

I. Introduction

This research entitled "Political Alienation in Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*" attempts to study the impact of colonialism and outlines the political alienation in Africa. Political emancipation has not heralded successive changes in the popular milieu Africa. There is a power struggle between two generations in terms of African politics. The two generations of politics represent differently. The narrator Odili represents the new intellectual generation where as chief the Honorable M.A. Nanga represents the old style of bush politicians. In a literal sense, there is a conflict between two generations as the colonizer and the colonized. M.A. Nanga, a member of parliament stands for the colonizer who does not follow the change. Rather he is a corrupt politician who always thinks of his benefit by giving people bad slogans though he is named as a man of the people. On the other hand, Odili stands for the colonized who is charmed by the politician in the beginning. He is an honest man advocating the change. He ignores the old values as Nanga represents though he was a student of Nanga. Eventually, Odili decides to oppose the minister in an election where he is physically and politically beaten and his appeal to the people is heard but ignored. Here in the novel, the corrupt politician M.A. Nanga is rewarded but an honest man Odili is punished. It is because there is the great impact of colonization.

Still there is the impact of colonization in Nigeria even though the country has already got independence. After independence, some sort of colonial hangover in cultural, political and psychological components prevail in many nations. Colonialism ends placing many traumatic experiences . The recently decolonized West African

homeland in *A Man of the People* is invaded by colonial remnants that leads to the political alienation of Odili and Edna in their own land.

Albert Chinualumogu Achebe, Nigerian novelist and a short story writer, poet, essayist, critic, editor and author of children's literature, is considered as one of the most accomplished African authors writing in English. Widely known as "the father of the African novel in English" Achebe is one of the most significant writers to emerge from contemporary Africa with a literary vision that has profoundly influenced the form and content of modern African literature. Achebe, a strong voice for African literature, was born on November 16, 1930 in Ogidi, Eastern Nigeria. His father was a Christian evangelist and teacher. Achebe attended Church Mission Society School where he learnt Bible. He continued his education at Government College in Umuahia from 1944 to 1947. In 1948 he joined at the newly established University college in Ibadan, run by the University of London and took his Bachelor's degree in 1953. He went to London and studied broadcasting at the British Broadcasting Corporation. Later on, he was appointed as a talk's Producer in Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Lagos, Nigeria's Capital from 1958 to 1961 and as a director from 1961 to 1966. He left the job after the massacre of Ibos in Northern Nigeria in 1966 and moved to the eastern Nigeria. Over the course of his life he has written nearly 300 books and he has become a powerful influence in the Nigerian politics.

Chinua Achebe is a fine stylish and an astute social critic, one of the best known African writers in the west. Achebe's unsentimental, often ironic books vividly convey the traditions and speech of Ibo people. His concern was with emergent African people at its moments of crisis. His novels range in subject matter from the first contact of an

African village with the white man to the educated African's attempt to create a firm moral order out of the changing values in a large city. Achebe demands some concepts of Ibo tradition. Achebe himself comes from Ibo group, and his works refer to Ibo tradition.

Achebe is regarded as the finest Nigerian novelist of the 20th century and his literary criticism and sociological essays also have won praise. Achebe's works explore the impact of European culture on African society. In his novels, he has chronicled the colonization of Nigeria by Great Britain and the political turmoil following its independence. Achebe's novels represent some of his first works written in English that articulate an intimate and authentic account of African culture and mores- especially his first novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), which critics have proclaimed a classic of modern African fiction. A major theme of Achebe's writings is the social and psychological impact of European imperialism on indigenous African societies, particularly with respect to a distinctly African consciousness in the twentieth century. Critics have praised his novels for their insightful renditions of African history as well as balanced examinations of contemporary African politics and society. Scholars also have praised Achebe's innovative fusion of Igbo folklore, proverbs, and idiomatic expressions with western political ideologies and Christian doctrines.

As the finest Nigerian novelist, Achebe's writings have relevance beyond the borders of Nigeria and beyond the anthropological, sociological and political concerns of postcolonial Africa. Achebe's literature also deals with the universal qualities of human nature. Achebe has opened his literary field not only in fiction and poetry but also in the field of criticism. In terms of understanding Achebe's creative art, Achebe comments himself:

I am a political writer. My politics is concerned with Universal human communication across racial and cultural boundaries as a means of fostering respect for all people. Such respect can issue only from understanding. So my primary concern is with clearing the channels of communication in my own neighborhood by backing away at the thickets that choke them. Africa meeting with Europe must be accounted a terrible disaster in this matter of human understanding and respects. The nature of meeting precluded any warmth of friendship. First Europe was an enslaver: then a colonizer. In either role or appreciate Africa; indeed She easily convinced herself that there was nothing there to justify the effort. Today our world is still bedeviled by the consequences of that cataclysmic encounter. (qtd. in Henderson 7)

Chinua Achebe is a prolific writer and is considered one of the most original literary artists writing in English. Achebe has always taken as a primary concern understanding and accurately depicting the African people. He represents a particular reality of modern Africa which is rich in variety of ethnic and cultural identities, but it is complicated by the impact of European colonialism. His works are intended to challenge stereotypes of African as primitive, savages and present the complexities of African societies, with their alternative sets of tradition, ideals, values, and behaviors. Achebe is even dismayed, however, to Africans themselves internalizing these stereotypes and turn away from their cultures to interpret the African past from an African's point of view. He wrote short stories and novels illuminating experiences of traditional Africans perused by the stresses of modern society.

African literature has been blooming after the Second World War mainly with the presence of Chinua Achebe. Chinua Achebe, among many critics, is known as one of the best-known African novelists. His name and fame is not only known to Africa but extended throughout the world. He is known as the inventor of African literature. For instance, Simon Gikandi states:

Achebe is the man who invented African literature because he was able to show in the structure and language of his first novel that the future of African writing did not lie in simple limitation of European forms but in the fusion of such forms with oral tradition. Achebe in the conscience of African literature because he has consistently insisted on the power of storytellers to appeal to the morality and humanity of their reader and to give their life fuller meaning. (67)

Achebe's central point is to state the colonizers that Africa has a history, a religion and civilization. He has revived African history and civilization and presented European eyes to challenge their stereotypes. Achebe has been expressing the African people that they have their own identity, history and dignity. He appeals people to be far from the sense of disintegration.

Achebe regards art must have a certain goal focusing on applied art. David Carroll comments that Achebe finds the idea of art for art's sake repellent and the count of the alienated artist almost contradiction in terms and he is worried that African writers will be influenced by these models which he feels, spring from European societies. In Achebe's own words "perhaps what I write is applied art a distinct from pure art" (qtd. in Carroll 25).

Achebe believes the role of writer in social transformer or revolutionary. African writers should be devoted in African culture and history. Achebe comments:

I believe it's impossible to write anything in Africa without some kind of commitment, some kind of message, some kind of protest. In fact, I should say all our writers, whether they are aware if it or not are committed writers. The whole pattern of life demanded that you should say all our writers, whether they are aware of it or but we are committed writers. The whole pattern of life demeaned that you should protest, that you should put in a word for protest, your traditions, our religion, and so on. (qtd. in Basu 72)

Achebe realizes that the writer's role is to act rather than react. Achebe is with his own society for the sake of reformation. Achebe does not hesitate to use English language in his novels thinking that English, as an international language, can be used as a means of communication so that his writing may be read by a number of people throughout the world. The main point is African experience should be highlighted.

Achebe's works explore the impact of European culture on African society. Through his writing, Achebe exposes the bitter realities of African society in which so-called European culture dominates the norms and values of native society. In 1958, Achebe published his first major novel *Things Fall Apart* depicting the cultural society and its downfall. In 1960, Nigeria got independence. In the same year, he published his second novel *No Longer at Ease*. His third novel *Arrow of God* (1964), fourth novel, *A Man of the People* (1966) and his fifth novel *Anthills of Savannah* published in 1987. His

works mainly associate with the fortunes and sufferings of Nigerian people and the country as a whole.

Chinua Achebe does not limit his life as a novelist alone, he stretches his hands to establish himself as an author, co-author and editor of 17 books. He is the editor of several anthologies including essay collections, *Morning Yet on Creating Day* and *Hopes and Impediments* and the collection of poetry, *Beware Soul Brother*. He is the editor of the magazine *Okike* and founding editor of the celebrated Heinemann series of African literature. He is often called the father of modern African literature though he denies to be regarded as such. He is awarded of 25 honorary doctorates from different universities of the world and he has been teaching as professor of English at Bard College currently.

To understand works of Achebe, some typical concepts should be kept in mind that make us familiar with African world picture.

Igbo (Ibo), a group of people who have been living in south eastern Nigeria speak Igbo, a language of kango family. The Igbos are divided in several classifications: Northern (Onitsha) - Southern (Owerri) Western (Ika) Eastern (Crisis river) and North eastern (Abakaliki). Before British Colonization, the Igbo were not united as a single tribe of people but lived in autonomous local communities by the mid century however a sense of ethnic identity was strongly developed and the Igbo dominated the eastern region of Nigeria. At the turn of 20th century Igbo numbered more than sixteen millions.

A realistic and anthropologically informative portrait of traditional Ibo society distinguishes *Things fall Apart*, which is named after a tittle from a line in Irish poet W.B. Yeat's Poem "The Second Coming". Set in the village of Umuofia during the initial stages of colonization in the late 1880s, the narrative traces the conflict between Igbo and

Western customs through the characterization of Okonkwo, a proud village leader whose refusal to adapt to the encroaching European influences leads him to murder and suicide. *No longer at Ease* follows Obi Okonkwo, the grandson of the protagonist of Achebe's first novel, throughout his failure to successfully combine his traditional Igbo upbringing with his British education and affluent lifestyle in Lagos during the late 1950s.

Describing Igbo village life during the 1920s, *Arrow of God* centers on Ezeulu, a spiritual leader, whose son Oduche attends a missionary school to learn about Western society and technology. When Oduche comes home, he nearly kills a sacred python, which precipitates a chain of events culminating in Ezeulu's loss of his position as high priest and his detention by British authorities. Highlighting the widespread graft and abuse of power Nigerian leaders following its independence from Great Britain. *A Man of the People* focuses on the tribulations of a Nigerian teacher who joins a political group working to remove a corrupt bureaucrat from office. The poems of *Beware, Soul Brother* - which later was republished as *Christmas in Biafra* (1973)- reflect on the human tragedy of the Nigerian civil war, using plain language and stark imagery. Similarly, some of the stories in *Girls at War* are about aspects of imminent war. Most of the stories deal with the conflict between traditional religious values and modern, secular mores, displaying the full range of Achebe's talents for humor, irony, and political satire.

