



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**DEPARTMENT OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT  
RESOLUTION, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE :-PCR331**

**COURSE TITLE:-  
HISTORY OF CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA.**



**PCR331**  
**HISTORY OF CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA**

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#### Course Information

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#### Course Team

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#### Ice Breaker

#### Introduction

Welcome to PCR331: History of Conflicts in Nigeria. PCR331 is a three unit course that has minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for all students of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. The course consists of seventeen units and a course guide. The course has been developed to explain in details the nature of conflict situations in Nigeria.

The course guide tells you briefly what the course is about, what course materials you will be using and to work your way through these materials. It suggests some general guidelines for the amount of time you are likely to spend on each study unit of the course. It also gives you some guidance on your Tutor Marked Assignments (TMA). You are advised to attend the tutorial classes to discuss the problem with tutorial facilitators at the study centre.

**Course Competencies**

The aims of this course are to:

- (a) introduce you to the meaning of conflict
- (b) explain the historical background of the conflict situations in Nigeria.
- (c) appraise the political structures and determine its possibility of causing conflicts.
- (d) identify the process of war making in the pre-colonial societies.
- (e) assess the impact of external influence on conflict situations in Nigeria.

**Course Outcomes**

In order to design proper peace building mechanisms in Nigeria, it's necessary to attach much importance to history, as it will help in identifying problems of the past to avoid future occurrence. Thus, the overall Learning Outcomes of this course include the following:

- Introduce the learner to the definition of conflict, its elaborate meaning, the human behaviours in conflict and the reasons for conflict resurgences and escalation;
- Explain the operation of the political structures and the systems there in and linking it to the possibility of causing conflicts;
- Describe the processes of war making and weapons, with particular reference to pre-colonial Yoruba society;
- Identifying the origin and causes of conflict on the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria society; and  
Identify the treaties and agreements and analyse critically its contribution to socio-political and economic conflicts in the post-colonial period.

**Working through this Course**

To complete this course, you are advised to read and study the units, read recommended books, online sources and other materials provided by NOUN. Each unit contains self-assessment exercises, and you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, there is a final examination.

## Study Units

There are seventeen study units and a study guide in this course, and they are as follow:

### **Module 1 Definition of Conflict**

- Unit 1 Meaning of Conflict
- Unit 2 Types and Modes of Conflict
- Unit 3 Conflict Resurgence and Escalation
- Unit 4 Concept of Peace

### **Module 2 Political Structures**

- Unit 1 Political Structures in Pre-Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 2 Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 3 Political Structures in Post-Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 4 Analysis of Political System

### **Module 3 Process of War Making**

- Unit 1 Process of War Making (with Particular Reference to Yorubaland)
- Unit 2 Weapons of War in Yorubaland

### **Module 4 Origin and Causes of Conflict**

- Unit 1 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Pre-Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 2 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 3 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Post-Colonial Nigeria 1960-1970
- Unit 4 Conflicts and Peace Processes in the Post-Civil War Period 1970 -1993

### **Module 5 British Intervention before 1900: Treaties and Agreements**

- Unit 1 Treaties and Agreements in the Niger-Delta
- Unit 2 Treaties and Agreement in Yorubaland
- Unit 3 Treaties and Agreements in northern Nigeria

The first module explains the human behaviours in conflict and advanced reasons why conflict resurges or escalates. The second module provides analysis on the political structures and systems to enable you in

contextualizing conflicts. The third module gives you an insight into the aspects of Yoruba culture as regards the process of war making. The fourth module deals with the origin and causes of conflicts in Nigeria and the fifth module exposes you to an aspect of negotiation and mediation in conflict situations and the context at which the intervention has increased the rate of conflicts till contemporary times.

Each unit has its specific Learning Outcomes that will help you in achieving the aims of study, in addition to the use of recommended texts for further readings. At the end of each unit, there is a self-assessment exercise. In case there are two or three attempt all in your study and submit one for marked assignments.

### Textbooks and References

Some books have been recommended in the course; you may consult them for further reading.

### Presentation Schedule

Unit	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment (End of Unit)
<b>Module 1 Definition of Conflicts</b>			
1	Meaning of Conflict	1	Assignment 1
2	Types and Modes of Conflict	1	Assignment 2
3	<u>Conflict Resurgence and Escalation</u>	1	Assignment 3
4	Concept of peace	1	Assignment 4
<b>Module 2 Political Structures</b>			
1	Political Structures in Pre-colonial Nigeria	1	Assignment 5
2	Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria	1	Assignment 6
3	Political Structures in Post-colonial Nigeria	1	Assignment 7
4	Analysis of Political System in Nigeria	1	Assignment 8

<b>Module 3 Process of War Making</b>			
1	The process of War Making (with Particular Reference to Yorubaland)	1	Assignment 9
2	Weapons of War in Yorubaland	1	Assignment 10
<b>Module 4 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Nigeria</b>			
1	Origin and Causes of Conflicts in the Pre-Colonial Period	1	Assignment 11
2	Origin and Causes of Conflicts in the Colonial period	1	Assignment 12
3	Origin and Causes of Conflicts in the Post-colonial period 1960-1970	1	Assignment 13
4	Conflicts and Peace processes in Post-Civil War period 1970-1993	1	Assignment 14
<b>Module 5 British Intervention Before 1900: Treaties and Agreements</b>			
1	Treaties and Agreements in the Niger-Delta		
2	Treaties And Agreements in Yorubaland		Assignment 2
3	Treaties And Agreements in Northern Nigeria		Assignment 3
	<b>Revision</b>	<b>1</b>	
	<b>Examination</b>	<b>1</b>	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	

## Assessment

There are two types of assessment in this course; the tutor marked assignments, and a written examination. In carrying out these assignments, you are expected to apply knowledge acquired during the course. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file. The work that you submit to your tutor for assessment will make up to 30% of your total score.

### Tutor-Marked Assignment

There is a tutor-marked assignment at the end of every unit. You are required to attempt all the assignments. You will be assessed on all of them but the best four performances will be considered for assessment. Each of the four selected comes from the areas covered in the course.

When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a tutor-marked assignment form to your tutor. Make sure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline. If for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutorial facilitator before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extension will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.



### **Final Examination and Grading**

The final examination for PCR331; History of Conflicts in Nigeria will last for the duration of three hours. It will carry 70% of the total course

grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the kind of self-assessment exercises and the tutor marked problems you have previously encountered. All aspect of the course will be assessed. You may find it useful to review your self-assessment exercises and tutor marked assignments before the examination.

The following table lays out how actual course marking is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Assignments 1-3	The three assignments earn you 30% of course marks
Final examination	70% of overall course score
Total	100%

### How to Get the Most from this Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the lecturer. The advantage is that you can read and work through the study materials at your pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to a lecturer. Just as a lecturer might give you class exercise, your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate times. Each of the study units follows the same format. The first item is introduction to the subject matter of the unit and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next is a set of learning Learning Outcomes. These Learning Outcomes, let you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. You should use these Learning Outcomes to guide your study. When you have finished the unit, you should go back and check whether you have achieved the Learning Outcomes. If you make a habit of doing this, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. Self-assessment Exercises are interspersed throughout the units and answers are given at the end of Learning Outcomes of the units and prepare you for the assignments and the examination. You should do each Self-assessment

exercise as you come to it in the study units. Work through these when you have come to them.

### Online Facilitation

There are 15 hours of online synchronous and asynchronous tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignment, keep a close watch on your progress. And on difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must send your tutor marked assignment well before the due date. They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate, to contact your tutor by telephone or e-

mail if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

You do not understand any part of the assigned readings;

- You have difficulty with the self-assessment exercise;
- You have a question or a problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the synchronous online tutorials. This is the only way to have real time live contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will

gain a lot from participating actively.

### Summary

As a student of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution Programme, you can apply the benefits gained from this course in understanding your immediate context. In Nigeria, the main causes of socio-political and economic conflicts resulted from various form of human behaviours whether internally or externally. All these had caused instability in the political economy. To reduce the rate of instability, various peace processes such as – mediation, negotiation and diplomacy has been adopted. Thus, this course is essential because it will contribute to your knowledge of conflict situations in the past, and this will enable you in planning peace mechanisms.

We wish you success in the course.

**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

## Course Information

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**MODULE 1      DEFINITION OF CONFLICT AND PEACE**

Unit 1	Meaning of Conflict
Unit 2	Types and Modes of Conflict
Unit 3	Conflict Resurgence and Escalation
Unit 4	Concept of Peace

**UNIT 1      MEANING OF CONFLICT****Contents**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3. Main Content-Understanding Conflict
  - 1.3.1 Meaning of Conflict
  - 1.3.2 Human behaviours in Conflict
    - 1.3.2.1 Struggle/Exploitation
    - 1.3.2.2 Competition
    - 1.3.2.3 Inequality
- 1.4 Definition of Terms
  - 1.4.1 Conflict Analysis
  - 1.4.2 Conflict Prevention
  - 1.4.3 Conflict Management and Resolution
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6. References, Further Readings and Web Sources and web sources
- 1.7. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

**1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The word 'conflict' is a concept synonymous with human behaviours. Since man cannot exist in isolation, therefore in the course of interactions with other members of the community there will be disagreements, intrigues and misunderstanding. Disagreement or misunderstanding often occurs in form of revolution or war. The reasons for conflict may be as a result of cheating or struggle for a beneficial goal. To make peace and/or put an end to conflicts, various measures are adopted by warring and intervening parties to reach an agreement or compromise. In understanding the meaning of conflict, it must be seen from the perspective of inter-group relations, whether as individuals or groups.



## 1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

The first unit in this module attempts to give a broad and embracing meaning to conflict as it operates among human beings. By the end of this lecture, the learner should be able to:

- attempt to explain the meaning of conflict
- analyse human behaviours in conflict
- explain with real examples conflict prevention and resolution.

## 1.3 MAIN CONTENT- UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT

Scholars have viewed conflict from different perspectives. We are going to learn a few of these definitions. You will then come up with your own definition.

### 1.3.1 Meaning of Conflict

Disagreement, crisis, war, violence, opposition, revolt are words synonymous with conflict. However, each of these terms has different epistemological features and the consequences they evoke always show or place them apart. Conflict arises in different shapes, patterns or dimensions. The emergence of conflict depends on the issue at stake.

Conflict exists when two people wish to carry out acts that are mutually inconsistent. They will want to do the same thing or do different things that are incompatible. The definition of conflict can be extended from individuals to groups and to states or nation as the case may be.

Conflict is a negation which is anchored on behavioural norms. It is a negative or over-reaction to situation, idea, principles and other forms of behaviour. Once there is a cause for inter-group relations, conflict becomes inevitable and peace must be given a chance. Hence, conflict could be seen as a natural phenomenon which must occur among human beings.

However, conflict has functional advantages which in both short and long run can be beneficial to man and the society. At the core of Marxist theory is the functionality of conflict as a force that upends prevailing social realities in order to spawn a higher and complex form of human relations. Even at the individual level, we are sometimes ensnared by conflict generated by decisions we make or did not make, and are therefore disturbed for a period of time before regaining “sanity.” This means that conflict does not always take the form of violence and can achieve similar outcome even when it takes a violent approach.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

When does conflict ensue between two people or group?
---

### **1.3.2. Human behaviours in Conflict**

#### **1.3.2.1 Struggle/Exploitation**

Since conflict is associated with the intersection of human behaviours, then, the quest for wealth, position, opportunity, chance, recognition brings about struggle. The struggle at its apex occurs in form of war, crisis and violence when the parties involved failed to reach a conclusive and harmonious agreement. In a way, the breach of agreement or treaty by either of the parties involved leads to extreme reactions inform of war.

Within a society, there is the possibility that individuals possess differing amounts of material and non-material resources. The more an individual possess the resources, the more the possibility of exploitation of other groups who lack the wherewithal. According to the Marxist based conflict theory, it is opined that money is the mechanism that creates social disorder. It is argued that the history of man is the history of conflict, in which a strong-rich exploiting the poor-weak. In such a situation where money symbolising material acquisition is made through exploitation of the poor-weak, there is often a loss of individual freedoms (fundamental human rights). Therefore, there is the need for change which could be achieved through treaty or peace-making/peace-building agreement or mechanism.

### **1.3.2.2 Competition**

This is a term synonymous with business or economic matter in the context of struggling for inadequate resources. A peculiar concept in the principles of Economic is 'scarce resources'. In order to make ends meet and satisfy human wants, man tends to make efforts to utilize the available resources which are scarce. By this, groups of individuals compete to access the opportunities available. For example, the quest for raw materials needed in the production of a particular product may be a source of conflict among industries involved in producing similar products. Hence, the conflict issues arising may breed all forms of acts that can undermine the competitiveness of smaller or weak industries. In essence, the strong industries may assume monopolistic rights over the weak industries.

Other forms of competition that are behavioural occur in forms by which several groups of people compete for recognition. For instance, when several companies are competing with or against each other to gain contract, such conflicts may result in character assassination of competing companies or false image making. In addition, conflict behaviours can occur when candidates are vying or contesting for a post which might involve elections and campaign. In such cases, the bid to campaign, convince or canvass for a candidate over other candidates might breed violence and revolts.

### **1.3.2.3 Inequality**

It means unfair difference in size, rank, wealth or opportunity. Inequality occurs when the benefits of a community is concentrated in the hands of a few people or in few areas (Abumere 1998:1). Unequal access to opportunities in a community can lead to tremendous damage to unity and integration. In Nigeria, acts of inequality breeds conflict in

the sense that it creates cleavages based on language or ethnicity to fight a common cause. At a time in Nigerian history, the desire by the Igbo speaking people for western education was seen as a threat to the status quo where Yoruba speaking people who had earlier contacts with western civilization already dominated the colonial service. The rising profile of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe in the nationalist struggle aroused rivalry among the Yoruba elites leading to the formation of alternative political platforms.

The bane of inequality as a conflict behaviour is very much a part of Nigerian history which has continued to induce conflict escalation and resurgence among the diverse population.

These are natural tendencies that occur among and within communities. The location or natural resources endowment available in a community determines the type of relationship with other communities. This form of behaviour is peculiar to pre-colonial Nigerian societies where warfare is deployed among communities. It involved expansion and occupation of smaller or weak communities through treaties and agreements that might be unfavourable. There is no doubt about the fact that the formation of a community starts from the family which is the primary unit. Atanda was of the view that multiplicity of families cannot be devoid of conflicts. Then discontented or enterprising members tend to hive off to form other communities. At this juncture, it is pertinent to note that division and formation of communities are mostly borne out of conflicts. Thus, existence of conflicts might be a source of revolution that can be a medium of resistance by the aggrieved group.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Why do you think the bane of conflict is inequality?
--

## 1.4 Definition of Terms

### 1.4.1 Conflict Analysis

This involves an evaluation of roles, values and attitudes of people in a conflict situation. It encompasses an assessment of interests and purposes responsible for the emergence of conflict and determines the cause of response and retaliatory actions of aggrieved parties. Hence, in analyzing conflict situations, it is germane to uncover the historical antecedents to place crisis in a position that would proffer amicable settlement (peacemaking).

### 1.4.2 Conflict Prevention

This involves a process of making peace recur based on historical antecedents. From the human behaviours explained earlier, the consequences of inequality can be prevented from recurring by ascertaining that the concept of equity and justice is upheld. This is most suitable where there are peoples with different cultural values. A good example in this case was the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. The basis of the war was inequality, consequently, the bid for change led to a consensus on policies that are unity-driven, ushering and emphasizing the principle of Federalism (federal character).

### 1.4.3 Conflict Management and Resolution

A conflict is resolved when some mutual sets of actors are worked out. It involves an orderly and non-violent handling of parties involved. The parties with perceived incompatible goals seek to consider each other. This is peculiar to groups that are mutually dependent on each other. Each group will not wish to spread the conflicts because of cordial inter-group relations that have enhanced growth and development. For instance, scholarly works on the Nigerian Civil War argued to resolve that the crisis was a problem that emanated from regionally-based elites in constant struggle to acquire state power and wealth; and that ordinary Nigerians had nothing against each other (Ukiwo 2005:13). Hence to manage and resolve such conflicts, it requires an analysis of the elites and the masses as well as the internal and external socio-political and economic structure in existence.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Drawing inferences from the discussion in this unit, attempt a wider description or definition of conflict prevention
---

### 1.5. Summary

The first unit of our course has tried to help you understand and analyse the meaning of conflict. The concept of conflict has gain prominence in academic discourse in contemporary times.

In various parts of the world, there are various issues of conflicts in forms of war and crisis arising from competition, inequality and the bid to expand or subjugate. Though the acts involved in conflicts are negative, but it is inevitable because man's daily activities and interactions with one another will definitely exist.

Much as conflict might appear devastating it may bring a positive result that will further enhance growth and development. To achieve growth and development then the concept of peace becomes a twin concept to resolve and manage conflict.



Conflict is the expression of opposing interest and is a state of discord caused by differing needs, value and interest. It can be explained in all spheres of man's life be it social, political or economic realm. It can be human versus human, human versus group or group versus group. Conflicts that are mostly imminent are usually group versus group. This form of conflict has been widely studied and it will serve as examples in analyzing the history of conflicts in Nigeria in subsequent units.

In a way, inter-group relations remain a focal point in the study of conflicts. To properly analyze conflict situation, the behaviours of peoples with other peoples in a community or among communities has to be considered. Commercial relations, intermarriages and slave trade are the basis of the contacts that led to linguistic and cultural borrowings among peoples in pre-colonial times. Thus, these activities can not all be peaceful. One time or the other, there would be an interchange of conflict and peace.

## 1.6 REFERENCES, FURTHER READINGS AND WEB SOURCES

Adams M. (1995) *Conflict and Development Organisational Adaptation in Conflict Situation*. Oxford: Oxfam.

Albert I. O. *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution & Transformation*.

Kirk-Greene A. H. 1971, *Crises and Conflict in Nigeria 1967-1970*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Olaoba O. B. 2002, *Bus Conducting and Social Conflicts in Ibadan City*. Ibadan: Rex Charles.

<https://ebrary.net/2852/management/conflict>

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235302898\\_Defining\\_Conflict\\_and\\_Making\\_Choices\\_About\\_Its\\_Management\\_Lighting\\_the\\_Dark\\_Side\\_of\\_Organizational\\_Life](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235302898_Defining_Conflict_and_Making_Choices_About_Its_Management_Lighting_the_Dark_Side_of_Organizational_Life)

<https://gsdrc.org/topic-guides/conflict-analysis/definitions-and-concepts/>

## 1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1: Conflict is caused by pursuit of incompatible goals, mutual suspicion, differences in opinion and lack of understanding

E2. Inequality brings about conflict because of feelings of cheating, neglect and marginalization

E3. Conflict prevention is anything done to assuage feelings or situation that can provoke conflict

## **UNIT 2    TYPES AND MODES OF CONFLICT**

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- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
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    - 2.4.2 International Conflict
    - 2.4.3 Environmental Resource Conflict
    - 2.4.4 Other Modes of Conflict
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous unit, there was an explicit attempt to explain the meaning of conflict and the human behaviours associated with conflict issues. In this unit, the various types of modes of conflict shall be discussed and explained.

### **2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

By the end of this lecture, you should be able to:

1. describe the types of conflict
2. integrate the types and modes to explain peculiar conflict situation
3. highlight the modes of conflict by assigning conflict situations to each as an example.

### **2.3 MAIN CONTENT- Conflict Forms**

#### **2.3.1 Types of Conflict**

##### **2.3.1.1 Political Conflict**

This emanates from political institutions and, systems. It is characterized by revolutionary political ambition to disrupt or reform the constitutional order in practice. In political terms, conflict can refer to





wars, revolutions or uprisings that involve the use of force. This can also be referred to as armed conflict.

In early times, virtually most parts of Nigerian region were non-centralized states. But as time went by, they transformed into centralized states before 1900. A critical analysis of this statement would necessitate the question that 'How did non-centralised states become centralized before 1900?'

An elaborate explanation of these types and modes will enable you to properly define conflict situations in Nigeria. Understanding types of conflict determines the kind of human relations that had existed and the context of time and place that facilitated it. It also captures The individuals involved and the roles they played.

In answering such questions, the concept of conflict cannot be insignificant. This is because, at one time or the other, a group of people moved into inhabited areas by virtue of being migrants, thereby encouraging the fusion of culture, languages and political systems. In this way, people identify with each other and possibly due to the natural law of remoteness after a long time of settlement, there is a change in identity.

As explained under human behaviours in conflict, the bid for expansion and subjugation is most applicable in political conflict because the changes were full of reactions, violence and revolts. Anifowose (1982:4) defined violence in the context of human behaviour in political conflict as "the use of threat or physical act carried out by an individual or group of individuals within a political system against one another and/or property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and damage of property."

Groups enter into political conflict as a result of feelings of dissatisfaction arising out of compassion between what is currently enjoyed and what ought to or expected to be enjoyed.

In Nigeria, the immediate pre-colonial period that is the nineteenth century was full of revolutions. These revolutions meant drastic changes in conditions, methods and ideas which formed part of the treaties and agreements which shall be discussed in subsequent units.

### **2.3.1.2 Economic Conflict**

This is a type of conflict associated with economic issues. In this case, money is the mechanism and decisive factor that determines the level of opposition or competition. As discussed in the previous unit, competition as a behaviour is synonymous to this type of conflict, because

the principle of capitalism which emphasizes maximization of profit at all cost, makes competition inevitable.

There is perpetuity of lack of mutual benefit and less co-operation because the strong group tends to dominate and undermine the weak group. At this juncture, it is pertinent to note that economic conflict has to do with production and distribution processes through the parties/groups involved. For instance, an entrepreneur tends to maximize profit by paying workers less wages than they deserve, then conflicts in forms of protests, demonstrations, strikes or boycotts arise to ensure desired changes are instituted

Let us take for instance, the *Agbekoya Parapo* Revolt of 1968-1969, a peasant revolt in post-colonial Yorubaland which degenerated into violence. This was an economic-induced revolt organized by peasant farmers to resist the policy of tax payment. The revolt was dominantly aimed at reduction of taxes to be paid by farmers to the government. It could be recalled that prior to independence, the colonial government established marketing boards for cash crops such as cocoa, cotton, and groundnut and so on. These products were graded, examined and bargained at prices that were not favourable to the peasant farmers. As a result, the *Agbekoya Parapo* explored the indigenous work regulatory measures to protect the interest of peasant farmers as regards pricing.

The defiance on the part of the government to consider the resolution of the peasants aggravated the revolt. As explained earlier, each party/group involved in conflicts maintains the position or stand favourable to it. In this case, the peasants resolved to: (i) remove local government official administering the villages (ii) remove some Baales (iii) reduce the flat tax rate (iv) put an end to the use of force in tax collection (v) increase the prices of cocoa and (vi) improve the roads leading to the villages. Afterwards, the regional government passively agreed to a compromise.

### 2.3.1.3 Gender-Based Conflict

This cuts across extensively to other types or modes of conflicts. It is usually borne out of oppression and inequality. In Nigeria, the problem of inequality or oppression of women is peculiar to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Gender-based conflict implies that women (and girls) are predominantly victims who experience neglect within the male dominated organization. Although the status of women varies in pre-colonial Nigerian societies, the level of inequality or marginalization depended more on the group or class which they belonged (Ikpe 2003:130). In spite of this, gender-based conflict was not too inherent in the pre-colonial period, rather it could be explained as gender-based division

of labour, as women had specific roles to play. Some women were able to acquire wealth and rose to positions of authority. For instance, Iyalode Efunsetan of Ibadan, Queen Amina of Zaria wielded strong political authority and influence, as well as Madam Efunoye Tinubu of Egbaland. However, their rise and recognition was not achieved on a platter of gold; it was a product of conflicts with men in the society.

Gender-based conflict was more pronounced in the colonial period. The Aba Women's Revolt of the Igbo women in 1920s was organised and led by rural women of Owerri and Calabar provinces. Basically, the revolt was sparked off by a disagreement between Nwanyeruwa (a woman from Okoko district) and an enumerator Mark Emereuwa who was asked by Okugo (the Warrant chief of the town) to obtain an accurate census of the people as mandated by the District Officer. The census was taken as a plan towards imposition of tax on both men and women. On November 18, 1929, Emereuwa went to Nwanyeruwa to "count her goats, sheep and people." In anger, the woman responded that "was your late mother counted?" The verbal encounter triggered off the women's revolt because it is an aberration for women to pay tax in Igbo society.

#### **2.3.1.4 Religious Conflict**

This is a type of conflict that is not peculiar to Nigeria. Many multi-religious societies often experience conflict of this nature, especially where the idea of religious tolerance and harmonious relations are either absent or grossly undermined. So religious conflict occurs when people of different religions fail to co-exist and relate with each other by respecting what each other stands for. In Nigeria, conflicts associated with religious differences or colouration as the case may be has claimed countless lives and rendered properties worth billions destroyed. At any slight provocation, religious conflicts resurge.

The effect of religious violence can also be far-reaching, as it can cause serious socio-economic and political instability. At times, religious conflict possesses an ethnic undertone or vice versa. In the contemporary period, it is a type of conflict that has permeated the Nigeria polity. It was the quest to solve religious conflict and other associated problems that led to the establishment of Inter-faith mediation centres nationally and globally. The primary responsibility of the centres is to co-ordinate and regulates religious teachings, as well as mediates on matters that can snowball into a conflict situation.

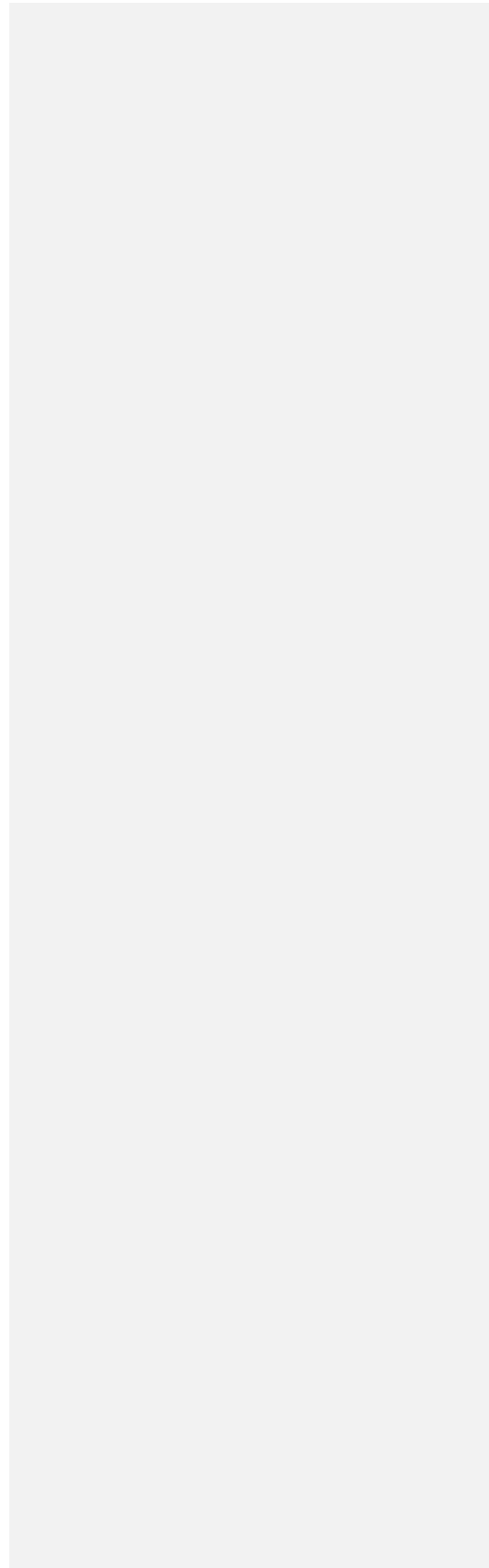
#### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Describe religious conflict stating how it can have political and ethnic colouration
--

### **2.4 Modes of Conflict**

#### **2.4.1 Organizational Conflict**

This is mostly associated with workplace. In order to achieve goals set in an organization, conflict may become inevitable. Therefore, conflict occurs in organizations because of clash of interest or clash of priorities in the dealings of an organisation.



