basis only through understanding how industry works technically and administratively that the working class hope to control from the bourgeoisie .While Gramsci refers the terms of factory production that would apply equally to other areas of political and economic.

For organic intellectuals only to have technical knowledge they must be willing to participate in the struggle for hegemony to be directive as well as specialized . to achieve this they must be able to elaborate their specialist knowledge into political knowledge. Otherwise, the previous organic intellectual must actively participate in particular life. As Stuart Hall puts it, it is the job of organic intellectuals to know more than the traditional intellectuals do.

According to Gramsci ,the typical organic intellectuals of the proletariat is likely to be someone who is technically trained and a trade unionist or party activist. This notion of organic subordinate intellectual to new social movement and issues of media, which is hard to think about a modern organic intellectuals who do not make use of media in their role.

Gramsci analysis of the intelligentsia is not only a theory of revolutionary action but also on how the authority had been exercised by dominant social strata . He observed that within modern capitalist society , the category of intellectuals has under gone an unprecedented expansion. Although the numbers of 'Intellectuals' function within both production and state have enormously increased, and more and more classes have emerged between the highest and lowest level of intellectual to establish the idea of contemporary organic intellectual.

Gramsci , Bourdieu argues that modern society generate new areas of production.

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Bourdieu argues that this group may be characterized as the new intellectuals since its working role that involves all the type of classes .which he notes thrive in all the occupations . Gramsci talks about tow kind of intellectuals the traditional and the organic traditional intellectuals ,that consider themselves as independent autonomous of the group. The traditional intellectual suffer from many weakness , one they ensure dogmatic historic contumely of the tradition and , tow they are less organic intellectuals .Gramsci have a larger era which extended it to the entire idealist philosophy. Whereas , the organic intellectuals performs specific important role both in political and even civil society. There are two ways thus in which we may unpick Gramsci binary opposition between organic and traditional intellectuals. On the one hand , traditional intellectuals are once organic to a class in its ascendancy but now appears to be autonomous of that class, and may in the case dissident intellectuals and artistic avant-gardes be critical of it or embarrassing to it .

To use the idea of organic intellectuals in modern society, we would therefore have to acknowledge that consumption is part of the intellectuals role . For further points about the new organic intelligentsia there are three points first, is likely to provoke the formation of a counter-hegemonic regional intelligentsia. Second, the new petite bourgeoisie is being closely involved in representation itself a part of struggle for hegemony ,through 1980's. Third, it is intermediate strata rather than new dominant class . Therefore subalterns within the bloc and not necessary its beneficiaries .Their function is analogous to that of civil society providing a trench system that sustain capitalism through its complexity and interlocking levels.

The role of intellectuals is introduce a dimension of agency to the hegemonic process that may appear to be absent in more impersonal phenomena such as texts

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and institutions. However they should be cautious when distinguishing between these categories placing an accent upon agency .

Gramsci sometimes imply his point that all men are intellectuals', but he qualifies this by arguing that only a minority of people can function as intellectuals with any society. which means that there is no particular characteristic that unifies intellectual activities as opposed to partial ones.

Being intellectual is therefore to some extent predicated on the productive requirements of capitalism in a period ,although intellectuals will reflexively shape the character of production and are themselves entrepreneurs and producers. Gramsci further undermines the notion of intellectuals as free-floating isolated thinker, who aligned himself with the working class and it is his decision to aligned himself with working class and not because of his class position . he means the revolutionary party.

They might ask why Gramsci is concerned with intellectuals ,the answer lies in problem of political representation :in other words ,who is entitled to speak and think like any other socialist intellectuals. He is a disaffected bourgeoisie the distance between Middle class intellectuals and the working class was a persistent problem for revolutionary socialism .Once again Lenin's thoughts on the subject provided Gramsci with both inspiration and a point of departure.

What Gramsci takes from Lenin's is primarily the notion that the intellectuals ,the working class and the peasantry need to be fused in some way ,for working class to be successful they must develop their own theoreticians .This dynamic view of organic and traditional intellectuals is just one way in which Gramsci 's flexible Marxism transcends Lenin' ideas. For him intellectuals must shape their word through consent rather than through imposing their ideas and he sees intellectual life as form of negotiation emerging forms of thought .

Intellectuals life in any period is an elaboration of discrete elements that include politics activities, style of leadership and business elites as case studies of intelligentsia that must be return to Gramsci Binary opposition.

### ***3-Colonial and Postcolonial Nigeria***

Before the coming of Whiteman in Nigeria the history proved beyond reasonable doubt that there was a strong organized government without any written constitution. This examine the intent and purposes of Colonial Masters in West Africa region particularly the entity now called Nigeria and how the colonial master used traditional rulers to carry out their indirect rule system to achieve their Economic, political, Educational and religious purpose in the regions.(Muyideen 1-3)

The different African tribes had and lived in well organized empires. Various kingdoms existed within the empire. An early Dutch Merchant who visited the Benin kingdom in Nigeria in the Middle Ages was so impressed of the orderliness that he compared it favorably with the Amsterdam of his age. Other Arabic and French writers have also testified to this orderliness. they were greatly surprised and much impressed by their efficient organization and their ability to organize themselves into orderly social, culture and political grouping .

Colonial Nigeria is the era in the history when the region of West Africa was ruled by Great Britain from the mid –19th up till 1960 at her independence that last for six decades. The impact of the colonial period is still felt in the contemporary period with the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century, Nigeria’s first contact with Europe started when Europeans captured Nigerians who lived in the coastal communities and the Songhai Empire also occupied part of the region. Portuguese initiated the transatlantic slave trade; the Dutch challenged the Portuguese influence in the region and in the slave trade. French and British competition later undermined the Dutch century. By the end position. Britain became the

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dominant slaving power in the eighteenth of the eighteenth century, the area that was to become Nigeria was far from a unified country. Furthermore, the orientation of North and South was entirely different. In the first decade of the 19th century, two developments brought a change in virtually all of the area that is now Nigeria. (Country Profile 8)

First between 1804 and 1808, the Islamic holy war of Usman dan Fodio established the Sokoto center in North-Western Nigeria. By the end of the sixteenth century, the nineteenth century, it comprised of 30 emirates. All the important Hausa emirates including Kano were directly under Sokoto. In the 1885 at the Berlin Conference, the European powers acknowledged Britain's dominance over the era while they attempted to resolve their conflicts of interest in Africa. two protectorates were created in Northern and Southern Nigeria by the British occupation . ( Falola 16-18 )

Nigerian democratic government was constituted on October 1, 1960. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the republic's first president but unfortunately was overthrown by a military coup their reason for coup was corruption and embezzlement . In 1960 the first republic was headed by Tafawa Balewa. This regime could not uphold fair political practices and vital moral principles. Ethnic hatred was widespread in regions of the North and the South of Nigeria. Economic crisis deepened and political instability was experienced. Major Kadan Nzeogwu in 1966 terminated the regime of Nnamdi Azikiwe .Nzeogwu's regime marked the emergence of the military influence in Nigeria's political developments. This regime caused destruction of ethnical and social balance in the state of Nigeria. Another military leader General Aguiyi Ironsi emerged as the head of the state. The regime could not prevent the decline of ethical political culture in Nigeria. Ironsi was killed. The Biafra crisis, the continuous civil strife between 1967 and 1979.

The country was involved in civil and ethnic strife for a period of more than 35 years after becoming independent in 1960.

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Yakubu Gowon, who had come to power in a 1966 coup announced his intention of staying in power until 1976, the target year for completion of the military's political program and return of elected civilian government. In 1972, Gowon lifted the ban on political activity that had been in force since 1966 in order to permit a discussion of a new constitution that would pave the way for Civilian rule. However, The Gowon regime came under fire because of widespread and obvious corruption at every level of national life. Inefficiencies compounded the effects of corruption. Crime also posed a threat to national security and had serious negative impact on efforts to bring about economic development. The political atmosphere deteriorated to the point where Gowon was deposed in a bloodless military coup in July 1975. This military administration was the longest and one of the most corrupt in the history of military administration In Nigeria . The Biafran war broke out during this regime. (Oguma 211)

The decay in Nigerian government is a result of institutionalization of corruption by various governments in past and practices present. Nigeria since independence has been ruled by various governments , both military and civilian from one regime to the other there have been allegations of administrative corruption due to the reckless abandonment of their leaders instead of carrying out their constitution duties Nigerian leaders are more interested in enriching themselves. (Alui53)

Corruption is synonym to the term Nigeria and a result of military legacy that looted the country treasury. corrupt in Nigeria are very glaring and have permeated every segment of the society . It is Achebe who says that anyone who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not yet reached alarming proportion is either a fool , a crook , or else does not live in Nigeria . (Anazodo 124,134 )

Africa is the poorest continent in the world, and the richest in terms of natural resources. Today the image of this blessed continent is battered by corruption and leadership crisis. Corruption has tragically devastated African societies and made millions of people destitute.

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The tentacles of corruption has reached everywhere in the African continent. From the offices of presidents and prime ministers to the smallest administration unit of government, corruption is found everywhere. Crucial to this crisis of corruption engulfing the African continent is the problem of purposeful leadership that could act as architect and engineer of progressive change and development *signaled strong prospects* and hope for a better and prosperous continent.

Today that hope is dashed by bad leadership and corruption. That, after decades of independence, Africa is still home to majority of the world's poor irrespective of the availability of both human and material resources is an embarrassment. The continent is unarguably one of the most fertile regions of the world and the richest continent on earth in terms of natural resources, but today, the image of the world's most resource rich continent has been damaged by corruption and inept leadership. The continent's resources are personalized at the expense of the people. the failure on the part of leadership, and corruption are the greatest obstacles in African development .

It is argued that Nigeria's socio-economic and political problems are result of poor leadership and corruption. Nigeria's leadership is characterized by such negative features as fraud and insensitivity to the plight of the citizens. Nigerian leaders are only after working out strategies on how to enrich and perpetuate themselves in office. The major problem that the country is facing today is the insincerity and insensitivity of her leaders to the needs of the ordinary people whom they have been elected to serve. These leaders are corrupt and have criminally mismanaged the country's resources. Corruption and ineffective leadership have impacted negatively on Nigeria's democratic stability and her economic development.