Divided into two parts, *Morning Yet on Creation Day* addresses a number of literary and political themes, with special emphasis on traditional and contemporary roles of art and the writer in African society. Set in the fictional West African country of Kangan, *Anthills of the Savannah* is about three childhood friends who hold influential governmental posts. When one of them fails in bid for election as president for life, he

works to suppress his opposition. After successfully conspiring to murder one friend he meets a violent death during a military coup, while the third friend dies in a street riot. Generally considered Achebe's most accomplished work, *Anthills of the Savannah* illustrates the often dire consequences for society when individual responsibility and power are recklessly exploited. While retaining the use of Igbo proverbs and legends to enhance his themes, Achebe also pays more attention to the development and role of the women characters in this novel. In the book, Achebe gives women strength and composure as the agents of traditional morals and precepts. Finally, *Hopes and Impediments* (1988) gathers new and previously essays and speeches, including a controversial essay attacking British novelist Joseph Conrad as racist. The book also includes a tribute to American novelist James Baldwin, along with several commentaries on post-colonial African society that high-light cultural forces influencing its modern-day character.

Achebe's *A Man of the People*, takes place not in Nigeria but in an imaginary African country, a few years after independence. The novel focuses on the tribulations of a Nigerian teacher who joins as political group working to remove a corrupt bureaucrat from office. It is set in the postcolonial period in an unnamed independent African country. The quality of the leadership and the response of the people are the central theme. There is neither collective voice at the people nor responsible leadership.

A Man of the People was published in January 1966 and coincided almost with the first military coup intervention. In his novel *A Man of the People*, Achebe casts a critical eye on African politics. The author's eyepiece is the books narrator Odili, a schoolteacher; the object of his scrutiny is chief the Honorable M.A. Nanga, member of

parliament, Odili's former teacher and a popular bush politician who has risen to the post of minister of culture in his west African homeland. At first, Odili is charmed by the politician; but eventually he recognizes the extent of Nanga's abuses and decides to oppose the minister in an election. Odili is beaten both physically and politically, his appeal to the people is heard but ignored. The novel demonstrates, according to critic Shatto Arthur Gakwandi, how "the society has been invaded by a wide range of values which have destroyed the traditional balance between the material and the spiritual spheres of life, which has led inequitable to the hypocrisy of double standards". Odili is the victim of these double standards. Achebe captures the inside reality of the lives of the contrasting characters as he demonstrates energy and brightness as well as violence and corruption. On the other hand, Odili's motive for running against Chief Nanga in the election is to seek revenge and to provide that he is closer to the common man than Nanga. Odili is upset and jealous of chief Nanga as he wins out both the girls Odili attempts to have relations with.

By representing his country after colonialism, Achebe has the incentive to stay as far away from the European style of life and politics as possible. Though the recently decolonized West African homeland is invaded by colonial remnants that leads to the political alienation of Odili and Edna in their own land which can be described as one of the many traumatic experiences as heralded by colonialism in various spheres of colonized nation-states. As Odili explains the story, however chief Nanga only tells the people what they want to hear about defend their culture and way of thinking and Nanga only acts in a voracious way to obtain what he wants in his personal life, money, power and women. Chief Nanga's corrupt may of leading the people by telling one thing and

doing another is what eventually brings his reign to a system. Despite his political victory, Nanga, along with the rest of the government, is ousted by a coup. The seriousness of the fictional situation portrayed in *A Man of the People* become real very soon after the novel was first published in 1966 when Nigeria itself was racked by a coup.

A Man of the People, a classic novel of African literature has received a number of criticisms from divergent critics. This book has been analyzed and evaluated from multiple perspectives- national, political colonial and post-colonial parameters. The worsening situation of Africa especially of Nigeria has been keenly observed by David Carrol:

In *A Man of the People*, conflict between different values is delineated by means of central dramatic relationship far more vital and convincing than the dismemberment of Obi Okonkwo. The main characters are chief Nanga, the minister of culture, and the schoolteacher, Odili Samalu. The two men occupy opposite ends of the political spectrum, and their relationship defines the basic problems of political morality. Odili has a fastidious theoretical view of public morality derived from his European type of education, and we find him at the beginning of the novel thoroughly disillusioned with political affairs in his own country. He has rejected all the political allegiances.- "primitive loyalties" he calls them- and refuses to acknowledge that their might have value for other people. From his detached, alienated point of view he condemns the corruption he sees around him and remain aloof. (119)

Achebe has written about the pathetic condition of Nigeria. The novel attempts to depict the Africa and its history, a religion, a civilization and a culture, which was distorted, manipulated and misinterpreted by colonialist writers. Achebe tries to reconstruct this civilization and displayed it to challenge the stereotypes. 'The man' in *A Man of the People* is Nanga, a representative of old style of bush politician who is a corrupt nature and nevertheless manages to remain both popular and successful. Achebe's writing clearly depicts the picture of political disorder and the document of harsh realities of military rule. African writers are expressing their vision in a foreign language through alien conventions. As Achebe has commented, "[s]uch a novelist often finds himself describing situations or modes of thought which have no direct equivalent in the English way of life" (Carrol 23).

Achebe is regarded as one of the best African writers in the West, whose works explore the impact of European culture on indigenous African society. He deliberately writes in English language. He argues that for most African societies, which have been enough through colonialism, English is a national language. It helps the diverse ethnic communities to speak to one another. Achebe opines that national literature of Nigeria will be written in English. In his essay "The African Writers and the English Language" he argues:

English language gave him a language with which to talk to one another.

If it failed to give them a song, at least gave them a tongue, for sighing.

There are not many countries in Africa today where you could abolish the language of the erstwhile colonial powers and still retain the facility for mutual communication. Therefore those African writers who have chosen

to write in English or French are not unpatriotic smart alecks with an eye on the main chance- outside their own countries. They are by products of the process that made the new nation states of Africa. (26)

His purpose is to derive out the colonial myth of primitive Africa and to establish a true picture of the people and their culture. His effort consists of two ways. On one hand, he tries to make western readers know that Africa has its own myth prior to colonial myth while on the other , he wants to remove the feeling of inferiority from African's mind created by colonizers. We also find the dilemmas of contemporary society in his writings. Achebe's effort is to tell Europe that Africa also has a history, a religion, and a civilization.

Achebe prefers the role of the novelist as a teacher. Novelist can best get his people on their feet through writing about real problems which people are facing. The only thing is to write about the past and to make them aware. To spread this message, publicity is necessary. Westerners know the existence of the African culture and its values. They provide most valuable lessons too. The native people should understand those values of their life and society. Achebe in *Morning Yet on Creation Day* argues:

The writer can not excuse from the task of re-education and regeneration that must be done I for one would not wish to be excused. I would be quite satisfied if my novels (especially the ones I set in the past) did no more than just teach my readers that their past with all its imperfections- was not one long night of savagery from which the European acting on god's behalf delivered them. (17)

Achebe primarily focuses on the problems that are uppermost in Odili's mind, such as his sexual frustration, but his refusal to play up the sordid element in his environment leads to an insufficiency in the representation of that against which the ire of the idealistic young politician ought to stir. Because there could be no more apt way for a chronicler of the contemporary African experience to provide a deep analysis of the social malaise afflicting the continent than by giving a mirror image of the social environment, as assignment that Achebe refuse to carry out, he makes a fatal mistake in employing the metaphor of the military coup (which he uses at the close of the novel) as a central symbol to universalize his story.

Achebe has acknowledged that a writer should also be involved with contemporary issues to explore in depth the human condition. He describes himself as a teacher. In Africa, Achebe says, society expects the writer to be its leader:

Here, then, is an adequate revolution for me to expose- to help my society regain its belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of the denigration and self-abasement. And it is essentially a question of education, in the best sense of the world. Here, I think my aims and deepest aspirations of my society meet. For no thinking African can escape to be expecting to be excused form the task of reeducation and regeneration must be done. (qtd in Ogungbesan 70)

Achebe basically remains constant in his role as a social one. He seeks his task as essentially that of restoring dignity to his own people. He helps his society to regain belief in itself. He seems to suggest in fact, that the public responsibility and communal tie are more essential than creative value for any African writer.

Achebe's motivation in writing is for the restoration of pride in the African world. He does not advocate a return to the past or a rejection of western culture. His practical advice is to learn to cope with a changing world. He teaches the necessity of compromise. He is loyal to traditional Africans and suspicious to western materialism, but open to western thought. In his attempt to reinterpret the African past, he does not paint a claim picture. He regrets the loss of mystery surrounding that past, but chooses knowledge, because he considers judgment clarity of vision, and tolerance. He locates virtues in his traditional society as a way out of confusion and corruption.

At the end of the novel the old tyrannical government is destroyed the Nigerian civil war also was finished. The new government will be elected. The new minister would be liberal than the former one. The present novel ends with the new hope. The title also suggests the story of the destruction of old generation and reestablishment of new intellectual generation.

The first chapter of this research is a general introduction to the area of this study and the whole direction this study is going to take. In order to provide the case of alienation which breaks the familial as well as political or societal harmony and unity, the second chapter outlines in brief, the postcolonial perspective of the society. This study is based on the assumption that African society in *A Man of the People* is frustrated, alienated, disintegrated by practicing colonial values. It further studies the failure of colonial way of life by breaking harmonious society. The third chapter is oriented towards close reading of the text from post colonial perspective. The final chapter illustrates the finding of this research in brief.

II. Postcolonial Approach: A Theoretical Modality

Introduction

The term "post-colonialism" refers broadly to the ways in which race, ethnicity, culture and human identity itself are represented in the modern era, after many colonized countries gained their independence. However, some critics use the term to refer to all culture and cultural products influenced by imperialism from the movement of colonization until today. Post colonial literature seeks to describe the interactions between European nations and the people they colonized. In essence, what post-colonialism, as a movement, does is to expose to both colonizer and the ex-colonized the falsity or validity of their assumptions. The pioneers of post- colonialism like Edward Said, Chinua Achebe, Leela Gandhi, Frantz Fanon, Homi K Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak among others, concerned themselves with the social and cultural effects of colonization.

Post-colonialism has focused especially on the Third World countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean islands, and South America. It deals with the effects of European imperial powers on culture and societies. The term ' post-colonialism' was used after the Second World War to refer the post-independence period. The prefix 'post' means 'after' colonialism. The term 'post-colonial state' has often been used by historians, economists and political theorists as a synonyms for 'post-independence state'. However, from the late 1970's the term 'post-colonialism' has been used by literary critics to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization such as political alienation comes to the fore which has been led by the colonialism.