### **2.4.2 International Conflict**

This occurs among different countries that constitute an international organisation. This may occur through varying interests on socio-economic and political policies to be adopted. Each member country would always prefer that the aims and Learning Outcomes of the organization correspond with its foreign policy outcome.

### **2.4.3 Environmental Resource Conflict**

The availability of natural resources in a community serves as source of revenue or livelihood. It can as well cause conflict. In contemporary times, the natural endowment of crude oil in the Nigerian Niger-Delta has been the bane of the uprisings and crisis which continue to resurge by escalating different dimensions of violence.

### **2.4.4 Other Modes of Conflict**

They are emotional conflict, ideological conflict, diplomatic conflict, military conflict and so on. It is worthy of note that no type or mode of conflict can occur in isolation, they are mostly interwoven.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2**

Cite an example of environmental conflict in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria
--

## **2.5 SUMMARY**

An attempt to place a particular form of disagreement on a particular type or mode of conflict might appear elusive and difficult to trace the history of such conflict. A political conflict in most cases are characterised to possess economic conflict as an undertone. The parties especially the principal actors usually have a hidden agenda.

For example, to conquer and subjugate pre-colonial Nigeria meant the acquisition of slaves. These slaves were used as labourers on the farmlands as well as homes of the elites or wealthy in the society.

Hence, the juxtaposition given to the types and modes of conflict reflects that they are all embracing and all encompassing. The context of the issue at stake determines the interrelatedness of the types or modes which will define a conflict situation.

As an appendage to the previous unit, this unit has been able to engage you in the analysis of the types of conflict. In every society, the purpose, aims or Learning Outcomes of a conflict situation usually involves two or three modes of conflict. The Agbekoya Parapo revolt was basically economic; it could also be seen as political and organizational conflict.

In the case of the Aba Women's Revolt, it was gender-based, and it was also interrelated or could be explained as political and economic conflict.

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## 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

E1: Religious conflict occurs when people of different religions fail to co-exist and relate with each other by respecting what each other stands for. In Nigeria, Religious conflict possesses an ethnic undertone or vice versa. In the contemporary period, it is a type of conflict that has permeated the Nigeria polity. There is politicization of religion and weaponisation of religion for parochial and selfish interests.  
 E2: Natural endowment of crude oil in the Nigerian Niger-Delta has been the bane of crisis arising from environmental degradation.





## **UNIT 3     CONFLICT RESURGENCE AND ESCALATION**

### **CONTENTS**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
  - 3.3.1 Conflict Resurgence
  - 3.3.2 Conflict Escalation
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The previous units have exposed you to the meanings of conflict as well as the types and modes. You must have been able to identify conflict situation and analyse it elaborately. This unit further exposes you to the fact that conflict does not end absolutely. It extends at any slight opportunity by the aggrieved party/group. It also occurs in forms of retaliation which could be described as transfer of aggression to other groups.

As a learner, to properly understand the basic meaning of ‘resurgence and escalation,’ it is important that you lay your hands on Advanced Dictionaries to get the meaning of words. This will enable you to understand the unit content.

### **2.0 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

The learning outcome of this unit is to enable you to appreciate how conflict situations expand by:

- 1 locating the nature and causes of conflict
- 2 differentiating between conflict resurgence and escalation
- 3 identify human behaviours that could escalate conflict.

### **3.3. MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.3.1 Conflict Resurgence**

This can be described as a continuation of conflict trends that had been recurring. It occurs in form of violence when peacemaking processes are breached, or forgotten by the emergence of new generations. If care is not taken, the extent of violence might be worse than the previous

one. Resurgence is largely associated with political conflicts. The practice or imposition of a political system at a time in history may be come unacceptable in contemporary times. The probability of ideological conflict then arises because certain set of people in a social/community still prefers the ancient political system while new generations prefer a change or a reversion. In pre-colonial Nigeria, the nineteenth century Yoruba wars led to displacement and reformation of towns. For instance, Egba, Ogbomoso, Ibadan and so on, were products of the wars. It is worthy of note that the wars created new guideline to socio-economic and political life. There was a sort of re-interpretation of the nature of human relations. An example of this was the institution of slavery. Slaves were no longer used for domestic purpose; rather they were among articles of trade between the Europeans and the kings.

Afterwards, the treaties and agreements signed at the beginning of the twentieth century further aggravated the resurgence of conflict. Examples of such are the resurging ethno-religious conflicts, inter-ethnic conflicts among the Agwuleri and Umuleri, Urhobo-Itsekiri and Ife-Modakeke. Specifically, Ife-Modakeke crises were recently a form of conflict resurgence. Basically, the conflict arose out of the need for autonomy. Modakeke is regarded as part of the territories of Ile-Ife, while Modakeke perceives itself as a separate entity. If any affiliation, they regard themselves as part of Oyo people. Hence, the Ife-Modakeke example cited above is meant to give an example of how and why conflict resurge till contemporary times, peace building mechanisms implored only made the conflict pending.

Furthermore, the recent communal conflict that erupted in Jos in 2001 had ethnic and religious undertone. On the side of ethnicity, the indigenes believed that the non-indigenes are dominating socio-economic opportunities, in other words, they were witnessing inequality in their homeland. On religious basis, it was perceived that migrants controlling socio-economic affairs were mostly Muslims. It is important to emphasize that ever since the departure of colonialism, ethnicity and religion has been a decisive factor in avoiding conflicts and making peace till contemporary times. This is reflected in the principles of Federal Character/Quota System.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

List three conflicts that have experienced resurgence in Nigeria
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### 3.3.2 Conflict Escalation

It refers to the increase in the severity of aggressive behaviour. It consists of a set of interactions involving an action taken by one party that is perceived as provocation by the other party. Unlike conflict resurgence, Conflict escalation has to do with compounding or complex aggression. Though escalation is also a recurrence, but it may involve



more than two parties. At the initial stage, it may be non-violent, but the failure to make peace further aggravates it into violence.

In this case, transferred aggression usually results. For instance, two parties are involved in a fight, one of the aggrieved parties then transfers and open other forms of conflict with other parties not involved. In a country like Nigeria, conflict escalation is very imminent because of the diverse ethnic groups, and the nature of urban and rural settlement is such that it contains people from various ethnic groups across major towns and cities.

For example, the Kano Riots of 1953 is an example of conflict escalation. The issue at stake between Northern and Southern Nigeria was the need for self-government. In Southern Nigeria, it was urgently needed, while in northern Nigeria there was hesitation of acceptance. Thus, in the move to implement and enlighten on its urgency there were conflict of words among the leaders – Obafemi Awolowo (Action Group) and Ahmadu Bello (Northern People's Congress). The visit of Ahmadu Bello and entourage to Lagos brought a slight violence to show that they were unwanted visitors. However, the visit of Akintola and Action Group delegates to Kano was welcomed with severe aggression. The visit was used as a retaliatory means to counter-act to the treatment given to Ahmadu Bello in Lagos. Based on the analysis, the conflict was initially war of words, but on the verge of campaign and enlightenment, it escalated. Furthermore, there are also some forms of crises which imply that when a stronger group in a locality inflicts violence on a weaker group, on the other hand, the weaker group in another locality may become stronger and retaliate on the weaker groups.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What do you understand by "Conflict Escalation"?

### 3.4 SUMMARY

In contemporary times, emergence of conflict is not sudden, it occurred as a result of wars and/or crises that had occurred in the past. Policy issues either in the traditional or modern constitutions are results of peace building mechanisms that were designed to correct conflict situations.

However, a point to emphasize in human behaviours is that aggrieved or negatively affected parties are never contented, rather they remain passive to impress mediating parties or pretend to be contented. Given any opportunity, the parties involved (the aggrieved particularly) tries to revenge by retaliating. This forms the basis of resurgence and escalation. The next unit will thus focus on Peace Building.

This unit has been able to explain and analyse in details the meaning of conflict resurgence and escalation. To buttress with real examples, the Kano Riots of 1953 and the Ife-Modakeke Crisis were used to analyse the meaning. The two concepts are acts that re-occur at intervals when the opportunity comes. At the slightest provocation by either of the parties, crisis triggers off.

It is possible that when conflicts become widely known and probably escalation in a massive violent acts and destruction becomes exposed. Then, there must have been less violent acts that are perpetually meted on each other. This is mostly the conflict situation that continues to re-occur in Nigeria.

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### 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

E1: Conflicts that have experienced resurgence are Agwuleri and Umuleri, Urhobo-Itsekiri, Jos and Ife-Modakeke conflicts

E2: Conflict escalation refers to the increase in the severity of aggressive behaviour. It consists of a set of interactions involving an action taken by one party that is perceived as provocation by the other party



## **UNIT 4     CONCEPT OF PEACE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
  - 4.3.1 What is Peace?
    - 4.3.1.1 Major Processes in Peace Building
  - 4.3.2 Peace Negotiation
  - 4.3.3 Mediation
  - 4.3.4 Diplomacy
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In every stage in conflict situations, a channel for peace shall always be resorted to. In the bid to protect lives and properties, peaceful resolutions will be implored by negatively affected peoples to rescue the situation. This usually occurs in conflict situations that involves violence. If you would agree, making peace is a gradual process that everyone has to understand the need for it. Certain human behaviours become necessary to ensure peace. Good morals, patience and perseverance can be described as individual behaviours that must be critical appraisal of the behaviours. Hatred, selfish interest, discontentment, deceit must be avoided to ensure peace by all parties involved in it. However, if peace making or building is attached with selfish interest, then in the event of time, conflict situations will resurge.

### **4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

Attempt will be made in this lecture to analyse the various sub-concepts in peace making and building. By the end of the lecture, the learner should be able to:

- 1 highlight major processes in building
- 1 attempt an elaborate explanation of peace
- 1 appraise the concepts of negotiation, mediation and diplomacy.

### **4.3 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **4.3.1 What is Peace?**

Peace is a concord, an agreement, an amicable resolution that is aimed at attaining friendly relations. As a concept, it is an idea of harmony and tranquility. Peace as a state of harmony is an ideal of life after conflict has occurred. For peace to occur, it must first occur in an individual's state of mind.

In legal terms, peace is a treaty, a binding commitment to resolve violence that is a peace treaty, which is left to both parties to implement and enforce to resolve the conflict.

Thomas Hobbes proposed two laws of peace, first to seek peace and follow it, second – that a man to be willing for peace, when others are also willing so it is in defense or favour of himself. The first law of peace suggests that each progress of each other, the second law of peace suggests that a party/group agrees to make peace so far its interest is not jeopardized. Hence, the latter is usually the form of peace which is agreed to in the society. In other words, self-interest is paramount in peace agreement.

The term 'peace-building' came into widespread use after 1992 when Boutros-Boutros Ghali (Former United States Secretary General from Egypt) announced the agenda for peace. Ever since then it has become broadly in use for crisis intervention, building of governance structures and institutions. It is a term that also encompasses the activities of religions for transformation and reforms. It involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages towards sustainable peace relationship.

#### **4.3.2 Major Processes in Peace Building**

- Participatory planning
- Co-ordination of various efforts
- Sustainable investment
- Gathering and co-ordination of human and material resources and
- Long-term maintenance of reconciliatory modes

#### **4.3.3 Peace Negotiation**

It takes place between two conflicting parties without the intervention of a third party. It is a situation in which a group is able to convince the other group to make peace. Both parties put forth their views and analyse by educating each other. In this case, there is basic sort of trust between conflicting parties. Among nation-states, official negotiation processes are implored



to settle and issue or dispute. Conferences are usually held to technically outline rules and procedures to reach an accord. For example, the borderland between Nigeria and Cameroon is still under negotiation. As explained in Unit two, the bane of the borderland is mainly on ownership possession of Bakassi peninsula (which has crude-oil deposit). This is an off-shoot of environmental resource conflict.

#### **4.3.4 Mediation**

It is a process which aims to assist group in conflict to find the necessary skills to resolve conflict. Mediation is always managed by a third party. It involves a process of transforming aggression to gradually reduce violence. A mediator summons both parties and listens to all sides of issues. In Nigeria, mediation is used to solve religious crisis and other issues causing serious discord among individuals or groups. The compositions of mediators are drawn from various religious and definitely various ethnic groups to provide a dialogue for conflict resolution on matters that are religious or ethnic-based.

#### **4.3.5 Diplomacy**

This is the act of conducting negotiations by representatives of conflicting parties. Diplomacy is a contemporary term often associated with international relations.

Hence, international treaties are strategised by country representatives to make peace. For example, resolving the problem of gender-based conflict requires diplomacy. Following series of global inequality on woman, the United Nations Decade on women was established in 1975 as a forum to bring together women from various nations of the world to discuss and proffer pragmatic ways of addressing challenges facing women globally. The first conference was held in Mexico; followed by another in Kenya in 1985; and the third in Beijing (China) in 1995. At each of the conference, agreements are reached in form of declaration to guide nation-states on policy issues that could enhance women's participation and productivity for development.

#### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

List and discuss briefly the processes associated with peacebuilding
--

#### 4.4 SUMMARY

The concept of peace as a process of making or building firstly occurs as a state of mind. In this parlance, we may refer to this as internal peace. The readiness of the mind will give way to external peace. Peace is a social order that aims at maintaining cordial relationship among conflicting parties. Peace is synonymous with development in contemporary times. This is because its continuity results in co-operation, thus, it brings mutual trust and communal participation for sustainable development. In Africa, for example, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is a recent programme targeted towards economic co-operation for sustainable development.

So far, this unit has been able to expose you to the meaning of peace and key processes aimed at peace building. Furthermore, the sub-concepts of negotiation, mediation and diplomacy are all geared towards maintenance of peace. Hence, peace in the long-term is synonymous to development, which in contemporary times has further encouraged co-operation for sustainable development.

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#### 4.6 Possible answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

E1: The processes associated with peacebuilding are:

Participatory planning  
Co-ordination of various efforts  
Sustainable investment  
Gathering and co-ordination of human and material resources and  
Long-term maintenance of reconciliatory modes



**MODULE 2 Political Structures in Nigeria**

Unit 1	Political Structures in Pre-Colonial in Nigeria
Unit 2	Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria
Unit 3	Political Structures in Post-Colonial Nigeria
Unit 4	Analysis of Political Systems in Nigeria

**UNIT 1 POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN PRE-COLONIAL IN NIGERIA****CONTENTS**

1.1	Introduction
1.2	Learning Outcomes
1.3	Main Content
1.3.1	Political Structures in Pre-Colonial Nigeria
3.1.1	Designation and Function of office in Oyo Empire
1.3.2	The Igbo
1.3.2.1	Designation and Function of Office: Ohaffia Example
1.3.3	The Niger-Benue Confluence
1.3.3.1	Jukun
1.3.3.2	Tiv
1.3.3.3	Igala
1.3.4	The Niger-Delta
1.3.5	Hausa
1.3.5.1	Designation and Function of Office
1.3.6	Kanem-Bornu
1.4	Summary
1.5	References, Further Readings and Web Sources
1.6	Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

**1.1 INTRODUCTION**

In order to ensure that you get a total understanding of this course, it is most important that you study the political structures in pre-colonial and colonial periods to comprehend the origin and causes of conflicts which shall be discussed in Module 3.

**1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

This unit makes an attempt to elaborately discuss the political structures in pre-colonial Nigeria to serve as a background on further discussions. At the end of this lecture you should be able to:

- describe the political structures of different groups
- differentiate between the political structures
- analyse the functions of office in each group.

Political structures are portfolios or offices which serve as a medium for the implementation of government policies as it is stated in centre of conduct or constitution. The existence of political structures facilitates planning for an institution based on procedure.

### 1.3 MAIN CONTENT

#### 1.3.1 Political structures in Pre-Colonial Nigeria Yoruba

Before the nineteenth century, the system of government was largely monarchical. The power of the Oba (monarch) is highly recognized. The term Yoruba can be used to describe a group of people by virtue of the language they speak. There are sub-group of the Yorubas at different locations such as Oyo, Ile-Ife, Egba, Ijebu with differing culture and occupation. The masses (people) belong to several societies based on their guild (occupation). It is through this guild that they contribute to communal decision-making or governance.

There are local chiefs such as *Baale* or *Mogaji* who represent families or group of families. The ranks of higher chiefs are filled to represent district levels. The higher chiefs are chosen among the *Baale* or *Mogaji*. Based on differences in Yoruba dialect, the title name of the portfolios varies. For example, in Ondo, the female title of *Iyalode* in Oyo is referred to as *Lobun*. So also, the king in Ife is referred to as *Ooni* and *Alaafin* in Oyo. It is at this juncture that is germane to emphasize that Ife was the religious headquarters while Oyo was the political headquarters of the Yoruba nation. This separation is a means of check on arbitrary rule. The *Awo* (priest) assists in checking and balancing the power of tyrannical king.

##### 1.3.1.1 Designation and Function of Office in Oyo Empire

The head which performs the role of the king is referred to as *Alaafin*. In theory, he was the fountain of authority and companion of the gods (*Kabiyesi alase ikeji Orisa*), but in practice, his powers are limited by the principles of checks and balances.

The *Oyomesi* is the aristocratic council of the state made up of seven members. Individually, the seven were elder/leaders of seven wards into which the capital was divided. They are a team of king makers headed by *Basorun*. The function of *Basorun* can be described as that of Prime Minister that possessed the power of rejecting a tyrannical *Alaafin* by

presenting an empty calabash or by instructing him to go to “sleep.” This meant that the king should go on exile or commit suicide.

At a time, there was also the office for the *Ogboni cult* which was made up of freemen, remarkable for age, experience and their prominence in socio-political and economic life of the community. The Ogboni cult essentially perform the role of the judiciary, particularly on cases involving spilling of blood. As the third organ of government of the old Oyo Empire, they were very influential in the society.

The *Are-Onakakanfo* was an office comprising Army Generals. The office is also composed of the *Eso* (military men). They are responsible for maintaining territorial security and defending the land during wars. In addition, the success recorded in expansion and acquisition of territories popularised the offices of *Ajele*. The *Ajele* represented the interest of *Alaafin* and Oyo in the conquered territories; they are also responsible for collecting tributes for *Alaafin*.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE1

List and describe the functions of three Yoruba office holder

### 1.3.2 The Igbo

The Igbo had no centralized political structure. The basic social unit among the Igbo was the single village made up of scattered homesteads and linked together by ties of kingship. Hence, the largest political unit was the village group. The village group consisted of villages sharing the same cultural identity, a guardian deity and a central meeting place or market. Each constituent village retained the right to manage its own affairs and it was still subject to the moral authority of the head of its lineage called *Okpara*.

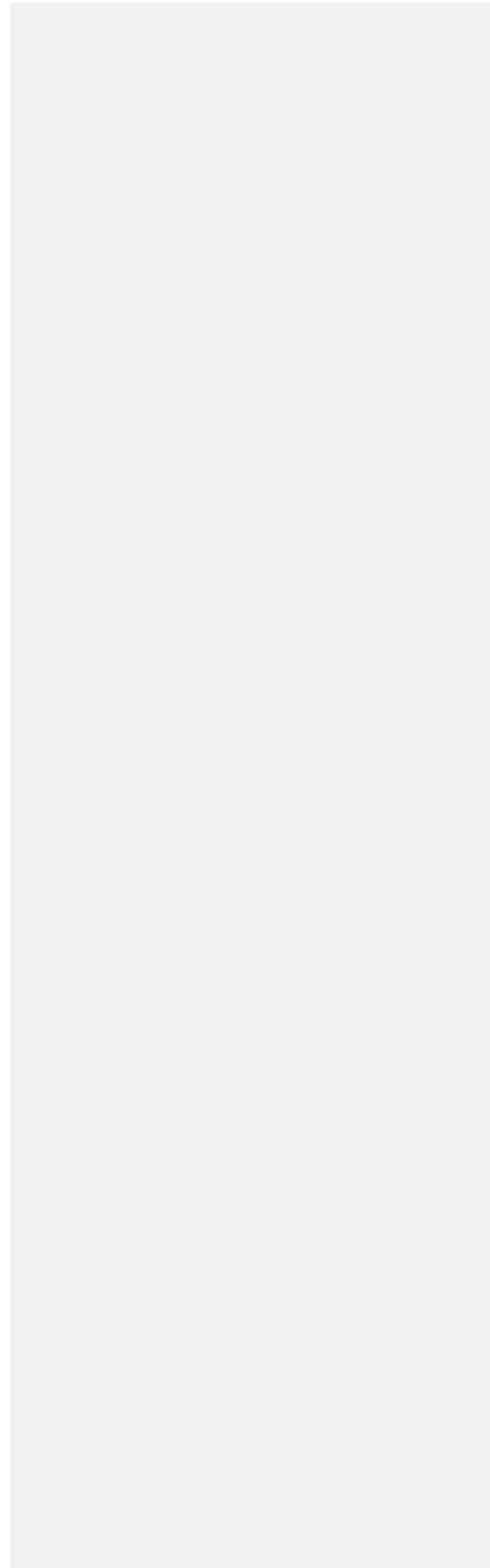
The system of Igbo political structure is such that every male person had the right to attend a meeting and speak when he so desired. It is an opportunity for each individual to participate in decision making till posterity. Thus, level of participation is determined by age, experience and wealth.

#### 1.3.2.1 Designation and Function of Office: The Ohaffia Example

The political structure of the village was by age-based associations. Boys and girls from age 3 are grouped into age sets. As they grow up, their rank moves to higher grades.

**Table 1: Age-grade Cadre in Ohaffia**

Age range	Rank title	Mode of Recruitment
16-25	Uke	Age
26-35	Ukejiogo	Age
36-45	Akpan	Age
46-55	Umuaka	Selection
56 and above	Ndi Ichin	Survival from Umuaka



The range of *Uke* and *Ukejiogo* were responsible for maintaining environmental sanitation of village paths, market place and other communal roles. The Akpan implement decisions made by Umuaka such as the farming system. The Umuaka was the most powerful structure. They function to ensure peace and security, regulate the exploitation of natural resources. The *Ndi Ichin* was elders who were less active in implementation, but they perform advisory roles as they are consulted on cogent issues.

The *Amala* (village assembly) was a constituent of all male adults and age groups. The village assembly was convened when there were issues that needed public debate and dialogue. They protected or reversed any action that could affect the people.

The *Ikirikpe* (women's association) was similar to *Umuaka*, it administered the affairs of opposition on decisions made that were not in favour of women.

Title holder such as the "Ozo" is also central to the political structure of the Igbo society. Ozo title holder was seen as the highest title of honour which was given to specific individuals in pre-colonial Igbo society. The criteria of becoming an Ozo title holder were very strict. The holder must be prestigious, popular and wealthy. As respected individual, Ozo title holder represents his towns in town meetings as well as important conferences. Sometimes Ozo title holder used his influence to settle disputes in the society.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE2

Who are members of Amala in Igboland?
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### 1.3.3 The Niger-Benue Confluence

#### 1.3.3.1 Jukun

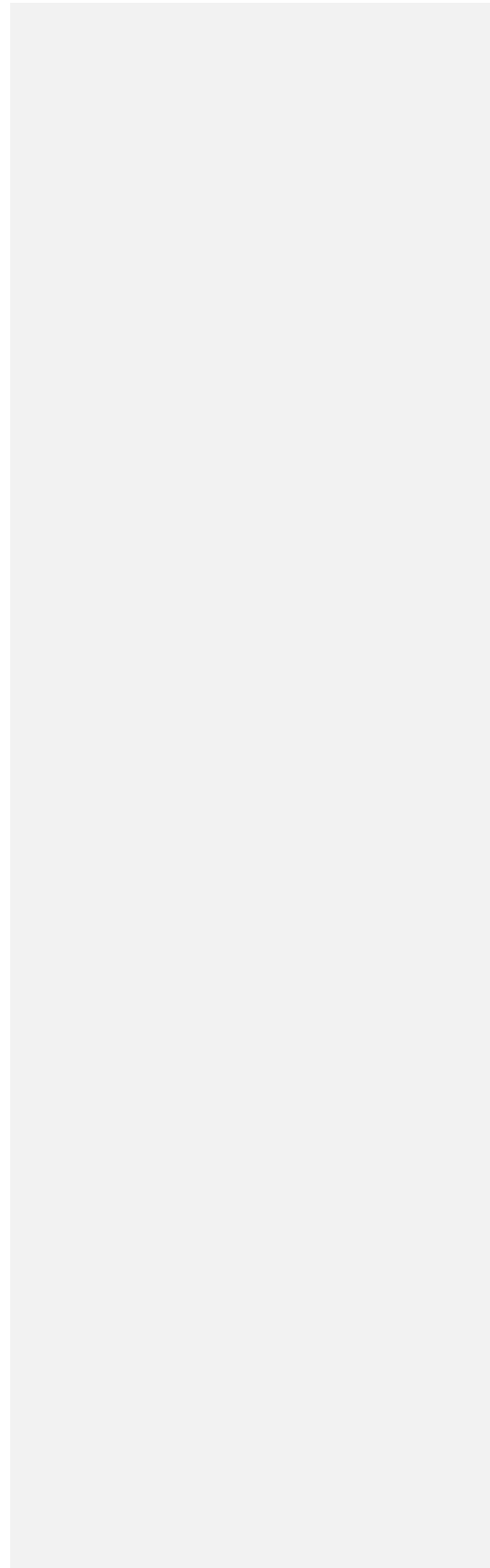
Though the origins of Jukun were not unanimous and this had a lot to do with the political structures. In spite, the political structure is headed by *Aku* (divine king) who was subject to ritual practices. *Aku* represented the gods and served as intermediaries or link between them and his subjects. There were groups of counselors headed by *Abo*. The *Abo* acted like a prime Minister.

#### 1.3.3.2 Tiv

The political structure of Tiv was centred on a secret society called the *Mba tsav* whose members provided the two principal rulers of every kindred.

The first of the two was *Tee* (spokesman) who contributed to spiritual and legislative matters. The second ruler was *Shagba*. The two of them were responsible for safeguarding internal security and settling disputes. The modification of the two offices gave way to a new class of chiefs referred to as *Tor Agbande* (Drum Chiefs). The *Tor Agbande* were compulsory members or *Mba tsav*.





### 1.3.3.3 Igala

The *Ata* is the king of Igala. The *Ata* was at one time a vassal of Benin. The *Ata* was assisted by a council of nine elders called the *Igala mela*. There was also the *Ashadu* (Lord Chamberlain or King Maker), he was responsible for selecting the *Ata* from the four royal families.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE3

Describe the political structure of Tiv society
---

### 1.3.4 The Niger Delta

The Delta area of Nigeria consists of the Ijaw, Itsekiri, Aboh, Urhobo, Isoko among others. The Niger delta comprises the Western and Eastern Delta group of peoples. In the works of Ikime (1980), the smallest political structure was from the compound. Group of families come to form the lineage group (heads of families). They are responsible for maintaining law and order as well as protecting the families. At the village level, there was usually a council of elders responsible for governance. These elders referred to as *Ekpako* in Urhobo and Isoko, *Ndokwa* in Ukwuani and *Okosuowei* in Ijaw-met to discuss the affairs of the village. There are councils also based on age. The age-sets comprised boys who assist in all communal works meant for development of the village.

### 1.3.5 Hausa

Political structure in Hausaland was centered on *birni*. It is usually of a community that is united by trade and industry. Hausa state emerged when one *birni* acquired other *birnis*. The expanding *birni* became the capital headed by the *Sarki*. The acquired *birnis* become the subordinate. It is pertinent to point out that the religion of Islam played a major role in the political structure of Hausa people.

#### 1.3.5.1 Designation and Functions of Office

The *Galadima* was the governor in charge of the town. He was the intermediary or representative of the King (*Sarki*) whenever he was on war or diplomatic missions. There was also the *Madawaki* (Master of the Horse) that is commander-in-chief. The office of *Madawaki* was of utmost importance because he was in charge of defense and control of the army. He advised the king on the appointment or the need for dismissal of title holders. In some Hausa states these functions were performed by the *Waziri*. Among other officials were the *Magaji* (Lord of Treasury), *Sarkin Dogari* (Head of Police) and *Sarkin Yandoka* (in charge of prison). Each official held charge of a particular department of the state, subject to the *sarki*'s overall control.