( Ebegbulem 2)

Literature and society are inseparable. Literature is the mirror of society ,society is the source of literature. Society inspires writers in their pieces of writing that reflect all what

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characterizes a given society; values, norms, beliefs, and culture . the creativity of writers in portraying the development of the society through history is clear because literature combines the society's culture to "represent impalpable subject such as assimilation ,rejections, transformation as well as political and social issues and historical facts".

African writers considered as an excellent portrayers of their societies and representatives of African literature. During colonialism writers raised the issues related to culture, and traditions to shape black people's identity when there was a hope that Africa will prosper but soon after Africa got independence, the new indigenous ruling African class involved itself in practices that were not different from earlier colonizers . African writers relook at their roles as authors and turned towards a mode of writing where they could express their anger and disillusionment and calling to fight society's evils during the postcolonial era .

After independence, government , people, economy, and politics in the ex- european countries were influenced by colonizers' way of life, only the intellectuals of society were aware of that impact those people wrote about the suffering in their home during colonial period , and in post colonial era , writers did not only criticize their political and social situation ,but also called for resistance to get rid of those called to revolt against the situation using different means .in literature , the elite category abuse deeds as Nyamndi states "the situation of corruption in Africa is not enough and a call for changes necessary in order to move society in right direction "(566-578)

Writers use books, novels, articles, plays as means of narration to describe the situation of their societies and found themselves responsible to express the problems caused by inherited colonialism . In their novels , many themes have been raised the problems of their societies were portrayed and conveyed in a very professional way . corruption was the prevailing theme of their works . Writers use their pen as weapon to spread awareness and guide people out the cave .

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Achebe is one of the famous writers who struggled for their societies in dependence from all kinds of colonizers impact . His work is shaped by the theme of corruption which was describe along with the call for resistance . The study under investigation is “ *The Man of The People*”.

Postcolonial literature and criticism appeared during and after many countries gained or struggling for independency. The most themes that both deal with are race, gender, ethnicity, identity, culture, othering, hybridization and corruption . Postcolonial theory aims to re-examine the history of colonialism from the perspective of the colonized; to determine the economic, political, and cultural impact of colonialism on both the colonized peoples and the colonizing powers; to analyze the process of decolonization; and above all; to participate in the goals of political liberation, which includes equal access to material resources, the contestation of forms of domination, and the articulation of political and cultural identities .

The term Post colonialism touches different independent fields economics , politics , and social changes, it has been criticized for its vague and broad nature and it is necessary to find its principles and guidelines. Post- colonial writers appeared at first as an anti-colonial activist .They used their pens to help the colonized people to define themselves that later those writers defined new era which is post colonial era.

**Chapter two:**

*The Plight of intellectuals in Achebe's A Man of the People*

## ***Chapter 02— The Plight of Intellectuals in Achebe’s A Man of the People***

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### ***1-The Postcolonial Scenario of the Nigerian Society***

After independence most Africans thought that their conditions were going to shift from poverty to prosperity since the destiny of the continent is now in the hands of their own brothers who promised a better future for the continent. This legitimate aspiration of the masses has been thwarted by these new African leaders who took over from their former white colonizers. This state of things has accurately been portrayed in literary works.

Writers, being part of the society and feeling indebted to it, could not stay aloof. They too, through their works of art, suggest some ways out of the myriad of challenges confronting the entire human race.

These writers believe that literature, in its fictiveness, proffers means which, when well employed, could help human society to revisit some social iniquities or injustices that constitute most of the time a heavy stumbling block to its sustainable development. It is to respond to this need of reconstructing African societies that Achebe, faithful to his mission of awareness-raising, wrote this novel, in which he exposes the weaknesses and the sickness of post-colonial African leaders’ ruling of the continent.

He portrayed his country which is symbolized by the sickness of the leader. Achebe like many African writers of the postcolonial era acknowledges the cardinal role of creative literature when it comes to the matter of human redressing. This is why he wrote “*A Man of the People*”, in which he mocked at the leadership of post-independence African rulers. Through the portrayal of the chief M. A. Nanga, one of the major characters from the novel, the writer succeeded in revealing the true nature of post-colonial African leaders.

Chinua Achebe has used this novel to reflect the Socio-political realities of the entire African continent. Furthermore ,he demonstrates how post independence African leaders have deviated from democracy to dictatorship and to point out the shortcomings of the

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contemporary African societies. The only change Africans witnessed was a new form of colonization but now orchestrated their own brothers who took over the destinies of the new nations in hands. It becomes clear that the new elite who took over continued the same system of their former white colonizers. They failed to satisfy the need of their populations whose conditions are still alike.

This chapter opens on Chinua Achebe’s biography in order to show how his entourage affects his writings. Then it provides the plot overview of “*A Man of the People*” . And the problem of corruption in postcolonial Africa and specifically in Nigeria. It shows how corruption leads to various problems at political, economic and social levels leading to underdevelopment. After that, it demonstrates how postcolonial African writers put pen to paper to portray these problems in their societies and suggest reforms amongst the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe.

This chapter sheds light on analysis of the Plight of the Intellectual in Achebe’s “*A Man of the People*” that consists of two parts , the first part is the Post colonial scenario of the Nigerian society by using the Post colonial theory , in order to better understand how the themes of corruption is explored in postcolonial literature . So; this part will shed light on the socio-political realities of the Nigerian society and the major causes and forms of corruption through analyzing the novel “*A Man of the people*” .

The last part sheds lights on analysis of The Reformist Role of the Intellectual in “*A Man of the People*” using Antonio Gramsci *the Theory of Organic Intellectual* . On the other hand, this part demonstrates the failure of the leaders to rise up to the challenge of the leadership .Additionally ,explores the role of intellectuals and the political elite in ending corruption and supporting the public .

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Achebe, Chinua has become one of the most famous novelists in Africa. Born at Ogidi, in Eastern Nigeria. Achebe worked as a broadcaster from 1954 to 1967, when he became a professor at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. As an eloquent portrayer and critic of the existential crises facing Africa and Africans over the last two centuries, Achebe has spoken and worked throughout the world since the 1970s. Chinua Achebe has written over twenty books, novels, short stories, essays, and collections of poetry including *Things Fall Apart* (1958), which has now sold over ten million copies worldwide and been translated into more than fifty languages, *Arrow of God* (1964); *Beware, soul brother* and other poems (1971), winner of the commonwealth poetry prize; *Anthills of the savannah* (1987), which was shortlisted for the Booker prize; *hopes and Impediments*: selected essays (1988).

Achebe's novel has become the starting point for many discussions of the African novel. *Things Fall Apart* is certainly the most widely read and known work of African literature both inside and outside the continent and an important reference point for many novels written in the last decade of formal colonialism in Africa and the first decade of independence.

Achebe's novels can be divided into two categories: First, there are those works that are concerned with recovering and representing an African pre-colonial culture struggling to retain its integrity against the onslaught of colonialism. *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God*. In his second set of novels, *No Longer at Ease*, *A Man of the People*, and *Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe turns his attention away from the past to diagnose and narrate the crisis of decolonization.

While the novels dealing with the past have been influential for showing that Africans had a culture with its own internal logic and set of contradictions, and hence derive their authority from their capacity to imagine an African past derided or negated in the colonial text, the second set of novels have been popular because of their keen sense of the crisis of Nigerian

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postcoloniality and, in some cases, a prophetic sense of African history, For students trying to understand the violent politics of postcolonial Nigeria, especially the period of corruption and military coups in the mid 1960s, there is perhaps no better reference than “*A Man of the People*”.

Achebe is attracted to realism because it enables him to imagine African cultures, especially postcolonial cultures, possible and knowable his goal was to use realism to make African cultures visible while using the ideology and techniques of modernism to counter the colonial novel in its own terrain. Achebe’s “postcolonial” novels are concerned with the consequences of colonial modernity.( Killam 30)

*A Man of the People* is the novel published in 1966 by a Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe. this novel portrays two schools of ineffectual native educators who seems to be antagonists :the traditional old school and the new modern intellectuals. In which is a political critique of a Nigerian political situation in the post-independence era .Independence is supposed to be a glorious period in the history of a nation; however, it is presented in this novel as very gloomy. The novel focuses on the power battle between the older chief Nanga and his former student Odili who presents the intellectual elite and the changing younger generation .Although Chief Nanga the Minister of Culture claims that he has purely selfish motivation while the growing conflict between the two figures throws the entire country into chaos . The end of this fictional novel turned ‘*to be accurate*’ with a military coup similar to the real life of the author’s African country Nigeria. In this novel , author Chinua Achebe assumes “an outside” perspective in order to illustrate the profound effect of governmental corruption .It is clear that Achebe profoundly influenced by “*A Man of the People*”.

Chinua Achebe’s biography shows that he is a committed writer who devotes himself to describe socio-political problems in Nigeria as well as in Africa. One of his outstanding works is “*A Man of the People*”, a satirical novel in which he pictures the corrupt practices in

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postcolonial Nigeria and the need to fight it through revolution. He portrays his birthplace as one of the most corrupted countries around the world during post independence era. Also He convey a sense of growing disgust and unrest within Nigerian society , a society that has started to emerge from the “colonial complex” caused by years of denigration and self-abasement .It describes Nigeria in its post-independence phase ,during which time the country become a ‘cesspool of corruption and misrule’ in context of the colonial style social and economic development, a situation that resulted in conflict between the emergent, elitist middle class and the general population. Achebe’s reputation as a novelist rest on his impartial understanding of , and ability to represent the Nigerian environment .His realistic characterization of his country has the power to inspire the revolution informed by African ideologies .

corruption is a matter of fact in postcolonial Africa and Nigeria leading the continent into underdevelopment, poverty, epidemics, ethnic tension, and endless problems. Thusly, postcolonial African committed writers are acting as potent agents of change by consecrating writing to describe their societies and awakening their masses through unveiling the corrupt ruling system.