Some scholars would date the rising of postcolonial studies in the Western academy from the publication of Edward Said's influential critique of Western construction of the orient in his 1978 book, *Orientalism* and it led to the development of what came to be called colonialist discourse theory in the work of critics such as Spivak and Bhabha. The actual term 'post-colonial' was not employed in those early studies of power of colonialist discourse. It is to shape and form opinion and policy in the colonies and metropolis, Spivak published *The Post-Colonial Critic* in 1990. The term 'post-colonial' was first used to refer to cultural interactions within colonial studies in literary circles. This was part of an attempt to politicize and focus the concerns of the so-called New Literatures in English initiated in the late 1960's. The term has subsequently been widely used to signify the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies.

The post-colonial studies is a field from colonial discourse theory. Post-colonial theory dominates the latest era at present existing from colonial encounter leading up to decolonization and aftermath. This approach is a strategy of encountering colonial literature or colonial discourse. Colonial discourse had dominated colonized society through the means of guide book, travel book, narrative of journey, literary piece, leaflet, research paper and treaties by emphasizing ruling ideas. Post-colonial theory goes against the ruling ideas of colonizer and evokes colonial experiences and inhuman activity of colonizers proving them as if very close to criminal or animal. Frantz Fanon writes in his *The Wretched of Earth*: "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding the people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of the perverted

logic it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (170).

Orientalism (1978), written by Edward Said, delineates the formal presence of post-colonial theory by opening the bitter truth of colonial dichotomy- Oriental (estern) junior and Occidental (western) senior. So, this theory discloses the injustice and animalistic character enforced by the colonizers over the natives in order to justify their colonial legacy. In a very general sense, the post-colonial is the study of the interaction between European nations and the societies they colonized in the modern nations and the societies they colonized in the modern period. The sheer extent and duration of the European empire and its disintegration after the World War II have led to widespread interest in post-colonial literature and criticism in our times. The Well-celebrated post-colonial writer Elleke Boehmer writes in her book *Colonial and Post colonial Literature*:

[. . .] the naming of other people as irrational, barbarian, Indian, animal like was simultaneously an act of evaluation usually of downgrading. In certain post-colonial descriptions of course the presence of native people was entirely erased from the land they occupied time and again, the derogation of other cultures was used to validate the violence of invasion.

(80)

Discourse, an important key of post-colonial theory, is coined by famous post-structuralism figure Michael Foucault concerning with the relation between knowledge and power. For him, every utterance is discourse whether spoken or written that is the source of power formation. As a consequent, discourse creates knowledge that influences power. So, knowledge or truth is power-oriented. Therefore, we don't have any objective

truth at all because of the dynamic and changeable world. The social and political power structure of a society are based on discourse. The colonizers by employing ruling ideas in their discourse started dominating over the natives. Homi K. Bhabha mentions in his book *The Location of Culture*:

The objective of Colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate type on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest and to establish system of administration and instruction...Therefore, despite the 'play' in the colonial system which is crucial to its exercise of power, colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once. An 'other' and get entirely knowable and visible. (70-71)

Colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods. Colonialism is over now because their direct ruling over the land has come to end. In the colonial period they invented a new type of literature, which is, however still continuing. So, it is relevant to mention that type of literature here. Edward Said says:

Colonialist literature in contrast was that which was specifically concerned with colonial expansion on the whole it was literature written by and for colonizing Europeans about non-European lands dominated by them. It embodied the imperialist point of view. Colonialist literature was informed by theories concerning the superiority of European culture and the rightness of empire. (3)

But post-colonial literature came after the European empire ended. Post colonial literature, hereby, does not simply consist of writing that chronologically came after

independence. Rather, it is the result of interaction between imperial culture and the complex set of indigenous cultural practices. The resistance to imperial domination is through textual form because this mode of resistance does not need weapons, which are not easily available to the poor people of third world. Because of this tension of self-reflection and expression against western domination, there we can see the exciting and the powerful mixture of imperial language and local experience, and the origin of postcolonial theory. Stephen Salmon has rightly expressed:

Post-colonialism, as it is now used in its various fields, describes a remarkably heterogeneous set of subjects, position, professional fields and enterprises. It has been used as a way of ordering a critique of totalizing forms of western historicism; as a portmanteau term for a retooled nation of 'class' as subject of both post modernism and post-structuralism. (45)

He has used the term for the colonial nationalist's longing in post-independence national grouping. It also covers the inevitable underside of a fractured and ambivalent discourse of colonialist power.

Post-colonial theory represents the voice of marginalized and suffocated people who are ready to die for the sake of their cultural and social norms, which had been sucked by the giant rulers. Post-colonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (Chakraverty) raises the voice of undermined people by stating that the subaltern can speak if chance or opportunity is granted to them. On the other hand, Hegemony, Politico-Economic influences, and Decolonization are other powerful tools of post-colonial thematic discussion that evokes the colonial experience of injustice and barbarism, leading to downfall of native norms and values as in *A Man of the People*. While depicting

animalistic character over Negro, the whites justify themselves having such nature that leads to antagonistic relationship between the ruler and ruled. From the process of writing back, Fanon presents in *The Wretched of Earth*, "The violence with which the supremacy of white values is affirmed and the aggressiveness which has permeated the victory of those values are over the ways of life and of thought of the native mean that, in revenge, the native laughs in mockery when western values are mentioned in front of him." (35)

Orientalism, Hegemony and Discourse

Orientalism occupies a dominant space among a number of concepts of post-colonial theory such as culture, hybridity, discourse, diaspora, anti-colonial resistance, subaltern, mimicry and others. Orientalism is a projection of relationship occurred between the Europeans and the non-Europeans. It shows explicitly the pre-occupied psychos of colonizers over native people regarding later as oriental or other. Edward Said, as a propounder of the concept of Orientalism, challenges the westerner's attitudes or stereotypes with publication of *Orientalism* in 1978. Orientalism simply refers to the European style of dominating and undermining or restructuring the orients through their lenses. It is a creation of western ruling mind. Edward Said puts forth his view in his *Introduction of Orientalism*; "The orient was almost a European invention and had been since antiquity a place of romance exotic beings haunting memories and landscapes remarkable experiences (1).

Furthermore, Said clarifies that " Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with orients, dealing with it, by making statements about it, settling it, ruling over it; in short, Orientalism as western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the orient" (3). The westerners think Asia, Africa

or Latin America as the places of haunting, exotic, fun and thrilling beyond modernization and civilization.

In terms of colonization, the Europeans visited various parts of the world and began writing magazines, books, articles, travel guide etc. by consulting to the native people as the inhabitants remaining in the stage of primitive world for the justification of colonization as the fundamental need for the natives. This book of justification of European expansion is regarded Orientalism in which westerners present themselves as senior and native junior through hegemony. Said writes that " The idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European people and culture there is in addition the hegemony of European ideas about the orient themselves reiterating European superiority over oriental backwardness" (7).

Edward Said indicates that the initiation of Orientalism since the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798 in which British and French orientalism affected one and half century upto Second World War and American Orientalism after Second World War. In Said's view, Aeschylus, Euripides, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, Byron, Balfour and Cromer were the leading practitioners of orientalism by describing non-Europeans place as exotic and romantic. The orientalist dominate the native people by decoding stereotypes such as emotional, irrational, spiritual, superstitious, eccentric, lack of self-governance and accuracy where as they themselves exaggerate vice versa i.e. civilized, rational, patience, reasonable and capable of self-governance. Said postulates:

Many terms were used to express the relation, Balfour and Cromer typically used several. The oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), child like "different" thus the Europe is rational. virtuous, matured "normal":

Yet what gave the orient's world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the complex series of manipulation by which the orient was identified by the west. (40)

There are various images and representation through which books are written about the native people and naming them that leads a trend of manifestation of discourse. Naming the other people concerns with the control and subjugation by enforcing colonial discourse. Said agrees with Foucault's view of discourse in this way:

I have found it useful here to employ Michael Foucault's notion of discourse as described by him in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish* to identify orientalism. My contention is that without understanding orientals as a discourse one can not possibly understand enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and even produce the orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-enlightenment period. (3)

Supporting the view of Said, the influential post-colonial writer Leela Gandhi opines in her book *Post-colonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* writes:

Orientalism becomes a discourse at the point at which it starts systematically to produce stereotypes about the orientals and the orient such as the heat and dust, the teeming market place the terrorist courtesan, the Asian, despot the child-like the native and the mystical East. These stereotypes Said tell us, confirm the necessity and desirability of colonial

governments by endlessly confirming the positional superiority of the west over the positional inferiority of East. (77)

After the Second World War, European imperialism shifted into America along with orientalism in the same direction. American orientalism mainly aims over the Arabian or Muslim people with the implication of various indigestible images such as camel riding nomad, incompetent, defeated character, lechery, blood thirsty, dishonesty scoundrel, devious, intrigue and etc. The orientalists think their religion Christianity as the religion of the World but other religions are just imitation. Their God Christ is only one God as well as powerful one but other gods are no more gods. As a whole they assert their culture, religion, norms or values as authentic but other's nothing important as described in *A Man of the People*.

Post-colonial theory casts its eye in writing back making equal relationship between westerners and non-westerners. In this way, orientalism seems able to disclose how the Europeans had undermined over native people savagely and inhumanly for this, Said himself says orientalist as antihuman.

Hegemony, an important cultural term during the colonial period, coined by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci stands for domination by consent. Gramsci, after a long investigation, draws conclusion that ruling class gets success in dominating and promoting its intentions over the ruled ones by hegemony. Hegemony is associated with acceptance of colonial imposition through idea, message or teaching. In this reference, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin state in key concepts in *Post-colonial Studies Reader*:

Fundamentally hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. Domination is thus exerted not by force, nor even necessarily by active persuasion but by more subtle and inclusive power over the economy and over state apparatus such as education and media by which the ruling class interest is presented as the common interests and thus comes to be taken for granted. (116)

The fundamental essence of hegemony in Greek language denotes 'rule' or 'leadership' to be exercised by dominant group over dominated one especially observed in capitalist society. As Marx views that the ruling class claims always ruling ideas, the colonizers put forth their ruling parameters to justify imperialism as basic need. Commenting on Gramsci idea of hegemony, Said writes:

Culture of course is to be found operating within civil society where the influence of ideas, institutions and of other persons works not through domination but by what Gramsci calls consent. In any society not totalitarian, then, certain ideas are influential than others. The forms of cultural are influential than others. The forms of cultural leadership what Gramsci has identified as hegemony an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in industrial west. (7)

By emphasizing the essentiality of Euro-centric values, beliefs and assumptions, consent or agreement from local people is gained. As a result, the native people find their cultural norms and values at marginal or peripheral stage where as Euro-centric values present at the center.