Local government was exercised through district or village heads. The district heads were appointed from the *Sarki's* families or from traditional rulers of the locality. In judicial affairs, there was the *Sarkin Fada* who adjudicated on legal matters and if the matter was of great importance, the *Sarki* presided. However, with the advent of Islam, the Islamic system of justice (*Sharia*) was implemented whereby the judiciary was separated from the king.

There was the *Alkali* judge and other legal experts versed in *Sharia* law, who interpreted jurisdiction over matters and cases. The *Maliki* school of thought (code of law) was usually referred to as a guide.

Furthermore, with the adoption of Islam, there were political structures that enabled the collection of *Zakat* (tax on available income). So also are other forms of dues such as *Kuridin Kasa* (land tax), *Gaisau* (tributes) and other dues.

### 1.3.6 Kanem-Bornu

The Kingdom was administered by a hereditary sovereign referred to as *Mai*. The *Mai* (king) is supported by State Councillors who were chosen from among the *Maina*, members of royal family and the *kacella*. The most important among the councilors were *Kaigama* (Warden of South), *Yerima* (Warden of North), *Mestrema* (warden of East) and *Galadima* (warden of West).

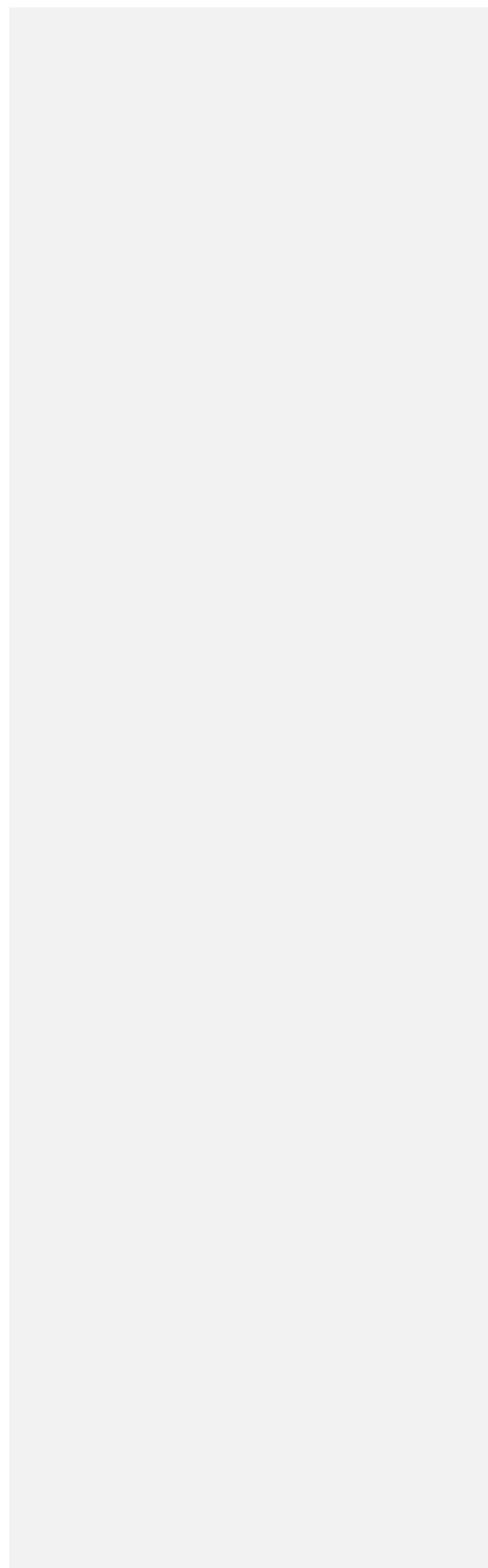
The political structure attached much importance to women. There were the *Magira* (Queen mother), *Magara* (King's elder sister) and *Gumsu* (first wife of the King). They played decisive roles in the state especially on security issues.

The politics structure was organised in such a way that slaves were transformed to become personnel. There was *Chima Kura* and *Chima Gana* who were responsible for collecting taxes and dues. The military force was led by *Kacella* (commanders). The *kacella* was divided into two – the regiment of cavalry and infantry. Those of the cavalry protected the palace while that of infantry were responsible for expedition.

In the judicial system, there was *Mainin Kanendi* who was the chief judge. But with the advent of Islam a Muslim Qadi was appointed by the king to adjudicate over legal matters.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE4

Examine the hereditary nature of Kanem Bornu kingdom
--



## 1.40 SUMMARY

The political structures in pre-colonial Nigeria depended on the nature of settlement or pattern of migration. Going by the traditions of origin of Nigerian peoples, the nature of inter-group relations determined the religious and political life. In unit four, there will be an analysis of how the relationship has affected the political structures of one time or the other.

This unit has been able to engage you in describing the political structures of Nigerian peoples before 1900. Then, there was no country with the name Nigeria; rather there were groups with languages and cultural affiliations. A careful study of the political structures would show that they all emanated from the family which is the basic unit of any political organisation.

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## 1.6. POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- The function of Basorun can be described as that of Prime Minister. The Ogboni cult essentially perform the role of the judiciary. The Are-Onakakanfo are responsible for maintaining territorial security and defending the land during wars.

E2- The Amala (village assembly) was a constituent of all male adults and age groups

E3- The political structure of Tiv was centred on a secret society called the Mba tsav whose members provided the two principal rulers of every kindred

E4- The Kingdom was administered by a hereditary sovereign referred to as Mai. The Mai (king) is supported by State Councillors who were chosen from among the Maina, members of royal family and the kacella. The most important among the councilors were Kaigama (Warden of South), Yerima (Warden of North), Mestrema (warden of East) and Galadima (warden of West).



## **UNIT 2 POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN COLONIAL NIGERIA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
  - 2.3.1 Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria
  - 2.3.2 Structure of British Colonial Administration
    - 2.3.2.1 Central Administration
    - 2.3.2.2 Legislative Council
    - 2.3.2.3 Executive Council
    - 2.3.2.4 Protectorate Administration
    - 2.3.2.5 Provincial Administration
  - 2.3.3 Indirect Rule Policy
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 2.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

As a learner, a pertinent question to pose is that, how did Colonialism suddenly emerge? Was it just possible for them to emerge and impose themselves? The answer could be associated to a long period of their presence not only in Nigeria, but in other colonies in West Africa. Colonialism was just another form of imposition that brought about change. Before the need for colonialism, Europeans had generally been present as Imperialists. They were initially slave traders (human trafficking to Europe), but by the 1807 abolition of slave trade, there was a shift towards exporting of finished goods and importing of cash crops. However, conflicts among European nations over Africa led to the partition of Africa. In essence, part of British partition was Nigeria. To further exploit resources, it was thought by the British that colonisation was necessary, so also to guard against take over by other European nations. By colonisation, control of political system became imperative to manipulate resources.

### **2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

The previous unit has enabled you to understand political structures before colonialism. It is the focus of this unit to expose you to political structures put in place in the colonial period. At the end of the lecture, you should be able:



- discuss the Indirect Rule Policy
- identify and explain the political structure
- comment on the changing role of traditional rulers.

## **2.3 MAIN CONTENT**

### **2.3.1 An Overview of Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria**

From 1898, the British government sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. Their emergence as a colonial power was arguably to abolish all acts they perceived as inhuman and to put a stop to the conflicts of centuries that had existed among Nigerian peoples. The process involved a number of measures including – The removal of all oppositions to the imposition, expansion and consolidation of British central authority. Other European nations such as the French, and the German in the immediate pre-colonial period competed with Britain in the scramble and partition of some areas in Nigeria which was not successful. In essence, Britain was able to gain absolute control. Among the local peoples however, there were attempts to resist colonial rule, such as was in the case in Benin and Borno. Where there were no attempts of resistance, Britain took advantage of the age-long wars among the people to establish its rule. To ensure centrality in policy making and pool of resources, the British government from 1898 adopted the policy of amalgamating the various units in Nigeria. In 1906, the Lagos colony was merged with Southern Nigeria. The purpose of the amalgamation was economic, in the sense that there would be reduction in the cost of administration. By 1914, northern and southern Nigeria was amalgamated by Sir Fredrick Lugard. Lugard was only opportune to be the Government General at the time of amalgamation, as he was not a member of the Special Committee which recommended that British ‘Niger Territories’ be amalgamated.

### **2.3.2 Structure of British Colonial Administration**

After amalgamation, political structures were put in place to facilitate governance at various levels. At the apex was a central administration, followed by protectorate administration. The protectorates were divided into province, then province into divisions or districts.

#### **2.3.2.1 Central Administration**

The Central Administration had the Governor-General as the head, assisted by the Legislative and the Executive Councils. The governor-general was in charge of the whole country. The responsibility also implies submitting situation report to the imperial

government in London. The structure was such that the legislative assembly was subordinate to the executive council.

#### **2.3.2.2 Legislative Council**

It is important to emphasize here that British administration was attached to constitutional provisions. The constitutions prior to 1922 (Clifford constitution) excluded Nigerians from the legislative council. However, the adoption of elective principle into the constitution gave opportunity for four Nigerians – three representatives from Lagos, one from Calabar. Subsequently, the adoption of other constitutions before 1960 further widened the opportunity for Nigerian representation in the legislative council. A question to pose at this point is to wonder that – How was it possible for Nigerians to adapt based on the traditional political structures of the pre-colonial period? Did the opportunity for representation occur on a platter of gold? These questions are to be inferred from subsequent modules. The role of the legislative council was to advise government (the executive) on policy actions. But it is not binding on the governor to accept the advice.

#### **2.3.2.3 Executive Council**

The executive council was responsible for formulation and implementation of colonial laws. The executive council mainly consisted of British officials until 1943 when the first Nigerian was appointed member of the council. By the time of adoption of 1951 McPherson Constitution, the executive council became the council of ministers.

#### **2.3.2.4 Protectorate Administration**

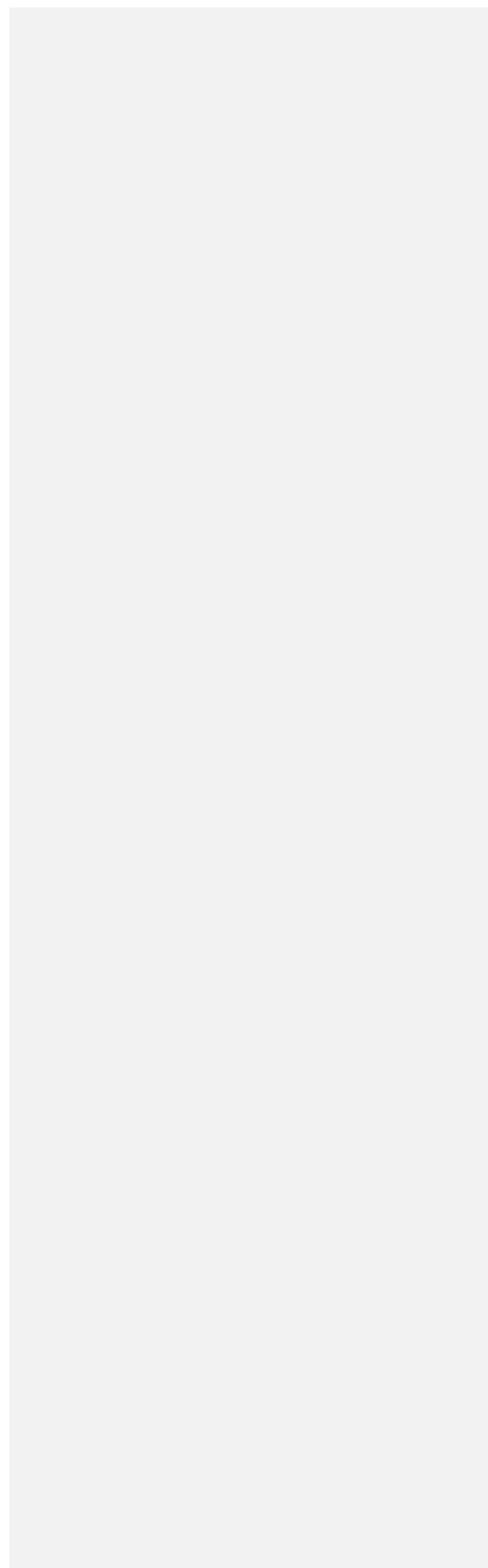
A protectorate covers a territory, under the governance of a Lieutenant Governor charged with direct administration of the area. In Nigeria, the protectorates of northern and southern Nigeria were in existence before 1914. After 1914, both became protectorate of Nigeria.

#### **2.3.2.5 Provincial Administration**

Each protectorate was divided into provinces. The provinces were under the authority of a Resident. Each province was divided into divisions and districts. District officers were attached to the divisions. It is the District officers that deal directly with the traditional rulers.

##### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Describe the composition of a protectorate under British rule



### 2.3.3 Indirect Rule Policy

Indirect rule was introduced based on the assumption that traditional rulers were in the best position to use as intermediaries between colonial government and the people. Basically, this assumption was the root cause of the conflict in the colonial period because the colonial government thought they could:

2. Introduce innovations of modernization without resistance;
3. Manipulate traditional rulers to enforce innovations on the people, disregarding the fact that traditional rulers were constitutional monarchs not absolute monarchs; and
4. use the example of the organized political structures in northern Nigeria to successfully operate in Southern Nigeria.

The operation of indirect rule in northern Nigeria was quite successful because administration was done through local political structures in existence from the pre-colonial period. In Southwestern Nigeria the policy did not work as it were in northern Nigeria. Therefore, the colonial government designated the leading Obas in Yorubaland as 'Sole Native Authorities'. This implied that the constitutional monarchs were turned to absolute monarchs with the power of autocratic rule.

In South-eastern Nigeria, the operation of indirect rule was worse than that of south-western Nigeria. The non-centralised nature of the villages made the colonial government introduce the imposition of Warrant Chiefs. The warrant chiefs became agents that further aggravated conflicts. As explained in Module one, the Aba Women Riots of 1929 emanated from the imposition of warrants chief. The political systems adopted between 1900 and 1960 shall be the focus in unit four.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Why was indirect rule successful in the north?
--

## 2.4 SUMMARY

The political structures adopted by British colonial government were an imposition that found its way from treaties signed in the bid to make peace and abolish inhuman acts. The peace treaties gave way to other forms of conflicts, because it brought changes in the ways of life of the people. In essence, the amalgamation of 1914 which was planned for administrative convenience became the basis for all types of conflict in post-colonial period. Of course, do not forget the human behaviours of competition and in equality discussed in module one.

In northern Nigeria, indirect rule was very operational because the presence of Islam had facilitated a centralized system with designated offices. Reverse is the case in southern Nigeria, where paramount rulers and warrant chiefs were imposed. The powers accorded to them by colonial government made them autocratic.

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## 2.6. POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- A protectorate covers a territory, under the governance of a Lieutenant Governor charged with direct administration of the area. In Nigeria, the protectorates of northern and southern Nigeria were in existence before 1914. After 1914, both became protectorate of Nigeria.

E2- The operation of indirect rule in northern Nigeria was quite successful because administration was done through local political structures in existence from the pre-colonial period



## **UNIT 3     POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
  - 3.3.1 An Overview of Political Structures in Post-Colonial Nigeria
    - 3.3.1.1 The Legislature
    - 3.3.1.2 The Executive
    - 3.3.1.3 The Judiciary
  - 3.3.2 Map of Nigeria showing Regional Structure
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 2.6. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

After the exit of colonialism, it would have been thought that there will be reversion to the pre -colonial political structures. Our traditional political structures were subjugated to be part of the modern political structures. There was a continuation of the political structures introduced by colonial administration.

The first six years after Nigeria's independence was open to crises of different sorts arising from national issues. This will be discussed in subsequent modules. But in this unit, the functions of the three arms of government shall be treated. The map of Nigeria is very relevant here to present to you a picture of what forms the basis of contemporary political structures

### **3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

The behavioural Learning Outcomes expected of you to attain at the end of this unit is for you to appreciate the existence of the legislative, executive and judiciary after Nigeria's independence. You should be able to:

- ☐ define the three arms of government
- ☐ highlight the offices in each arm
- ☐ describe functions of each arm.

### **3.3 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.3.1 Overview Political Structures in Post-Colonial Nigeria**

As at the time of independence in October 1, 1960, the structure of government owes much allegiance to colonial legacies. The new government had to face the challenge of the politics of divide and rule. This is bearing the fact that the pace of socio-economic development was not the same in northern and southern Nigeria. In spite of all these, the attainment of independence still provided an opportunity for self-government and internal decision making. Nigerians were able to participate in the progress of the country through the political structures. Apart from the aforementioned, the aspects of our culture which were not recognised were revived; there was expansion in social and economic services, as well as information and communication systems. However, all these were meaningful and available until the first twenty-five years after independence. The 1960 independence constitution defined the political structures as follows:

##### **3.3.1.1 The Legislature**

This was the law making organ of government. It was made up of a Senate and a House of Representatives just as it is practiced in Britain where there is the House of Lords and House of Commons. The legislature was regulated by standing orders. Members of the legislature had immunity and they cannot be sued to courts. The legislature made laws through bills which must pass through proper deliberations before it is signed into law. The house of senate had members representing the North, West, East; and Mid-west and Lagos. Representation at the senate was based on equality which was aimed at progressing national unity and protecting the interest of minority. The members in the house of senate were chosen from regional legislature. At the House of Representatives, members were elected on a single-constituency basis. On the basis of single-constituency, the largest region had the highest membership.

##### **3.3.1.2 The Executive**

As it were, this organ formulated and executed government policies. This consisted of the President, the Prime Minister and the Ministers. The President was the ceremonial head and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He was elected by a joint decision of the House of Senate and Representatives. The Prime minister is selected from the House of Representatives based on the support of majority members. The ministers were also appointed by the president based on the advice of the Prime Minister.



### 3.3.1.3 The Judiciary

This organ of government interprets the law. It ensures that the constitution and statutes were obeyed. There was a supreme court with not less than five judges. The Chief Justices and other Justices of the Supreme Court were appointed by the President. The three arms – legislating executive and judiciary outlined above are for central administration. There were political structures for the regions.

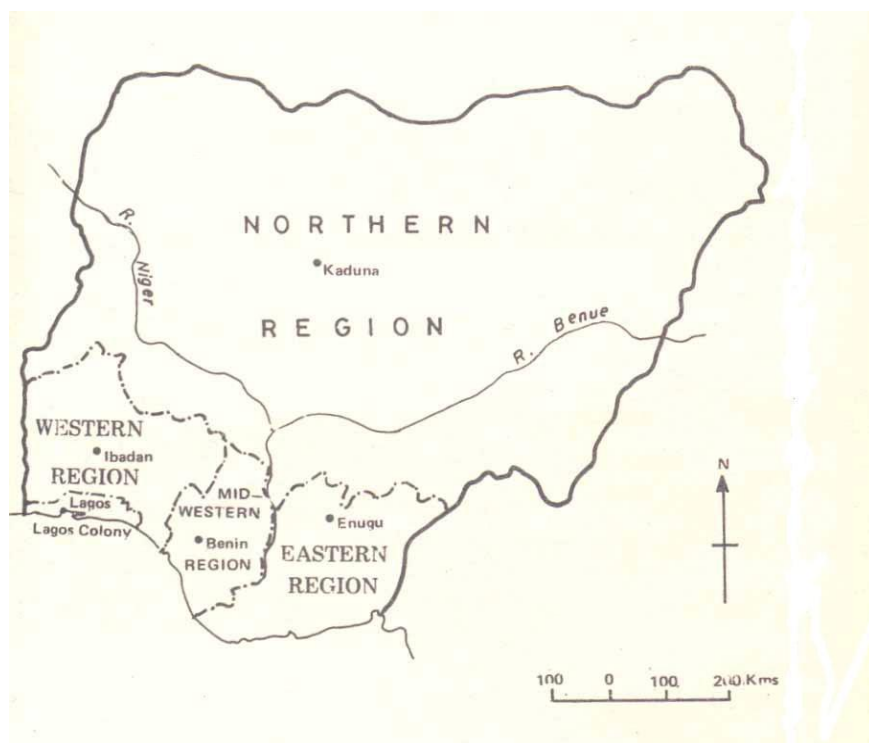
#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

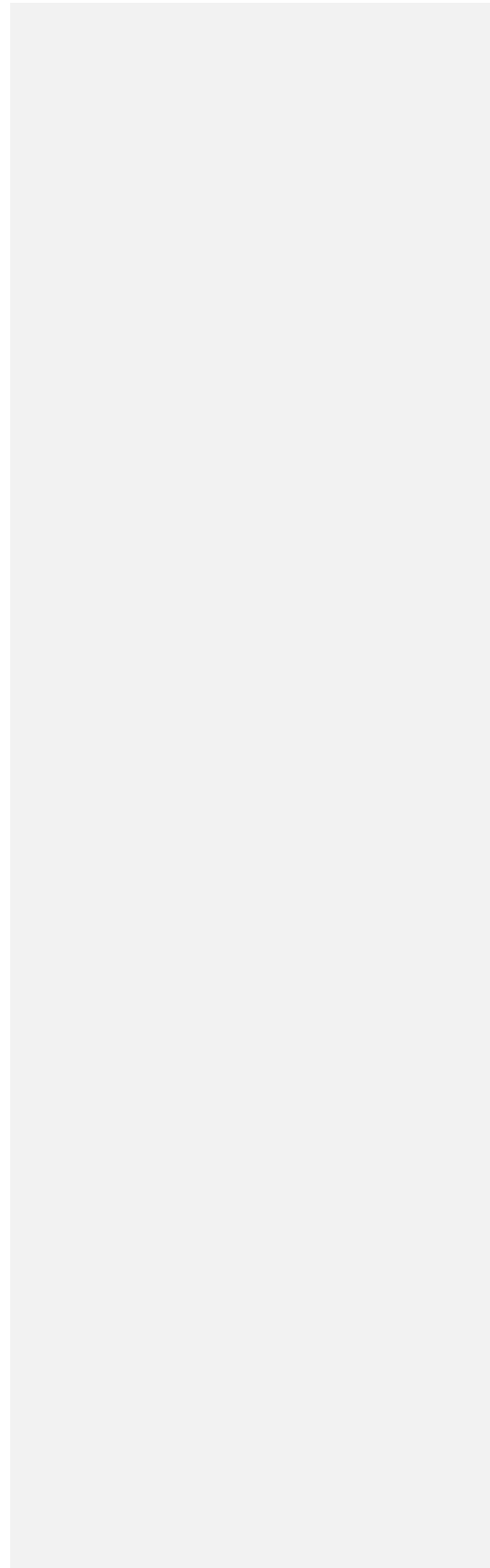
Attempt to define the three arms of government
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### 3.3.1.4 Regional Administration

Each region (East, West, Mid-west North) had two House – House of Assembly and House of Chiefs. The House of Assembly was made up of elected representatives. The House of chiefs was made up of traditional rulers. The executive powers had the Premier, Governor and Council of Ministers. In addition, every region had a High court of Justice with a Chief Judge and six other Judges.

#### Map of Nigeria to show Regional Structure





## SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Describe the composition of regional administration in post-colonial Nigeria before military take-over of government

### 3.4-SUMMARY

The political structures analysed are an exemplary of the parliamentary system of government that was obtained from Britain before independence. The only difference was that Nigerians are absolutely involved in decision making. With the nature of changes and the processes of adaptation, there were amendments of the constitutions inherited from Britain which is still in use till contemporary times. Furthermore, the creation of states among other national development issues created new interpretations and modifications to the systems of government. These interpretations and modifications shall be discussed in form of constitutional developments in unit four.

This unit has been able to present and make familiar to you the legacies of colonial political structures. The three arms of government and their functions still remains the same. But the composition changed in the sense that representation was absolutely Nigerians. At the regional level, it was the same structure as the central level; it is just that the House of Chiefs comprised the traditional rulers. A point to note was that the traditional rulers who were initially used as intermediaries became subordinates who were not necessarily consulted. This is because the introduction of western type education has influenced and contributed to the agitation for self-government.

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### 3.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- **The Legislature** is the law making organ of government. **The Executive** is the organ that formulates and executes government policies. **The Judiciary** is the organ of government that interprets the law.

E2- Each region (East, West, Mid-west North) had two House – House of Assembly and House of Chiefs. The House of Assembly was made up of

*elected representatives. The House of chiefs was made up of traditional rulers. The executive powers had the Premier, Governor and Council of Ministers. In addition, every region had a High court of Justice with a Chief Judge and six other Judges.*

## **UNIT 4 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN NIGERIA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
  - 4.3.1 Political Systems in Pre-colonial Nigeria
  - 4.3.2 Constitutional Developments and the Emergence of Political Systems in Colonial Nigeria
    - 4.3.2.1 Clifford Constitution of 1922
    - 4.3.2.2 Richards Constitution of 1946
    - 4.3.2.3 MacPherson Constitution of 1951
    - 4.3.2.4 Lyttleton Constitution of 1954
    - 4.3.2.5 Independence Constitution of 1960 and Republican Constitution of 1963
  - 4.3.3 Emergence of Presidential Systems of government
  - 4.3.4 Political Parties in Nigeria before 1960
  - 4.3.5 Political Parties in Nigeria's Second Republic in 1979-1983 and the Abortive Third Republic
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The political structures right from pre-colonial period had certain political systems that were developed, some were centralized and others were non-centralized. By the first fifty years of colonial rule, the non-centralised states became minority groups who had to make extra efforts to get represented. Whichever way, the centrality and non-centrality was virile and to a large extent democratic. Although the colonial political systems attempted to implore democratic values. But it was the major problem that triggered another record of crisis from 1900. It is the focus of this unit to make you understand the political systems.

### **4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

In political science, there are various political systems such as federalism, Unitarianism, democracy, presidentialism and so on. It will be holistic if you can understand the historical processes that brought about these systems. You should be able to:

1. analyse constitutional developments in Nigeria
2. differentiate the nature of political systems before and after 1900
3. highlight the political systems
4. identify the emergence and purpose of political parties in Nigeria.

#### 4.3 MAIN CONTENT

##### 4.3.1 Political Systems in Pre-colonial Nigeria

The political system in pre-colonial Nigeria can be grouped into two – centralized and non-centralised political systems.

##### Non-Centralised Political Systems

The areas regarded as non-centralised are the Igbo, Idoma, Tiv, Ebira, as well as the western and eastern Niger Delta. Basically, political systems in these states were dispersed; no single individual could be seen as an overall -- legitimate authority. There was more of collective and collaborative leadership. For instance, the *Amaala* in Igbo society brought together every group of peoples in the society. Each adult male member had the right to contribute and debate on important matters. Implementation of decisions was the function of the age grades and secret cults. Although, the age-grade system featured in all societies, they were most prominent in non-centralised states.

The concept of village democracy was most valued. In contemporary times, this can be interpreted as direct democracy. It is so called village democracy because there was direct participation. Even among women, their contributions were also taken into consideration in village affairs. This system of government helps in reducing autocracy and dictatorship.

Among, the Niger- Benue peoples, the system of government were theocratic in nature. Authority is vested in a divine King who performs spiritual rites to determine decisions. The divine King can be controlled through the elders. A question to pose here is the fact that – Are these communities operating in isolation? The answer is reasonably No, because all these communities by their traditions of origin could be traced from the same source. Hence, their political systems are structurally the same. Furthermore, the markets are also a medium for inter-group relations among these people. There tends to be cultural assimilation among each other.