Achebe intellectually armed himself to fight for his cause by using literature. He establishes a sound relationship between literature and reality. The book confirms the strong ties between the politics of literature and its aesthetics, the interrelatedness of content and form. In his attempts to unveil corruption of rulers and to awaken the masses for revolution. Since Nigeria’s independence in 1960, the country has witnessed a plethora of social problems such as corruption and violence due to the government’s inability to properly account to its citizenry how its petrogas resources being explored in the Niger Delta region are managed and controlled. Historical analyses of these social problems are traceable to both

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the governments and multinational oil companies' neglect of the Niger Delta region .  
(Nduku72)

Some writers say that corruption is endemic in all governments, and that it is not peculiar to any continent, region and ethnic group. It cuts across faiths, religious denominations and political systems and affects both young and old, man and woman alike. Corruption is found in democratic, and dictatorial politics; feudal, capitalist and socialist economies. Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist cultures are equally bedeviled by corruption. And corrupt practices did not begin today; the history is as old as the world. contrary to legal and moral norms, and which undermine the authorities to improve the living conditions of the people.(83)

Corruption in the Nigerian system after independence centers on nepotism, bribery, favoritism and official incentives, inflation of contracts and delay of payment for job awarded in order to collect gratification from the contractors. The situation became worse during the military regime .

Corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society; both the low and high level officials are involved. The private sector cannot be spared of this evil vice; the public sector is worst off. Nigeria has been ranked very low on the Berlin-based Transparency International of corrupt countries in the world. The rankings were based on weighted average of corruption perception indices. The overall index measures the degree to which public officials and politicians in particular countries are involved in corrupt practices such as accepting bribes, taking illicit payments in public procurement and embezzling public funds .

Nigeria is one of the sub-Saharan African states that have been identified as being very corrupt. In fact, it is state that corruption runs rampant in Nigeria. Since independence in 1960

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there has not been any administration, Civilian or military that has been adjudged corruption free. According to Nzeogwu, the aim of the revolutionary council is to establish a strong, united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife "our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers , at least, the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country that are big for nothing before international circles; those that have corrupted society and put the Nigerian Calendar back by their words and deeds" . Virtually every military administration since then hammered on the issue of corruption and the need to extirpate it from that system.

Corruption is a moral decadence that has eaten so deep into the fabric of the Nigerian political and social terrain. Nigerian society as a result has tint into difference direction and made a precarious conjuncture little wonder. Nigerian political scene has been reduced to a battlefield of battle contestants where by people fight to gain power and use same to oppress others and those who already have power do everything to keep it. The polity is made into a terrain of taking and not given .Over the years, measures as have been put in place to curb the moral decadence so inherent in the Nigerian society, but to no avail. Such measures as numerous as they are have not made any appreciable impact.

The act of corruption within the Nigerian society has become a serious concern to the social crusaders and host of other public leaders that have interest of the nation at heart. The social scourge has given Nigeria a bad image both at home and abroad. Foreign investors do not trust genuine businessmen from Nigeria and therefore always feel reluctant to transact business with some people. Nigeria has been notorious for the international money laundering

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and over invoicing of import and export bills. This invariably has lowered the volume of export business to Nigeria.(Bomidle 10.13)

Nigeria is one of the states in Africa that have been identified as being corrupt, and the corruption percentage degree continues to grow. Virtually, every administration professes to control corruption yet the problem continues unabated. Corruption under the military reaches the higher echelon and has weakened the fabric of the nation. Corruption is a cancerous phenomenon that has permeated every facet of society. In a sense, it is not a new development. It has been used from time immemorial to attain “illicit” political and economic power.

At this point, it is tempting to accept that corruption is part of human nature. Indeed Chweya notes that corruption is an act of social deviance that is as old as human society. In Africa, corruption has been singled out as the main cause of Africa's development crisis. Political corruption is the abuse of entrusted power by political leaders for private gain, with the objective of seizure of state power. In essence, political leaders are custodians of political power bequeathed to them by the electorates through a popular adult suffrage. They are the custodians of the general will. (Gyekye 193)

Political corruption is the illegal, unethical and an authorized exploitation of one's political or official position for personal advantage. The word “political” in the context of “political corruption” connotes public (non private,) official or government which specifically entails the official goods, affairs, fortunes, agencies, resources and institutions of the state. political corruption is always linked to acceptance of bribe, stretched further; in other word, it takes place at the highest levels of political authority. It occurs when the politicians and political decision-makers, who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement the laws in

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the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation is tailored to benefit politicians and legislators. Political corruption is sometimes seen as similar to corruption of greed as it affects the manner in which decisions are made, as it manipulates political institutions, rules of procedure, and distorts the institutions of government.

*A Man of the People*, "a rare bird in the corpus of African novel," is Achebe's first postcolonial novel which marks a significant shift from the world of 'goat-skin bags,' 'drinking horns, here Achebe is exploring a new situation in a modern African state that is severing ties with its traditional past "*A Man of the People*", set in an unnamed independent African country depicts the new problems in the new post independent political set up. The novel relates to the theme of disappointment and lament over the socio-political realities of post independent Nigeria. It explores the predicament of the people of Nigeria in the political and socio-cultural context. The quality of the leadership and the response of the people to that leadership form the core of the novel. To quote Ayi Kwei Armah, "*There is no difference...at all between the white men and their apes...[the] party men.*" This observation is the best possible comment on the Nigerian society in the postindependent era when the African people in power came to resemble the white men in their actions, behaviour, attitudes and mindset.

Achebe here not only presents the contemporary socio-cultural crisis but also probes into the root causes of the crisis. The novel is a recording of how a corrupt society ruins not only the nation but also its men. The relevance of the novel has not only made it a parable for Nigeria but for other modern African states as well. The novel centers on the theme of disillusionment in post independent Nigeria. It explores the corruption, exploitation and social injustice in the Nigerian society and the acquisition of material wealth by crooked means. In this novel Achebe reveals how the native African politicians resort to all kinds of corrupt means for their selfish personal gains. "*Within a few years of its independence, Nigeria under*

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*Black hegemony turns into a cesspool of corruption and misrule.*" Once the external enemy is driven out it becomes imperative for the newly independent nation to fight the internal foes. The stage is now preoccupied by the "black elite as slaves of the colonial boss and their only ambition to take over the privileges of their former masters.

Achebe in his "*A Man of the People*" has tried to show the major cause of corruption; the forms and types of corruption, its impact on the socio-economic and political aspects of the societies portrayed, and, in the end of course, suggests the possible solution on how to avoid and minimize corruption.

After independence the majority of Africans hoped they would get out of poverty and will see a prosperous and peaceful nation. But more than anything else, their dream and hope were stolen by the black leaders (*...and believe me, tears welled up of the back of my eyes: tears for the dead, infant hop...(82) ...No Nanga has taken more than the owner could ignore! But it was not more than a hope.(110).*And the situation became worse. The continent began to undergo politics of lies, corruption and violence. These coupled with revenge were what motivated Odili to fight against Nanga and his followers. Here is what Odili has to say about the situation.(Achebe 82) . The story begins in 1964 when Nanga makes an official visit to Anata Grammar School, where he taught during his early career. Odili, a teacher at the school, views the ensuing celebration by the illiterate masses and the arrival of Nanga skeptically:

As I stood in one corner of that vast tumult waiting for the arrival of the Minister I felt intense bitterness welling up in my mouth. Here were silly, ignorant villagers dancing themselves lame and waiting to blow off their gun powder in honor of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation. I wished for a miracle, for a voice of thunder, to hush this ridiculous festival and tell the poor contemptible people one or two truths. But of course it would be quite useless. They were not only ignorant but cynical (Achebe 101).

The local song played on the old "Grammar-phone" (Achebe1), women dancing to celebrate the occasion, and the gunfire by Nanga's hooligans all realistically portray this kind

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of situation and reflect how Nigerians can sacrifice national interest for personal interests. In the novel, Odili remembers his childhood when he praised Nanga as a model, honest politician. This image of Nanga was shattered during Odili’s last visit to Parliament, when he watched the political assassination of the Minister of Finance, who was “*a first rate economist with a PhD*” (Achebe 3) in Public Finance. The Minister of Finance presented a complete plan to avert the financial crisis to Cabinet, but the government rejected it because it would result in its defeat during the upcoming election. Any politicians supporting the Minister of Finance were fired and the corrupt politicians accused the honest Minister of being a traitor, being un-African, and of “*aping the white man’s mannerisms and way of speaking*” ( 4). Odili was shocked to see these lies being used as political propaganda in local newspapers, one of which printed the following:

We are proud to be Africans. Our true leaders are not those intoxicated with their Oxford, Cambridge or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the people. Away with the damnable and expensive university education that only alienates an African from his rich and ancient culture and puts him above his people ... (Achebe 4).

He decided to fight against the politicians and in the end confronted them officially. The conflict of the two antagonists is between those who own everything (political and economic power) and the dispossessed. The conflict was between the privileged leaders like Nanga, who possesses a luxurious house; ten luxurious buses obtained from the British Amalgamates on never- never agreement as a “dash”; four-story building rewarded as a “dash” by the European Building firm of Antonio; built three blocks of seven-story luxury flats at three hundred thousand pounds each in his wife’s name by doing the same trick as Mr. Wagada did when he was Minister of Foreign Trade and immediately leased by the British Amalgamated at fourteen hundred a month each. (101); Nanga’s colleague, the Minister of construction, owns ten houses from unknown resource, ‘*That row of ten houses belongs to the Minister of*

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*Construction*’ (55); On top of these, the politicians monopolized the politics; and those who own nothing (neither political position nor money but somehow were literate) Odili said, “...I don’t mean for people like Chief the Honorable M.A Nanga, M.P., or Alhaji Chief Senator Suleiman Wagada, but for the rest of us who thought we had nothing to lose” ( 101). In general, the struggle was between the exploiters (Nanga and his followers) and the exploited (Odili and the larger society). In the end Odili together with his revolutionary comrades like Max founded the new party C.P.C (Common People’s Convention). When Odili expressed his suspicion that the party excludes the ordinary citizens, Max affirmed as, “...that is not entirely accurate, Odili, what you see here is the vanguard, the planning stage. Once we are ready we shall draw in the worker, the farmer, the blacksmith, and the carpenter....” (Achebe 79). But still nothing was known whether these politicians would walk their talks or not.