Hegemony and discourse both are known to be the essential elements of cultural studies. Hegemony is a trend of constructing, maintaining and restructuring other culture in which dominant groups exercise political, social and cultural authority and leadership over subjugated groups after a successful effort of convincing. Discourse, Simply understanding, is a written expression but it refers to all the utterances whether spoken or written that signifying something at underlying level including the generation of meaning through images, sounds, cultural, performances, singing, dancing, games etc. So, discourse indicates images, sounds and practices which are close to sign system of language.

Michael Foucault regards that discourse is power, in the sense that a writer creates a book and the process of writing book deals with an attempt of generating discourse. He views that we are beyond the objective knowledge of history because discourse are known as product of power struggle. Discourse influences power in every field of society such as politics, art, science and religion. That's why, power is achieved through discourse. Foucault asserts the principle of discourse associated to power structure acting in a society by stating that discourses are deeply rooted in social organization that runs through discourse, so that, discourse and power are inseparable due to their interrelation tie. Abrahams presents in his book *A Glossary of Literary Terms*:

Discourse has become the focal term among critics who oppose the destructive concept of a general text that functions independently of particular historical condition. Instead they conceive of discourse as social parlance or language in use and consider it to be both the product and manifestation not of a timeless linguistic system but of particular social

condition class structures and power relationship that alter in the course of history. (262)

Furthermore, Foucault himself opines in his well-celebrated essay "Truth and power" that the truth as product of discourse is changeable neither correct nor wrong:

Now I believe that the problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which fall under the category of science or truth and that which comes under some other category but in seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourse which in themselves are neither true nor false. (1139)

Discourse the ruling term, initiating in 16th century, focused on any speech and conversation in preliminary period and gradually formal speech, narration, a treatise, dissertation and sermon were mentioned as different forms of discourse. Colonial discourse, a recent use in post colonial theory, is the complex structure of sign and practices those maintain social existence within colonial tie. The link between knowledge and power is very significant or epistemology itself the matter of power or discourse. Said regards Foucault's concept of discourse applied in orientalism when knowledge creates power or truth. Quoting the perspective of Cromer, Said puts forward, "Once again knowledge of subject races or orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable. Knowledge gives power and more power require more knowledge and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control".(36)

To sum up, truth is power-vested and it is the consequence of power. People who held high power create discourse. So, discourses are the means to dominate over colonized by the colonizers. The enforcement of such discourse is highly elaborated in A

Man of the People by Achebe demonstrating the collapse of native norms and values due to colonial discourse.

Politico- Economic Influences

Colonialism was a means of economic and political exploitation. The colonizers imposed cultural and political dominance through the help of Bible, sword, and the English language then the desire to dominate resulted in the formation of center and margin. The British empire depicted itself as the enlightened imperial center. They introduced a new system within the colonized by creating an eclectic or the so-called 'intermediate class', who were natives in regard to colour and blood yet different in taste and culture. Moreover, they treated their own people as inferior and became the instruments of the colonizers. The natives, despite being the true owner of the natural resources, were forced to remain as the spectator. Colonialism even usurped the cultural practices by imposing the western culture and also by dominating and devaluing the indigenous culture.

Learning as part of a civilizing mission European language and literature directly influenced the religion and culture of native people at a great length in colonial states. Religion and culture all together got affected by Christianity, English literature and language that came into use in daily lives of people. Achebe glorifies the native culture by describing his experiences of Igbo and English culture. He says:

We lived at the crossroads of cultures. We still do today; but when I was a boy one could see and sense the peculiar quality and atmosphere of it more clearly. I am not talking about all that rubbish we hear of the spiritual void and mental stresses that Africans are supposed to have, or

the evil forces and irrational passions prowling through Africa's heart of darkness. We know the racist mystique behind a lot of that stuff should merely point out that those who prefer to see Africa in those lurid terms have not insanity or more competence in coping with like. (190)

Appiah opines that no one can escape out of colonial and neo colonial cultural power in post colonial society:

All aspects of contemporary African cultural life have been influenced by the transition of African societies through colonialism, but they are not all in relevant sense postcolonial. For [. . .] in postcolonial [era] . . . Many areas of contemporary African cultural life are not [. . .] concerned with transcending, with going beyond, colonially. (63)

The post independence literature in the post colonial entity of colonial encounter that focuses on the role and function of post colonial significance. The discourse on colonialism entered the mainstream of Western theory and criticism in second half of the 20th century. Published in 1978, Edward Said's *Orientalism* is a crucial text for what has become known as post colonial theory. It dramatically heightened the consciousness of power and cultural relations. Now it is an accepted academic theory. In *Orientalism*, Said comments:

European colonialism is a discourse, namely, as the project of representing, imagining, translating, containing and managing the intransigent and incomprehensible 'orient' through textual codes and conventions. (Gandhi 143)

Edward said thus defines the 'Orient' in his influential book *Orientalism*, as " The orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences . . . orient has helped to define Europe" (1). Said further says that orientalism was "a way of coming to terms with the orient that is based on the orient's special place in European western experience" (1). Western society got orient as the source of its civilizations and languages and its cultural competitor. Said writes in his *Introduction to the Orientalism*:

Any one who teaches, writes about, or researchers the orient- and this applies whether the person in an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist- either in its specific or its general aspect, in an orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism. (2)

Orientalism is studied as a western style for dominating, reconstructing, and having authority over the orient. The study of Europe about East was believed as unquestionable authority. "European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself off against the orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self"(Said 3). Said, in his introduction further writes "To speak of orientalism is to speak mainly of a British and French culture enterprise, a project whose dimensions take in such disparate realms as the imagination itself, the whole of India"(3). Said explored both the range of orientalism and the ways in which it authorizes and theory controls the orient. Powerful European conceptions of the orient determine that "because of orientalism the orient was not a free subject of thought or action"(3). He highlighted the fact that cultural texts play a devastating role in the great game of colony and empire.

The movements of independence from colonial rule came across the Asian and African continents in 1950s. One of the common characteristics that influenced all independence movements was Europe. Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak shows the problems in postcolonial studies. She urges local body (elite class) to reconsider the status of generalized margin especially women. Spivak theorizes the silence of the doubly oppressed subaltern women. In her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" She analytically studies an absolute power to the hegemonic discourse in constituting and disarticulating the native. She observes that:

In seeking to learn to speak to the historically muted subject of the subaltern women, the post colonial intellectual systematically unlearns female privilege. This systematic unlearning involves learning to critique postcolonial discourse with the best tools it can provide and not simply substituting the lost figure of the colonized. (91)

Spivak seeks to develop a strategy of reading that will speak to the historically muted subject that is native people. In present situation, "There is no space from where the subaltern subject can speak"(103).

Moreover, she argues that for the purpose of administration and exploitation of resources, the marginalized natives are constructed by agents who are themselves of heterogenous class origin and social status. They distribute the natives into differential position which work in the interest of foreign authority. She opines:

At the regional and local levels [the dominant indigenous groups] . . . if belonging to social strata hierarchically inferior to those of the dominant all

India groups still acted in the interests of the latter and not in conformity to interests corresponding truly to their own social being.(80)

In the process of independence, violence is in the centre of practice. It is Europe which has taught the violence and killing to the native people. Fanon comments, the colonizer himself is the "bringer of violence into the home and into the mind bloodstained knives that Europeans formed the program of colonization. Now for the complete freedom, to subvert Europeans from the bottom, native people have adopted the violence as the key weapon of their struggle; "The native who decides to put the program into practice, and to become its moving force, is ready for violence at all times"(37).

Initially colonizers killed the native people brutally and later on the natives used the same method against settlers to banish them from the land. After independence native peoples are not able to abandon the violence for the unity among them. "The different tribes fight between themselves since they can't find the real enemy and [also] can not count on colonial policy to keep up their enemy"(18) as Jean Paul Sartre says in his preface to *The Wretched of the Earth* by Fanon. This is a traumatic mental agony just like a hungry farmer, who comes back from the land being tired and doesn't find rice cooked, beats his wife and children. Such discussion finds its expression in *A Man of the People* by Chinue Achebe.

Sartre further writes, "To Shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the man he oppresses at the same time"-(22). Native peoples are unaware about the fraction and the nectar which goes to settlers. Their feeling for each other is the reverse of the hatred they feel for colonizers. Brother is betraying his brother. This is the general feeling of native people. Native people are united and are

running a campaign which is the downfall of colonizers. Colonizers are object of native people's speeches. Africa no longer remains dumb, speechless. It has stuff of past - ignored histories and stories. But the natives are still fighting to achieve sovereignty. Those who have attained complete freedom are also facing the constant menace of imperialist aggression.

In some cases imperialist did not give up easily; they divided the colony into pieces just like India and Pakistan and created a long lasting rivalry between each other. In this context Sartre commenting the idea of Fanon further writes:

In order to triumph, the national revolution must be socialist; if its career is cut short, if the native bourgeoisie take over power, the new states, in spite of its formal sovereignty, remains in the hands of the imperialist. (11)

Frantz Fanon has negative attitude towards the cultural invasion by an imperial authority. Europeans exercised their ethics, values, language and religion with the power of bullets on the colonized people. At last, as native people became aware of the oppression, they retruned the same cycle. Fanon further says:

During the period of decolonization, the native's reason is appealed to. He is offered definite values, he is told frequently that decolonization need not mean regression, and that he must put his trust in qualities, which are well tired, solid, and highly esteemed. But it so happens that when the native hears a speech about Western culture he pulls out his knife - or at least he makes sure it is within reach...the native laughs in mockery when western values are mentioned in front of him...In the period of decolonization, the

colonized mass mock at these very values, insult them, and vomit them up.(43)

But the phenomenon is masked because certain colonized intellectuals have begun a dialogue with the colonizers and the natives are discerned only as an indistinct mass. After decolonization, the real conditions of natives has been remained static. Fanon opines, "During the period of liberation, the colonialist bourgeoisie looks feverishly for contacts with the elite and it is with these elite that the familiar dialogue concerning values is carried on"(44).

Decolonization

Decolonization is final aim of anti-colonial resistance in which two contradictory forces encounter each other- oppressor and oppressed one marked by violence.