The political systems of centralised states were largely hereditary and it was administered with sovereignty. Sovereignty in the sense that the King had almost absolute control over its territories. Here, leadership is

based on delegated legislation. For instance, the use of *Ajele* in the Oyo Empire was a way of maintaining control over conquered territories. However, the absoluteness the king possessed was subject to the control of the council of elders or Kingmakers. They provided a form of checks and balances to reduce dictatorial government. Another way of checking the power of the Oba comprised religious taboos, because it was believed that the ancestors and goods have a stake in the well-being of the community. Whether in the centralised or non-centralised states, the working of the political system is Triadic: *King, Council and Masses*. At the apex is the King who wielded enormous power and was backed by religious sanctions. The Council regulates the affairs of the king by influencing and advising to implement the policies.

**SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Discuss the nature of non-centralised political systems

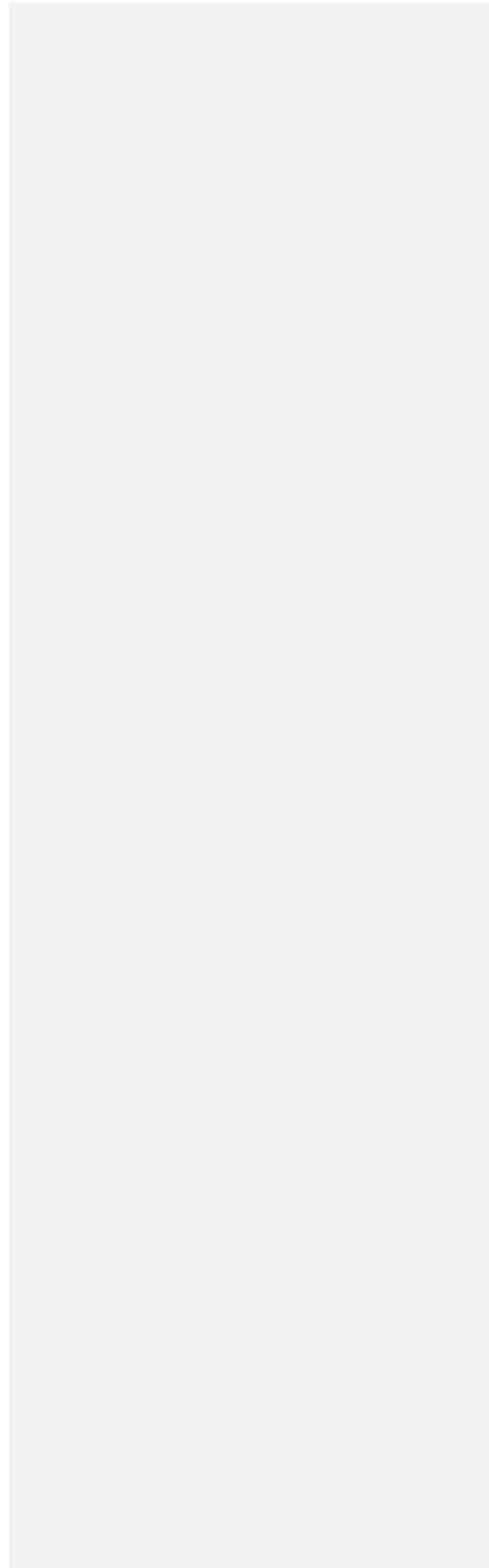
### **4.3.2 Constitutional Developments and the Emergence of Political systems in Colonial Nigeria**

#### **4.3.2.1 Clifford Constitution of 1922**

In 1922, a new legislative council was formed to replace the old legislative Council (Nigerian Council). The legislative council was backed up by the Clifford constitution which introduced the *Principle of election*. It was two consisted of 46 members – 27 unofficials and 19 officials. Four of the unofficial members were Nigerians elected by an adult male suffrage with residential qualifications of one year and gross income of £100 per annum, three from Lagos, one from Calabar. The new constitution with its elective principle facilitated the formation of the first political party in Nigeria – Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). All these were not achieved on a platter of gold. There were disagreements and oppositions which were resolved by negotiation. The agitation had started right from the nineteenth century. The efforts towards agitation shall be discussed later.

#### **4.3.2.2 Richards Constitution of 1946**

Out of criticisms by nationalists, the previous constitution and legislative council were faulted for non-inclusion of Nigerians. This was the internal factor that ushered in the constitution. On the other hand, in 1941, the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill and the President of United States, Franklin Roosevelt drew up the famous *Atlantic Charter* (right of self-determination). The purpose of the charter in form of declaration was the right to give all peoples of the world the opportunity to determine, by way of participating in government. Hence, it served as reinforcement to Nigeria's agitate for better representation.





In essence, Sir Arthur Richards on becoming the Governor of Nigeria introduced *regional system of government*. The aim was to ensure that each group developed within its own area. The constitution created three regional councils – Eastern, Western and Northern regions. The introduction of regional councils further provided framework for the introduction of *Federal System of government*. The regional government assisted the Central government.

#### **4.3.2.3 Macpherson Constitution of 1951**

The complaints about Richards constitution was that it lacked structures that could ensure proper representation. Basically, there was problem of or fear of domination of the north by the South. Minority interests were also suppressed with existence of three regions. It is against this backdrop that Macpherson Constitution was introduced. Macpherson Constitution introduced a kind of participatory *democracy* in which Nigerians were gathered to organise and plan regional conferences at Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna, respectively. Its aim was to train Nigerians to determine a working constitution. The constitution, on like the previous constitutions, strengthen regional constituents of governance. For instance, the Constitution, for the first time, empowered the Regional Governments to legislate on certain aspects of their lives. This was why it was called Constitution of Regionalism. Furthermore, it stimulated the formation of political parties. However, it was the threshold to the gross socio-political and economic conflicts hinging till contemporary times because it further aggravated ethnic nationalism and regional cleavages.

#### **4.3.2.4 Lyttleton Constitution of 1954**

This constitution came up as a result of 1953 London conference and 1954 Lagos conference. It further strengthened and established *Federalism*. There was separation of powers between the federal and regional governments. There were division of powers among the three levels of government – Federal, Regional and Local Councils. Areas (sectors) of authority were shared. There is the *exclusive legislative list* which solely applies to the federal government such as currency production, external affairs and defense. The *Concurrent legislative list* was shared between the federal and regional government, examples of such are in matters of education and health. The residual legislative list is the concern of the local councils.

#### **4.3.2.5 Independence Constitution of 1960 and Republican Constitution of 1963**

Both Constitutions were modifications of previous Constitutions. The Independence Constitution was the result of agitation for self-government that was attained in 1950s. The Constitution provided for a federal and a parliamentary system with bicameral legislature and a cabinet containing the Council of Ministers at the centre. There were

also separate constitutions for the three Regions-Northern, Western and Eastern regions.

The Republican Constitution of 1963 on the other hand was aimed at attaining full autonomy and getting rid of the traces of colonial rule. An example of such autonomy was the liberation of the judiciary from the Judiciary Committee of the Privy Council in London as the highest judiciary organ to the establishment of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. Instructive to note that the 1963 Constitution restructured Nigeria from three regions into four regions, namely: Northern, Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Region and a Federal Territory (Lagos).

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What is unique about Macpherson constitution?
---

### 4.3.3 Emergence of Presidential System of Government

Between the periods 1966 to 1979, there was an interregnum which ushered in *Military system of government*. The military government acted through the use of decree. The constitutions were ignored and at the early stage of military rule, a unification decree was promulgated by General Aguiyi Ironsi. But it was met with series of opposition. The suspension of constitution introduced a military structure of governance. The organs of military government had its highest ruling body, the *Supreme Military Council (SMC)*, comprising all military and paramilitary head officers, some of the executive and judicial organs consisted of civilians. In contrast to what was in operation, the Military system disregarded the legislative organ.

By 1975, the quest for a civilian government led to the establishment of a Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC), under the chairmanship of Chief F. R. A. Williams. The CDC was meant to produce a document that will provide for an *executive presidential system of government*. This was meant to reduce conflict because the head of state is also the head of government which is unlike the parliamentary system where the Head of State was different from the head of government. Hence, the 1979 constitution could be described as a similitude of what is obtained in United States of America. There was clear cut separation of powers among the legislature, executive and judiciary. The constitution also adopted the use of nationally based political parties to ensure peaceful transition to civil rule. But how peaceful was it? Did it succeed in uniting Nigerians by getting rid of conflict?

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

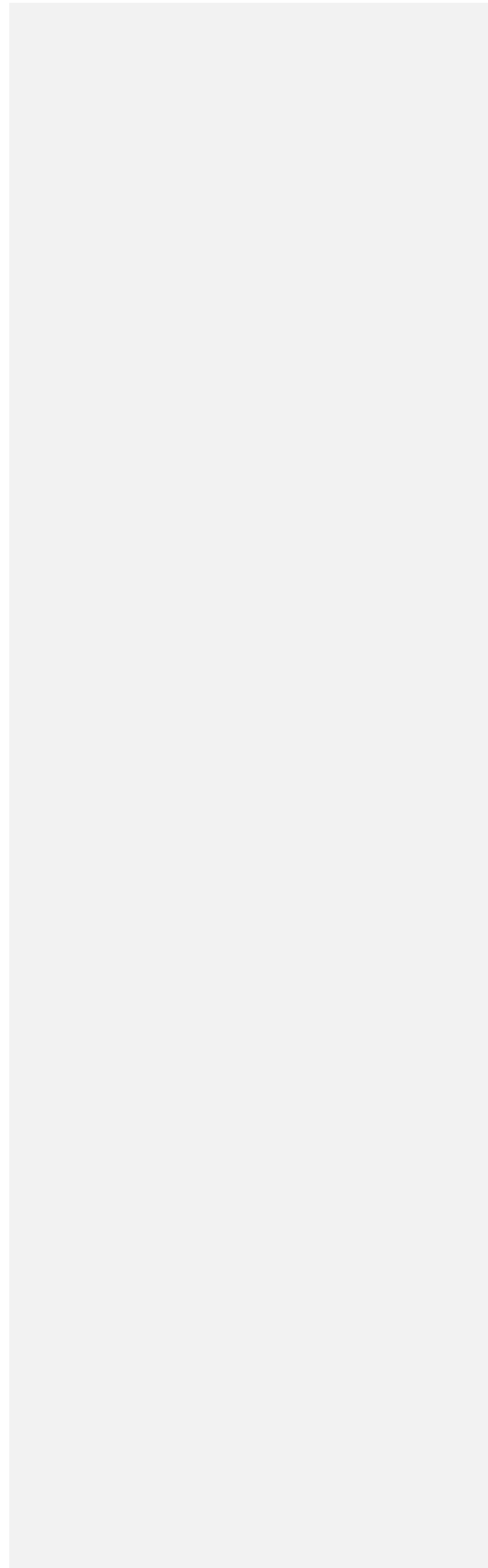
What is the unique feature of a presidential system of government?
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### 4.3.4 Political parties in Nigeria before 1960- Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP)

The party was the first that sprang up out of the Clifford Constitution of 1922. It was founded as a result of the political activities of Herbert Macaulay. The founding father of the party enhanced the practice of the principle of election. It won the three seats in Lagos as well as subsequent elections of 1928 and 1933.

### National Council for Nigerians and Cameroons (NCNC)

At the end of the Second World War, new generation of educated Nigerians championed the formation of a new political organization that would be all embracing. In August 1944, students of the Kings College, Lagos complained about lack of leadership to Nnamdi Azikwe. An inaugural conference was held and this led to the formation of NCNC. Herbert Macaulay was the President, while Azikwe was the Secretary. It is important to note that participation was initially confined to



Southern Nigeria. This could be described as the basis for the emergence of parties from other regions. The NCNC played a lead role in the agitation for self-government.

### **Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)**

The cultural organisation referred to as '*Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa*' was initially founded in 1945 in northern Nigeria. But as events unfold in NCNC and AG, the organisation metamorphosed into NPC in 1949 with the aim to build a political party that will champion the cause of the north. The formation of the party gave much regard to the traditional rulers showed down the place of decision making. Therefore, internal political conflict among northerners led to the formation of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) which was founded by Mallam Aminu Kano. The existence of NEPU and the fear of southern domination in politics geared up the activity of NPC to prepare itself towards governance. More so that NEPU aligned with NCNC.

### **Action Group (AG)**

Its foundation was similar to that of NPC. It started as '*Egbe Omo Oduduwa*' which was founded by Chief Obafemi Awolowo in London. It was established in Nigeria at Ile-Ife in 1948. Its membership comprised Yoruba Chiefs and Elders. The party aimed at nationalism for all Nigerians. However, it became a regional based party that championed the cause of western region.

#### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4**

List the three main political parties in Nigeria before 1960
--

### **4.3.5 Political Parties in Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983 and the Abortive Third Republic**

For a period of thirteen years, military government was in control, and there was ban on politics. By the mid 1970s, there were plans towards return to civilian rule. Five parties were formed to contest elections – National Party of Nigeria, (NPN) led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) led by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) led by Alhaji Aminu Kano. A careful study of all the leaders of the political parties would show that it was a continuation of the parties established before 1960. Each of the nationalists was the leader of the party. It is important for you to take note that the nature of the political parties could not have stopped regional rivalries and conflicts. Amidst incessant levels of corruption between 1979 and 1983, the military ceased power again with the aim to curb corruption and improve the economy. By the late 1980s, General Ibrahim Babangida introduced a two-party system – The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and The



National Republican Convention (NRC). The aim was to ensure unity and reduce all forms of rivalries and crises.

However, amidst crisis, the 1993 presidential election which was adjudged the fairest and freest election in the history of Nigeria and presumed to have been won by Late M.K.O. Abiola was annulled. The annulment of the 1993 June 12 presidential election made the third republic being referred to as aborted.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 5

Mention the five political parties during the second republic and their leaders.
--

## 4.5 SUMMARY

The fact remains that the traditions of origin of Nigerian peoples could be traced to the same source. In one way or the other, the traditions of origin of most kingdoms and empires could be traced to Middle East. The bid to expand and subjugate each other basically for political and economic reasons was the main cause of conflict before 1900. By the advent of colonialism, the imposition of traditional rulers on the people became another source of conflict. This was because the political structures and system had to change. The changes provided the basis for another set of crisis right from the 1940s till contemporary times. A point to note is that subsequent constitutions after the 1922 constitution were just modifications and the indirect rule was for administrative convenience of British` to the detriment of unity in Nigeria.

In this unit, it is important for you to understand the relationship between the *King*, *Council* and *Masses* in the pre-colonial period. In the societies, the monarchs were subjected to religious sanctions and they must consult with other political institutions before decisions are taken. The political systems were mostly democratic with the principles of separation of power and checks and balances. However, the nineteenth century revolutions among the peoples provided opportunity for British intervention in the name of peace making, but with the intent to colonise. The structures put in place became a medium for conflict resurgence in form of political crisis among Nigerians,

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#### 4.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- *Non-Centralised Political Systems are regarded as non-centralised are the Igbo, Idoma, Tiv, Ebira, as well as the western and eastern Niger Delta. Basically, political systems in these states were dispersed; no single individual could be seen as an overall -- legitimate authority.*

E2- *Macpherson Constitution introduced a kind of participatory democracy in which Nigerians were gathered to organise and plan regional conferences at Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna, respectively. Its aim was to train Nigerians to determine a working constitution. The constitution, on like the previous constitutions, strengthen regional constituents of governance.*

E3- *There is clear cut separation of powers among the legislature, executive and judiciary.*

E4- *National Council for Nigerians and Cameroons (NCNC), Northern Peoples Congress and Action Group*

E5- *National Party of Nigeria, (NPN) led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) led by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) led by Alhaji Aminu Kano.*





**MODULE 3      PROCESS OF WAR MAKING**

- Unit 1      Process of War making (with Particular Reference to Yorubaland)  
Unit 2      Weapons of War in Yorubaland

**UNIT 1      PROCESS OF WAR MAKING (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO YORUBALAND)****CONTENTS**

- 1.1    Introduction
- 1.2.   Learning Outcomes
- 1.3    Main Content
  - 1.3.1   The Process of war making in Yorubaland
    - 3.1.1 Features of War Making
  - 1.3.2   War Titles
  - 1.3.3   Preparation for War
  - 1.3.4   Rules and Methods in War Making
    - 1.3.4.1   Tactics
    - 1.3.4.2   Naval Warfare
    - 1.3.4.3   Communication in Wars
- 1.4    Summary
- 1.5    References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 1.6    Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

**1.1    INTRODUCTION**

The discussion on the process of War Making in this module is aimed at exposing you and to make you appreciate the cultural heritage of Nigerian peoples as regard conflict situations before the contact with Europeans. This unit shall be treated with particular reference to Yorubaland. The process of war making was mostly attached to the practice of African traditional religion. This is because the preparation of weapons and its effectiveness depends on the sacrifices made and the dictative use of charms and amulets as prescribed by the gods. The processes involved tactics, communication as well as war titles for warriors. The war titles provide proper arrangement in battle to ensure victory.

## 1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

This unit will provide you a thorough analysis on the processes involved in war making. It was an elaborate process. After a careful study, you should be able to:

1. explain the war titles
2. describe the rules and methods in war making
3. analyse the tactics and communication systems in Yoruba wars.

The purpose of this unit is to expose you to the aspects of culture of Nigerian peoples in the process of war making before contact with Europeans. As it was defined at the beginning of this course, war is a form of conflict.

### 1.3. Main Content

#### 1.3.1 Process of War Making in Yorubaland

In the pre-colonial period, war expeditions were sent out every other year by the Alaaafin of Oyo to distant communities. The purposes of such expeditions were to acquire more wealth by conquering communities. People of communities encountering the war concealed themselves on mountains or fields for safety. Then, central markets that were usually in front of Oba's palace were targeted. On market days, the warriors invade the market and cut down the trees around the market. The primary aim was to ensure there that was no hiding or save heaven for their enemies.

There are various forms of war: *Ogun Abele*, *Ogun Agbaye* and *Ijagboro*. *Ogun Abele* referred to as domestic/civil war which consists members of the same family or community divided into warring factions. *Ijagboro* is a community crisis that involves youth in the society. It usually occurs when there are misinterpretations concerning community customs. *Ogun Agbaye* is immediate and remote inter-communal conflicts.

#### 3.3.1.1 Features of War Making

1. There is no slave raiding or traffic in human beings
  2. There are no long sieges i.e. surrounding a town with military men to disrupt activities
  3. There was no standing army until the emergence of Ibadan.
  4. Anybody capable of bearing arms can prepare for war
5. It is compulsory for title holding men to participate in war

The Sieges placed on towns were of short durations and the wars were implemented in the dry season. By this, it can be inferred that wars before European incursion were meant to enrich the ruling classes and

provide an avenue for community funding, when proceeds were not forthcoming from the farm.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Examine the features of war making in the old Yoruba empire

### 1.3.2 War Titles

War titles are the designations by name given to participate in war. They are of two grades.

The Senior Grade: This comprises the *Balogun* (Commander-in-chief), the *Otun*, *right wing* and *Osi Balogun* (left wing), *Asipa* (*Ekerin*, *Ekarun* and *Ekefa*) The Junior Grade: This comprises of the *Otun* and *Osi Seriki* together with *Ekerin*, *Ekarun* and *Ekefa*. The junior grade was in direct contact with the warriors.

There was the position of *Asaju* (*leader of the van*), *Sarumi*. They controlled the booties from the war and ensured safe delivery. These titles constitute the chieftaincy system in the town, and they contribute in decision making.

The term *Balogun* was derived from *Iba-ni-ogun*, meaning lord in war. During the war, the *Balogun* was supreme, he commanded the obedience from other warriors. The deputies also command similar respect. The *Asipa* was next to *Otun* and *Osi Balogun* in rank. *Seriki* was in command of the young warriors. All the booties acquired from the war after remitting that of the palace was shared into two unequal parts. The larger portion belonged to the *Balogun* and his lieutenants while the other parts belong to *Seriki* and his deputies. Other subordinate titles were- *Areagoro*, *Bada*, *Ajiya*. *Areagoro* was also a warrior, but seldom participated in war. He represented the warriors at village assemblies. *Bada* was a warrior that took charge of the horses in war; there were other subordinate *Badas* that formed this team. *Ajiya* was a freelance warrior that had no rank but participated in war.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the composition of the senior grade in war making

### 1.3.3 Preparation for War

In preparing for war, the warriors provide and store foods that could last for sixty days. Examples of such foods were parched beans, roasted maize (*guguru*), and dry pepper and so on. The reason for using this kind of foods was to sustain and energise the warriors. To provide a source of fresh protein they embark on animal hunting expedition to catch animals that are edible and thereby roasted. A source of shelter is also constructed along the areas under siege. The shelters were in form of shed or huts made of leaves and wood. In a way, some of these huts became small towns. Around the huts small gardens were raised as a

strategy to clear paths and bushes that would enable easy detection of counter or opposing groups.

*Ogun* (the god of war) was consulted for favours and victory in the battle. A war confers honour and bestows respect at the end of the day. It is believed that the neglect of *Ogun* might be disastrous. It guides the time to launch attack, the time to avoid direct confrontation among others. The warriors are expected to offer ritual sacrifices (*Ebo riru*).

#### 1.3.4 Rules and Methods in War Making

Before examining the arrangement of war chiefs on battle, the war is declared at the first instance by the Oba, the title men were sent for. A place is marked out for an attack, between the town and its neighbours. Preparations are made and afterwards the announcement for commencement was made. A war staff or *aroko* was designed with charms and kept in leather. The *aroko* would be taken to the Oba in the neighbouring community to signify the beginning of the war.

Arrangements of War Chiefs in Battle: The *Asaju* or leader of the van came first. His company began the fight by skirmishing and provoked the opposition party. He was supported by all the *Badas*. The *Seriki* came next with the assistants and the *Balogun* group. The *Baloguns* did not really take active parts in the war; they gave order and watch movements. The warriors were at alert on any opportunity to break the ranks of the enemy and cause confusion among them. Very often, a brave warrior used horse to demoralise the enemy at their camp and picked a warrior from their midst.

##### 1.3.4.1 Tactics

Success of a group in a war depends on the organisation. But the success varies based on the context of the wars. For instance, in 1726, the Oyo army with lances defeated Dahomean army with muskets. Apart from the noise of Dahomean guns which frightened the horses, the guns did not help the Dahomeans to avert defeat. A community planning for war must have an overall strategy for victory.

The success of a group in a particular war does not imply that subsequent wars will be victory. Each war has its own unique peculiarity that needs strategic planning. Such planning will take into account the estimated strength of the enemy, the resources available and the utilisation of the resources. Victory at a military engagement will depend on the skill with which a commander displays and directs all the military resources at its disposal. Hence, the management of the skills is referred to as tactics.

Before a decision is taken to embark on a military operation, intelligence gathering is very important. In Yoruba wars, there was a group called

*Ode Ajagun* they are mobilized to carry out a preliminary survey by studying the geographical features of the area meant for attack. They do this by climbing on top of trees. They also studied the commercial nature of the area and the caliber of peoples. After the decision to embark on war, the army smears their weapons with magical portions, charms and amulets were stitched or attached to various parts of the military garment. As discussed earlier, the arrangement of the war chiefs was very crucial. It determined the victory of a group.

#### 1.3.4.2 Naval Warfare

Apart from the tactics, naval warfare was another kind of war methods adopted in the riverine areas. The Ijebu Ikale, Ilaje, Egun and Awori among others explored naval warfare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Through the canoes, weapons such as spear, arrow, and swords were thrown at each other on the lagoon. Later on, guns were mounted and the throwing weapons were abandoned. Ambush was favourite method to catch the opponent. The long grasses and bush provided excellent cover where war canoes hide, awaiting their enemy.

#### 1.3.4.3 Communication in Wars

In every human endeavour, there is always verbal or non-verbal ways of transmitting messages from one person to another. Hence, there is the desire to communicate since man cannot live in isolation. Of course, communication brings about conflicts in the first instance. Inadequacies or misinterpretation of message is a cause of conflict on its own. Thus, in Yoruba wars, there were various types of communication modes that were used to facilitate wars. To overcome inadequacies, different modes such as drumming and whistling were used to send message from one person to another.

**Aroko:** This is a diplomatic system of communication which involves transmission of physical objects, to convey a message from one person to another. It may be sent as a warning to the opposing group to prepare for war, or to members of the same group to get ready for war. The causes of the war are depicted from the charms and amulets attached to the physical object. In contemporary times, it serves as a means of warning not to trespass on farmlands.

The designing of *Aroko* may signify war or peace. For instance, it was reported that the use of *Aroko* facilitated the settlement of Kiriji war. The viability of *Aroko*, the messages in the charms surrounding it must be clear. The clarity would ensure proper interpretation; the instance of *Aroko* among hunters arises out of illegal trespass of *Ojube* (boundary or

path). This was because; the path cleared by a hunter is strategic to the hunter and his group not to other groups.

**Alore:** This was a provision for a night watchman at the entrance of the town. The man would be stationed around a hill to easily detect if a spy was around the town. The *Alore's* function is to use the instrument with him to make sounds round the town to arouse the people. The message from the *Alore's* drumming implied that the warriors should not waste a moment in their preparations because invaders are approaching.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

What are the roles of Ode Ajagun in war making
--

### 1.4 SUMMARY

Though much of the emphasis in this unit is on the process of war making in Yorubaland, the processes in other parts of Nigeria are almost the same. In fact, it could be upheld that the pre- colonial period had viable and well planned process of war. As at 1960, there has not been a particular process of war. However, wars are not imminent since the emergence of colonialism. The form of conflicts since 1900 was crises that were either violent or non-violent. The culture of Nigerian peoples reflected practice of wars. It connotes that it was a way of life to punish one another and acquire wealth. For instance, if a man from a village snatches the wife of a warrior or a wealthy man, the snatchers village would be invaded and as revenge, a number of women or girls are taken as captives. In a way, the process of war making at times appear cruel on women, because they witness forced migration to another locality.

This unit is purposely designed to expose you to the process of war making with much reference to the nineteenth century Yoruba wars. The war titles, the arrangements, the rules and methods in war making are all embedded. The influence of culture also contributed to the process of war making before 1900. As a learner, it is pertinent for you to note that the culture of Nigerian peoples had a holistic approach to life. The communication modes highlighted as well as the arrangement of war titles even at battle fields showed the comprehensive planning and the level of civilization of Nigerian peoples.



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## 1.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

### E1- Features of War Making

1. There is no slave raiding or traffic in human beings
2. There are no long sieges i.e. surrounding a town with military men to disrupt activities
3. There was no standing army until the emergence of Ibadan.
4. Anybody capable of bearing arms can prepare for war
5. It is compulsory for title holding men to participate in war

E2- The Senior Grade: This comprises the Balogun (Commander-in-chief), the Otun, right wing and Osi Balogun left wing), Asipa (Ekerin, Ekarun and Ekefa) The Junior Grade: This comprises of the Otun and Osi Seriki together with Ekerin, Ekarun and Ekefa. The junior grade was in direct contact with the warriors.

E3. Ode Ajagun are mobilized to carry out a preliminary survey by studying the geographical features of the area meant for attack. They do this by climbing on top of trees. They also studied the commercial nature of the area and the caliber of peoples.



## **UNIT 2 WEAPONS OF WAR IN YORUBALAND**

### **CONTENTS**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
  - 2.3.1 Weapons of War in Yorubaland
  - 2.3.2 Firearms
  - 2.3.3 Auxiliary Weapons
    - 2.3.3.1 Charms
    - 2.3.3.2 Drums
  - 2.3.4 Music and War Songs
  - 2.3.5 War Dance
  - 2.3.6 Transportation
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In studying history of conflicts in Nigeria, war situations are peculiar parts of the history before 1900. Weapons and war or war and weapons are two synonymous twin concepts that are indispensable to each other. The availability of weapons is a decisive factor in war. It determines the extent of victory of the parties involved. War weapons in Yorubaland before 1900 are diverse and they serve different purposes.

### **2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

The weapons treated in this unit are basically designed from the resources within the naturally environment. Therefore, you should be able to:

1. state the weapons
2. describe their nature and uses
3. explain the importance of auxiliary weapons.