In order to remain in power for decades and erode the nation’s resources for own purposes, the liars; corrupt politicians’ coined slogans, declarations and ideological expressions that were instrumental to cloud the mind eyes of the majority of the society. The slogans declared by the officials like, “*Do the right and shame the Devil*”, “*Not what I have but what I do is my wisdom*” , “*This is the government of the people, by the people for the people*” , “*they have bitten the finger with which their mother fed them*” (Achebe 3-11) are ironical expressions that played a crucial role in blinding and bringing the whole society together and become real supporters of the politicians. When we say the inscriptions and declarations are ironical, for instance, if we see the phrase, ‘the government was the government of the people by the people for the people’ literally it could mean the government was elected by the people to serve the people equally and equitably. However, when the truth was uncovered the government was the government of Nanga by Nanga and for Nanga and his followers alone. The politicians were very successful in this regard at least for some years.

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The other tactic the politicians applied to blind the society was to connect everything with the involvement of invaders and foreigners. At the aftermath of Africans independence, the hatred towards the colonials never faded from the minds of the majority of Africans. And the politicians used the hatred for their political gain. When the leaders wanted to allege Ministers under them who advocate a different thinking and strategy, they accused them of having connection with foreign saboteurs, “ *...The Miscreant Gang had been caught red handed in their nefarious plot to overthrow the government of the people by the people for the people with the help of enemies abroad*” (Achebe 5). And the society at large accepted and believed the Prime Minister’s accusations.

In spite of his early admiration for Nanga, Odili’s brief stay at his house is an eye-opener; Odili has the opportunity to watch Nanga closely. Life at Nanga’s house during the first few days undermines Odili’s clear cut views, which are somewhat eroded by the opulence:

All I can say is that on the first night there was no room for ... criticism.  
I was simply hypnotized by the luxury of the great suite assigned to me  
... I had to confess that if I were at that moment made a minister I would  
Be most anxious to remain one for ever ( Achebe 34).

Moreover, Odili even begins to feel sympathetic about the temptations faced by men in power:

A man who has just come in from the rain and dried his body and put on dry clothes , is more reluctant to go out again than another who has been indoors all the time. The trouble with our new nation – as I saw it then lying on the bed – was that none of us had been indoors long enough to be able to say “to hell with it”. We had all been in the rain together until yesterday. Then a handful of us – the smart and the lucky and hardly ever the best – had scrambled for the one shelter our former rulers left, and had taken it over and barricaded themselves in (Achebe 34).

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At this point in the story, it is clear that Odili's disapproval of the country's politicians is mixed with his new understanding of how a common man could be tempted by power. Still, politicians like Nanga are the villains of the story; however attractive they may be, they are seen as immoral. In the story, as in reality, men like Nanga take bribes and use the money to build apartment blocks, which they rent to earn profit. They also make false promises to the population about future rewards if they are re-elected .

Nanga bribed the journalist, "*.....he drank two bottles of beer, smoked many cigarettes, and then gets a "dash" of five pounds from the Minister.... 'If I don't give him something now, tomorrow he will go and write rubbish about me' said Nanga*" (Achebe 67-68). The Minister gave the journalist five pounds as a "dash" expecting that the journalist in return will not write bad things about him whatever concerning he did or said. The journalist also re-wrote the story in a way that would suit the ear, "*...In short the Hansard boys wrote a completely new speech suitable to the boastful villain the ex-minister had become*" (Achebe 6) and put it in the front page if needed, 'First rate, sir; I shall put it in the front page instead of a story I have promised the Minister of Construction' (Achebe 68). The journalist violated journalism ethics for a small amount of money or other things but its impact would be tremendous. They prevented the society from obtaining accurate information and this in turn led the society to pass wrong decisions and judgments. A journalist is supposed to report without bias.

In another story the European building firm of Antonio and his sons built a four-story building for Nanga as a gratitude and baksheesh in return for his giving them the half-million contract to build the National Academy of Science and Arts. The evidence is as follows:

The house in question was the very modern four-story structure going up beside the present building and which to get into the news later, it was, as we were to learn, a "dash" from the European building firm of Antonio and Sons whom Nanga had recently given the half-million pound contract to build the National Academy of Arts and Séance. (Achebe 97)

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Let alone a public building when we plan to build a private building we are required to select a contractor through open bills. This is important for many reasons. The major is, it helps to get qualified and experienced contractor with less cost. But Nanga did not care about the quality of the building and the cost the nation would incur. What worried him most was the amount of money and gift he would secure. This means he prioritized his own interest at the expense of the nation’s cost.

The British Amalgamated rewarded Chief Nanga with many things. For instance, they gave him ten luxury buses as a “free gift”. Each would cost him six thousand pounds, Nanga himself re-affirmed it as saying, *“It doesn’t mean I have sixty thousand pounds in the bank”*..... *“I’m getting them on never-never arrangement from the British Amalgamated”* (Achebe 43).

The other favor Mr. Nanga and Alhaji Wagada the current Minister of Foreign Trade did for the British Amalgamated was informing the British amalgamated to import enough textile goods and then declared the twenty percent price rise on certain types of imported textile goods. ( Achebe100). Then with the money Nanga obtained from the British Amalgamated he built three blocks of seven-story luxury flats at three hundred thousand pounds each in the name of his wife and these flats were immediately leased by British Amalgamated at fourteen hundred a month each. ( Achebe 101).It is like the saying *“scratch my back and I will scratch yours”*. The officials though for their mouth say they were *‘the government of the people by the people for the people’* , failed to serve the society at large. Nanga had a very close relationship with the foreigners. He was even not interested to work with the domestic investors because he would get nothing from them, he said, *“...you know*

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very well T.C. that you cannot trust these boys. That is why I always say that I prefer to deal with the Europeans...” (Achebe 42). He preferred the Europeans to his nation’s citizens because the foreigners would provide him with something as a ‘dash’. He mentioned his nation’s citizens greediness as, “...our people are too selfish and too jealous...”(Achebe 43).

In addition to the gifts mentioned above, the Europeans also gave Nanga the opportunity of scholarship of doctor of laws, “*They are going to give me a Doctorate degree in Law*”. (Achebe 19). The British amalgamated did not stop with these; it also interfered and extended its hand in the election process. It funded the party P.O.P. with a lot of money, “*The British Amalgamated had paid out four hundred thousand pounds to P.O.P.*” ( Achebe 127-128). All these illustrate that Nanga was not serving his nation and society. Instead he was exploiting the nation in collaboration with the foreigners.

Chief Nanga was not only a bribe but had tried to bribe Odili by providing the chance of “Scholarship” and 250 pounds in order to induce him to stop fighting against him. Here is what Odli’s father has to say concerning the gifts Nanga had brought to Odili:

In spite of your behavior Chief Nanga has continued to struggle for you and has now brought you the scholarship to your house. His kindness surprises me. I couldn’t do it by myself. On top of that he has brought you two hundred and fifty pounds if you will sign this paper. (Achebe 119).

Odili’s father was the local chairman of P.O.P in their village, Urua. That was why he together with Nanga tried to persuade Odili to take the gifts. His father convinced himself that fighting Nanga and his government is like according to Edna’s father, ‘*the challenge of a tick to a bull*’ ( Achebe 107). Because he said, “*So, you really want to fight Chief Nanga! My son, why don’t you fall where your pieces could be gathered?*” (Achebe 120). Though his own

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father enticed him into accepting a scholarship and the money in the form of a bribe, Odili appeared to be concerned about the well-being of the populace. Odili knew very well the offers were not for free. He would get the offers only if he signed on the paper that should read, "From today onwards I will not contest your seat". This is related to electoral corruption too.

Odili's sense of affinity with Nanga is badly shaken when he takes Elsie, his girlfriend, to stay at Nanga's house. Odili refers to Elsie as "just a good-time girl" (Achebe 55). Before Odili can gather the courage to enter her room at night, Nanga enters her room and rapes her while Odili listens in a crisis of inertia to her apparent screams and calls for help:

I trudged up the stairs in the incredible delusion that Elsie was calling on me to come and save her from her ravisher. But when I got to the door a strong revulsion and hatred swept over me and I turned sharply away and went down the stairs for the last time. Recollection and panic followed soon enough and then the humiliating wound came alive again and began to burn fresher than first inflicted ... My eyes misted ... (Achebe 66).

Elsie's rape by Nanga exemplifies the poor status of women in Africa; African society portrays women in general as foolish, weak, dependent, frivolous, and seductive. It tends to cultivate "men's prerogatives to the allegiance and subservience of women, and legitimize men to exercise their power over women to sustain the latter's subordination and marginality" (Hussein 60). Thus, the African novelist "*often finds himself describing situations or modes of thought which have no direct equivalent in the English way of life*" (Killiam 12). Odili's inaction is also an example that has no parallel in other literature. Characters such as Edna, Elsie, and Mrs. Nanga indicate the marginalized status of women in African society. Out of anger and humiliation Odili leaves Nanga's home at midnight but returns later to take revenge: "*What a country! I said, 'You call yourself Minister of Culture? God help us.'* And I spat; not a full spit but a token, albeit unmistakable one." (Achebe 69). Nanga offers him

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other girls in exchange for Elsie, but Odili’s estrangement is final and continues throughout the novel. Nanga is no longer simply a politician whom Odili dislikes for his degradation and corruption; he is a ravisher who has taken Elsie, his beloved, by force. As a form of personal revenge, Odili decides to seduce Nanga’s fiancée Edna; as a form of political revenge, Odili works with his friend Max, who is about to form a new political party, the Common People’s Convention, which aims to save the country from the grip of corrupt politicians. Odili discovers that this new party is backed by a junior minister in the current government and wonders why the minister does not resign if he is so discontented. He insists that Max not take any assistance from such politicians, *“I would have thought it was better to start our new party clean, with a different kind of philosophy”* (p. 79), but he gradually begins to realize that idealism does not work when a whole *“country is on the verge of chaos”* (Achebe 79).

Next, Odili decides to campaign against Nanga in his own constituency. At the inaugural campaign meeting, Nanga’s men laugh at Odili in front of a crowd and Edna’s father threatens him with a machete with the suggestion that he withdraw his nomination:

My in law is like a bull ... and your challenge is like a challenge of a tick to a bull. The tick fills its belly with blood from the back of the bull and the bull does not even know it is there. He carries it wherever he goes – to eat, drink or pass ordure. Then one day the cattle egret comes, perches on the bull’s back and picks out the tick ... (Achebe 101).