Decolonization is painful because it demands the social structure being changed from the bottom up. However, it does not just overthrow the old colony but it follows the old suppression and people will be suffering as in colony. Old tradition will be replaced by new one which will be equally painful to bring into practice. We can equate with the saying 'the last shall be first and the first last". According to Fanon:

Decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. Decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain species of men by another species of men without any period of transition; there is a total, complete and absolute substitution. (35)

The recently decolonized homeland is invaded by the colonial remnants that leads to the political and socio-cultural alienation of the native in his own land which can be described as one of the many traumatic experiences as heralded by colonialism in various

spheres of colonized nation states. Still there is the impact of European imperialism in the recently decolonized countries even though the countries have already been decolonized. After decolonization, when the colonizers leave the country, some sort of cultural, political and psychological components are left by them in the nation states. As a result of that, colonialism does not end along with the end of colonial occupation. Helen Tiffin in *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* argues:

Decolonization is a process, not arrival; it invokes an ongoing dialectical between hegemonic centrist systems and peripheral subversion of them; between European or British discourses and their post-colonial dismantling. Since it is not possible to create or recreate national or regional formation wholly independent of their historical implication in the European colonial enterprise. (49)

In the similar fashion, Achebe himself has been the critic of colonial impact upon the recently decolonized nation-states. He writes in "Colonialist Criticism" an essay included in *Critical Theory Since Plato*, edited by Hazard Adams:

And so our world stance in just as much need of change today as it ever did in the past. Our writers are responding to something in themselves and acting also within the traditional concept of an artist's role in society—using his art to control his environment has addressed themselves to some of these matters in their art. And their concern seems to upset certain people whom history has dealt with differently and who persists in denying the validity of experiences and destinies other than theirs. (1197)

Achebe's observation theorizes the complexities of colonized nations as is the case with Leela Gandhi holds in *Postcolonial Theory : A Critical Introduction*: "Colonialism does not end with the end of colonial occupation"(17). However, "the psychological resistance to colonialism begins with the onset of colonialism", Gandhi reiterates on the changelings of sovereignty in recently decolonized nations, "thus, the very notion of colonial aftermath acquires a doubleness inclusive of both the historical scene of the colonial encounter and its dispersal" (17). Thus, though the empire leaves the country, the psychological components that ruin and rule still remains at the aftermath of colonialism.

Decolonization emerges in relation of resistance that occupies its location from the pit of domination and intervention generally in indigenous affairs. Resistance is generally defined as a revolt or revolution against a certain injustice and exploration. Revolt is the outcome of imperialism and colonialism which had played very notorious role against the spirit and values of African people. Colonialism concerns with the policy of occupying other's territory and exploiting its natural resources physically, militarily or epistemologically leading to modification or devastation of native religion and padalogy by undermining native's cultural norms and values. K. Asare Opoku writes:

The missionaries taught their converts that life could be separated into spiritual and secular spheres, a teaching which can counter to fundamental basis of African culture namely the unity of religion and life. Missionary teaching thus attempted to attack the cement which held African societies together. The danger signals were picked up early by many perceptive African rulers who initially resisted missionary penetration into their societies, seeing it a challenge and a treat to traditional pattern of

authority. Missionaries and colonial administrators alike preached against belief in spirits and supernatural forces and gods, witchcraft, sorcery, sacrifices and rituals, taboos and veneration of ancestors and thus weakened the influence of African traditional and ritual leaders such as priests, priestesses, magicians, rain makers and divine monarchs. (513-514)

Historically, the practice of colonialism has initiated from the extension of Roman Empire that led to Spanish, French and British imperialism coherently up to mid twentieth century British imperialism in Africa commenced from 1885 and lasted up to 1960 by running the state affairs more than seven decades. At this pitfall, Nigeria was colonized by British Empire in early decade of expansion and got independence after a revolution in 1960.

Christianity was dominant during colonial period and by dominating culture British empire applied its own religion as means of colonialism. On the other hand, Africans applied religion as a means of 'tit for tat' to fight against colonial force with the synthesis or support from ancestors and gods, except the converts, other native people fought against British Empire. K. Asare Opoku presents: "African used their religion as a weapon to resist colonial rule and often relied on magic and intervention of their ancestors and gods in their fight against colonial oppression" (514).

Writing a book against imperial influence is itself resistance. So, post colonial literature presents counter attack in against of colonial literature on colonial ethos through writing. The writers had to resist the colonial influence by dealing with native culture and

social affairs. They also had to awake the people through writing. Elleke Boehmer writes in her book *Colonial and Post-colonial Literature*:

To mend the self negating disjunction between language and lived reality, colonized writers had to begin to imagine the world from their own point of view. It was the writer's task, Ngũgĩ has said, to assert to right [of the once colonized] to name the world for ourselves' ('Moving the center', 1991) Chinua Achebe is, too has spoken of the imperative need of writers to help change the way the colonized world was seen, to tell own stories, to wage 'a battle of mind with colonialism' by reeducating readers. (189)

Anti colonial resistance denotes the expansion of hatred and arrogance over the colonial practice through culture, literature and revolution as well. It is the resistance against colonial mentality and its performance. Some writers have conceived colonial expansion as a criminal mentality. Jamaica Kincaid and influential Antiguan writer, postulates bitter arrogance against White as criminal by using 2nd person 'you' in her well celebrated essay "A Small Place", "For isn't it odd that the only language I have in which to speak of this crime is the language of the criminal who committed the crime? And what can that really mean? For the language of criminal contain only the goodness of the criminal's deed"(94).

Decolonization is final aim of anti colonial resistance in which two contradictory forces encounter each other colonizer and colonized one marked by violence. The true intellectual generation of native culture seems ready to change and be changed as Odili in *A Man of People*. Drawing the scenario of violence, the prominent post-colonial figure Fanon writes in his book, *The Wretched of Earth* : "The naked truth of decolonization

evokes for us the searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it. For if the last shall be first this will only come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between two protagonists" (30).

In terms of resistance, the native people react and sharpen their knives over the colonizers. They become conscious about the imposition of western imperialism by realizing that the western ethos are all false and misguided ones. The native is always tensed and gets ready to attack as Odili.

III. Political Alienation in Achebe's *A Man of the People*

The word "alienation" has been practiced by the term "colonialism" which leads to the alienation of the native in his own land. This is described as the traumatic experience that erodes the individual identity. In the course of political alienation in the novel, *A Man of the People*, the characters Odili and Chief Nanga representing two contrasting groups of people are the new intellectual generation and the old style of corrupt politician respectively. Here, in-between the two contrasting groups political alienation is taken place that violates the individual identity. Political alienation occurs predominantly in the novel when both contrasting groups do have opposite attitudes towards the limited independent government. It is because the limited independent government is nominally in the hands of the people, in which there is neither collective will in the people nor responsible leadership to redeem the people and their culture from the colonial impacts. It is the effect of European imperialism on the indigenous African societies that still remains as a colonial remnants even at the aftermath of colonialism.

A Man of the People is set in the postcolonial period in an unnamed independent African country. This country represents all the colonized countries in postcolonial freedom. It explores the postcolonial crisis, which these countries are facing. Political instability, insecurity, propaganda, rumor, corruption, anarchy, rulelessness, lawlessness, are general features of postcolonial self government. The governance of the country is nominally in the hands of the people. There is neither collective will in the people nor responsible leadership.

The novel depicts an atmosphere of material greed abandoned by traditional religious concern in the midst of political corruption, where there is no national voice but

only a confusion of opposing village voices. The novel is a first person retrospective narrative by Odili and the purpose of the story is to reveal the relations between Odili and Nanga, various confrontations between them, which culminate in a national economic crisis, scandal, a rigged election and finally a military intervention. Odili, who tells the story, is a cynical and politically disaffected university graduate, who once had placed his faith in university-trained, public minded leaders who would ensure through their education and actions that a unified nation, economically viable and politically stable, would be developed in the post colonial period. But a political opportunist, Nanga, prominent among them, has caused high-minded, disinterested, well-educated leaders to be discredited in the name of Africanization.

The story of the novel opens up with encompassing different aspects to show African political muddleness by presenting the postcolonial independence and its straight impact on African life. As new approaches work on analyzing novels with varied trends that the novel also is closest to these. The post independent disillusionment has been one of the daydreams of African people due to newly emerged leaders with ancestral trends. The novel carries the universal truth of colonized and postcolonial state of countries by offering analogies.

The opening of the novel portrays the influence of the great leader that inspires him to be an ideal leader to drive country towards prosperity but his dreams never come true due to lack of stability in the country. The fossils, left by colonial empire, work to invite turmoil in the country. In this light, the lines express the ideology of Naga in Odili's words:

No one can deny that Chief the honourable M. A. Nanga, M. P., was he most approachable politician in the country. Whether you asked in the city or in his home village, Anata, they would tell you he was a man of the people. I have to admit this from the onset or else the story I'm going to tell will make no sense. (1)

In this connection, the admiration by Odili can ensure that Nanga has been the one who is everywhere popular, respected and ideology of the people in the country. He has been 'man of the people' but the truth is beyond cognition for people because of postcolonial influence in the country. The puzzlement is prevailing indirectly in the presence of the leader by meek villagers:

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 them-selves lame and waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honour of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation. (2)

The silly and ignorant villagers have been the victims of pseudonym leader in the country. The villagers have had faith in the leaders as an emancipator. The faith seems to be quite understandable with the arrangement in the honor of the leader. Here, furthermore, the school teacher has also painted the painting of the leader. Odili says, "There was on one of the walls of the school a painting of a faultlessly handsome scoutmaster wearing an impeccable uniform. I am not sure that the art teacher who painted the picture had Mr Nanga in mind" (3).

In the light of these lines, again the fake promise of the prime minister heads with the words that can assure people to uphold newly obtained freedom in the country with new zeal:

You most remember that at that point no one had any reason to think there might be another side to the story. The prime minister was still talking. Then he made the now famous (or infamous) solemn declaration: "From today we must watch and guard our hard-won freedom jealously. Never again must we entrust our destiny and the destiny of Africa to the hybrid class of western-educated and snobbish intellectuals who will not hesitate to sell their mothers for a mess of portage." (6)

In this regard, these lines are speaking on behalf of the so called patriotic leader who always blames others by using epithets Western-educated intellectuals regarding nationality. Cashing people for the sake of vote he abuses them as trivial and untrustworthy who can sell their mothers for a mess of portage. The cashing language and catch words of Nanga seem to have had a trick to entangle people after himself. No longer, his words seem real to promote people's right rather stagnate by faults of others.