### **2.3 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **2.3.1 Weapons of War in Yorubaland**

Weapons are decisive factors in war. Apart from being equipped with sufficient military men, who are in good possession of the tactics involved in ensuring victory, the implements and weapons must be

provided. Weapons are the balance between peace and war. In Yoruba history, there are a lot of weapons that had been used by warrior families. Some of these weapons have been preserved and they provide a source for tourism in contemporary times. Most of these weapons were made by skilled craftsmen. The craftsmen organized into guild or association. The blacksmith were the most important of the guilds. This is because most of the implements are iron made. The blacksmiths occupied a prominent location in the Kiriji war. The period of hostilities between Ibadan and was fierce and it required regular supply of weapons.

### ***Kumo (Clubs)***

This is the oldest of the weapons. It is made from a tree branch, cut and trimmed in such a way that the end looks like a head. It is used as a cudgel or a throwing stick. It is a common weapon found in village homes as a source of protection in contemporary times. The Yoruba maxim that, it is ridiculous of having no weapon when you are in a fight in the forest, explains the availability and importance of *Kumo* for self-defense. *Kumo* could be studded with nails. It is in contemporary times imitated by modern security, and it is in use by police and army officers as a sign of command and protection.

### ***Akatampo (Sling and Catapult)***

Sling and Catapult are simply designed missiles for hurling pebbles against a target. They are held by junior warriors. At war camps, they are used to detect the presence of enemies at a range afar. It was also used in hunting animals.

### ***Ofa (Bow and Arrow)***

This weapon comprises three parts, the arrow (*Ofa*) which is the ammunition, an elastic bow string (*orun*) and the stave on which the bow is mounted. To ensure efficiency, the arrow is dipped into poison, so once it is directed to someone, it struck either to cause illness or death. Bows and arrows are infantry weapons that were used in Oyo military and subsequently it was mostly used in Ijaiye War.

### ***(Ida) Swords***

It is an individual weapon used for stabbing cutting or slashing the enemy. It was a major weapon of war before the introduction of guns in the nineteenth century. It was usually long, straight or slightly curved blade, sharp edged on one side or both sides, with one end pointed and the other fixed in a quilt or handle. There are two basic types – the broad

bladed (*Agegengbe*) and double edged (*Ajaka*). Swords are also symbols of military power, authority, rank and honour. The ones used as a symbol of office are elaborately decorated.

### **Dagger and Throwing Knives**

This is a supportive weapon with the sword. It is shorter than a sword. It has a sharp-pointed blade and used for stabbing at close range.

### **Spear**

The spear consisted of a long staff to which a sharp head is fixed. It is similar to the sword. Sword was used for close range fighting, while the spear has the advantage of close and long range fighting. Various spears were distinguished by the use of which they were put. They are in form of javelins; it was a symbol of honour and office. Though it was not in use for a long time, it was replaced with muskets.

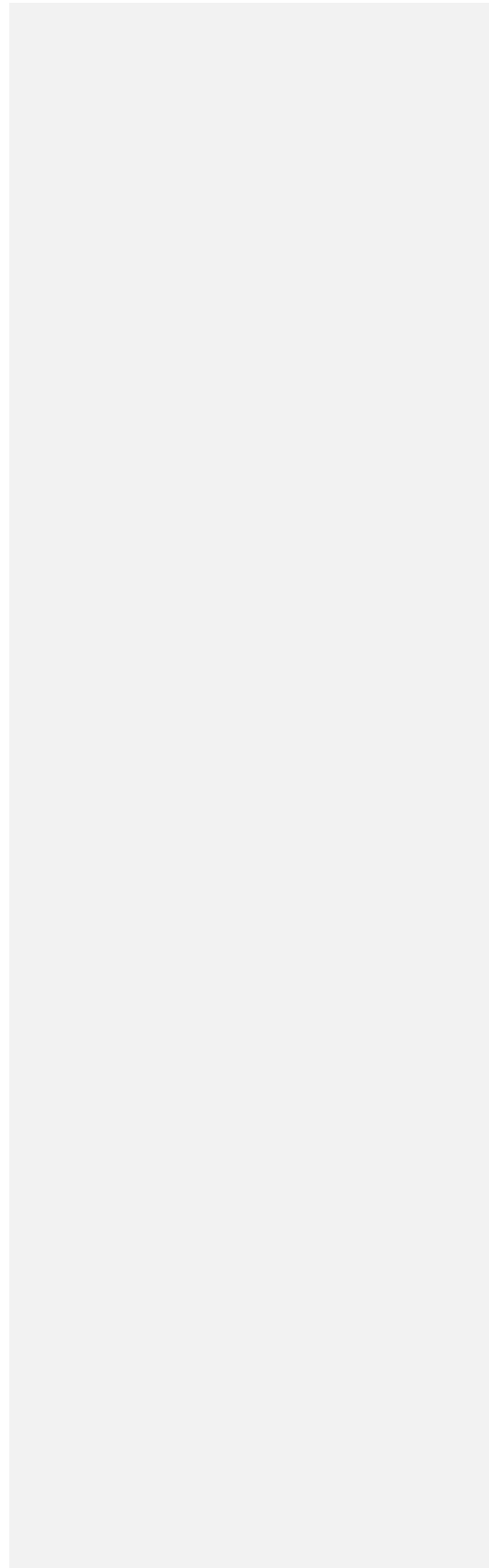
#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

List the war weapons in Yoruba warfare
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### **2.3.2 Firearms**

These are modern weapons introduced by the Portuguese along the coastal areas. It was first introduced to Benin Kingdom. Its introduction implied that guns were introduced to that kingdom and there is probability that they were used by Benin in the invasion of eastern Yorubaland (Ondo, Ekiti) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The act of introducing weapons initiated by the Portuguese, informed the decision of other European countries (English, Dutch, Danes) to introduce guns. These guns were referred to as Dane guns which came from Holland. As a learner, you should be wondering why guns were introduced? What was the real intent of Europeans? It could be explained that they introduced the guns to cater for their interest in slave trade. Do not forget that the pre-European wars were basically of acquisition of wealth and not slaves. The guns were used predominantly in the nineteenth century. The Ijebu army was the first to use the firearms on a large scale during the Owu war in the 1820s. The guns during this period were the muzzle loading muskets which consisted of cap guns. They were more efficient than the traditional guns as they cover a range more than 200 yards. Another gun introduced was the breech-loading rifles, which are more sophisticated. The Egba people used this during the Ijaiye war. These fire arms are products that are expired and no more in use in Europe, so they imported them to provide market for sales in Nigeria. The mass importation in the 1880s largely facilitated the Kiriji war.

The Christian missions in Egba also played important roles in the use of the firearms, though they were not used in battles. It was only in Lagos



during the 1850s that the guns were (artillery weapons) mounted to resist British rule in Lagos. Rocket weapons were also used to set fire on dry bush as strategies to detect the opposing party. Before the Kiriji war, the British used rocket weapons on Egba and Ijebu in the 1860s. It was only the Kiriji war that used rocket weapons especially the Ogedengbe group from Ijesa.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss how the Portuguese contributed to warfare in Nigeria
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### 2.3.3 Auxiliary Weapons

These are supportive weapons which are also instrumental to ensuring victory in wars. Examples of such are magical arts. Magical art is an activity of expression which creates a deposit of actions or habits. These acts are sacred or metaphysical. They are derived from the worship and belief in traditional deities, which are synonymous with Yoruba religion. The acts shall be analysed below:

#### 2.3.3.1 War Charms

- i. **Ogun Ifoju** – (Supernatural means of inflicting blindness). This is done by making a mud or wooden image of a victim, incantations are chanted on it. Thereafter the eyes of the image are pierced and the person becomes blind.
- ii. **Apeta** - (invocation shooting), a mud image of the person is designed. The name of the victim is called together incantations on the image. Then the image is shot with a gun or pierced with knife and the person dies.
- iii. **Sigidi** - (image for destruction) This is also an object sent to a group of warriors to cause misunderstanding so as to weaken their force. It is made of wood or clay and designed with cowries shells, charmed and sent to destroy.
- iv. **Amulets** – These are charms worn on various part of the body (waist, neck and arms). Examples of such are *Ifunpa* to protect against physical attack. It is used to disappear from the scene of war. *Okigbe* is another amulet used against or to resist the effect of cuts. *Akiya* is worn to remove fear and ensuring boldness.
- v. **Masking and Masquerading** – It is a way of waging war against enemies. The Masquerade with the followers enters villages – set houses ablaze, kill and capture the inhabitants.
- vi. **Staff** - A staff is a symbol of war decorated with charms and amulets. It is also a symbol of strength ascribed with mysterious power. It was used as a material in appeasing the god of war





before commencement of war. Though it is not a weapon but a war standard that was relevant and important.

- vii. **Dress** - The typical dress for military operations was *togo* (sleeveless jacket without a collar). A turban was wrapped round the waist as a belt. The *togo* was worn on *Kafo Sokoto* (tight-legged trousers which reaches the ankles).

### 2.3.3.2 Drums

The drum being referred here is the talking drum which serves various purposes not only in Nigeria but throughout Africa. It is used as a means of communication in wars. It is a source of reinforcement because of the sounds and message of courage helps the warriors. It reminds the fighters of their past, the efforts of their predecessors and their contributions to posterity. By the language of drums, the warriors are determined to win the wars even if death is imminent. However, if the sound of drums was not as expected or changed to a different tune, then the warriors tend to suspect division from their group which might be disastrous. It encourages the warriors; it instills fear to the minds of the opponent. It was even emphasized that if an energetic warrior's *oriki* (praise poem) was being recited, it also facilitated continuity and victory.

### 2.3.4 Music and War Songs

War songs precede quarrel. Once people hear war songs with all the messages, they begin to act in defense. In Yorubaland, the common war songs are referred to as *Ijala ode*. There are also songs of violence used to express dissatisfaction in intra-community conflicts. Yoruba armies in war usually move along with musicians mainly – drummers, flutists, trumpeters and praise singers. Some of these songs further aggravate conflicts, because it makes the opponent more infuriated, or discouraged to continue because of the fear of losing.

### 2.3.5 War Dance

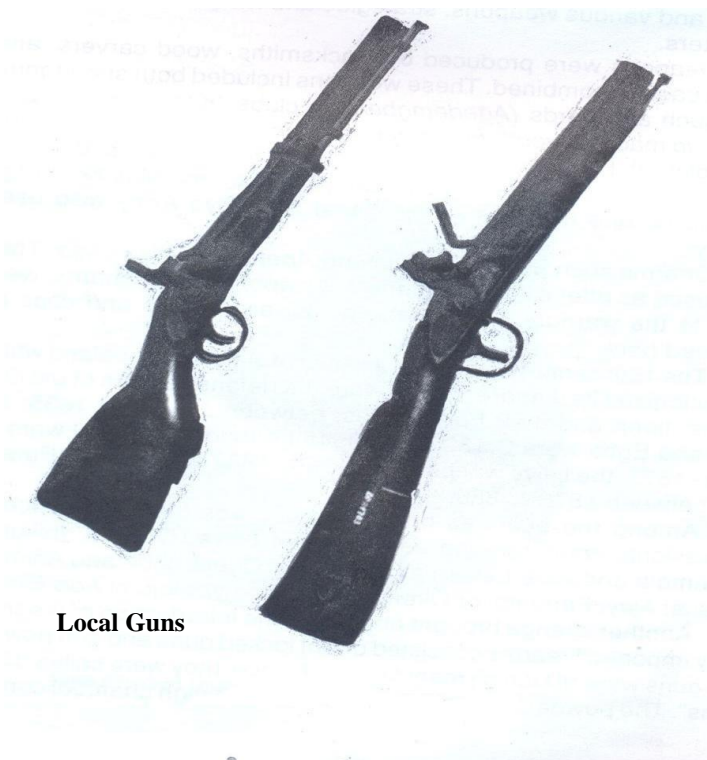
It was the belief in Yorubaland that any war prepared for without dance might result in defeat. It was likened to a warrior going to battle with physical weapons without metaphysical weapons. War Dance is a method deployed to make the opponent surrender without battle. This is because the dance is magical. The dancer would have used charms and incantations.

There are some weapons of war that are means of transportation. For instance, horse riding was the most viable means during wars. In Yorubaland, these horses were purchased *en masse* from traders for the use of the cavalry forces. The use of horses found its way into Yorubaland. Old Oyo Empire imported horses *en masse* across the Niger. They played major roles in the expansion of the empire to the coast. Specifically, the horses facilitated Ibadan warriors during the Kiriji war. Since there are no more wars and modernization has brought armored tanks, horses are used on ceremonial occasions throughout Nigeria. For example, Durbar ceremony in northern Nigeria.

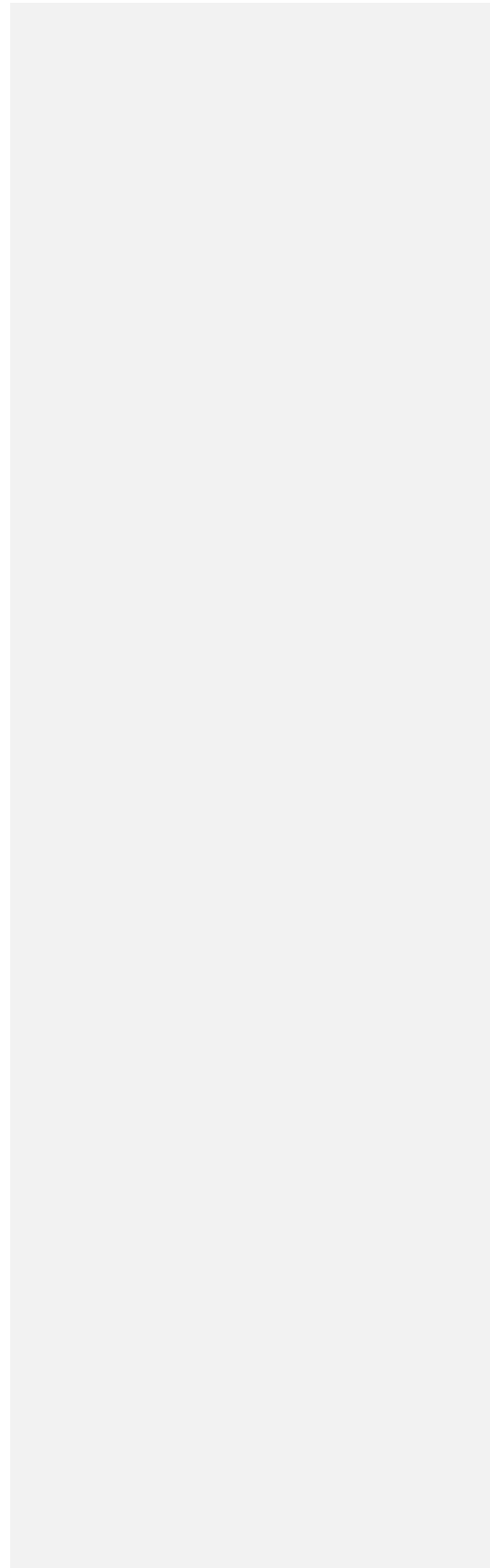
2.3.6 Transportation- There are different means by which people are transported to and from war zones. These means are to ensure quick response and retreat as the case may be.

#### **War Canoes**

This is another mode of transportation used in riverine areas. In Yorubaland it was designed for use by the Awori and Egun, to facilitate wars against the Dahomey. It was also used among the Ikale and Ilaje peoples as well as the peoples of Niger-Delta and Niger-Benue. The canoes were made from felling of selected trees, the logs are trimmed and shaped for use.



**Plate 1: Local Guns**





**Plate 2: Warrior's costume and Spear**

**SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3**

Discuss the role of war songs in escalating or reducing conflict in Yorubaland

## 2.4 SUMMARY

The process of war depends on the weapons used in war. The availability and effective use rests on a number of factors – the durability of the weapons, the treatment given to the producers of the weapons. The intelligence and accuracy of the warriors also mattered. With the use of metaphysical or magical weapons, it was usually believed that any war in focus should be successful. However, in any war, no matter the accuracy and intelligence of the warriors or the availability or effectiveness of the weapons, there will always be a winner and a loser.

A losing group would prefer deferring the war and forever hang weapons as a result of frustration. In such a case, the weapons are hanged, the junior warriors in the losing team might decide to join the winning team and become part of their community forever. As it is explained in Akinjogbin's book, the case of Kiriji (Ekitiparapo against Ibadan) had no victor or vanquish, warriors from each team were contended. This is probably because there was an external mediator (British). However, the mediation of peace by Britain formed the basis for treaties and agreements which shall be discussed in the next unit. It was also reported that warriors from Kiriji war became the first set of Nigerians that got employed in the British constabulary forces at the beginning of colonial period. The recruitment of these warriors was also extended to other parts of Nigeria.

To properly comprehend the discourse on the history of conflicts in Nigeria, this unit has helped you in appreciating the Nigerian culture as regards the use of weapons. The use of these weapons and war making are all attached to religious worship. You would also observe that a critical study of these weapons showed the modern war weapons are relatively imitations of the traditional weapons.

## 2.5 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS AND WEB SOURCES

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## 2.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- Kumo (Clubs), spear, ida(sword), Dagger and Throwing Knives, Akatampo (Sling and Catapult) and Ofa (Bow and Arrow)

E2- These are modern weapons introduced by the Portuguese along the coastal areas. It was first introduced to Benin Kingdom. Its introduction implied that guns were introduced to that kingdom and there is probability that they were used by Benin in the invasion of eastern Yorubaland (Ondo, Ekiti) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The act of introducing weapons initiated by the Portuguese, informed the decision of other European countries (English, Dutch, Danes) to introduce guns.

**E3-** War songs precede quarrel. Once people hear war songs with all the messages, they begin to act in defense. In Yorubaland, the common war songs are referred to as Ijala ode. There are also songs of violence used to express dissatisfaction in intra-community conflicts. Yoruba armies in war usually move along with musicians mainly – drummers, flutists, trumpeters and praise singers. Some of these songs further aggravate conflicts, because it makes the opponent more infuriated, or discouraged to continue because of the fear of losing.

## **MODULE 4      ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA**

- Unit 1      Origin and Causes of Conflict in Pre-Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 2      Origin and Causes of Conflict in Colonial Nigeria
- Unit 3      Origin and Causes of Conflict in Post-Colonial Nigeria  
1960-1970
- Unit 4      Conflicts and Peace Processes in the  
Post-Civil War Period 1970 -1993

### **UNIT 1      ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 1.1      Introduction
- 1.2      Learning Outcomes
- 1.3      Main Content
  - 1.3.1      Origin and Causes of Conflict in the Pre-Colonial Period
  - 1.3.2      Origin and Causes of Conflict in Yorubaland
  - 1.3.3      Origin and Causes of Conflict among Hausa/Fulani
- 1.4      Summary
- 1.5      References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 2.6      Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

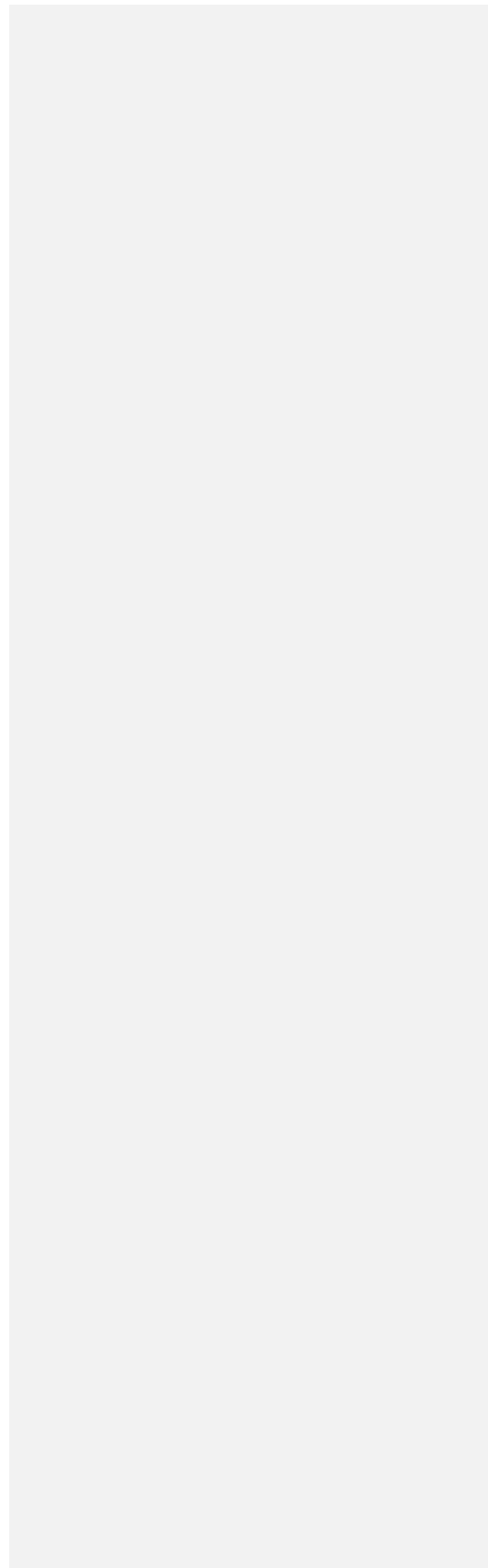
#### **1.1      INTRODUCTION**

The previous module exposed you to the political structures and system in existence in the pre-colonial period. Since it is not possible for man to exist in isolation, then conflicts becomes inevitable. The nature of conflicts can be internally or externally driven. The internal conflicts arose basically from customs and conventions of the land. It is either that a group of people take advantage of it to cheat others or that the customs are disregarded which may cause lawlessness and violence. The externally driven conflict in the pre-colonial period was as a result of European forms of trade which shall be analysed elaborately.

#### **1.2      LEARNING OUTCOMES**

This writ shows how one form of conflict escalates into another. Thus, at the end of this lecture you are expected to:

- i. analyse the Yoruba civil wars
- ii. compare the nature of wars in Hausa and Yorubaland
- iii. determine the origin and causes of conflicts in non-centralised states.





### 1.3 MAIN CONTENT

#### 1.3.1 Origin and Causes of Conflict in the Pre-Colonial Period

In the previous unit, there was discussion on colonial administration. As a learner, you need to wonder how colonialism came. And was it even sudden? The Europeans had been present in West Africa along the coast right from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These set of Europeans were the Dutch, English and Portuguese. Initially, they came in search of trade and they became more anxious by introducing church missions. In the part of what is now referred to as Nigeria, they made first contact with Benin. One of the consequences of these contacts with Europeans was the introduction of fire arms which must have facilitated further expansion of Benin Empire and other empires. It is important to note that events that ushered in firearms, so that you will further comprehend this unit.

Scholarly works on civil wars before 1900 apparently showed that the quest for slaves to meet up standards in the European market was the origin of conflict. At the beginning, the Oba of Benin had royal monopoly, which meant that no one had the right to trade nor buy anything from Europeans except the traders authorized by the King. The articles of trade then were principally slaves, Leopard skins; pepper, palm-kernels and ivory were exchanged for European manufactured goods. The trade in slaves particularly was a senseless pursuit in which people were captured as slaves for European market. As it was explained in unit 1 of the first module, based on human behaviours, conflict will occur from competition, inequality, expansion or subjugation. Before the advent of European slave trade, there was internal slave trade and pawnship (*iwofa*). It denotes one who serves another periodically in lieu of the interest guided by laws of the land. An *Iwofa* may be a man or a woman. He/she is expected to work for his master on the farm with relative freedom. It was the institution of *Iwofa* that was diverted for European slave trade. In early times, war expeditions were sent out every other year to distant communities. There was no standing army, the purpose of the wars was just meant to expand the empire and accrue wealth for the palace. The intent of the wars was basically to show the extent and might of power of communities over each other. The bid for power tussle and amassing wealth was the basis of internal conflicts that had existed. There were disagreements that are resolved temporarily or ignored to ensure peaceful living.

#### 1.3.2 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Yorubaland

Given its massive geographical size, its robust, highly productive population strength, it becomes natural that war would occasionally break out between and amongst the different political units that make up the Yoruba people. Therefore, a study of conflict or war in Yorubaland is a study that is apparently wrapped in antiquity.

However, this unit focuses on the 19<sup>th</sup> century wars in Yorubaland alone, due to its imprints of recency, and for the fact that these wars, in a way, helped pave the way for the formation of the current socio-political history of the Yoruba people.

In 1793 as stated in the works of Akinjogbin (1998), trouble occurred at Apomu market, the rift was between Ife and Oyo kingdoms. It was from this point that instability and threat on existing peace became jeopardized. Ever since then, it was one war or the other until 1893. These wars had the features of general dissatisfaction, rejection of existing laws by ruling classes and the masses for different reasons. There was chaos when the military refused to obey orders from the political authority. It was a period when flourishing towns were destroyed. Things fell apart, the center could no longer hold, there was disobedience and lawlessness everywhere. The *Alaafins* in power for a period of twenty years were disobeyed by the military. The long interregnum and absence of stable *Alaafin* on the throne provided a medium for a large scale destruction of towns and villages. These military men one of whom was Afonja organized military expeditions, encouraged slaves to rebel and assert their freedom, discontented free citizens were convinced to support expeditions to acquire more freedom from the ruling classes. The chaos went beyond Oyo Empire, it also escalated to other kingdoms in Yorubaland. The Apomu saga was aggravated because Owu ignored beliefs and conventions that any Ife territory should not be invaded. For about twenty-five years after 1793, there were series of rebellion and counter rebellions which escalated to about sixty percent of Yorubaland. This was because some territories belonged to Ife and some belonged to Oyo. The effort to revenge acts of inequality before 1793, Ife and Oyo territories remains the cause of the resurgent conflict that occurred between Ife and Modakeke in contemporary times.

By 1817, the rebellions act metamorphosed into revolutions. The Owu war which was described to have started in 1821 as a result of an argument at Apomu market between an Ijebu woman and Owu man over the purchase of some quantity of guinea pepper. In the bid to show sympathy for the Ijebu woman, another pregnant Ijebu woman in the crowd was assaulted by an Owu boy who was the son of *Akogun* (the market officer). While *Akogun* was restoring peace, he unwittingly cut the Ijebu woman who bled to death. The *Awujale* in throne was informed and an army was set against Owu with the support of Ife and Oyo refugees. This war led to devastation since several towns were subjugated. It was this point that, European arms (guns) were first used in Yorubaland. The guns were possessed and used by the Ijebu probably because they also had European contacts along with Benin. The possession of the gun enhanced their victory in Owu war. The victory of Ijebu, Ife and Oyo in Owu war expanded the opportunity to invade towns-part of which was Egba which was destroyed and dispersed by 1827, along with surrounding areas comprising all Remo

villages. The destruction caused can be inferred from the observations of David Hinderer (first European missionary in Ibadan) that:

- Owu was an old, very large town composed of the whole tribe of that name.
- To think of awful and bloody scenes such as large place must have witnessed at that time, makes one feel indignant

Simultaneously, while the Owu war and Egba conquest were on going, the rebellions act of Afonja (Are-Ona Kakanfo) against Alaafin which had occurred previously had culminated into regret in Ilorin. Afonja who trusted the Muslim migrants from the north felt that he could live with them peacefully. This however turned out to be a wishful thinking, as fact that all men are the same could not put an end to the rebellion. It is a natural phenomenon (self-interest) that cannot be cured but can be reduced. The Muslim migrants led by Alimi with the help of Solagberu also made moves to expand and subjugate in Yorubaland. The wars in Yorubaland would not have escalated as described by Johnson, but the traditional rulers refused to think of unity. They instead, focused more personal ambition and selfish interest which prevented them in presenting a common front to fight a common cause. For instance, the Fulani Ilorin manipulated the rulers against each other and this further enabled Fulani to take over.