Odili’s focus on revenge keeps him steadfast despite humiliations brought on him by his headmaster, Mrs. Nanga, and Nanga’s supporters; his focus on revenge changes into a genuine desire to destroy Nanga and the corruption he represents, as is clear in his statement, *“although I had little hope of winning Chief Nanga’s seat, it was necessary nonetheless to fight him and expose him as much as possible”* (Achebe 103). At this point, Odili’s character has two clear aspects. Publicly, he wants to expose Nanga for his misdeeds in the hope that

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there “*may be someone who would get up and say, No, Nanga has taken more than the owner could ignore!*” (104); privately, he wants to marry Edna out of love, as revenge on Nanga.

When Odili began his political campaign, he recalled that when he was at university, his sole ambition was to become “*a full member of the privileged class whose symbol was the car*” (104), and that “*many of us vowed then never to be corrupted by bourgeois privileges of a the car which the car was the most visible symbol in our country*” (104). By this point, however, Odili has undergone a great change; he has acquired a new car through party funds. He assesses his present position: “*and now here was I in this marvelous little affair eating the hills like yam – as Edna would have said. I hoped I was safe, for a man who avoids danger for years and then gets killed in the end has wasted his care*” (104). Odili is being pulled in two directions: he could become part of the corrupt political system in which no idealism can survive (similar to Nanga), or he could remain in a state of idealism and disillusionment about Nigeria’s political situation.

At the novel’s climax, Nanga is having his inaugural campaign meeting. In an attempt to expose Nanga to the people, Odili sneaks in wearing a disguise:

What would happen, if I were to push my way to the front and up the palm-leaf-festooned dais, wrench the microphone from the greasy hands of that blabbing buffoon and tell the whole people – this vast contemptible crowd – that the great man they had come to hear with their drums and dancing was an Honorable Thief. But of course they knew that already. No single man and human there that afternoon was stranger to that news – not even the innocent looking convent girl on the dais (Achebe 131).

While Odili considers his next step, he is spotted by Josiah, now an ally of Nanga. Nanga calls Odili a thief, forcing him to pause in order to respond. Nanga calls him to the dais and publicly ridicules him, beginning with his own interpretation of the past:

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This is the boy ... He came to my house in Bori, ate my food, drank my water and my wine and instead of saying thank you to me he set out plotting how to drive me out and take over my house ... He was once my pupil. I taught him A B C and I called him to my house to arrange for him to go to England ( Achebe 132).

Nanga offers him the microphone. At this point, Odili thinks he has a chance to expose Nanga's corruption: "*I come to tell your people that you are a liar and ...*" ( 132-33). As he speaks, Nanga slaps him on the face. To Odili's shock, the crowd joins in the beating:

He pulled the microphone away smartly, set it down, walked up to me and slapped my face ... immediately hands seized my arms, but I am happy that he got one fairly good kick from me. He slapped me again and again. Edna rushed forward crying and tried to get between us but he pushed her ... By this time blows were falling as fast as rain on my head and body until something heavier than the rest seemed to split my skull. The last thing I remembered was seeing all the policemen turn round and walk quietly away (Achebe 133).

Chief Nanga considers his society as his personal property and thus can use it as it pleases him. It is what makes him openly express the following , "*You will lose your deposit and disgrace yourself. I am only giving you this money because I feel that after all many years of service to my people I deserve to be elected unopposed so that my detractors in Bori will know that I have my people solidly behind me.*" (Achebe 118). Such an expression may instill in the reader's mind a kind of a leader who worked hard for his people but it is just the speech of a corrupt leader. He did nothing for his society but he wanted to be maintained in power.

In the selected text no one exploited and eroded the nation more than Nanga and his followers. Nanga lived in a sophisticated and luxurious house. Odili described the living standard of Nanga as, "*When I lay down in the double bed that seemed to ride on a cushion of air, and switched on that reading lamp and saw all the beautiful furniture anew from the laying down position and looked beyond the door to the gleaming bathroom and the towels as*

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*large as a lappa ....” ( Achebe 37). Besides, Nanga also drove a famous and new car at that time and accumulated a lot of money, Odili once again described it as, “...because the man was a minister bloated by the flatulence of ill-gotten wealth, living in a big mansion built with public money, riding in Cadillac and watched over...” (Achebe 76). Nanga lived in luxury while those he was supposed to serve were barely scraping by. When it comes to embezzlement it was not only Nanga who used the public resources for his own purpose but Odili too. The party C.P.C was funded from friends abroad for the election campaign purpose only but Odili finally failed to discharge his responsibility the party entrusted him and used the public fund for his own benefit. He used C.P.C money to cover his father’s case of Tax Assessment Office as he said, “I had to find twenty-four pounds fairly smartly; fortunately, I had just enough C.P.C money in the house to cover it.” ( Achebe 133). Moreover, he paid the bride price for his promised wife Edna. “ I had privately decided to borrow the money from C.P.C. funds still in my hands. They were not likely to be needed soon.....”( Achebe 148),*

Odili once again affirmed the inevitability of exploitation of public funds as follows:

One early morning Boniface and one of the other stalwarts woke me up and Demand twenty-five pounds. I know that a certain amount of exploitation was inevitable in this business and I wasn’t going to question how every penny was spent. But at the same time I didn’t see how I could abdicate my responsibility for CPC funds entrusted to me. ( Achebe 114).

Even Odili’s father drove the party’s car as much as Odili himself “*But he was clearly satisfied with what I had got out of it so far, especially the car which he was now using nearly as much as myself.*” (Achebe 116).

the practice of fraud in ‘*A Man of the People*’ is the Prime Minister’s rejection of the Finance Minister’s plan and ordering the national bank to print fifteen million pound,

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*“The Prime Minister said “No” to the plan. He was not going to risk the election by cutting down the price paid to coffee planters at this critical moment; the national bank should be instructed to print fifteen million pounds.”* (Achebe 4). Instead of looking for other options on how to deal with the problems they confronted, the Prime Minister ordered the Bank to print fifteen million pounds which was illegal.

They deserve to be hanged,” shouted Mr. Nanga from the back benches. This interruption was so loud and clear that it appeared later under his own name in the Hansard. Throughout the session he led the pack of back-bench hounds straining their lash to get at their victims. If anyone had cared to sum up Mr. Nanga’s interruptions they would have made a good hour’s yelp. Perspiration poured down his face as he sprang up to interrupt or sat back to share in the derisive laughter of the hungry hyena (Achebe 5)

Ironically, this was a speech Nanga used to win the Prime minister. Under normal circumstances, Nanga should be the one to be hanged due to his wrong behaviour but he is the one who asks other to be hanged innocently. Another example comes from Odili Samalu’s personality who in fact is hypocrite but behaves like an idealistic. He is portrayed ironically as a role model but he is not. He seems to criticize Chief Nanga but paradoxically he admires his political activities. Many a time, he shows his disapproval for Nanga’s attitude but he does nothing to bring some changes. Shatto Arthur Gakwandi (1979) sees it in the same way when he has it that: *“Odili himself, the man who judges others, is the most hypocritical. Although he has moral objections to Nanga’s political conduct he finds himself shouting ‘Hear! Hear!’ to the latter’s specious remarks at Anata Grammar school.”* (P.80). This shows how Odili has a double face. He epitomizes most Africans who seem to protest against post-colonial leaders’ ruling but once they accede to power, they become worse. Odili who was accusing Nanga to constitute an obstacle to the development of their society did not hesitate to accept his invitation to spend his holidays with him in the capital town, Bori.

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The major objective of media is to investigate the truthfulness of a story and inform and expose it to the society as it is. The society will give its judgment to the evil nature, accountability or wrong doing in the story. Though this was the role of media, it labeled the dismissed ministers as evils, in exactly the same way the government did.

Let us now and for all time extract from our body-politics as a dentist extracts a stinking tooth all those decadent stooges versed in text-book economics and aping the white mannerisms and way of speaking. We are proud to be Africans. Our true leaders are not those intoxicated with their Oxford, Cambridge, or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the people. Away with the damnable and expensive university education which only alienates an African from his rich and ancient culture and puts him above his people. ( Achebe 4).

As shown above, the media in question, “The Daily Chronicle” clearly supported the government in power at the expense of the journalism ethics. This is ironical and it exemplifies the attitude of those who work in the media houses in different African countries, supporting governments in power either for favors or for fear of being prosecuted.

The media were under control of the officials. They were not independent. Nanga strengthened this idea by saying, “...*What? Don't worry about the press; I will make sure that they don't publish it....?* ( Achebe 42).

The media reported stories in a way that suits with the interest of the officials, though reporting what someone has not said or an event that has not happened is a big blunder. The following extract shows how the media were one sided:

...Although Dr. Makinde read his speech, which was clearly prepared, the Hansard later carried a garbed version which made no sense at all. It said not a word about the plan to mint fifteen million pounds-which was perhaps to be expected-but why put into Dr. Makinde's mouth words that he couldn't have spoken? In short the Hansard boys wrote a completely new speech suitable to the boastful villain the ex-Minister had become. ( Achebe 6)

Achebe attacked the imbalance of media. Media are expected to be free from any

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party's ,government's interference. But the media and journalists were reporting only the government's agenda. For instance, during the third election campaign the government declared that in the coming election no one would elect a candidate other than Nanga. And the media took the declaration as it was and orchestrated to the international community in different languages including English (Achebe 136). This shows that the media were on the side of the government and the practice violated the media ethics. The election violence is highly mentions in the story as the beginning of electoral fraud.

One good example of such a fraud is the story told in Achebe's "*A Man of the People*". The Prime Minister sacked the Minister of Finance who was a Ph.D holder in public finance and his team due to their disagreement on how to deal with the slump that happened in the international coffee market. (Achebe 3-4). Though the truth was different, the Prime Minister told the public that as the dismissed Ministers were conspirators and traitors who had connections with foreign saboteurs to destroy the new nation( Achebe 4). The prime minister continued his false allegations and announced to the audience, "... *the Miscreant Gang had been caught red-handed in their nefarious plot to overthrow the Government of the people by the people for the people with the help of enemies abroad*" ( Achebe 5). So the Public at large believed the Prime Minister's accusation and called him, 'the Tiger', 'the Lion', 'the One and Only', 'the Sky', 'the Ocean' and many other names of praise. ( Achebe 5), whereas, they called the dismissed Ministers as 'Traitors', 'Cowards', 'Doctor of Ford your Mother' and many other names ( Achebe 6). In Achebe's opinion, the praise accorded to the Prime Minister was inappropriate. And the words of insult thrown at the sacked Ministers were lopsided. The names unmatched with the personality of the Ministers, they are direct opposites.