The act of othering intellectuals may be the strategy to install him as powerful and trustworthy in the authority. Understanding the hidden motif of the tradition Odili makes plan to desert the parliament to defend his own modern ideology in practical life and society along with the discard of kept mentality on parliamentarians and Odili says:

I had left parliament depressed and aggrieved, I had felt, like so many other educated citizens of our country that things were going seriously wrong without being able to say just how. We complained about our

country's lack of dynamism and abdication of the leadership to which it was entitled in the continent, or so we thought. We listened to whispers of scandalous deals in high places-sometimes involving sums of money that I for one didn't believe existed in the country. However, I was not making these judgments at the time, or not strongly anyhow. (40)

Odili had once placed his faith in university trained public minded leaders who believed that through their education and action, they would develop an economically workable and politically stable unified nation in the postcolonial period. But political opportunist, Nanga is a prominent example, has ensured that high-minded, disinterested, well-educated leaders are discredited in order to increase their personal fortunes at the expense of the public purse.

In this regard, Odili again has alienation of newly-independent situation of the country where he doubts that there is no future of the country due to lack of firmness and commitment of the leaders to drive nation towards the prosperity:

I saw beggars sleeping under the eaves of luxurious department stores and a lunatic sitting wide-awake by the basket of garbage he called his possession. The first red buses running empty passed me and I watched the street lights go off finally around six. I drank in all these details with the early morning air. It was strange perhaps that a man who had so much on his mind should find time to pay attention to these small, inconsequential things; it was like the man in the proverb who was carrying the carcass of an elephant on his head and searching with his toes

for a grasshopper. But that was how it happened. It seems that no thought-
no matter how great-had the power to exclude all others. (72)

The dream of the people has been turned into vain because of corrupt mentality and tendency of the leaders. People have been trapped, tramp and homeless and fall into vicious circle of poverty and political anarchy. There seems no political stability and good governance to emancipate people and nation rather political motif has been characterized deception and the game for political leaders to be tycoon. Exclusion has gone up heavily on every walk of life even the intellectuals and educated are out of political mainstream due to political havoc caused by traditional leaders. The state of the country is in critical phase that is shown as the worst one being impossible to retain while the commitment has displaced falling into the uncertain circle. In this connection the bareness has been widespread in absence of national interest. Odili expresses his views upon independence:

Max and some of his friends having watched with deepening disillusion the use to which our hard-won freedom was being put by corrupt, mediocre politicians had decided to come together and lunch the common people's convention. (78)

The newly hard-won independence is being driven towards instability by the leaders. The illusion is deepening into division among leaders. The Leaders themselves put into the alienation with the previous contribution of corruption. The clash among parties seems strong and unpredictable throughout the later part of the novel, which indicates that the newly established democracy is hurdled with party clash "I must say that I was immediately taken with the idea of the common people's convention. Apart from

everything else it would add a second string to my bow when I came to deal with Nanga"(79).

The worst competition among parties has been going disorderly in the country. The clash indicates that the hard-won democracy is on the edge of annihilation with continuous fight for the sake of power for furthering corruption and anarchy at the same time. In this connection the state of the politics and the existing policy further invites chaos and fear in businessmen and professionals in the society so Odili says:

The country was on the verge of chaos. The Trade Unions and the Civil Service Union made loud noises and gave notice of nation-wide strikes.

The shops closed for fear of looting. The Governor-General according to rumour called on the prime minister to resign which he finally got round to doing three weeks later. (101)

The anarchic rumor brought sensation on people for giving up day today affairs. The complete political system was paralyzed after post independence in Africa. The leaders are unquestionably thinking of continuing the tradition. The political imbroglio of the country caused inextinguishable situation to the all around the country.

The clever politician like Chief Nanga can easily win the public confidence. He can make people dance to his attendance while feeding fat from their resources. He seeks political allegiances and does not denounce the various forms of corruption he encounters. His public morality is one of survival in the midst of social and political confusion and rapid transformation of social disorder: "Sit down," he said to me, "We don't eat people" (118). Nanga has genuine concern and good relation with the people he

represents. He accepts the people as they are and enjoys their traditional life style. He moves heaven and earth to please them as he exploits their naiveté simultaneously. Nanga further defends the corrupted motives in this way:

"We know where that money is coming from," continued Nanga.

"Don't think we don't know. We will deal with them after the election.

They think they can come here and give money to irresponsible people to overthrow a duly constituted government. We will show them. As for you my brother you can eat what has entered your hand Your good friend Maxwell Kulamo has more sense than you. He has already taken his money and agreed to step down for Chief Koko." (119-20)

Chief Nanga cannot pretend to represent his people, the people, at this stage, do not have control over their leaders. He freely pursues his own self-interest rather than national politics. When he is accused of political corruption and bribery by the intellectual elite, he escapes by calling them discontented European stooges and promised to promote Africanization rapidly. The only language they understand is that of economic self-interest:

Max began by accusing the outgoing Government of all kinds of swindling and corruption. As he gave instance after instance of how some of our leaders who were ash-mouthed paupers five years ago had - become near-millionaires under our very eyes, many in the audience laughed. But it was the laughter of resignation to misfortune. No one among them, swore vengeance; no one shook with rage or showed any sign of fight.

They understood what was being said, they had seen it with their own eyes. But did anyone expect them to do? (125)

The corrupted nature of the politicians and their luxurious life is shown here. The country is not ruled or governed by the intellectual leader.

After independence people were expecting a prosperous nation. But the mythical independence of the country led by the corrupted leaders led to chaos, anarchy instead of political prosperity and welfare of the nation:

He saw two vultures fighting over what still remained of the carcass. In great anger he loaded his gun and shot the two dirty uneatable birds. You may say that he was foolish to waste his bullet on them but I say no. He was angry and he wanted to wipe out the dirty thieves fighting over another man's inheritance. That hunter is yourselves. Yes, you and you and you. And the two vultures - P. O. P. and P. A. P. (126)

Achebe has given us a faithful account of his characters as they have mirrored themselves in his mind. He seems to be showing that politicians are closer to the people than the so called educated intellectuals. But the situation is different. The village of Urua clearly shows the picture of instable politics:

Two nights later we heard the sound of the Crier's gong. His message was unusual. In the past the Crier had summoned the village to a meeting to deliberate over a weighty question, or else to some accustomed communal labour. His business was to serve notice of something that was to happen. But this night he did something new: he announced a decision already taken. (135),

The village is helpless in the sphere of national politics. It elects the leader but does not control. The village of Urua does not have sophisticated or well-developed political machinery. The people participate in elections; they vote but do not share the control of national political affairs. The people of Urua are a naive, unsophisticated people in the matter of political principles. Their decision has been made perhaps without opposition in the community that lacks intellectual sophistication and awareness:

The elders and councilors of Urua and whole people, he said, had decided that in the present political fight raging in the land they should make it known that they knew one man and one man alone-Chief Nanga. Every man and every woman in Urua and every child and every adult would throw his or paper for him on the day of election -as they had done in the past. (135)

The hoodwinked of leaders and their selfish motives deprives people from getting fundamental rights and it seems a great deal of lacking mandate in leaders towards people and nation at the same time due to the dream to be tycoon without toiling. The mercy of the politicians which is shown upon the villagers struck Odili and he further says, " I thought: if the whole people had taken the decision why were they now being told of it?" (136). He feels sympathy rather than anger:

In the afternoon the radio, our national crier, took up the message, amplified it and gave it in four languages including English. I listened to it, as I had listened to the rustic version, wearing my cynical smile. I couldn't say I blamed my village people recoiling from the role of

sacrificial ram, why should they lose their chance of getting good, clean water their share of the national cake? (136)

Odili is seeking for opportunity to revenge Nanga. The politicians may take over tribal and village trying to prove that their present roles are a continuation of traditional ones. However, there is a disastrous fracture between the morality of the village and the political affairs of the nation. The narrator tries to point out to this, not as a sudden revelation but as a truth, which has now been experienced:

"I came to tell your people that you are a liar," and 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 aside so violently that she landed on her buttocks on the wooden platform. The roar of the crowd was now like a thick forest all around. 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. (141)

Odili has met with tragedy. Two polarities are in great conflict here and they have forgotten the concept of national welfare and morality, Chief Nanga sees himself right he sees Odili's act as contumacious, wicked, absurd, and minor. He can proudly say that the intellectual elites should leave politics to the professionals. Odili, on the other hand, comes to the summit, or rather the culmination of his ambition to infuse into politics some elements of courtesy, morality, honesty and integrity. His youthful idealism is now

tempered by experience and he has been led by his idealism to perform his one selfless altruistic public act that is to expose the fault of Chief Nanga.

Odili is still recovering from a broken arm and a cracked skull from the fighting. The society slips into anarchy at the same time that Odili suffers from his casualties:

I remember the first time I woke up in the hospital and felt my head turbaned like an Alhaji. Everything seemed unreal and larger than life and I was sure I was dreaming. In the dream I saw Enda and my father and Mama standing around my bed. I also saw, through a gap in the screen, two policemen. But the only thing that was immediate and in focus was that pressure trapped inside the head pounding away in a panic effort to escape. I tried to feel my turban but the pain followed my thought to the arm-and I went off again. (141-42)

Odili, the narrator suffers bodily injuries on the hospital bed. This idea of political idealism is shattered beyond political redemptions and social amelioration in place where the only realities are personal affection or in a place where political practicality and simplicity rule the day. When the coup overthrows the government, Odili refuses to attribute it to the will of the people as he recovers his consciousness:

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. (145)

In a world, where the honest individual is isolated, life can be distressing and baffling.. No nation can survive without bribery, and corruption. No nation can survive without leaders of the mind, no nation can thrive in a land where ignorance is bliss and anti-intellectualism dwells in the sense of the people. So the nation is needed to develop a sense of fair play, honesty and integrity so that the few honest individuals may find a community within which to function effectively for the good of all. The members of the intelligentsia must do something to bridge the wide gulf between them and the mass of the people.