At a time around the 1830s, the warriors from Owu war were gradually settling at a place in Ibadan. So also a new Oyo empire was formed in Ago-Oja by Alaafin Atiba, Ijaiye another town was also founded by Kurunmi. In order to face the Fulani and put an end to their invasion, the warriors from Ibadan were invited by the Ekiti towns because of the victory recorded in sending Fulani away from Osogbo. Towns such as Aisegba, Itaji, Ikole among others invited Ibadan warriors because of the threats issued by Ilorin (Fulani). There were also threats from Dahomey to attack Egbado particularly Ilaro. The new king of Dahomey (Gezo) felt that the new Oyo Empire was weak and that it was an opportunity for vengeance, coupled with the need for fertile agricultural land. The perception of Ibadan as the salvaging town provided an avenue for Ibadan to expand. By 1877, Ekiti parapo (Kiriji War) was planned against Ibadan to stop Ibadan's expansion. This war was a challenge on other warriors from Ekiti side such as Fabunmi (Okemesi), Ogedengbe (Ijesa) among others.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Where was the new Oyo formed and by who?
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### 1.3.3 Causes of Yoruba Wars and Revolution

The causes of nineteenth century conflicts can be broadly grouped into two; the internal and external causes. The internal causes were the frictions which had occurred among neighbouring communities. For instance, within the old Oyo Empire, there were quarrels among the ruling classes on resource allocation and sharing of the growing wealth. Each *Bashorun* also tried to sabotage the authority of *Alaafin* by convincing common citizens (masses) to regard them as superior than *Alaafin*. These forms of frictions among others were almost in the same form throughout other kingdoms in Yorubaland.

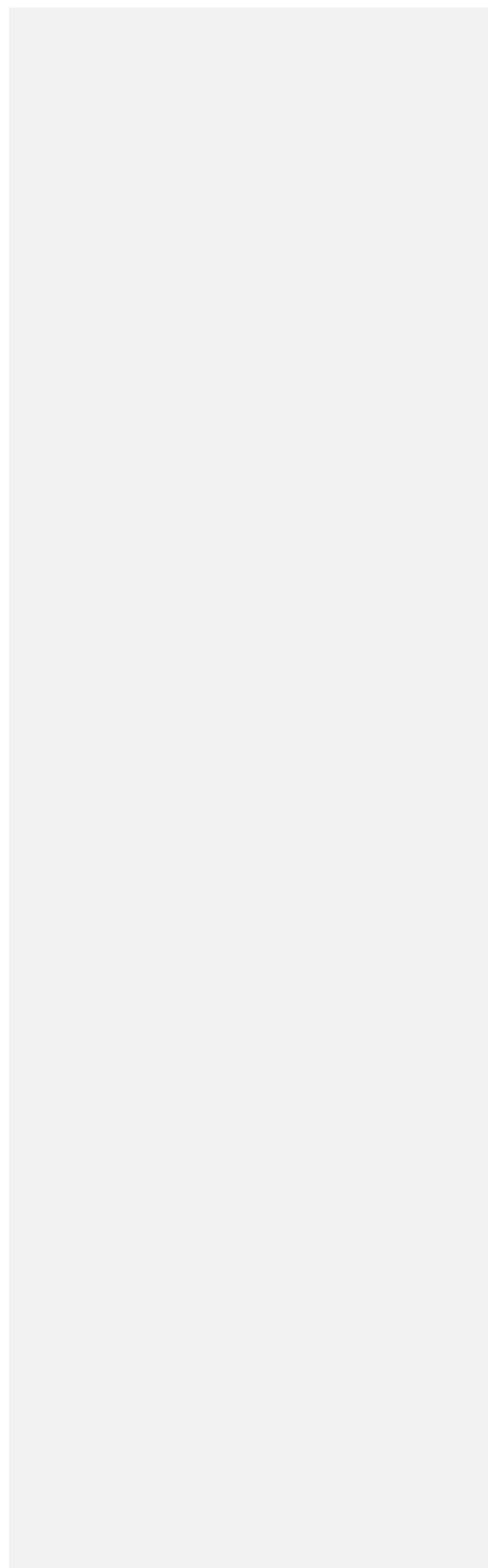
The politics of competition among the wealthy further deepened class rivalry. The supporters were thus trained as armies and used as stooges to revenge on each other. The emerging warriors though were successful in rescuing various towns from total subjugation, but in another way they had economic self-interest. The slaves captured at one time or the other was initially used on farmlands, but the emergence of European trade (trans-Atlantic slave trade) converted the institution of *Iwofa* as the service men became slaves exchanged for European goods. Furthermore, the external (British) abolition of slave trade in 1807 reduced the source of wealth for the ruling classes. Therefore, the introduction of legitimate commerce ushered in the need for exportation of cash crops to Britain and other European countries. Hence, slaves captured were diverted to conquered farmlands to produce cash crops for exploitation. It could also be adduced that the European goods imported and dominated by some ruling classes, also aggravated the wars. These goods were sold cheaply. But, it might not be cheap based on the socio-economic structure. If it were that cheap, it would not have continued to be cause of struggle in the middle of the nineteenth century.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the internal causes of the wars that enveloped Oyo Kingdom in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

### 1.3.4 Origin and Causes of Conflict Among Hausa/Fulani

To discuss, the origin of conflict in Hausaland, there is always the need to associate it with the coming of Islam. However, to digress a little from that view, was it that there was no crisis among the original inhabitants before Islam? Were they all friends without foes? It is not possible for people to have existed without conflicts. It can thus be explained without conflicts. It can thus be explained in view of the fact that the coming up of Islam opened up the peoples to another set of civilization. At first just like the Portuguese and Dutch, there was trans-Saharan trade with Arabs from what is now North Africa. Precisely, it was through the trade activities that the preaching of Islamic principles gradually emerged. The cause of conflict was that the migrant men were unsuccessful in dominating with the principles of Islam, they were



unable to discover the reasons for strict adherence to indigenous traditional religion. Much as the leaders established Islamic institutions, there was resistance from the people.

In the fourteenth century Kano, Kanajeji made attempts at importing military equipment and techniques. These were used in training Kanawa forces. However, these were met with resistance as the indigenous traditionalists demanded for their reversion what formed the basis of conflict among the peoples. In spite of that, Islam was still widely accepted. But on the other hand, it could be argued that the rulers, used Islam as an avenue, the states were conquered for the purpose of material wealth. People were compelled to pay tributes. For instance, based on Kano Chronicle, Queen Amina of Zaria (who reigned in sixteenth century) conquered several towns as far as Kwararafa (Jukun) and Nupe and every town paid tribute to her. For example, Sarkin Nupe was said to have sent forty eunuchs (guards) and then thousand kolas. Her war of conquest was said to have lasted for thirty-four years. Although there was the trace of Islam, but it was practiced with paganism and used as opportunity to conquer more states.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the mixture of Islam and paganism had reached a stage that there was the need for revitalization. The re-orientation was initiated by the Sufi orders. It was their aim to bring a change to Islamic principles and practice. However, there were refusal and reluctance of this new idea, especially by the ruling classes who saw it as a way of stopping exploitation. In favour of the leader of the Sufi order, Shehu Uthman Ibn Fodiye, the masses (comprising heterogeneous groups) who were absolutely discontented about the acts of dictatorial rulers, joined the movement of the Shehu. The co-operation of the masses was inevitable because they perceived the Shehu and the revolution of 1804 as an opportunity for liberation. Thus, you would agree that the human behaviours of conflict explained in module one are really manifesting. The origin of conflict in Hausaland could be associated with the emergence of trans-Saharan trade which facilitated commercial activities. As it was in Yorubaland, the act of competition, monopoly and self-interest were the causes that escalated conflicts. To further comprehend the nature of conflicts in northern Nigeria, it is important to study the nature of Saifawa dynasty and Borno under the Shehus.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Discuss the role of Islam and migrants in the conflicts among Hausa/Fulani in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

## 1.4 SUMMARY

Before the advent of all forms of external trade relations, the peoples of Nigeria were actually interacting with each other. There were all forms

of conflict arising from dictatorial tendencies of the ruling classes.  
Through there were customary laws and conventions, but the laws were



used as an opportunity by the ruling classes to suppress and cheat the masses. The emergence of Arab trade (trans-Saharan) and European trade (trans-Atlantic) could be described as facilitators to the existing conflicts, because it brought new dimensions to trading activities.

We have been able to familiarise with you the origin and causes of conflicts in Nigeria using the examples of Yoruba and Hausaland. A thorough and careful analysis of those two examples will give you the nature of conflicts in other groups before 1900. In fact, the Portuguese trade had more impact in the Niger-Delta region while the trans-Saharan trade also had much impact in Kanem-Borno. All or most of the conflict arose out of acts of inequality which resulted from the bid to amass wealth indiscriminately.

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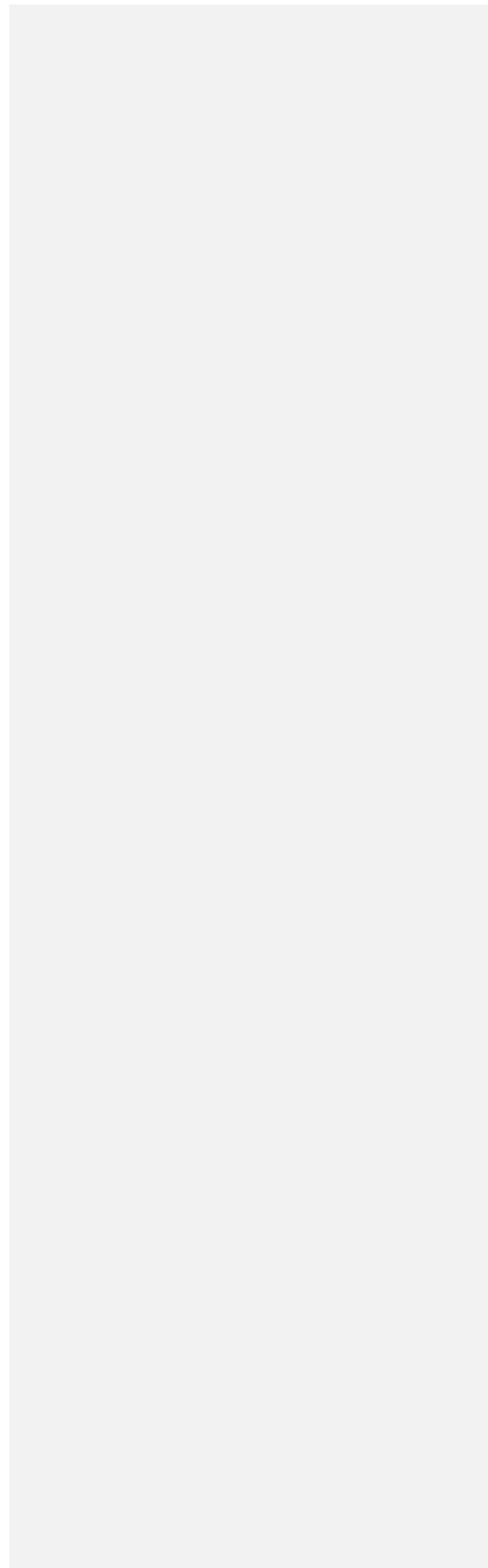
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### 1.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- The new Oyo empire was formed in Ago-Oja by Alaafin Atiba

E2- The internal causes were the frictions which had occurred among neighbouring communities. For instance, within the old Oyo Empire, there were quarrels among the ruling classes on resource allocation and sharing of the growing wealth.

E3- Islam opened up the peoples to another set of civilization. Emergence of trans-Saharan trade which facilitated commercial activities. Dominant principles of Islam and the use of it by the ruling class to suppress and cheat the masses.



## **UNIT 2 ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD**

### **CONTENTS**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
  - 2.3.1 Origin and Causes of Conflict in the Colonial Period
    - 2.3.1.1 An Overview
    - 2.3.1.2 Causes of Conflict after 1900
    - 2.3.1.3 Northern Nigeria
    - 2.3.1.4 Eastern Nigeria
    - 2.3.1.5 Western Nigeria
  - 2.3.2 Post Amalgamation Conflicts in Nigeria
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.6 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 2.6. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This unit is concerned with the reactions of Nigerian peoples to imposition of British political system. At first, it was thought by the ruling class that the trading activities would continue without political and tax imposition. There was resistance against British rule. But it can be said that the methods of war implored by British was sophisticated for victory by any Nigerian. Hence, traditional rulers willingly or unwillingly accepted the colonial government which further aggravated conflicts among Nigerians and the need for diplomatic strategies to attain self-government.

### **2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

As a learner you are expected to understand the intricacies that the amalgamation of 1914 established in Nigeria, as well as the efforts of nationalists and the conflicts therein. At the end of the study, you should be able to:

- 4 describe the impact of indirect rule and regional system, with particular reference to the conflict issues
- 5 analyse critically the Kano Riot of 1953.

## 2.3 MAIN CONTENT

### 2.3.1-Origin and Causes of Conflict in the Colonial Period

#### 2.3.1.1 An Overview

Having undergone series of wars and revolts in the nineteenth century, Nigerian rulers were eager to make peace, not in the interest of the masses but because of the profit from the legitimate commerce. Then, the trade was a source of wealth and prestige to communities along the coast, the palm- oil trade replaced slave trade. The palm-oil was needed by Britain and other European nations for the manufacture of soaps, lubricants, margarine and so on. In the event of abolition of slave trade, the introduction of Christianity was meant to divert the attention of people away from slave trade. However, it was soon discovered that the introduction of Christianity was an alternative plan by Britain to dominate trade among other European countries. This probably affected the rate of penetration to the Niger-Delta, Abeokuta, Badagry and Calabar.

Within the context of Yoruba wars, the peoples of Abeokuta as a result of insecurity welcomed the missionaries around the middle of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Egba explored the opportunity of arms and ammunitions from the coast to defend their territory. The Egba saw the missionaries not only the saviour of souls, but as saviours of their bodies – they knew the presence of white men would facilitate their autonomy from Yoruba wars. Thus, it would be adduced that Egba played a politics of survival in the face of the conflict. Till contemporary times, the advantage Egba had has always reflected as being the cradle of educated elites in Yorubaland.

The abolition of slave trade and introduction of Christianity were part of the origin and causes of conflict, but the most important cause originated from the scramble and partition for Africa among European companies. There were treaties signed which the traditional rulers did not understand, the fact that they made gains from trade did not arouse the need for a second thought in signing treaties. Hence, this accounted for the 'Fall of Nigeria'. The whole process of colonization started formally from Lagos. It is necessary for you to understand that there were some elders and traditional rulers that resisted the colonization trends, but British used forcible methods against them to get them out of office. For instance, the bombardment of Lagos during Oba Kosoko's reign was explained under the guise that he supported slave trade, therefore sent him on exile, while Oba Akintoye was installed. So also it was for Jaja of Opobo when British wanted to penetrate into his territory. Jaja was also sent on exile. The punishment meted on Kosoko and Jaja also applied in different forms in various parts of Nigeria. Further examples

are the conquest of Kanem-Borno, the Benin Massacre of 1897, Satiru revolt of Sokoto among others.

Self Assessment Exercise 1

Discuss the events that contributed to conflicts in Africa?

### 2.3.1.2 Causes of Conflict after 1900

Probably in an unconscious thought of the agreements signed with the British about the future, the norms and values of traditional political systems were disregarded in some parts by the colonial administration. The introduction of direct taxation, imposition of warrant chiefs, indiscriminate exportation of raw materials aroused the attention of people and educated elites after about twenty years of colonial rule.

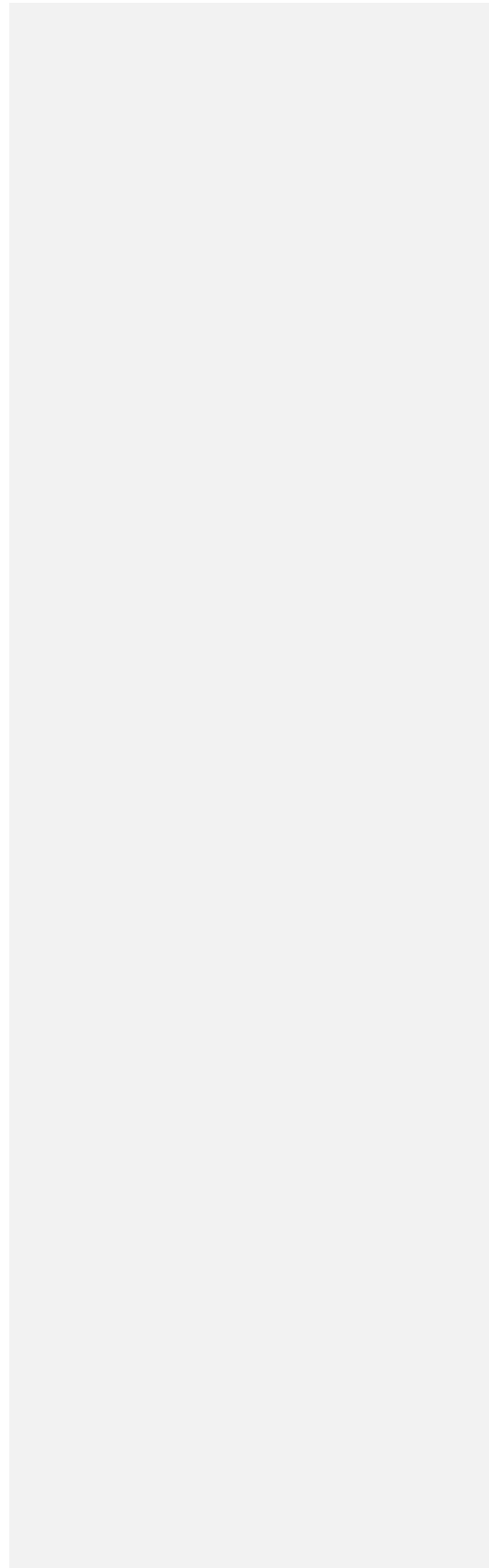
### 2.3.1.3 Northern Nigeria

During the first twenty years, there were violent measures by Nigerians to resist British rule. On the part of the British, the measures were described as pacification and not violence. British made the declaration of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1900. The people rejected the declaration by attempting to resist, because the British were regarded as non-Muslims and infidels. For example, the Magaji of Keffi in 1902 personally murdered the British officer and fled to Kano. By 1903, Kano had to surrender to British rule after series of resistance. Kano attempted to attack the British garrison at Zaria, but withdrew when the Sultan of Sokoto was killed. For about six years, there were series of conflicts, which British rule eventually superseded. It is also relevant to mention the Satiru revolt of 1906 which almost destroyed British rule. The revolt was led by Mallam Isa. The basis of the revolt was the insistence of Hausa people that a non-Muslim cannot rule over them. The Satiru revolt was carried out by the Madhist group.

In spite of the revolts, the Northern protectorate came into existence through conquest. The defeat had seriously weakened the forces of the law and order. It has also affected the powers of the emirs. During the process, most of the emirs were disposed or forced to abandon their capitals. Bearing the fact that the Emirs understood the intricacies of military defeat, they decided to accept the authority of British rule. The consequent of this made the Emirs (appointed by the British) become stooges which made indirect rule successful. The Emirs made oaths to ensure peace by taking oath of allegiance.

### 2.3.1.4 Eastern Nigeria

As it were in northern Nigeria, there was also series of resistance which would be described as successful to an extent. The British conquest of Arochukwu in 1902 did not lead to the collapse and subjugation of Igboland as expected. The visit of two British officers to Akwete, Obegu



and Ngwa were met with stiff opposition. British were able to organize what can be described mild war against Aro which was relatively successful.

The British saw the Aro expedition as the war to end all wars in Igboland. But subsequently, other communities in Igboland emerged with powerful expeditions against British officers. The years 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1914 were accustomed with scores forceful attacks against British rule. Despite all revolts, British rule was imposed through the warrant chiefs. Some rulers were given warrant authorities to provide legitimate backing to provincial government.

### **2.3.1.5 Western Nigeria**

The deposition of Oba Kosoko of Lagos and replacement with Oba Akitoye marked the beginning of conflicts in the colonial period. Like in northern Nigeria, recalcitrant traditional rulers were either humiliated or sent on exile. Those who attempted to resist the early phase of British rule were forcefully opposed by the British. For instance, the British attempt to bombard Oyo was resisted by Alaafin Adeyemi I, this led to his humiliation. Almost the same happened in Ijesaland when the Owa was banished to Benin for thirty-seven days. In Yorubaland, resistance to British rule was not really intense because the new and old communities were just regaining strength from the effect of nineteenth century wars. The war of pacification and imposition on part of the British was all aimed at introducing indirect rule system consequent upon amalgamation in 1914.

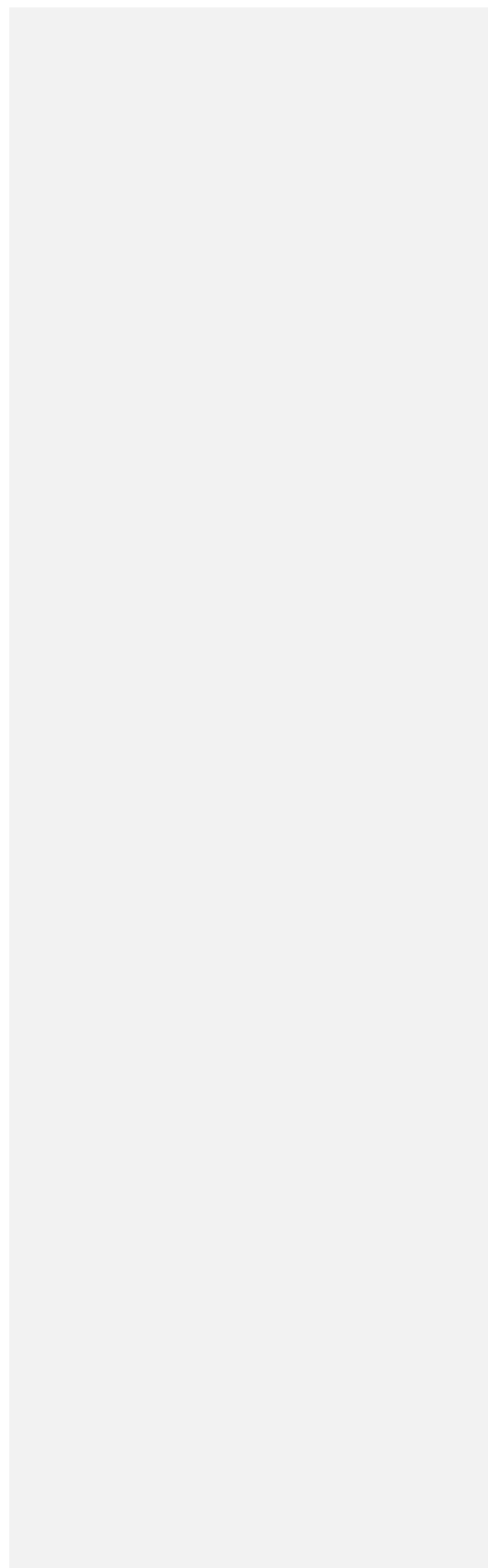
#### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2**

Discuss the common causes of war in the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria before 1914
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### **2.3.2 Post Amalgamation Conflicts in Nigeria**

The primary aim of British government towards amalgamation was basically economic. In the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria, there was the advantage of diverse cash crops such as rubber, palm-oil, cocoa and so on, as well as its proximity to the sea. However, northern Nigeria though has virile political structures and cash crops were not as rich, it also possessed a large land mass and population. Hence for administrative advantage, the two sides of Nigeria were joined together. As a learner, who has studied the previous units, you can begin to imagine the consequences of such amalgamation.

Economic infrastructures such as roads and railways were constructed to enable easy transportation of agricultural and mineral resources. To aid communication, tele-communication services were introduced as well as portable form of money. All these structures were well coordinated for about forty years. In fact, it seemed as if Nigerians had already forgotten the pre-colonial traditional political systems. All the while, there were





uprisings against direct taxation introduced especially in Southern Nigeria. Examples of which was the Aba Women's Riot of 1929, Iseyin and Oke'ho uprisings among others. The impact of taxation or the modes of its collection were quite disruptive for people (farmers especially) to bear. The marketing boards established for cocoa, groundnuts, cotton among others used exploitative measures to reduce prices to be paid to farmers.

On the other hand, the introduction of Christian Missionary Society (CMS) among others facilitated the spread of western education among some communities. With the presence of educated elites, the nationalists' tendencies manifested. According to J.S. Coleman, nationalism was expressed as sentiments, activities and organizational developments aimed explicitly at self-government. It is necessary for you to discern at this point that the core cause of conflict in the colonial period apart from internal uprising against taxation was the dire need for *self-government*. During that period, the conflicts were relatively non-violent, probably because of the forcible acts of conquest before 1914.

The discontent of the elites took different dimensions, some agitated for the change to indigenous values. They protested by denouncing European dress styles, they strictly adhered to Nigerian dressing. Some Christians established African Churches bearing local names. There were also protests against social discrimination and near total exclusion of Nigerians from the civil service, where many top positions were solely for Europeans. Apart from that, certain areas were reserved exclusively for European civil servants. All these partly formed the basis for nationalist struggle. If you can remember, political structures in the colonial administration were modified to ensure Nigerian participation. The newspapers such as Lagos Weekly Record and the activities of West African Students Union (WASU) based in London, and the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) criticized against the inequality highlighted above.

After the World War II, the binding resolution from the Atlantic Charter loosened the grip of British colonialism. Thus, the opportunity came for nationalists to further press for self-government. At this stage, nationalist movements transformed to political parties. This has been discussed in module two. As the activities of the political parties gathered momentum, there were conflicts over regional interests. The agitation for self-government by the western region was resented by the northern region with the excuse that they were not ready. However, the intent behind the reluctance for self-government proposed for 1956 was the fear been dominated by the south in political dealings. In essence, the activities surrounding self-government escalated into the Kano riots of May 1953. That was the beginning of ensuing post-colonial conflicts.

### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Discuss the primary aim of the amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorates of Nigeria
---



## 2.4 SUMMARY

It is an understatement to describe the history of conflicts in Nigeria as wide. It is indeed wide and in exhaustive because, it embraces social, political, religious, economic and environmental resource conflicts. Before colonialism, it was Nigerians versus Nigerians, later it became Nigerians versus Europeans. It further metamorphosed to Nigerians versus British. However, as nationalists efforts were progressing and agitating for British exit, the conflicts became Nigerians versus Nigerians as it were. Probably, if there was reversion to the traditional political systems may be the conflicts would not turn out to be devastating after colonialism. "Things fall apart, the centre could not hold."

This unit has exposed you to the most crucial aspect of this course, compare this section with unit two of module two and determine how Nigeria was. Initially there was a consolidated approach towards liberation from British rule and inequalities within its structure. But the fact that Nigeria has a heterogeneous population with different religious orientation (Islam and Christianity) provided another ground for conflicts in post-colonial period.

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## 2.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- The abolition of slave trade and introduction of Christianity were part of the origin and causes of conflict. The scramble and partition for Africa among European companies. There were treaties signed which the traditional rulers did not understand, the fact that they made gains from trade did not arouse the need for a second thought in signing treaties.

*E2- Causes of war in Nigeria before 1914 included resistance against British Rule, Religious evangelism, boundary dispute chieftaincy tussle, land, trade and attempt to dominate another ethnic group*

*E3- The primary aim of British government towards amalgamation was basically economic. In the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria, there was the advantage of diverse cash crops such as rubber, palm-oil, cocoa and so on, as well as its proximity to the sea.*

## **UNIT 3 ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD 1960-1970**

### **CONTENTS**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
  - 3.3.1 Origin and Causes of Conflict in Post-Colonial Nigeria 1960-1970
    - 3.3.1.1 Political Parties and the Struggle for Power
    - 3.3.1.2 Census Crises of 1962/1963
    - 3.3.1.3 1964 Federal Election Crisis
    - 3.3.1.4 Why did the First-Republic Fail?
  - 3.3.2 Military Intervention and the Civil War
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Inter-ethnic rivalries and fear of one group dominating the other were the main cause of conflicts in this period. Nationalists believed that Nigerians could be governed in the European way within a short period of time. The Nigerian military had helped in British defense in both world wars, so the military believed that the colonial legacies could work without conflicts. Thus, this unit exposes you to the extent Nigeria can successfully govern itself and the intervention of the military.

### **3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

This unit has explained the causes of the crisis and particularly the civil war. At the end of the study, you are expected to:

- analyse the role of the military in solving conflict situations
- highlight factors that contributed to the failure of Nigerian government from 1960 to 1966.