By creating this climax, Achebe was able to project the fate of educated individuals who want to bring about societal change but fail because they are easily outnumbered by villains.

## *Chapter 02— The Plight of Intellectuals in Achebe's A Man of the People*

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Odili finds satisfaction in his selfless public act, even though he ends up in a hospital, defeated. His friends, Max and Eunice, then go on to play important roles. Max is killed by an election jeep belonging to Koko, a ministerial colleague of Nanga, and Eunice kills Koko out of anger after Max's death. Private armies begin to rampage, and in this state of anarchy, the Prime Minister reappoints the old cabinet to office. The army cannot accept this decision and stages a coup, putting the ministers behind bars. The political turmoil serves to help Odili; after Nanga is arrested, Edna reveals that she never wanted to marry him: "*Marry him? To be frank with you I did not want to marry him ... All the girls in the college were laughing at me ...It was only my father ...*" (Achebe 137). Still, despite the military coup Odili knows that nothing has changed and refuses to accept the simple consolation that the will of the people has been served:

No the people had nothing to do with the fall of our Government. What happened was simply that unruly mobs and private armies having tasted blood and power during the election had got out of hand and ruined their masters and employers. And they had no public reason whatever for doing it. Let's make no mistake about that (Achebe 136).

Overnight, Max becomes a hero of the revolution, and the people who had previously idolized Nanga and Koko now denounce them. Odili comes to understand the entire ethic of social acceptance and rejection within Nigerian society:

Max was avenged not by the people's collective will but by one solitary woman who loved him. Had his spirit waited for the people to demand redress it would have been waiting still, in the rain and out in the sun?  
But he was lucky (Achebe 140).

As Odili seeks to understand why private loyalty seems to be more important than public morality, he remembers the story of Josiah. Rejected by the whole village at the beginning of the novel for stealing a blind man's stick, Josiah ends up as Nanga's most trusted man. As Odili observes, it is "*a regime in a ... fellow cursed in the morning for stealing ...*

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*and later in the evening saw him again mounting the altar of the new shrine in the presence of all the people to whisper into the ear of the chief celebrant” (Achebe 141).* This exemplifies how priorities can change suddenly, when individual self-interest comes into play. In this way, Josiah’s story foreshadows events later in the novel. In this context, Eunice has done a noble deed, as Odili summarizes:

... I do honestly believe that in the fat-dripping, gummy, eat-and-let-eat regime just ended – a regime which inspired the common saying that a man could only be sure of what he had put away safely in his gut ... in such a regime, I say, you died a good death if your life had inspired someone to come forward and shoot your murderer in the chest – without asking to be paid (Achebe 141).

By the punishment of Nanga, Achebe has suggested that if a nation is to progress, it must take proper care when selecting leaders, otherwise corrupt politicians will always get their way and citizens will simply be a means by which they can fulfill their corrupt goals. An electorate needs to be strong enough to withstand the opposing pulls of private and public pressures; as Achebe has noted, *“for a society to function smoothly and effectively its members must share certain basic tenets of belief and norms of behavior”* (Achebe100). National interest must be given supreme importance as opposed to self-interest, which has the power to corrupt leaders. Achebe successfully projected his own ideals through Odili Samalu, the protagonist of *“A Man of the People”*. This has been the goal of many African writers writing about their own pasts and their nation. According to Ngugi, it is a means to assert African identity:

I believe that the African intellectuals must align themselves with the struggle of the African masses for a meaningful national ideal. For we must strive for a form of social organization that will free the manacled spirit and energy of our people so we can build a new country and sing a senew song (Ngugi 50).

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Nanga had tried to stop Odili peacefully from running against him by providing money and the opportunity of scholarship but when Nanga realized that he wouldn't succeed, the fight heightens to the point that Nanga tries to kill Odili to stop the electoral competition . Max is killed as well ,the government has fallen, so a military coup has taken over the country. After Nanga's arrest, Odili is free to marry Edna. Ironically, he decides to take the money of the party to pay her price only to become corrupt like Nanga (Achebe100). Odili welcomes the coup although his party is stopped.

Such two models of leadership are essentially weak or incompetent, more personally-centered than national. Bribes, womanizing, and personal grudge, among others, distort the claims of such two representative "leaders" to nationhood. The European educational ideals of such men as well as their personal interests distort their claims to leadership and destroy their nation. this "traditional or vulgarized type of the intellectual" fails to deal with actual social problems. Achebe looks at the ways in which intellectuals are associated with social change and social progress similar with Gramsci who criticized traditional intellectual elites who merely deal with abstract philosophical inquiries, detaching themselves from everyday practices rather than engaging with current social issues. He thought that those who create new knowledge could be crucial actors in generating social and political change.(Nakumura 47)

### ***2-The Reformist Role of the Intellectuals in A Man of the People***

Gramsci carefully criticizes the problem of traditional intellectuals who think of themselves as politically autonomous and independent of the dominant social group. Like the corrupt politicians used by Achebe in his novel "*A Man of the people*" who are more closely

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to the world of Aristotle and Plato than to the political world of their own time. They have traditionally lived outside the parameters of political organicity, following a logic of their own that celebrated autonomy, self-determination and independence. This presumed autonomy of traditional Nigerian intellectual. The role of intellectuals is to engage with current social problems and seek to find solutions to actual problems in society. (Nakumura 47).

In this fourth novel the readers the reader encounters a very harsh self-criticism that uncovered the wrongs of the intellectuals, the government officials, and the general population. Consequently, Achebe's sociopolitical satire is a guided one. In "*The Novelist as Teacher*," Achebe affirms his situation as a creator who utilizes writing to address the country's deeds. He accepts that the "*beneficent fiction calls into full life ... total range of imaginative faculties and gives ... a heightened sense of... personal , social and human reality*" (104). Along these lines, we investigate the social, political, and moral ramifications of Achebe's fiction, to be specific his novel "*A Man of the People*", by method of indicating the restorative capacity of his authoritative parody.

Abiodun uncovered the connection between the influence of governmental issues and the defilement of riches, from one perspective, and the adverse job of individuals, on the other, contending that these individuals underwrite such degenerate lawmakers to increase individual courtesies. For Abiodun, the novel denounces "*the African government officials' antagonistic inclinations*" and "*the normal individuals in various African social orders, for their appearing underwriting of degenerate lawmakers*" ( 202).

In *A Man of the People*, Samalu Odili represents the intellectual elite ( the scholarly tip top) and Chief Nanga represents the politicians. Odili is an individual from the "comprador intelligensai" who were all around prepared in the West and "are known" there "through the Africa they offer" . This gathering of intelligent people, who got Western instruction and got

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acclimatized into each English-like perspective, came to Africa to apply what they have realized on a recently autonomous Nigeria . They experience the ill effects of isolated loyalties as they "*can not pick; they should have both. Two universes: that makes two charming ... every day the split augments*" . For Fanon, this split condition of the local scholarly's brain between two societies is designated "cultural imposition" . A Man of the People represents the fracture between the local educated people and the government officials in a politically fierce Nigeria and without a drew in broad daylight. This national authority, in Fanonian rationale, is neither completely arranged for nor genuinely occupied with issues of nationhood. (Neimneh 19)

Achebe's expectation of a military coup in his novel turned "to be so accurate" . On January 14, 1966, Achebe praised his novel with "the society of Nigerian Authors" . The following day, the cuop's leader "demended that the radical action taking by army officers ...had been a patriotically necessary act" . From that point onward, the administrator of the Nigerian armed force endure and captured the cuop's leader, declaring himself the "Nigerian Head of State" . However , the Nigerian Public were missing from the scene. This was the political setting that encompassed and followed the publication of *A Man of the People*.(Morrison 114;115)

Actually, many critics believed that Achebe's work was "prophetic" in its expectation of a military upset. Lindfors accepts that it just peruses reality so well to the degree that it requests a military upset to settle the entire nation down (131). The novel is "*a devastating satire*" which reflects, Lindfors fights, "*the developing political crisis*" (131). Morrison agrees with Lindfors that the novel is a political satire in the overall sense, being "*a commentary on the situation of many of newly independent states in Africa in 1960s*" (119).

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In addition to that, Ngūgĩwa Thiong'o contends that *A Man of the People* is a continuation of the structure of prior stories looking for "to think back and attempt to discover what turned out badly" . Morrison concurs with Thiong'o that it is the "first time that Achebe turns his back on the colonizers

the connection between educated people(intellectuals) and politicians in the Nigeria of *A Man of the People*. Also, the role of the public in the crack between the government officials and the learned people to comprehend Achebe's certain sociopolitical messages in a generally somber parody. The the absurdity of intellectualism with regards to the temperamental Nigeria is a strong theme in *A Man of the People*. Subsequently, governmental issues is ridiculous also without powerful intellectualism. Nigeria was underdevelopment after independence due to the failure of the leader to rise up to the challenge of leadership .Achebe represents "an authentic sense of desperation of the failure of the nation to live up to its own hopes. " . He investigates the role intellectuals and the political elite in closure debasement and supporting general society. (Neimneh. 20)

SamaluOdili is an idealistic , unpracticed youthful teacher whose idealism leads to his destruction. From the start, we meet Odili who is attached to his previous teacher Chief Nanga, a celebrated government official . Odili is guiltless in political issues, so he acknowledged the greeting of Nanga to remain at his home so he could attempt to assist him with getting a grant a scholarship to study abroad (Achebe 12). Also, Odili looks for a grant however will not utilize the authority of lawmakers to get it for he looks for cleanness (12). Elsie is his sweetheart; she stays with him at Nanga's home (49).