Odili, has also lost his moral aspect to cope with the situation of corruption. So he has taken money secretly. This situation shows that he is not a faithful leader and representative to reedmen the African people. As his acts shows:

I had already decided privately to borrow the money from C.P.C. funds still in my hands. They were not likely to be needed soon, especially as the military regime had just abolished all political parties in the country and announced they would remain abolished "Until the situation become stabilized once again". They had at the same time announced the impending trial of all public servants who had enriched themselves by defrauding the state. (148)

Odili's disillusioned political idealism and his private alienation seem to have realigned themselves. In this world of moral anarchy and ethical powerlessness, there is a deep cleavage between village morality and the affair of the nation. The politicians cannot convince the people that what they are doing is a continuation of the traditional village

and town values. But in truth private loyalties become the ultimate values in the absence of any iota of public morality and public values:

My father's words struck me because they were the very same words the villagers of Anata had spoken of Josiah, the abominated trader. The owner was the village, and the village had a mind; it could say no to sacrilege. But in the affair of the nation there was no owner, the laws of the village became powerless. (149)

The situation of newly independent country is worse. The nation is suffering from violence, malpractices, corruption and deception. In a corrupt society the honest man has a hard time and this is what the narrator tells us:

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. (149)

With this new religion in power and the laws of the village powerless, justice has to be left to individuals acting alone. Max was avenged only way possible, by someone who loved him. Private loyalties become the ultimate values in the absence of public moral sanctions. This is how the Odili's disillusioned have realigned themselves by the end of the novel. But however much regalia is displayed, however many times the radio is called national Crier, there is a disastrous fracture between the morality of the village and the political affair of the nation. The narrator ends the novel by pointing to this, not as a sudden revelation, but as a truth, which has not been experienced:

And I don't mean it to shock or to sound clever. For 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 or, in language ever more suited to the times: "you chop, me self if chop, palaver finish"; a regime in which you saw a fellow cursed in the morning for stealing a blind man's stick and later in the evening saw him again " mounting the later of he new shrine in he presence of all the people to whisper into the ear of the Chief celebrant - in such a regime, is 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. (149-50)

The novel is concerned with the intelligentsia or the more educated among the citizens.

The politicians are the villains of the novel, while the intelligentsias are the most frustrated of the personages of the novel. The people classified intelligentsias as so small as to be almost insignificant. Because of the number they wield no influence in the politics of their land. They are alienated because they are unable to influence the trends of events. They get more frustrated as they see the corruption in the society exercise all the necessary power and influence. Here Odili, personifies the intelligentsia, tells us that better education has created opportunities for higher position than the politicians:

I had gone to the University with the clear intention of coming out again after three years as a full member of the privileged class whose symbol was a car. So much did I think of it in fact that, as early as my second

year, I had gone and taken out a driver's license and even made a mental note of the make of car I would buy. (110)

The intelligentsias are frustrated because they cannot attain their goal of life, such as possessing such status symbols as cars, flats, suits and educated wife. This intellectual group increases their temptation in a newly independent nation with extensive economy. Thus when Odili enters his name to run an election against Chief Nanga, he exchanges brilliant verbal with Chief Nanga on one side and Odili and his father on the other. So, Chief Nanga comes to bribe Odili in order to press him to withdraw his candidature. Odili's temptation in this case knows no bounds.

Postcolonial intellectuals in Africa, by contrast, are almost entirely depended for their support on two institutions: the African University, an institution whose intellectual life is overwhelmingly constituted as western and the Euro-American publisher and reader. The mass of the people is more concerned with the honor of celebrating the auspicious visit, a triumphal return of a son of the soil who has made a successful dive into political life. But Odili, the narrator and the intellectual elite, does not see the use of honoring a corrupt politician. To him this is a misplaced value and national affairs are related to a secondary position. For this reason that politics has become corrupt and big business, Odili would not have part of it. His dislike increased when, during his first visit to parliament. He was disillusioned of "the Minister of Finance at the time was a first rate economist with a Ph.D. in public finance (3-4)". He feels that Chief Nanga is at the head of those who have condemned the minister and his colleagues who are accused of being un-African "decadent stooges versed in text book economics and aping the white man's mannerisms and

way of speaking"(4). The quotation from the *Daily Chronicle*, an official organ of the P.O.P., the party organ, elaborates this attack:

Let us now and for all time extracts from our body. Politics as a dentist extracts a stinking tooth all decadents' stooges versed in textbook economics and aping the white man's mannerisms and way of speaking. We are 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. (4)

According to the narrator, "this cry was taken up on all sides. Other newspapers . pointed out that even in Britain were the Miscreant Gang got its' so called education' a man need not be an economist to be Chancellor of the Exchequer or a Doctor to be minister of Health (4-5). Odili prefers parliamentary democracy even with all its trimmings of European education and cultural association, to a system based on economic self-interest masquerading as indigenization or Africanization.

Moreover, the politicians are closer to the people than intelligentsia; and in a nation that is not elitist, or in a country where people are often suspicious of the educated and those who speak big English, education can become a liability than an asset. Thus the politicians are closer to the people and serve as an intermediary between them and the intelligentsia. Also, the politicians claim to be intermediaries between the new government and the people. A man who had no access to the government is easily deceived by the empty promises. In some instances some of the promises are fulfilled,

and this makes the politicians more popular among the electorate. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence to show that the politicians are delivering improved services to their constituencies, such as paved roads, piped water supplies, better public transportation system, electricity, and better schools. In return, the people support their politician, and disregard their common failings. The following statements from an ex-politician illustrate the attitudes of the people towards their representatives "we know they are eating, but we are eating too, they are bringing us water and they promise to bring us electricity. We did not have those things before; that is why is say we are eating too" (125).

Thus what determines "goodness" in this situation is his ability, or rather willingness. This is appalling, as it seems to say that ill-gotten possession can be shared without becoming a serious infringement of moral law. At the same meeting people seem to want to rotate politician from one group to another so that other communities may have a chance to share the benefits accruing from politics. The opponents of Chief Nanga have nothing against him. But they suggest that it is time a representative from another village should be elected. Odili sums up this attitude in this way:

"Let them eat" was the people's opinion," after all when white men used to do all the eating did we commit suicide?" Of course not. And where is the all-powerful white man today? He came, he ate and he went. But we are still around. The important thing then is to stay alive; if you do you will outlive your present annoyance. The great thing, as the old people have told us, is reminiscence; and only those who survive can have it.

Besides, if you survive, who knows? It may be your turn to eat tomorrow.

Your son may bring home your share. (145)

Attitudes such as found in this passage can drive a really educated man to insanity. The people would vote for the politician and the intellectual. In any political confrontation between the politician and the intellectual, the former is bound to win. The gulf between Odili and his father typifies the gulf between intelligentsia and the politicians. The politician is chosen by the people and speaks the language intelligible to them, namely, the language of the common people, the language of pragmatism, the language of economic self-interest, etc. On the other hand, the intelligentsias are often misunderstood; they have no handouts or claim to any influences over the government and have no money to dish out to the needy common people. Even Odili's father, who is the local chairman of the party in power, cannot support his educated son without from the party.

Having gone to the new-age people are still in dilemma due to the previous impact of colonial rulers and their corrupted culture more the leaders are not out of touch of the previous tendency. The influence of corrupted leaders and politicians has had the capitalistic impact. Indirect capitalism is still going on in each part on back of determinacy of the nation has not been out of capital rubrics.

Though the pseudonymic freedom is there but it is vague having silent intervention on each aspect on the nation. It is clear that still indirectly the capitalist crux is even in wearing and thinking of the leaders. In this connection, the wearing culture has had influence from capitalism:

His robes were made from some expensive-looking, European woolen material-which was not so very strange these days. But what surprised me

was that the tailor had retained the cloth's thin, yellow border on which the manufacture advertised in endless and clear black type: 100% WOOL: MADE IN ENGLAND. (65)

The lureness seems strong in African leaders because of poverty. The poverty is prevailing so it is clear that the money has power to attract even the virgin national idealism of the leaders. Nanga's grace could only emancipate them from shortage of money. The money has played insurmountable role to drive leaders back to the capitalist influence. In this connection, the hope of people lies on the money, which they are about to get from capitalists:

Not that it mattered; I would still have refused if it had been ten thousand. The real point surely was that Max's action had jeopardized our moral position, our ability to inspire that kind of terror which I had seen so clearly in Nanga's eyes despite all his grandiloquent bluff, and which in the end was our society only hope of salvation. (129)

The neo-capitalism still has the influence on decision making as well as determining the concrete policy of the government in Africa regarding export and import. The policy of government on import is influenced by the foreigners. In this light, the abrupt split in parties shows the real influence of the capitalist-country in Africa:

As the whole world now knows, our minister of Foreign Trade, Alhaji Chief Senator Suleiman Wagada, announced on New Year's Day twenty percent rise in import duties on certain types of textile goods. On January 2nd the opposition progressive alliance party published detailed evidence to show that someone had told the firm of British Amalgamated of the

Minister's plans as long ago as October and that they had taken steps to bring in three shiploads of the textiles by mid-December. The cabinet was split overnight into the savage warring camps of those who wanted the Government to resign and those, like Chief Nanga, who said that matter concerned the Minister of Foreign Trade alone and if it came to resigning he should resign by himself. (100-01)

Along with the imperial capitalism people from African territory have the sense of resistance to preserve nativist cultural practices seem strong and deep-rooted. The sense of capitalist cultural intervention has had the influence though by being victims of capitalism Africans have gone through the way that is for cultural preservation, which is called "nativist" practices. Nativism is a term for the desire to return to indigenous practices and cultural forms, as they existed in pre-colonial society. Colonial discourse theorists such as Spivak and Bhabha argue strongly that such nativist reconstructions are inevitably subject to the process of cultural intermixing that colonialism promoted.

On the other hand, the multicultural nature of most postcolonial societies make the issue of what constitutes the pre-colonial 'native' culture obviously problematic, especially where the current postcolonial nation-state defines itself in terms that favour a single dominant cultural group. Minority voices from such societies have argued that 'nativist' projects can militate against the recognition that colonial policies of transplantation such as slavery and indenture have resulted in racially mixed diasporic societies, where only a multi-cultural model of the postcolonial state can avoid bias and injustice to the descendants of such groups. Minorities from these areas

have thus argued against the idea that the post-colonial oppressed form a homogenous group who can be decolonized and liberated by a nativist recovery of a pre-colonial culture.

In the household of Chief Nanga, European and African cultures meet. The Chief represents an effort to blend the African with the European. The cook represents tradition partly transformed. "I fit cook every European chop like steak and kidney pie, chicken puri, misk grill, cake omelette" (46). He can cook only European food; his wife prepares the African food he eats. He does not see how married men could go to the kitchen to cook, "how many way get family go begin enter kitchen for maker bitter leaf and equisi? Unless if the man no get shame" (46).

He lost the job because Chief Nanga preferred African foods. Here again Odili sympathizes with the disappointed cook while exposing him to subtle and biting humor. "But I must say the fellow had a point too. As long as a man confined himself to preparing foreign concoctions he could still maintain the comfortable illusion that he wasn't really doing such an unmanly thing as cooking" (47). The question boils down to two issues. The first is a real satire on men at large who claim that a wife confers on them the right of never going back to the kitchen and that the woman's place is in the kitchen.