### **3.3 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.3.1 Origin and Causes of Conflicts in Post-Colonial Nigeria 1960-1970**

After the World War II, the move towards independence was very rapid. As discussed in unit four of module two, federalism was introduced into Nigeria, where there was constitutional division of powers and autonomy for regional governments. The whole process of federalism started from 1951 when all regional governments unanimously agreed on several conflict issues explained in unit two. At independence, Nigerians assumed the full responsibility of governing themselves. The conflicts in form of crises there in shall be analysed.

##### **3.3.1.1 Political Parties and the Struggle for Power**

The first six years after 1960 was inevitable, political parties had to be revived. The executive arm of government was formed by party which had the highest representation in the parliament. Three political parties became prominent – National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Action Group (AG). Nigeria operated a multiparty system in the period so there were other small parties – United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Mid-West Democratic Front (MDF) Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) among others. The first general election of 1959 prior to independence was a playing ground for these parties. NCNC formed coalition with NPC as the winning and ruling party, while AG was in the opposition. There were all sort of violence arising from the election, inter and intra-party rivalries, corruption, violence and so on.

From the western region, AG was the opposition party at the federal level which made it isolated within western region. The fact that AG could not compromise with the ruling party created crisis among the members. For instance, some factions in the AG had open clashes with NCNC members in 1961. By 1962, two factions emerged: the Obafemi Awolowo faction and S. L. Akintola faction. Their controversies centred on personal differences regarding the issue of alliance or non-alliance with the ruling party. Akintola wanted coalition with NPC. Given the fact that Awolowo was already at the federal legislature and Akintola was the Premier leading the region, Awolowo group attempted to depose Akintola as the Premier and this led to an open violence in the House of Assembly. Therefore, a state of emergency was declared for six months. Awolowo was charged for treason and sentenced to ten-year jail term in 1963. Despite this, new forms of conflicts ensued, NPC threatened by the growing influence of NCNC in the South diplomatically persuaded Akintola to form a new party-Nigeria National

Democratic Party (NNDP) and there was insistence that every NCNC members in the south should join. This opened another round of conflicts. From all indications, it can be adduced that the NPC really had distrust for parties from the west. Probably, this might be due to the fact that the number of educated elites in the west was far more than any other region in Nigeria.

### 3.3.1.2 Census Crises of 1962/1963

The census held in 1962 produced figures that were believed to have been manipulated. The population of the East increased by 71 percent and west increased by 70 percent. The percentage increase from the north was initially put at 30 percent, but later put at 80 percent. In essence, the crises ensued because the north tended to emerge in dominating other regions. Another census was held in 1963, it did not make much difference from the previous one.

### 3.3.1.3 1964 Federal Election Crisis

This election was the first after independence. The intent of the various political parties was to make corrections or consolidation in favour of personal gains and regional interest. For instance, NPC needed the election to consolidate its power at the Federal level, the AG wanted to remove Akintola from the west, the NCNC wanted to consolidate its power. Coalitions were used to form parties – there was Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) comprising NPC, and other minor parties. The United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) comprising NCNC, AG, NEPU and UMBC.

The election was violence ridden with rigging and harassment of electoral officials. NCNC prevented elections from the East. The results were predetermined. NPC won in the North, NNDP in the west and NCNC in the mid-west. Afterwards, President Azikiwe invited Tafawa Balewa (NPC) to form the government. By 1965, there were post-election violent and non-violent conflicts. In essence there was a great threat to peace; particularly the western regional House of Assembly elections witnessed intra-regional violence.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Examine the immediate contentious issues that plagued Nigeria after independence in 1960
--

### 3.3.1.4 Why did the First Republic fail?

As a learner, to answer this question, you need a careful study of the colonial and the first six years of post-colonial period, but the underlisted points will assist you in further studies.

- The colonial legacy: At first, the nationalists would have thought of reversion to the traditional political systems, instead they felt British government could work;





- The planning of the constitution: It was negligent of the fundamental human rights of the people and it was negligent of ethnicity or divisions;
- Nationalism: The agitation for it ended up to be regional nationalisms and not Nigerian nationalism;
- Disregard for public opinion and abuse of power; and
- The intervention of military to maintain peace.

### 3.3.2 Military Intervention and the Civil War

The First Republic finally failed as the military intervened on January 15, 1966. This led to the death of Ahmadu Bello, Akintola, Tafawa Balewa among others. The military believed that by eliminating them, they would put an end to the recurring conflicts. But the January coup showed that the battle line had just been drawn for conflicts in Nigeria.

The circumstances that could engender conflicts has never been lacking in the pre and postindependence periods. The main issue is politics (political control). The military intervention and Nigerian civil war as well as previous conflicts emanated from the following political questions; who gets what? How will who get what? Why does who have to get what? The who in these questions refers to the heterogeneous population with diverse cultural backgrounds, different religious orientation, different access to commerce and education. What refers to power and authority? That was the bane which the military felt it could solve by its intervention. However, the military made the same selfish mistake. Before further analysis of the causes and counter-causes of the civil war, it is important for you to understand the history of the Nigerian military briefly. The Nigerian military was a colonial creation. It was used to strengthen the colonization and colonial control of Nigeria as well as to aid the World War II that was commanded by British officers. At independence, there was the need to Nigerianise the military. Due to the advantage of western education which the south had, the Igbo in particular constituted the majority in the officer corps while the other ranks were filled by less educated military men from the north. In essence, the Igbo and Yoruba had upper ranks in the military.

By January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966, the first coup was staged and General J.T.U Aguiyi Ironsi became the head of state. He was expected to put to trial the coup plotters as it was agreed in a meeting of the Supreme Military Council (SMC), but the pressure against trial could not allow it. Instead, he introduced a pacification measure by pronouncing the Unification Decree No. 34. The focus of the decree was to introduce a unitary system of government. However, Nigerians (except Igbo) insisted on the trial of coup plotters. Most of the coup plotters were Igbo officers and the bulk of those killed in the coup were northern civilians and

military officers. Based on this, an average Nigerian would agree that the Igbo took over power through the military system. This view was further reflected when it was found that no single Igbo man was killed in the coup. Instead, soldiers were deployed to safeguard Igbo leaders. One of the participants (Igbo man) in the coup also lamented after the war that – had it been a single Igbo man was sacrificed in the coup, may be the civil war would not have occurred.

Aguiyi Ironsi's unitary system was opposed by the regional governments. But, he ignored their positions and went ahead to abolish the regions. At the same time Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu of the Eastern region promoted civil servants to the post of permanent secretary and also promoted some military officers who were mainly Igbo. Furthermore, throughout the country, the Igbo were displaying provocative attitudes showing that they were in control. This led to violent riots in the north. Consequently, another coup occurred on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1966. Aguiyi Ironsi, Adekunle Fajuyi, Hassan Katsina and some other military officers were killed. General Yakubu Gowon became the Head of State.

It was obvious that peace was not having its way in Nigeria. The inherent problem was the north-south dichotomy. The military officers were not ready to compromise. At a time, Ojukwu suggested that Brigadier General Ogundipe ought to have taken over from Ironsi, that Gowon was a very young officer in the military. Once this did not yield any result, Ojukwu decided to lead Eastern region beyond Nigeria.

Efforts were made by Gowon to ensure unity through constitutional conference. But the Nigerian crisis was becoming personality crisis between Gowon and Ojukwu. Ojukwu perceived Gowon as too young (in all ramifications) for him to bow or obey. The Aburi conference in Ghana was held to resolve the differences but all to no avail. Ojukwu cut federal links and seized all federal properties in the Eastern region. He halted movement of goods from eastern Nigeria to northern Nigeria and neighbouring countries of Chad and Niger Republic.

To the federal government, it became obvious that Ojukwu wanted to secede. The federal government announced the creation of twelve states on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1967 to reduce Ojukwu's area of control. The eastern region was divided into three states – East Central state, Rivers and South-Eastern states. This was meant to cut off Igbo area (East Central State) from oil producing areas. Communication links were also cut-off as well as declaration of a state of emergency in the East. By 30<sup>th</sup> May 1967, Ojukwu announced the Republic of Biafra. Both parties (Federal government and Biafran republic) were prepared for war. The war broke out on July 6, 1967 and ended on January 12, 1970.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the factors responsible for the failure of Nigeria's 1<sup>st</sup> Republic



### 3.4 SUMMARY

The whole episode of the Nigerian civil war was very brutal. It was a lesson in the real sense to Nigerians. Each of the regional leaders were opportunists who capitalized on the weakness of one group at one point in time to assert its domination. Probably, the civil war would not have happened if in the western region there was unity between Akintola and Awolowo factions, if NCNC did not have its own hidden agenda and if the north was ready to ensure equality and avoid absolute domination at the federal level. All these, together with the entire census crisis among others culminated into the civil war. At least its experience has taught Nigerians lesson of not dabbling into wars to solve national problems. Based on Ojukwu's experience, he came up with the summation that:

Never enter into war lightly, because once you do and you have entered, the more difficult thing is to stop it, because it creates dynamics ... it is easy, very easy, one random shot can begin a war but it is difficult to stop it.

You are becoming more familiar and enlightened with the history of conflicts in Nigeria; having highlighted the differences caused by ethnic groups, regionalism, formation and composition of political parties, religious inclination and general behaviour of inequality, you can begin to think of the possibility of resolving these conflicts and making peace.

Explain in details the remote and immediate causes of Nigerian Civil war.

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### 3.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- The contentious issues that caused conflicts in post-independence Nigeria are Political Parties and the Struggle for Power, Census Crises of 1962/1963 and 1964

*Federal Election Crisis*

*E2- The planning of the constitution was negligent of the fundamental human rights of the people and it was negligent of ethnicity or divisions;*

*Nationalism: The agitation for it ended up to be regional nationalisms and not Nigerian nationalism; Disregard for public opinion and abuse of power; and*

*The intervention of military to maintain peace*

*Inherited colonial system*

## **UNIT 4     CONFLICTS AND PEACE PROCESSES IN THE POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD 1970 -1993**

### **Contents**

- 4.1     Introduction
- 4.2     Learning Outcomes
- 4.3     Main Content
  - 4.3.1     Causes of Conflicts and Peace Processes in Nigeria 1990-1993
  - 4.3.2     Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation
  - 4.3.3     Causes of Conflicts Before and After the Second Republic
- 4.4     Summary
- 4.5     References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 4.6     Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **4.1     INTRODUCTION**

After the civil war 1967-1970, the Head of State Gen. Yakubu Gowon was able to succeed in ensuring Nigerian unity by virtue of territorial control. In essence, sovereignty was upheld. But, was there peace? Did the Igbo still perceive themselves as part of Nigeria after the war? In order to solve the problems raised in the question, the military government resolved to diplomacy by using the R-triad-Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation to ensure National integration. In this regard, this unit introduces you to conflict issues that ensued.

### **4.2     LEARNING OUTCOMES**

This unit also outlined some of the reasons why a two –party system was introduced in Nigeria. Therefore, at the end of the study, you should be able to.

- determine the reason for introduction of two party system
- explain factors responsible for the fall of the second republic
- Highlight some of the national integration developments.

### **4.3     MAIN CONTENT**

#### **4.3.1 Causes of Conflict and Peace Processes in Nigeria 1970-1993**

. The crux of the conflict plaguing Nigeria after the civil war is the environmental resource conflict arising from oil in the Niger-Delta region. In this course, the Niger-

Delta and the oil crisis is a wide subject matter which has to stand alone. It is also an on-going conflict that is resurging and escalating which there has been no permanent resolution to its effect. The concern of this unit is to examine the peace processes aimed towards the effect of the civil war and the emerging conflicts thereafter.

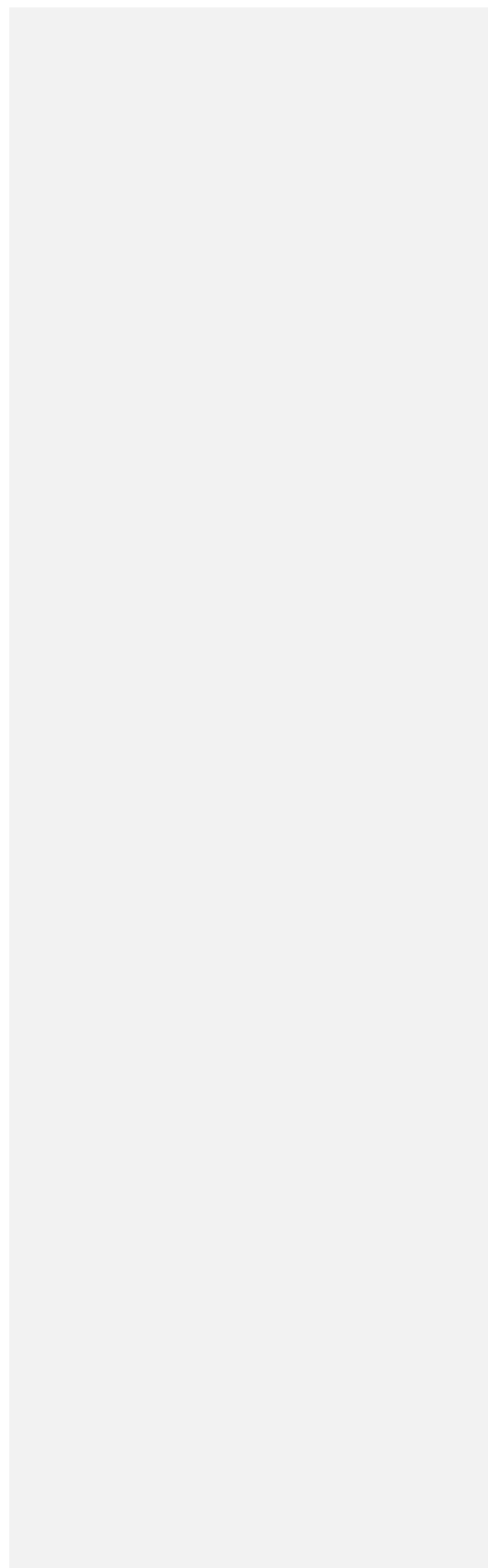
#### **4.3.2 Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation**

After the civil war, of course you should be able to imagine what the situation would look like then. There was the doubt if the country was still together. Indeed, the question of unity in diversity was hanging. The federal government still headed by Yakubu Gowon was still able to avoid secession was not enough to resolve conflicts. Hence, the 3Rs above were used as a strategy to resolve conflicts and make peace. Firstly, a common currency (Naira) was introduced in July 1973. In the same year, the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was established. The NYSC in particular was established to foster unity among Nigerian Youth. Graduates of Nigeria Higher institutions were posted to other states beyond their region. This was meant to facilitate inter-group relations and subsequently to encourage intermarriages. The federal service was also structured in such a way that any Federal civil servant was posted anywhere. In the Education sector, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) was introduced. The UPE was organised with commissions in all the states, teachers were cross-culturally posted to teach across the states. Specifically, the curriculum was designed to include the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) through the UPE programme. In addition, cultural dancing troupes were established in Schools to teach students the dance culture. Historic events that could remind people on the concept of unity were programmed for viewing in television stations. More universities were established to enhance educational opportunity for all citizens. Universities of Ilorin, Calabar, Usmanu Dan Fodiyo (Sokoto), Bayero (Kano) and so on came into existence. Prior to establishment of Universities, nineteen states were created in 1976.

All these among others were the 3R programmes that the military government initiated to facilitate and ensure national unity. On revenue allocation, the Aboyade technical committee was set up in 1977 to prepare standards for revenue sharing. Among the federal, state and local government the formula was 60%, 30% and 10% with technical recommendations for its efficiency. The Federal government rejected it and the Okigbo commission was set up in 1980. This commission was more explicit in its sharing formula and was thereby adopted. The question you should pose as a learner at this point is that – did all these programmes work for the Nigerian unity? Were there no more conflicts? The answer follows in the next discussion.

##### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Discuss the 3Rs adopted by Nigerian government after the civil war
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#### 4.3.3 Causes of Conflict Before and After the Second Republic

The Second Republic was 1979-1983. But before then, it seemed as if the increase in source of revenue and intra-ethnic rivalries in the north caused the removal of Gowon from office in 1975, through a palace coup. In the 1970s, crude oil was already discovered in Nigeria and it had placed it at advantage in the international community. The oil from Middle-East was blocked from entering western capitalist countries. That was an international conflict on one side. The conflict placed Nigerian oil market in a position to supply and this increased the source of federal government revenue. This led to massive wasteful spending without proper planning; contractors local and international absconded with mobilization capital grants.

Hence, in order to salvage the nation from corruption, General Murtala Mohammed seized power from Gowon in 1975. Mohammed was assisted by General Olusegun Obasanjo. They made frantic efforts to further consolidate the 3Rs for national unity and made moves towards the restoration of democracy. On February 13, 1976, Gen. Mohammed was assassinated in a coup, at about six months in office. Thereafter General Obasanjo probably learnt from past military administrations tried the coup plotters and continued the policies laid down for return to civilian rule. The process led to emergence of President Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) as discussed in previous units. In spite of the civilian rule that the masses agitated for, there was mass rigging of elections, corruption and embezzlement. With all intent, the election was planned by the military government to ensure peace and unity. At the beginning of the campaign, General Obasanjo urged politicians to be good sport men and play the game without bearing grudges in the face of defeat:

Let all players be good sportsmen. No matter the result of the competition, let all players remain friendly and without bitterness and look forward to another competitions. Let the players, the spectators and the umpires all resolve to make the competition a successful one.

Though there were conflicts arising from the 1979 general elections, but when compared to the 1950s and 1960s, the former was relatively peaceful. The transition of the period 1979 to 1983 was full of looting, arson, fraud and murder. It was amidst this that another general election was held in 1983 and the NPN won in two-thirds of the federation. Alhaji Shehu Shagari remained the president. However, on the basis of the increasing corruption, by December 1983, General Mohammed Buhari seized power and was assisted by General Tunde Idiagbon. In Buhari's first speech, the military were peace makers who combat

conflicts to safeguard peace. But the intervention, War Against Indiscipline (WAI) was set up to curtail corruption. However, the administration was short lived.

By 1985, General Ibrahim Babangida seized power from Buhari/Idiagbon. All along, the military used corruption as the basis for takeover. They promised to return the nation to civilian rule. In the light of this, the Babangida administration introduced a two-party structure comprising the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). This was done to resolve the conflicts arising from different political ideologies and regionally based conflicts. This two-party system can be described as suitable for Nigerian politics because it was free of ideological or regional inclination. However, intra-ethnic rivalries and inter-personal conflicts could not sustain the result of June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1993 elections. The election was annulled. By August 1993, the crisis situation caused annulment of the election and also accounted for Babangida's step aside from government. An interim government was imposed and headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. Barely three months after, had General Abacha become the head of state by November 1993.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What are the causes of conflicts in the Nigerian political space till today>

## 4.4 SUMMARY

A comparative analysis of conflict situation before and after 1970 would show that the former was full of complicated crisis, while that of the latter was mild. Military intervention after 1983 could be described as selfinterest of the army; it was not really for salvaging the nation. Though the two-party system would have been a final resolution to political unity, but politicians sabotaged it against each other and it ended up a flop.

The implementation of the 3Rs went a long way in reducing conflict situations in Nigeria; the allegations of suppression and inequality caused in the first ten years after independence were resolved through development and integration programmes. However, with the failure of the two-party system, what else can really ensure national unity?

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#### 4.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1-The 3Rs are Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation were used as a strategy to resolve conflicts and make peace in order to facilitate and ensure national unity.

E2- Resources allocation, revenue sharing and intra-ethnic rivalries, corruption, agitation for resource control, religious fundamentalism

## **MODULE 5                    BRITISH INTERVENTION: TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS**

Unit 1	Treaties and Agreements in the Niger Delta
Unit 2	Treaties and Agreement in Yorubaland
Unit 3	Treaties and Agreements in Northern Nigeria

### **UNIT 1    TREATIES   AND   AGREEMENTS   IN   THE NIGER DELTA**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 1.1    Introduction
- 1.2    Learning Outcomes
- 1.3    Main Content
  - 1.3.1    Treaties and Agreements in the Niger-Delta
    - 1.3.1.1    The Itsekiri Example
    - 1.3.1.2    Treaty
- 1.4.    Summary
- 1.5    References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 1.6    Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

#### **1.1    INTRODUCTION**

If you can remember, the Europeans first had contact with the areas along the coast. The Benin peoples were the first set of people contacted. Initially, the Portuguese and Dutch came as explorers to search for a lead way when they discovered these areas. That was how trade relations began. In fact, these areas were the first to have access to fire arms (guns). There was a stable and cordial relationship that had existed before 1880s. Probably, this accounted for the availability of evidence that could be used in tracing their traditional weapons. It is the focus of this unit to introduce you to the treaties and agreements which on the part of the British was a diplomatic move to further entrench the trade relations that had existed. The desire was to maintain the relationships of peace that had existed between the Chiefs and British officer.

## 1. LEARNING OUTCOMES

The purpose of this unit is to enable you analyse the possibility of the conflict situation that might arise from the treaties. You should be able to:

- describe the cause for the removal of traditional chiefs
- analyse the context in which British introduced the treaty despite the cordial relations that had been existing
- explain how the agreements affected the nature of trade.

## 1. MAIN CONTENT

### 1.3.1 Treaties and Agreements in the Niger-Delta

#### 1.3.1.1 The Itsekiri Example

To enable you to properly comprehend the origin of conflicts in Nigeria, this unit fully states and analyses the treaties signed in the Niger-Delta.

#### 1.3.1.2 Treaty

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empires of India and Co.

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empires of India and Co., and the Chiefs of Itsekiri being desirous of maintaining and strengthening the relations of peace and friendship which have so long existed between them; Her Britannic Majesty has named and appointed E. H. Hewett, Esq., Her Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to conclude a Treaty for this purpose. E. H. Hewett, Esq. and the Chiefs of Itsekiri have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles.

#### ARTICLE I

Her Majesty the Queen, the Chiefs, and people of Itsekiri, hereby undertakes to extend to them, and to the territory under their authority and jurisdiction, Her gracious favour and protection.

#### ARTICLE II

The Chiefs of Itsekiri agree and promise to refrain from entering into any correspondence, Agreement, or Treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

**ARTICLE III**

It is agreed that full and exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal over British subjects and their properties in the territory of Itsekiri is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty shall appoint for that purpose.

The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the said territory of Itsekiri over foreign subjects enjoying British protection, who shall be deemed to be included in the expression 'British Subject' throughout this Treaty.

**ARTICLE IV**

All disputes between the Chiefs of Itsekiri, or between them and British or foreign traders, or between the aforesaid Kings and Chiefs and neighbouring tribes, which cannot be settled amicably between the two parties, shall be submitted to the British Consular or other officers appointed by Her Britannic Majesty to exercise jurisdiction in Itsekiri territories for arbitration and decision or for arrangement.

**ARTICLE V**

The Chiefs of Itsekiri hereby engage to assist the British Consular or other officers in the execution of such duties as may be assigned to them; and, further, to act upon their advice in matters relating to the administration of justice, the development of the resources of the country, the interests of commerce, or in any other matter in relation to peace, order, and good government, and the general progress of civilization.

**ARTICLE VI**

The subjects and citizens of all countries may freely carry on trade in every part of the territories of the Kings and Chiefs parties hereto, and may have houses and factories therein.

**ARTICLE VII**

All ministers of the Christian religion shall be permitted to reside and exercise their calling within the territories of the aforesaid Kings and Chiefs, who hereby guarantee to them full protection.

All forms of religious worship and religious ordinances may be exercised within the territories of the aforesaid Kings and Chiefs, and no hindrance shall be offered thereto.

**ARTICLE VIII**

If any vessels should be wrecked within the Itsekiri territories, the Chiefs will give them all the assistance in their power, will secure them from plunder, and also recover and deliver to the owners or agents all the property which can be saved.

If there are no such owners or agent on the spot, then the said property shall be delivered to the British Consular or other officer.

The Chiefs further engaged to do all in their power to protect the persons and property of the officers, crew, and others on board such wrecked vessels.

All claims for salvage dues in such cases shall, if disputed, be referred to the British Consular or other officer for arbitration and decision.

**ARTICLE IX**

This Treaty shall come into operation, so far as may be practicable, from the date its signature, except as regards Articles VI and VII which are to be left for negotiation on a future occasion.

The Scramble for Africa accounted for the British conquest of Nigeria. The grant of a royal charter to the National African Company was a deliberate act by which Britain sought to guarantee her interest in the Niger Benue and Niger Delta. The Competition among the European powers accounted for the die-hard possession of Nigeria. Before then (that is the scramble in 1897) treaties for protection were signed between the British officers and the traditional rulers. The problems of these treaties were the doubt if these rulers understood the implication of the treaties. In earnest, a careful study of these treaties would show that the principle of democracy and sovereignty were subsequently jeopardized.

For example, the deportation of Jaja of Opobo was a result of the fact that the British consul found it unbearable to tolerate the absolute control he had over Opobo. The real conflicts started in 1886 when a quarrel ensued between Jaja and the British. This quarrel had to do with the British traders' attempt to gain direct access to Jaja's hinterland markets. Jaja's influence sufficiently frustrated the British traders from the area. In retaliation, the British reduced the fees paid to Jaja and Jaja retaliated by banning all trade with European firms, while he arranged to ship oil directly to Europe. Consequently, Jaja was removed and deported in the interest of British trade. A lot of unintended moves were associated with Jaja against the peoples so that there would be less

sympathy and the remaining traders would co-operate with the British. The uncompromising stand of Jaja landed him in Ghana and as he was found guilty, later sent on exile to West Indies. The Jaja episode was the threshold of the problems in the Niger-Delta area. Hence, it was easy and profitable for British to control the political-economy.

The presence of the British in the Itsekiri Kingdom was also economically oriented. However, Nana Olomu, an Itsekiri ruler resisted economic domination. Olomu was from a wealthy family and therefore a successful trader, whose inheritance further earned him prestige. Just as it was in the days of Jaja, Nana restricted the dominance of British and the British resorted to the use of force because they could not even access Nana's domain. Eventually, he was captured in Lagos and sentenced to life deportation.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Why were the British and Itsekiri chiefs always at loggerheads?
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## 1.4 SUMMARY

In the case of Niger Delta areas, little can it be described as full of conflicts before 1900. Rather, it could be seen as viable for the exploration of oil palm which was very germane to development in Europe. It is relatively clear and less disputable that the rulers did not really understand the future implication of the treaties. To the British, it was a protection treaty, while to Nigerians it was referred to as peace treaty. This basically facilitated the penetration of the British in the Niger-Delta. However, it is possible that the treaties were signed on the basis of racial superiority. It might be that the citizens then perceived British personnel as better and perfect human beings, not taking into cognizance that civilizations are not in the same dimensions.

The statement of treaties was to present to you a clearer picture of the nature of British incursion to the Niger-Delta and the problems or hardships faced by the major rulers as explained in the case of Jaja of Opobo and Nana Olomu of Itsekiri.



## 1.5 REFERENCES, FURTHER READINGS AND WEB SOURCES

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## 1.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

E1- The Scramble for Africa accounted for the British conquest of Nigeria. British government could not tolerate the absolute control the chiefs had over their subjects. The presence of the British in the Itsekiri Kingdom was also economically oriented. However, Nana Olomu, an Itsekiri ruler resisted economic domination. The uncompromising stand of local chiefs



## **UNIT 2 TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS IN YORUBALAND**

### **CONTENTS**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
  - 2.3.1 Treaties and Agreements in Yorubaland
    - 2.3.1.1 An Overview
  - 2.3.2 The Search for peace
  - 2.3.3 Treaty
  - 2.3.4 Agreement
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the discourse on the origin and causes of conflict in Yorubaland in the pre-colonial period, you were able to discover that even before the colonial influence, there had been wars among the peoples. The wars had established processes, methods and rules guiding them. There are also definite traditional weapons and metaphysical weapons that were already in use for these wars. The wars were associated with religious worship, the gods were consulted for the prosperity of the wars. Then, it was used as a means of vengeance.