Odili, the intellectual who attempts to safeguard his nation from the corrupted politicians, carries on with a snapshot of disappointment and revelation. He defeats his honesty and reveals the corruption that Nanga sinks in. Despite the fact that, the reason is a

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girl Odili witnesses a genuine change as a part of his character as he proclaims: *"I could not help thinking... of the quick transformations that were ... a features of our country and ... of the changes of attitude in my own "* (74). The revelation as a part of his character starts when he turns his back to the Minister over the young lady. Nanga has a relationship with Elsie, so Odili blows up and goes out to shape a gathering which assumes a job in expelling the Minister (49). He feels harmed and needs to recover his insulted manliness and take "revenge" (51). The individual indignation he conveys towards Nanga has gone to a political battle against him. Subsequently, Odili converses with his companion Max who has great associations with English men. They all put a plan to frame a gathering that partakes in the next elections against Nanga. Odili states that "he not only heard of new political party" but also became "a foundation member " (56). The issue of many is resolved , for Max addresses Odili:

Do you know, Odili, that British Amalgamated has paid out four handered thousand pounds to P.O.P to fight this election ? yes ,and we also know that the Americans have been even more generous,although we don't have figures at yet .Now you tell me how you propose to fight such a dirty war without soiling your hands a little ? (86)

Max is more functional than Odili in tolerating a little corruption in the best approach to clean races by tolerating cash from abroad. Odili is worried about the possibility that that their profound quality and emblematic spot as " hope for salvation" for peolpe is cleared with Max's little corruption( 87).

It is difficult to tell whether Odili's activism against Nanga is out of revenge for his offended masculinity or mere patriotism. He himself felt confused , for he claims that "It was difficult to say; things seemed to so mixed up ;my revenge, my new political ambition and the girl" (73). He stays gullible after his revelation. Previously, he thought of Nanga as the perfect educator and leader. Presently, he considers himself the perfect man of the people: *"what I had to accomplish ...rose to the highest of symbolic action ,a shining monumental*

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*gesture untainted by hopes of success or reward* "( 89). Thus, he is hoping to be elected with his new party that is upheld from outside the nation (77-86). This purpose of partitioned loyalty is a one of implosion that leads not exclusively to the awful finish of his political life yet in addition to that of the entire nation. Morrison proclaims that "Achebe's protagonist are ,almost... more problematic and self –destructive than inspirational (127).

Odili and his companions at the new party begin to enlighten people by uncovering the truth of Nanga's deeds, telling them of the public money that he has taken for personal projects (Achebe 68). Moreover, Odili attempts to persuade Edna, the Minister's lady to-be, of dropping her union with Nanga by uncovering his shameful political profession to her (pp. 60-66). The battle uplifts to the point that Nanga attempts to execute Odili to stop the electoral competition (p. 94). Max is murdered also (p. 96). The government has fallen, so a military coup has assumed control over the nation. After Nanga's capture, Odili is allowed to wed Edna. Ironically, he chooses to take the money of the party to pay her price only to become corrupt like Nanga (p.100). Odili accepts the upset despite the fact that his party is halted.

Another pointless characteristic in Odili is his weakness with women. We don't know precisely whether he accept the coup since it takes Nanga away as a potential admirer for Edna or a political opponent. Moreover, Thiong'o accepts that "*people like Odili are appeared as being dangerously near Nanga-with their greed, absence of inventiveness and pitiable reliance on their former colonial rulers*". This first model of intellectuals — underdeveloped , dependent, idealistic ,self-seeking and innocence — does not work for the post-independent country. (Neimnh 22)

Chief Nanga is "*the most receptive government official in the nation*" and a previous teacher . He is sufficiently fortunate to turn into a Minister of the people . It appears that he attempts to make up for the long stretches of neediness that he has lived previously. His way

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of thinking is to eat and let the people to eat. He brings his water and other small services to make them better than their neighbors (Achebe 91). However, what truly happens is that he eats entire cake and gives the people only a bite.

The politician plays the role of patriotic man, misdirecting individuals. Once, he disclosed to Odili that the meaning of "Minister" is "servant" (Achebe 6). However he lacks simple political leadership skills, for example, the capacity to give a discourse. Max and Odili condemn his underserved position because of his humble educational background. Max tells Odili: *"just think of such cultureless man going abroad and calling himself Minister of Culture. Ridiculous. This is why the outside world laughs at us"* (Achebe 16). To support his situation as an "educated" government official and a guardian of culture, Nanga is hoping to get a privileged law degree from a small college in U.S without working for it (Achebe 18). In this negative model of authority, education becomes a means of gaining political force to the detriment of the uneducated masses.

Everything is going easily for Nanga until the presence of Odili. Since Nanga is ethically corrupt, he betrays his wife several times with Odili's knowledge (Achebe 49). In any case, Odili turns his back on this fake politician only after he took his own girlfriend. In spite of the fact that Nanga was a man of the people who voted for him, he turns his ugly face to other people who chose not to vote for him, as when he attempts to murder Odili (Achebe 94). He estranges Odili who calls people to stop vote for him "Honourable Thief" (Achebe 93).

This eager and enthusiastic "intellectual" came to apply Western democratic system to his Nigeria. He was unconscious of the truth of Nigeria after freedom, considering it to be the cake that every politician and his supporters are looking to taste (97). Real democracy and corruption are necessarily enemies. So, Odili is battled by the perfect educator who is in fact "Honourable Thief" (Achebe 93). At the beginning, Nanga attempts to entice Odili with

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money, but he rejects it saying: "take your money and take your scholarship to go and learn more books; the nation needs experts like you. And leave the dirty game of politics to us who know how to play it" (81). This was a threat; when Odili goes to a speech of Nanga thinking that he is in a free nation. Tragically, he is nearly killed to prevent him from signing the paper that proves him a possible candidate for elections (94-100). Such two models of leadership are basically powerless or incompetent, more personal-centered than national. bribes, womanizing, and individual resentment, among others, contort the cases of such two representative "leaders" to nationhood. The European educational ideals of such men as well as their personal interests distort their claims to leadership.

For Joe Obi, the justification of the uselessness of both politicians and intellectuals is that there was

An intraelite split ... between the political elite and the literati. The handful of nationalistic politicians who articulated the demands for the self-government ... joined their not-so-educated colleagues to wield power. This arrangement excluded the writers and the bulk of intellectual class from the power to direct their societies other than as subservient. (404-405)

Subsequently, intellectuals like Odili attempt to get themselves a spot from which they can express their opinions about solutions for their Nigeria. The public are so detached in the novel. They were "not only ignorant but cynical" (Achebe 2). So, a change will never come through them (Morrison 123). Their ignorance and separation led to a military coup. Additionally, Udumukwu declares that there is no association between the ruling class and the ignorant people who "lack a true knowledge of the essence of their condition" (as cited in Morrison 125). Furthermore, Morrison believes that "people are paralyzed by false consciousness" (Morrison 124). As Fanon shows, masses can lack agency: "the incoherent mass of the people is seen as a blind force that must be continually held in check either by mystification or by the fear inspired by the police force" (146). People were utilized as a means for winning the elections for both Odili and Nanga. Nanga's people are powerless and

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defenseless against his words. Dissecting their relationship with Nanga, Consequently, the problem with some Nigerian people may lie in the way that they are not sensible. An elderly person tells Odili, “*we are ignorant people we are like children .*” (Achebe 86). Odili pessimistically thought of individuals' choice to decide in favor of Nanga as per their own perspective: “*Why should they lose their chance of getting good clean water , their share of national cake ? In fact, they had adequate justification for their volte-face just two days later when the pipes returned*” (91). In spite of the fact that they definitely realize that Chief Nanga was "thief" Nanga, they despite everything imagine that Odili is bad (93). Their perspective mirrors the terrible customary convictions they used to stick to. When Odili considers revealing to them the truth of Nanga, he envisions their appearance on him as follows:

What a fool! Whose son is he? Was he not here when white men were eating; what did he do about it? Where was he when Chief Nanga fought and drove the white men away? Why is he envious now that the warrior is eating the reward of his courage? If he was Chief Nanga, would he not do much worse! (Achebe 93)

Tragically, “*The people themselves ... had become even more cynical than their leaders and were a apathetic into the bargain*” (97), they believed in the philosophy of “let them eat”. They argue their perspective, saying that they have endure the times of the "white men" and they don't did anything for them when they were taking their nation's assets. Essentially, “*he came, he ate and he went*” (97). For them, “the significant thing at that point is to remain alive” on the

As indicated by Fanon , people are immobilized because of numerous reasons; they figured out how to "remain" in their place and not cross "certain limit." Also, they are "envious" of the colonial and are "always presumed guilty ." Furthermore, people think that what occurs with them is the thing that God wants, and they have faith in "terrifying myths"

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(Achebe 40-43). At the point when the novel closes with a military takeover, such whimsical fickle people have suddenly changed their mind :

Overnight everybody started to shake their heads at the abundances of the late system, at its unite, abuse and degenerate government: papers, the radio, the up to this point quiet intelligent people and government employees ... And these were similar individuals that lone a day or two ago had possessed a thousand names of idolization, whom acclaim artists followed with tune and talking-drum any place they went. (Achebe 100)

People's ignorance and mutability show up in their ignorance as well as in their powerlessness to separate between the political and the intellectual. Edna's mother claim that Odili and Nanga " are both white people" (Achebe 72). Moreover, Odili declares that the great revolution of history started by intellectuals , not the common people. Besides, people do not care whether a politician or intellectual takes the lead . What they care about are the advantages that they gain. So, intellectuals ,politicians and the masses are all abortive leadership. the Nigerian circumstance should be changed. The truly educated class and the organic intellectuals are the possible hope for Nigeria and cure for its political and social crises.

W.E.B Du Bois, in his essay "*The Talented Tenth*" ,he believes that "The Negro race... is going to be saved by its exceptional men" (33). Those "exceptional men" are "*The Talented Tenth*" who must be developed as "*the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the worst in their own and other races*" (33). The salvation of the whole black race, as indicated by Du Bois, lies in teaching its skilled youth. He announces that *to have "Men" they will "make a man hood the object of the school-intelligence ,broad sympathy ,knowledge of the world that was and is ,and of the relation of men to it-this the curriculum of high education which must underline true life"* ( 33-34). Furthermore, with regards to the masses, Du Bois denies their job toward the start of the renewal procedure. He wonder and afterward answers: Can the masses of the Negro people be

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in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God's fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never; it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters. (45)

In contrast to what Du Bois called "*The Talented Tenth*" the novel shows the opposite. Odili, the intellectual has got a Western education, not a national one in his territory (Achebe 6). He shows the pitfalls of the native intellectuals who is vulnerable towards women. The corrupt deeds of the Minister of Culture who supposed to be "*The Talented Tenth*" and the intellectual Odili like Nanga's "lack of modesty" led to the catastrophic future of Nigeria.