The second is a subtle satire on the narrator, whose group of intellectuals maintains that upon receiving European education they must live the colonial mentality of having a cook, a small, a driver, a gardener and laundry man, a luxury which many of them cannot maintain. The author seems to imply that the imposition, without discrimination, of foreign categories upon a large continent, as a means of transforming it

into a modern European-style state, with all its sophistication and over two-thousand years in the making is bad. The problem still is if the imposition of something not grafted in the traditional life-style will bring stability to the African environment. True, Africans like European must continue to adapt themselves to changing environments and ecological realities. After Nanga's departure the guests are discussing the wooden figure of a god carved by a local artist as:

One of our leading artists had just made an enormous wooden figure of a god for a public square in Bori. I had not seen it yet but had read a lot about it. In fact it had attracted so much attention that it soon became fashionable to say it was bad or un-African. The Englishman was now saying that it lacked mouth or other. (50)

The English man shows his superiority by adopting what he thinks is African criteria. The narrator's comment shows the difficulty of attributing correct motives in an alien culture and presumably alerts him to the simplifications of his own European-style assessment of Nanga.

An Englishman is convinced that it is 'bad or un-African'. He has seen an old woman shaking her fist in a rage in the public square. She is in a position to judge, not because she has been trained in European art schools, but because she 'most probably worshipped this very god herself'. At this point, Odili experiences his flash of insight:

"Did you say she was shaking her fist?" I asked. "In that case you got her meaning all wrong. Shaking the fist in our society is a sign of great honour and respect; it means that you attribute power to the person or object."

Which of course is quite true. And if I may digress a little, I have, since this incident, come up against another critic who committed a crime in my view because he transferred to an alien culture the same meanings and interpretation that his own people attach to certain gestures and facial expression. (51)

From Odili's comments we may observe that it is very difficult to attribute correct motives in an alien culture and that it is no use projecting one's cultures into another. The author seems to be very much concerned about the role of cultural misunderstanding in the promotion of international peace and order.

In other episode, Odili, is alone with Jean, the American hostess. They dance the West African high life together and then we hear another lecture on cultural misunderstanding and misinterpretation:

I must say she had learned to do the highlife well except that like many another foreign enthusiast of African rhythm she tended to overdo the waist wiggle. I don't say I found it unpleasant - quite on the contrary; I only make a general point, which I think is interesting. It all goes back to what others have come to associate us with. And let it be said that we are not entirely blameless in this. (52)

Here Odili satirizes the habit of imposing cultural stereotypes on other people. Cultural distortions are not created by foreigners alone. African artists and governmental agencies have their own share of guilt.

Odili now understands the difficulty of trying to interpret or judge any alien culture of area of experience in which one has not participated directly and intimately.

So he sought to correct the most blatant errors of the Europeans, Odili has become increasingly protective and defensive about his own African society. In this regard he says:

I remember how we were outraged at the University to see a film of breast-throwing, hip-jerking, young women which a neighboring African state had made and was showing abroad as an African ballet. Jean probably saw it in America. (52)

Odili's education is really getting under way; his explanation is plausible to make a point. Misunderstanding of motives leads Odili and Jean to sexual immorality. Jean takes him on a tour of the city and drives him home, "She certainly knew the city well, from the fresh-smelling modern water-front to the stinking, maggoty interior" (54). Soon in spite of their intimacy, Odili begins to mistrust Jean's motives. He begins "to wonder whether Jean actually enjoyed driving through these place as the claimed she did or whether some secret reason like wanting me to feel ashamed about my country's capital city?" (54-55). Odili laughs uncomfortably at the sights of corruption and social inequality in the capital of Bori Earlier he had enjoyed these signs when he was alone. Now, as his suspicious and national pride is kindled, he can afford to say:

Who, the hell did she think was to laugh self-righteously. Wasn't there more than enough in her own country to keep her laughing all her day? Or crying if she preferred it. Why don't they call some streets after the main important names in your country's history or past events like your independence as they do in France and other countries? (55)

Achebe insists repeatedly in this social function in response to Western critics who tend to give priority to aesthetic values. He seems to suggest, in fact, that the communal responsibility and the communal ties are more fundamental than artistic merit for any writer, but certainly for the African writer and for himself personally at the present stage in African affairs. His purpose is to dispel the colonial myth of the primitive African and to establish a true image of the people and their culture. This message is intended, to some extent, for a Western audience, but especially for the Africans themselves, since they have come to believe the myth and have internalized their feeling.

The situation of *A Man of the People* is more depressing. It reflects the terrible political deterioration. 'The man', is Nanga, a brutally corrupt, who manages to remain both popular and successful. The novel examines this disastrous paradox. The term 'a man of the people' seems to indicate an admirable figure. How can a crook be a man of the people? In an ending shattering pessimism, Achebe seems to accept that people as greedy and immoral as these people chose as 'a man of the people' who does nothing more than exploit their own similar values. The dedicated intellectual, Odili, is drawn not as a hero to redeem his people, but as an arrogant and incompetent fool. His ideas which are good but they are unable to change the mentality of the people because the people are impressed by Nanga's ideas even though they are corrupted. They merely wish to share in Nanga's deeds because they have deep-rooted faith upon Nanga. Idealism seems absurd and irrelevant. Naively apolitical Odili is defeated and a dismal conclusion makes off with the funds committed to his election campaign, justifying his theft with typical intellectual rationalization. The nation falls

into chaotic violence. And finally the military intervenes the government and does the coup to control the political conflict and worsening situation of the country. However, amid the adverse political situation of the nation, Achebe does not feel hesitate to see the new rays of hope.

IV. Conclusion

Achebe through *A Man of the People* wants to recreate or redefine the whole history of his country in postcolonial terms. Westerners want to justify colonization. But Achebe is trying to create a different history through writing. To defy colonial literature, he wants to forget the colonized period and wants to see the past in the future with a sense of returning back to the period before colonization when they were free and held power in their own hands. The victims of colonization aspire to live for themselves, to find or grab or hold some sweet experience by going back to the pre-colonized period, and to transcend the sufferings, pain and obstacles gifted by colonization.

Achebe has written about the trouble with Nigeria. But here he portrays the picture of lawlessness, anarchy, chaos, and pessimistic situation rather than the real independent prospering nation. Through the limited and bleak independence, neo-colonialist inclinations and nativist practices in post-independent African country, Achebe represents political alienation and shows the post-independence situation more as a myth than reality.

A Man of the People dramatizes political struggle among the Africans after independence. It shows the postcolonial resistance as well as effects of British and western economic, political and cultural influences. The novel shows the picture of newly independent country where the governance is nominally neither in the hand of the people nor powerful leaders to lead the nation towards prosperity. The conflict between the politicians and the member of intelligentsia is clearly shown in *A Man of the People*. The situation is highly gloomy and the honest individual is isolated. The mass people suffer a lot by the result of independence. The western world is spreading its wings like an eagle

and the traditional African world is struggling to stem off the tide of change. The traditional African world has managed to survive in spite of colonialism. The novel deals with the social and psychological impact of European imperialism on indigenous African societies, particularly with respect to a distinctly African consciousness in the twentieth century.

After-colonial rule no nation can live independently and no leader can lead the nation towards prosperity. So independence becomes a myth to those nations and its people. Here Achebe points out the mythical independence through the corrupted Nanga and alienated intellectual Odili. The people of the nation have high hope and expectation from their rulers. But the situation is even worse than that of a colonial time. Internal politico-social conflict, economic crisis and external dominations are other aspects of the novel. The greedy and lusty native rulers cause the ruin of economic and cultural growth of the state. In this case the intellectual leader should bridge the gap between the people and the rulers.

The problem is properly portrayed in the polarities and between the protagonists, Chief Nanga and Odili. The people have been hoodwinked by the politicians. The only language they understand has become that of self-interest and economic self-interest. People judge their leaders in their own terms by the amounts of political goods he brings to them and people become the blind buyers of the politician's ill-gotten goods. So all the African post independence dreams are shattered and now they have realized that no freedom was given to them but it was always taken away.

The novel ends in a circular way. It does not suggest any concrete solution. It only ends where it starts. Achebe has portrayed the victims of colonialism properly. The novel explores colonialism as a vicious historical cycle, which goes on and on, and the people are mere victims of this system which is beyond their control. Hence, Achebe seems subtle in the depiction of the failures and the ill-fate of the educated Nigerians, he still sounds hopeful that out of the failures and tragic conditions of his heroes, new possibilities are sure to come.

Works Cited

- Abrahams, M.H. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. 6th Ed. Banglore: Prism Books, 1993.
- Acehbe, Chinua. *A Man of the People*. London: Heinemann, 1996.
- - -. "Africa and Her Writers." *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays*. Ed. Michael Parker and Roger Starkey. London: Heinemann. 1975.19-29
- - -. "Colonialist Criticism." *Critical Theory Since Plato*. Ed. Hazard Adams. New York: Harcourt, 1992. 1197-1198.
- - -. "Named for Victoria, Queen of England." *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. Ed. Bill Ashcroft et al. London: Routledge, 1995. 190-93.
- - -. "The African Writers and the English Language." Ed. Tapan Basu. Delhi: Worldview Publication, 2003. 23-32.
- Appiah, Kwame Anothony. "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in postcolonial?" *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A reader*. Ed. Padmini Mongia. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006. 55-71.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, Ed. *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- - -. Ed. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Boehmer Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

- Carroll, David. *Chinua Achebe Novelist, Poet and Critic*. Hong Kong: Macmillan, 1990.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968.
- Foucault, Michel. "Truth and Power." *Critical Theory Since Plato to Postmodern*. Ed. Hazard Adams. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1992. 1135-1145.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Gikandi, Simon. "Chinua Achebe and the Invention of African Literature." *Chinua Achebe's Things fall Apart: A World View Critical Companion*. Ed. Tapan Basu. Delhi: World View, 2003. 59-67.
- Henderson, Lesley and Watson Noelle. Eds. *Contemporary Novelists*. London: St. James Press, 1991.
- Kincaid, Jamaica. "A Small Place." *Post colonial*. Eds. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin. 92-94.
- Ogunbesan, Kolawole. "Politics and The African Writers." *Things Fall Apart: A Critical Companion*. Ed. Tapan Basu. Delhi: World View Publication, 2003.68-80.
- Opoku, Asare K. "Religion in African during the Colonial Era." *General History of Africa- VII under Colonial Domination (1880-1995)*. Ed. A. Adu Boaher. California: Unesco, 1990. 508-538.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. Norway: Vintage, 1995.
- - -. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 1995.

Sartre, Jean Paul. Preface. *The Wretched of the Earth*. By Frantz Fanon. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968. 7-26.

Slemon, Stephen. "The Scramble for Post-colonial." *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. Eds. Bill Ashcroft et al London: Routledge, 1995.45-52.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakrabarty. "Can Subaltern Speak?" *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory Reader*. Eds. Patrick William and Laura Chrisman. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.66-111.