According to Du Bois, "*The Talent Tenth*" education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence (75). Additionally, Achebe states a relevant opinion through one of his characters who says: "*the great revolution of history were started b intellectuals, not the common people. Karl Max was not a common man*" (53). the absence of qualifies group of educated leaders leaves room for blatantly versions such bad educated leaders like Odili and Nanga. To avoid such a rift the relationship between intellectual and the masses should be strengthened.

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci comes up with a new category of intellectuals that is missed but suggested in Achebe's A Man of the People. According to Gramsci "*each social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of financial creation, makes along with itself, naturally, one or two strata of intellectuals*" (134). The role of this educated people is "*to give it [their social group] homogeneity and a familiarity with its own capacity in the monetary as well as in the social and political fields*" (134-135). Also, the individual from this group of learned people (intellectuals) "*must be an organizer of masses of men; he must be an organizer of the 'certainty' of financial specialists in his business, of the clients for his*

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*product*" (135). Also, organic intellectuals have a social, economic and political role in ordering the group that come from. Thus, it is essential for any group to quicken its efforts to develop and build up its organic intellectuals because of their major role in its stability.

Gramsci reports that :

One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its organic intellectuals. (142)

the group of intellectuals that are exist in *A Man of the People* misses the mark from organic intellectuals of Gramsci, as Achebe's satire works through relationship with missing models. Nanga warns people against confiding in the intellectuals . He announces: "*Never again should we endow our fate and the fate of Africa of Western educated and vainglorious intellectuals who will not stop their to sell their mothers for a mess of pottage*" (Achebe 4). By a similar token, Odili condemns the educators in his nation expressing that they "*were all dead from the neck up*" (Achebe 5). He accepts that the ones who are in top are "*the smart and the lucky and hardly even the best*" (Achebe 26). Rather than serving the individuals and arranging them, Odili battled against Nanga . Furthermore, individuals do not confide education , for Mrs. Nanga proclaims that "*Education has been falling every years. A year ago's standard six is higher than this year's*" (Achebe 59). On the other hand, politicians and intellectuals underestimate their people, so they isolate themselves from them. Nanga believes that " *people are too selfish and too jealous*" (Achebe 29). Additionally, he addresses Odili saying: "*you are wasting your talent here [in teaching in a school]. I want you to come to the capital and take up a strategic post in the civil service*" (Achebe 8).Nanga believes that education is not significant in shaping the character of an intellectual who is supposed to be a "organic intellectual." This man was "*a minister bloated by the flatulence of ill-gotten wealth, living in a big mansion built with public money, riding a Cadillac and*

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*watched over by a one-eyed, hired thug*" (Achebe 51). The previous reasons of Nanga's way of life do confine him from both the intellectual people and the general population. Likewise, Odili believes that people "*were not only ignorant but cynical*" (Achebe 2). This threatening connection between the majority from one side, and the intelligent people and government officials from the opposite side has made the individuals shrewd; needing their piece of the "national cake" paying little mind to the party they supported (Achebe 9).

One comprehends the tragic end of the intellectual group in *A Man of the People* whose role is a long way from organizing the masses. Along with the corrupted politicians in control, they assume a major role in distrusting the masses at the political level. This mistrust between intellectuals and politicians, on one hand, and the masses, on the other hand, which is brought by the miseducation of the masses, for example such ignorance, and the forced types of colonial and Western education.

Achebe does not compose a novel of solutions for Nigeria; however, he unfurls the future that he predicts for his people relying upon the truth of Nigeria of that time to "challenge" them to discover a solution (Morrison 129-130). The effectiveness role of educated people (intellectuals), politicians and the public probably save no room for trust and hope in the Nigerian setting of *A Man of the People*. In any case, we have contended that Achebe's promise for the future lies in the truly educated class and the organic intellectuals who are appropriately associated with their people. Despite the fact that this is not straightforwardly explained in Achebe's satire, it is our conflict that satires work through similarity with and proposal of better real factors as we read them against their corrective function. Achebe's way of enlightening his people is an overdose of mocking authenticity about social and political defilement. The function of this satire is to find the gap between the proper roles of politicians, intellectuals, and the public as opposed to their actual limitations.

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As Woodson notably states in his examination on miseducation, If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status. If you make a man think that he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door, his very nature will demand one. ( 84)

Woodson has plainly verbalized the interrelationship between power, politics, and education. For Woodson, the educated "Negro" was taught to despise his people and think like and imitate whites. The failure of the educated "Negroes" *to make their race progress due to the their antipathy from the masses*" (Woodson 88). Consequently, Woodson claims that the black race "needs workers, not leaders" (Woodson 118) as great authority involves administration as opposed to the unfilled talk of miseducated pioneers picked by whites. Achebe condemns the previous colonials who despite everything mediate in Nigeria through their intellectual elite . Fanon announces that *"inside the patriot parties, the will to break colonialism is connected with another very extraordinary will: that of coming to a friendly agreement with it. Inside these parties, the two process will sometimes continue side by side"* ( 98).

Those inside the patriot parties are the means for mediating in the recently autonomous nation. Likewise, Achebe condemns his fellow Nigerians who are as still unable to serve their nation and to build their country.

The issue of Nigeria in *A Man of the People* is that intellectualism does not stand immovably against the corruption of government officials. Rather, it tries to build up politics of itself instead of working hand in hand with a current authority . We have contended for a national consensus that puts an outline for the future to inspire the nation on account of a

## ***Chapter 02— The Plight of Intellectuals in Achebe's A Man of the People***

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genuinely educated class of organic intellectuals and a connected with public. Power creates power, and brutality is actually what has occurred in real Nigeria after the coup; a counter upset (Morrison 115). Unfortunately , the extended egoism of the intellectuals and politicians, along with the lack of concern public , has jeopardized the nation. Educating the masses is critical to change the political circumstance of a place like Nigeria. As Fanon declares,

to be dependable in undeveloped nation is to realize that everything at long last lays on educating the masses, raising their awareness , and on what is excessively fast thought to be political education ... Political education implies opening up the mind, awakening the mind, and introducing it to the world ( 138)

Achebe includes that "*the most urgent thing today for the intellectuals is to develop his country*" (Achebe 199). Nigerians need to control their fate by having political education. They should deliver their organic intellectuals their own national principles. The public must be the rulers who pick a man from the people to serve the people , not to abuse them.

## Conclusion

This research is set to investigate the theme of corruption in Achebe's novel *A Man of the People* to reach the study's aim that consists of showing why and how the author tackle the theme in his novel.

The dissertation is divided into two chapters; the first chapter is *theoretical and sociohistorical Background of the study* that sheds light on the post colonial theory mainly the ideas of Frantz Fanon the colonial legacy and the corrupt elite, political corruption in post colonial Nigerian society. The theory of Antonio Gramsci of the role of the organic intellectual in society. As the background of the study discusses the political and social situation of Nigeria especially in 1960s in addition to that the research introduces the post colonial Nigerian society and the corrupt elite who took power after the departure of the English colonization and a bibliographical information about the writer Achebe and his novel. Chapter two as the body of the research devotes with analyzing how does the writer depict the post colonial Nigerian society with its conflicts between the old generation who is corrupt and the new intellectual generation who try to reform society.

The main focus of this study has been on analyzing the social evil corruption and how Achebe exposed and attacked the corrupt politicians in Nigerian society. It has been found out that Achebe's 'A Man of the People' portrays the real events of Nigerian history during the setting of the fiction. 'A Man of the People' which mirrors the prevalence of corruption at the aftermath of the Nigerian independence.

Achebe tried to show the major sources of corruption as poverty, attitudinal problem of the society and greediness thinking that drying these factors could help in minimizing corruption. 'A Man of the People' satirically shows the authors distress on the prevalence and deep-

rootedness of corruption in Nigeria at that time. In Nigeria every form of corruption were committed: starting from inviting someone to lunch expecting something in return; to win big contracts without bidding; to participate in illegal trade activities; to use public resources for personal purpose. For instance, to begin with the very title, 'A Man of the People' literally could mean Nanga is 'a man of the people by the people for the people'. But when the story uncovered, Nanga is 'a man of Nanga, by Nanga and his followers and for Nanga and his friends and colleagues'. Moreover , Achebe tried to show how corruption paralyzed the economy and politics of Nigeria and how he depicted the failure of the leadership to develop their country and helped their brothers and did not do what was expected from them by using their position to enrich themselves .

The story of the fiction ended with coup d'etat as the last solution suggested by the author to overthrow the corrupt politicians from their throne. Also the truly educated class and the organic intellectuals are the key solution for a better "Nigerian Future".

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## ملخص:

الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو تصوير أوضاع المجتمع النيجيري كما تعكسها رواية أنشيبى "رجل الشعب" التي تصور مشكلة الفساد في نيجيريا بين السياسيين. "رجل الشعب" رواية خيالية تعكس الواقع النيجيري، كما تسعى هذه الدراسة لمناقشة مرحلة ما بعد الاستعمار كحقة من النضال والتحديات لنيجيريين وكيف تم تصويرها لاحقا في الأدب الإفريقي. هذه الدراسة تعتمد على استخدام نظرية ما بعد الاستعمار ونظرية جرامشي لإبراز الموضوع قيد الدراسة، ويتم اختيار هاتين النظريتين لعلاقتها المباشرة بالموضوع، وتتناسب فترة ما بعد الاستعمار مع الدراسة لان الرواية كتبت في فترة ما بعد الاستعمار والتي شهدت موجات من الفساد على جميع المستويات. ينصب التركيز الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة على استكشاف كيف تسخر الأجيال من أشكال الفساد الكبرى التي يرتكبها القادة و السياسيين.

اقترح أنشيبى في نهاية الرواية الانقلاب كحل وحيد لردع الفساد السائد في ذلك الوقت. لكن الحل الأمثل والأفضل لمستقبل أفضل لنيجيريا يعتمد على شعبها خاصة الطبقة المثقفة التي تعتبر علاجا للأزمة السياسية و الاجتماعية وتقوية علاقة بين تلك الطبقة المثقفة والشعب لتطوير أمتهم.