The presence of Europeans through the coastal areas – Ijebu, Egba, Badagry facilitated trade relations in Yorubaland. At first it was slave trading, but by 1807 abolition of slave trade, trade in cash crops (legitimate commerce) was introduced. In order to get a better share of these opportunities, coupled with conflict situations that had been existing, the nineteenth century Yoruba wars escalated to a point that the need for peace became inevitable.

### **2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

Thus, the focus of this unit is to engage you in a careful study of nineteenth century Yoruba wars in your further readings, with particular reference to the Kiriji War which made peace on urgent need before 1900. Therefore, you should be able to:

- narrate the Kiriji War
- analyse the intent or grievance of the parties involved
- describe the internal and external efforts towards peace.

## 2.3 MAIN CONTENT

### 2.3.1 Treaties and Agreement in Yorubaland

#### 2.3.1.1 An Overview

In Yorubaland, the last war that really involved a third party negotiation for peace was the Kiriji War. The war lasted for sixteen years. It was a relationship of all Ekiti confederates (towns) against Ibadan. The conflict arose out of the fear of domination by Ibadan. More so, it was at a time when Ibadan warriors were emerging as the only force to rescue Yorubaland from external invasion. The war started in July 1877 between Abeokuta and Ibadan. By 1875, the Ekiti took advantage of this and revolted till 1893. At first, Ibadan wanted a direct source of supply of ammunitions from Lagos which has to be achieved via Egba. But for the fear of being dominated, Egba and Ijebu allied against Ibadan because of consequence of arms equipment and acquisition. The Ekiti perceived this as an opportunity when Fabunmi (Okemesi warrior) beheaded Awopetu (Ibadan Ajele) when the disrupted of Fabunmi's Erinle celebration. These formed the alliance of all Ekiti

#### 2.3.2 The Search for Peace

In 1879, the Lagos government decided to end the wars in Yorubaland. Thinking that the principal parties were the Ibadan, the Egba and the Ijebu, the Lagos government believed that if these groups were pacified, the wars would automatically end in all the other sectors. It did not realize that the Ekitiparapo were not just mere supporters of the Ijebu and the Egba. Governor Usher sent J. A. Payne and Pedro Martin, two eminent members of the Lagos elite, on a peace mission to Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta. This mission and a similar one sent by Captain Moloney achieved nothing. Although from then till about 1881, a series of attempts were made by various hinterland rulers particularly Derin Ologbenla, the *Ooni*-elect of Ife and Adeyemi the *Alaafin* of Oyo and nominal head of Ibadan, these did not bear any fruitful results largely because of a lack of sincere commitment on the part of these rulers. However, in October 1881, the *Alaafin* in a passionate letter to the Lt. Governor of Lagos appealed to the British government to bring the war to an end. On receiving the *Alaafin's* letter, Lt. – Governor Griffith asked the Rev. Samuel Johnson, the *Alaafin's* envoy to him, to brief him fully on the situation in the interior. He also consulted a number of educated elite in Lagos.

Unfortunately, the Lagos elite were not enthusiastic on the *Alaafin's* peace moves. The Ijesa group thought that the opportunity had come to rout the Ibadan army and expel them from the Ekitiparapo country. The

Ibadan group did not help matters. Isaac Willoughby when consulted made suggestions which appeared geared towards frustrating the *Alaafin's* efforts. Hethersett and A. C. Willoughby were blatantly indignant of the *Alaafin's* insincerity and connivance at the contemplated destruction of Ibadan. James Johnson mirrored the Ijebu opinion of a lack of willingness to cooperate in the peace moves.

Faced with these adverse comments on the *Alaafin's* appeal, Griffith implored Johnson to furnish him with a comprehensive report about the desirability for and the possibility of the intervention of Lagos in bringing the war to an end. Following Johnson's recommendations, Griffith decided to send accredited messengers into the interior to investigate the feelings of the kings and chiefs on how far they wanted peace. The delegate on this mission, were all well-known members of the Lagos educated elite. The delegates consisted of Simeon D. Kester for Ibadan-Oyo, Phillip Jose Meffre and Joseph Haastrup and Oderinlo Wilson for the Ekitiparapo. The delegation with the *Alaafin's* messenger left Lagos on 5 January 1882, carrying letters from the Lt.-Governor to the *Alaafin*, the Ibadan war chiefs and the Ekitiparapo. On 10 February, the messengers were back in Lagos with envoys of the *Alaafin*, the Ibadan chiefs and most of the other interior kings.

Griffith held several meetings with the envoys before the arrival of the Governor-General, Samuel Rowe from the Gold Coast. When Rowe arrived Lagos in April 1882, he had immediate consultations with members of the elite whose knowledge and judgment he thought he could rely upon. These included Taiwo, Payne, Johnson and Hethersett. Again, various adverse comments and insinuations were made on the peace move, each from his own selfish standpoint. Taiwo, the *Baba Sale* of Lagos, was a big arms dealer supplying arms to both the Egba and Ibadan. Taiwo was of the opinion that the war was caused by the closure of the road to the coast, and argued that only a forceful opening of the road could bring the war to an end. Payne on the other hand argued that the question of a road to the coast was a mere excuse as an uninterrupted trade was going on between Ibadan and Ikorodu and between Ibadan and Porto Novo. To him the cause of war was the attitude of the Ibadan chiefs and only the prompt removal of their leader, Latoosa, would bring a peaceful settlement. Hethersett promoted Ibadan's cause as forcefully as possible and asked for a six-month delay in the peace talks to enable Ibadan win the war.

Governor-General Rowe, received memoranda from other members of the Lagos elite whose views tally with those already noted above except that of Haastrup. They all almost invariably spoke as Ibadan chauvinists. For instance, there was no serious indication that any of them actually wanted peace. They were mostly concerned with the

opening of the Lagos route to Ibadan. This meant that Ibadan might be able to procure more arms to prosecute the war. Most did not consider the critical issue of the independence of Ekitiparapo. Rowe, who in any case was still pursuing the government's old policy of non-intervention, had an excuse for the time being, to shift the blame for the failure of the peace move on the belligerents themselves.

The next peace move originated from Rev. Hinderer, a retired missionary of the C.M.S., who had worked for many years in Yorubaland and who was deeply disturbed by the wars in the area. On 10 June 1882, he wrote a letter containing very detailed proposals for peace in Yorubaland to prominent educated African elites in Lagos urging them to use their influence to end the interior war. He appeared to have accepted the view of J. B. Wood, the C.M.S., missionary who earlier recognized the possible influence of the Lagos educated elite on the various hostile groups in the interior. Wood had written:

In Lagos there are representative of all the surrounding tribes. These men consider themselves to be both educated and civilized ... They, laying claim to the possession of greater knowledge and wider experience than their compatriots in the interior, undertake the office of counselors of chiefs of their respective tribes.

Hinderer's letter produced the desired result James Johnson, Henry Robbin and Isaac Willoughby convened a meeting of prominent Lagos elite on 7 December 1882. A resolution was passed about sending Dosunmu to the *Awujale* to end the war and taken to Governor Moloney on the same day. Arrangements were then made to send one of the most powerful and most influential chiefs in Lagos, Ajasa, the *Apena* of Lagos to Ijebu-Ode with a view to getting the *Awujale's* help towards a general pacification. But before the *Apena* got to Ijebu-Ode the place was in turmoil. It was clear that the Ijebu people did not want to continue with the war against Ibadan while Afidipote, the *Awujale* wanted the war to continue. The *Awujale* had been described as "an excitable and volatile man, more bellicose than his people." Thus, the *Apena* was notable to achieve the outcome for which he was sent to Ijebu-Ode, but to increase the hitherto flagging popularity of the Lagos government in Ijebu. The *Apena* returned to Lagos on 19 January 1883.

From the *Apena's* episode, the Lagos educated elite demonstrated a total lack of understanding of the interior complex problems. Since the main concern of the merchant group among them was the opening up of the trade routes between Ibadan and the Ijebu and Egba, they thought that if the latter could be persuaded to stop the hostilities all would be well in Yorubaland. They totally ignored the Ekitiparapo factor in the war, without which no lasting peace could be achieved.

The British Government was obviously afraid that the Lagos educated elite might call the attention of kings and chiefs of the interior to the possible danger of the intrusion of the white men into their country. However, from this time outward, the Lagos government neither supported any attempt at intervention by the Lagos educated elite nor encouraged the employment of their services in its intervention in the interior wars. But this position could not be absolute since the Lagos government was still going to employ the services of two members of the elite who belonged to the missionary wing.

In any case, members of the educated elite in Lagos did not share the view of Lagos government on this issue. In other words, they were not going to allow themselves to be marginalized. The educated elite regarded Lagos as the main theatre of the war. The *Lagos Observer* on 29 September, 1882 in an editorial said "I have reason to believe that the majority of these communities are the instigators of the present war," and the *Lagos Times* of 8 November, 1882 also wrote: "A word from them (educated elite) could I am sure bush the turmoil." Alfred Moloney was particularly bitter about what he considered to be the role of the educated elite. He said among other things: "... I may give it as my opinion, that half of the troubles of the interior have their origin in Lagos; that such troubles have been promoted locally or by refugees, unfortunately listened to form the garb of Christianity and civilization that superficially encircled them, from Lagos to interior towns. He castigated the Lagos elites and said that they were merely interested in their pockets "regardless of the country of which they profess to be (a feeling but skin deep) ardent supporters."

Some of the interior chiefs also began to use the Lagos press for the purpose of their war propaganda, Latoosa, the *Aare-Ona-Kakanfo* of Ibadan, in a letter to I.H. Willoughby, Animashaun and Taiwo, all Ibadan-Oyo, catalogued his grievances against the Egba, the Ekitiparapo and the Ilorin. The letter was both published in the *Eagle* and the *Lagos Critic* owned and edited by E. O. Macaulay, an Oyo man. The letter ended with a call for an urgent action among the Ibadan-Oyo group in Lagos. It said: "Stir up the interest of your country and people. We submit the matter to you our kinsmen that you take it up on our behalf. The *Owa* of Ilesa also sent a letter to his nephew J. P. Haastrup, also stating the reason for the conflict against Ibadan and terms of peace acceptable to the Ijesa.

It must be pointed out here that the rapport between the elites and the interior kings and chiefs had a special significance. The kings and chiefs relied on their kinsmen in Lagos for information on the thinking of the Lagos government, and plans of their enemies; diplomatic pressures on the unwilling Lagos government and continual

representation to the government. For instance, in January 1884, a meeting of a cross-section of the educated elite in Lagos was called to discuss sending of a petition to the British Government in the United Kingdom. The petition which was eventually dispatched to London enumerated what the elite considered the ills they were suffering in Lagos. The elite believed that Griffith's efforts in 1882 would have resolved the interior problems once and for all if Governors usher and Rowe as well as the Colonial Office had not put impediments in his way. As it was necessary to obtain a clearance from Accra before taking any action, the petitioners thought that the Lagos administration was under a disability to act decisively – if a similar occasion should arise in future. The petition was signed by twenty clergymen; two Muslim priest. Twenty-one Muslim traders, thirty-five artisans and tradesmen, fifty schoolmasters and all the principal Saro and European merchants. This was one occasion when the various groups of the elite tried to fight a common course.

Towards the end of 1884, Lord Derby made a reply to the petition, which he regarded as containing some grievances “wholly without foundation”. He said that it was too early to assess the success of the amalgamation of Lagos with Accra. The Lagos elite sent two other petitions on the same issue. In 1885, as a result of French and German expansion in West Africa, Britain decided to make Lagos a separate colony. The Lagos elite were extremely delighted and celebrated the occasion as a major victory.

In the same way, the elite had an overrated opinion of their own ability to bring the interior war to an end whenever they wished. This is not to say that they did not have an impact on the war. Those who sold arms did and two members of the missionary wing of the elite did a lot to bring the war to an end. But the educated elite who were based in Lagos failed to realise the fact that they had evolved, as an instrument of state policy among the various kingdoms in the interior. Unprecedented massive population movement, the slave trade and its effects, the use of new weapons had revolutionised the mode of warfare and given birth to the phenomenon which altered the power structure in the various Yoruba kingdoms. The revolution had produced a new polity known as Ibadan. The second half of the 19th century witnessed the social, economic and political ascendancy of the war chiefs over the political and religious chiefs in most of the states of the hinterland. “War lords” like Ogundipe of Abeokuta, Ogedengbe and Fabunmi of Ekitiparapo and Latoosa of Ibadan were firmly in charge of affairs in their different states.

The officials of the Lagos government began contemplating on a peaceful government intervention. When Governor Rowe was in Lagos



in May 1883 he set out to organize systematically, a wellinformed mission. Initially he consulted the three members of the educated elite, considered most knowledgeable about the main issues involved in the war – James Johnson, J. H. Willoughby and Robbin, representing the Ijebu, the Ibadan-Oyo and the Egba countries. The three were of the view that matters had become more complicated by the expulsion of the *Awujale* from his capital and that any firm arrangement for lasting peace in the land should begin with an arrangement between Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo and then extend to the other partisans in the conflict. Within this framework and after the Rev. J. B. Wood's abortive attempts to secure peace in 1884 and 1885, the Lagos government for its own ulterior motives secured the services of two C.M.S. missionaries: S. Johnson and Charles Phillips. Although these gentlemen were working for the C.M.S. in Yorubaland.

Charles Phillips and Samuel Johnson set out on their peace mission in March 1886 to visit the various war fronts and the main towns in the interior of Yorubaland. On their return to Lagos in late May, they were accompanied by the envoys of contending parties; each properly accredited and authorized to accept the terms of the treaty to be negotiated under the auspices of the Lagos administration. Between 31 May and 4 June, 1886, the terms of peace were drawn up into a formal treaty entitled "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce".

Between June and July 1886, Phillips and Johnson again went on a mission to the interior to obtain the signatures of the respective kings and chiefs to the Treaty of Peace. On this occasion certain problems arose from the objections raised to some of the terms of the Treaty by Modakeke and the Ekitiparapo. But Phillips and Johnson with tactics and an unusual patience ironed out all the seemingly intractable problems.

The next task was the execution of the terms of the Treaty. The Acting Governor, F. Evans, appointed a high-powered commission led by the Acting Colonial Secretary, H. Higgins who was assisted by Oliver Smith, Queen's Advocate. Phillips and Johnson also accompanied the Commissioners. After visiting the different camps by the Commissioners, peace was proclaimed between the Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo at the Igbajo-Imesi battle field on 23 September 1886. The Commissioners recorded part of the ceremony thus:

The *Balogun* and the *Seriki* then swore eternal friendship to each other by their respective fetishes. The Governor's proclamation was then read and interpreted, and, a few remarks from us, the ratification of the Treaty was read and interpreted. Each signatory then came to the table as his name was called, and affixed his mark and seal to the document.

The 23rd of September 1886 must have been a very hectic day for both Johnson and Phillips which the interpretation of proclamation and terms of the peace Treaty. The problem which the Lagos educated elite thought would be settled in Lagos was in fact settled in the hinterland.

The Initiative for peace came in about 1829. The intervention of the British was meant to salvage the effect of the war on trade and revenue in the colony. The intervention was to secure British economic interest. The British officials in 1879 sent Governor Usher to ascertain Egba-Ijebu readiness for mediation. However, there were insistence on part of the latter, their ambition was to destroy Ibadan or rather it should be a neutral zone. Furthermore, the interest shown by the British was regarded as prejudiced in support of Ibadan. However, Ibadan's intent was just to foster trade relations with Egba-Ijebu and acquire arms and ammunitions to tackle the Ekiti confederates. In May 1881, there were considerations by the British to make more efforts towards ensuring peace which was extremely complicated, because this Ekitiparapo and Ilorin solidarity missions had sneaked into Egba- Ijebu to convince them to refuse any treaty that would support Ibadan. Two suggestions were made by the British officials – either to prohibit the importation of war materials through all ports under British control on the West African coast, but a clause was that Britain lacked absolute access to the ports. Second, even if a prohibition was imposed there was no guarantee that war would end. It was however imminent for British intervention as a mediating party for peace negotiation when in 1881 Alaafin and other chiefs in Yorubaland who were passively not in support of Ibadan felt that the aftermath of the war might cause aggressive invasion of their towns. Hence, British officials were summoned to restore peace. Moreover, it was at a time when the Dahomey was threatening to invade Oyo. The British government in Lagos saw this as an opportunity to intervene. Governor Griffith embarked on peace moves. The rulers from the warring groups were summoned to Lagos for a meeting. Ekitiparapo insisted that except there was agreement by Ibadan to stop attack on any part in Yorubaland there would not be peace. The meeting failed and failure was attributed to the presence of emigrants from Oyo, Ife, Egba, Ijebu and Ekiti, residing in Lagos, who were into trade in ammunitions. They would not want the war to stop because of the gains.

At a time, after 1882, peace talks had failed, to the Ekiti confederates, the war was futile in the sense that they were funding the purchase of ammunitions to a comparative disadvantage. In essence, they were using all they had at the instance of a weak economic base. Second, there was the fear that if a near victor accepted their peace guide line, they (Ibadan) would have sympathy for future opportunities. Eventually

the peace terms were agreed to and it was termed-Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce. It went thus:

1. The members of Ekitiparapo should henceforth be independent;
2. The contending parties should respect the territorial integrity of one another in the future;
3. The Alaafin should occupy the same position to the Owa of Ilesha;
4. The boundaries between Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo should remain as they stood at the time of the agreement; and
5. The Ilorin – Ibadan contest of Offa would be settled later.
6. The people of Modakeke (Oyo refugee outside Ile-Ife and an ally of Ibadan should leave Ife territory) who wish to move should move or remain with Ile-Ife.
7. The Ijebu and Ibadan would sign treaty of peace and the Ijebu would decamp from near Modakeke and go home.

In spite of the treaty, the Ilorin-Ibadan conflict over Offa continued and the conflicts (Ekitiparapo) was only not as violent but it continued passively.

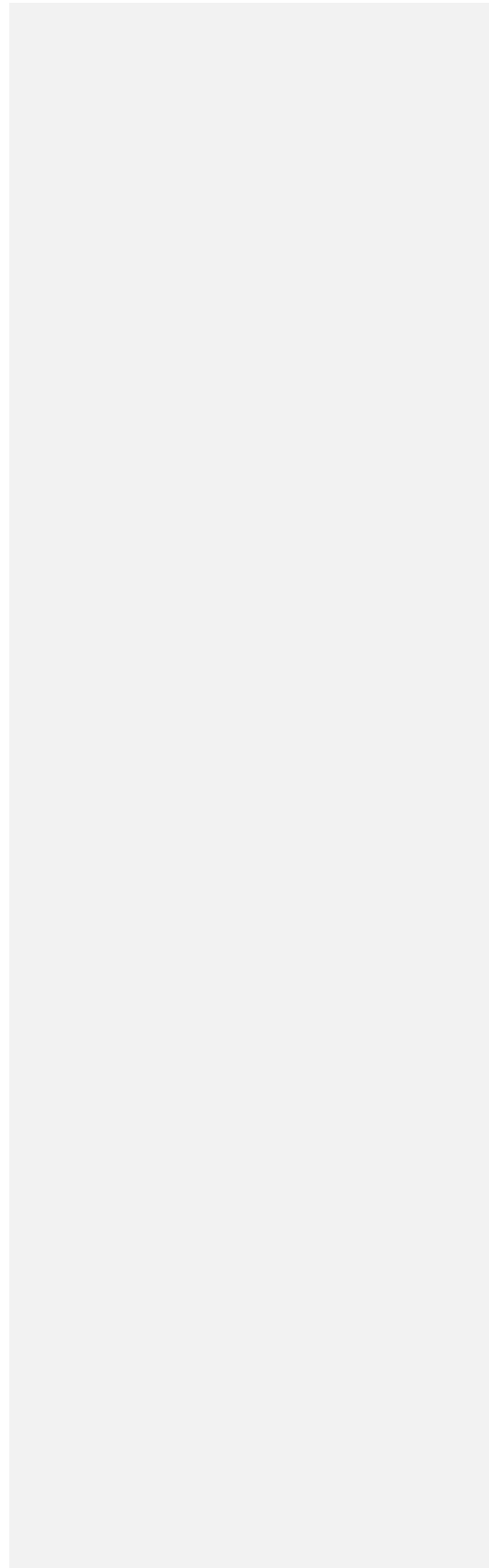
#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Discuss the treaty the Ekitiparapo had with Ibadan

### 2.3.3 Treaty

Treaty made at Oyo on 3rd February 1893, I the undersigned Alaafin of Oyo do hereby promise:

- That there shall be peace between the subjects of the Queen of English and Yoruba subjects. Any dispute or difference that accidentally arise between us and the said subject of the Queen shall be referred to Lagos whose decision shall be final and binding upon us all
- That British subjects shall have free access to all parts of Yorubaland and shall have the right to build houses, possess property according to the laws in force. They shall further have liberty to carry on trade and manufacture as may be approved by the Governor of Lagos.
- That there shall be right for peoples to move freely into Lagos.
- That there shall be free trade movement
- That there shall be complete assistance and encouragement to the Christian religion.
- That there shall be prohibition of human sacrifices



- That there will be no war or any act of aggression that will interrupt trade and safety of peoples and property.
- That there shall be no treaty with any other foreign government, except with the consent of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England.
- A pledge by the Alaafin to seek the consent and co-operation of all the subordinate kings and authorities of representative towns in Yorubaland to the provisions of the treaty.

## SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the treaty made at Oyo on 3rd February 1893 and signed by Alaafin of Oyo:

### 2.3.4 Agreement

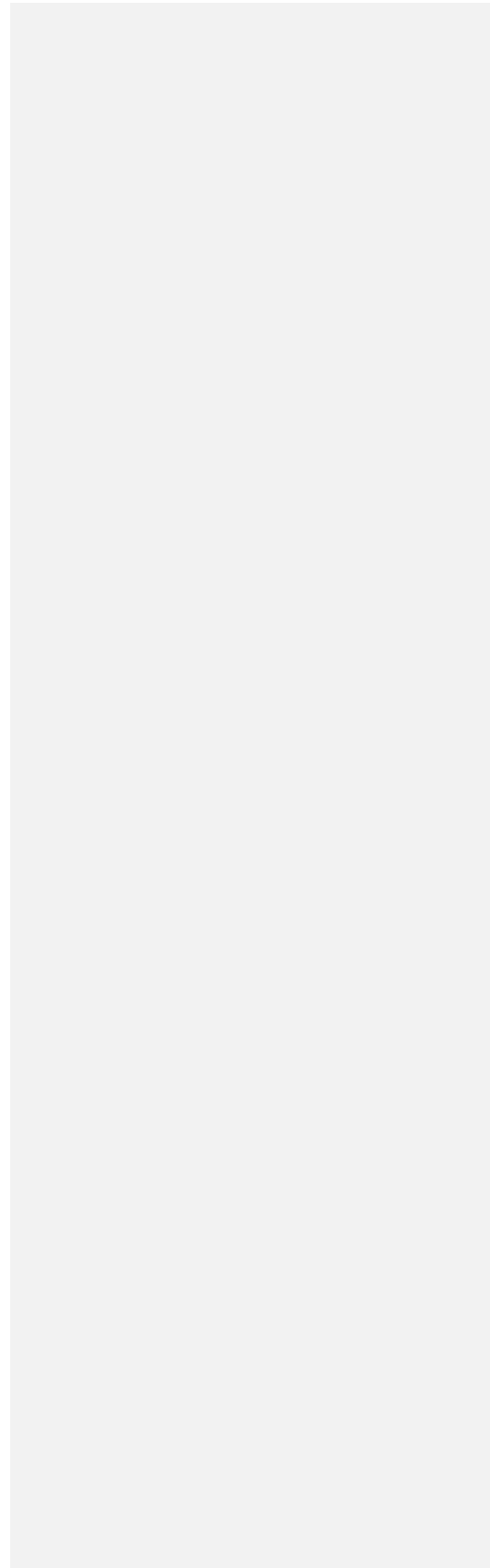
Agreement was made at Ibadan on 15th August 1893 by the Bale and Authorities of Ibadan. It went thus:

- That the general administration of the internal affairs of the following Yoruba towns viz – Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, Ikirun, Ogbomoso, Ejigbo and Iseyin is vested in the general government of Ibadan and the local authorities of the said town act in harmony with and are subject to Ibadan.
- That we fully recognize all the provisions of the treaty dated 3rd February, 1893 made at Oyo and that the Alaafin of Oyo is the head of Yorubaland.
- That we fully agree to carry out within the territory of Ibadan all the provisions of the said treaty.
- That we further agree in amplification of the said treaty on our own behalf to the following terms and conditions: -

**First:** That we will use every effort to secure the free passage of all persons coming from Ibadan either through the interior or Lagos and we promise to afford protection.

**Second:** That the purpose of better securing the performance of the above treaty will be further accomplished by allowing the entry of European officers and to provide land for occupation.

**Third:** We further agree that the request from Lagos government to provide land for the construction of railway and its maintenance. The compensation for the land shall therefore be negotiated.



All these were the peace treaty and agreements which was mediated by a third party (Britain). However, these treaties were basically meant to put an end to nineteenth century wars. But the content of the agreement implied that Britain as a mediating party had its own intentions. The British intent was to control the economy in its favour by making the rulers agree to the treaties. Concerning the Kiriji, it was not only the British that wanted peace, the peace processes were also agitated for by the educated elites especially the educated Africans that came from Brazil, Cuba, Sierra Leone who had earlier been sold into slavery. These groups of people were usually referred to as Aguda or Saros. Though there were division along ethnic lines among educated elites at the beginning of the war, but at a time, Lagos educated elites were disturbed about the status of the war in the interior (Yorubaland). It was a threat to the continuity of trade activities. The Lagos press controlled by elite from time to time reminded the government of its obligation to maintain peace in the interior according to the Treaty of cession in 1861.

**SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3**

Discuss the agreement made at Ibadan on 15th August 1893 by the Bale and Authorities of Ibadan.
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**2.4 SUMMARY**

The treaties and agreements in Yorubaland were as a result of the nineteenth century Yoruba wars. At a time, the intent of the wars was to capture slaves for the Atlantic trade. On the contrary, it was the returnee slaves that facilitated the need for peace. At the beginning of the Kiriji war, the parties involved were vehement on protecting their interest. Little can be described of the initiatives for peace. However, the Egba-Ijebu insistence on blocking Ibadan's access to Lagos had adverse effect not only for British trade and even for Nigerians – the Hausa traders, the Yoruba educated elites and merchants in Lagos.

This unit is aimed basically at exposing you to efforts made at mediating and negotiating for peace in Yorubaland. At first, the groups involved were not ready for any form of resolution, unless Ibadan stops its expansionist policy. But the need to facilitate and ensure continuity in trade made it possible for diplomatic resolutions to peace and the mediating parties that is the British government in Lagos. In other words, peace initiatives in Yoruba land were externally driven.

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## 2.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

E1- *Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce. It went thus: The members of Ekitiparapo should henceforth be independent; The contending parties should respect the territorial integrity of one another in the future. The Alaafin should occupy the same position to the Owa of Ife; The boundaries between Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo should remain as they stood at the time of the agreement; and The Ilorin – Ibadan contest of Offa would be settled later. The people of Modakeke (Oyo refugee outside Ile-Ife and an ally of Ibadan should leave Ife territory) who wish to move should move or remain with Ile-Ife. The Ijebu and Ibadan would sign treaty of peace and the Ijebu would decamp from near Modakeke and go home.*

E2- *The treaty signed with Alaafin Oyo read thus: That there shall be right for peoples to move freely into Lagos. That there shall be free trade movement. That there shall be complete assistance and encouragement to the Christian religion. That there shall be prohibition of human sacrifices That there will be no war or any act of aggression that will interrupt trade and safety of peoples and property. That there shall be no treaty with any other foreign government, except with the consent of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England. A pledge by the Alaafin to seek the consent and co-operation of all the subordinate kings and authorities of representative towns in Yorubaland to the provisions of the treaty.*

E3- *That the general administration of the internal affairs of the following Yoruba towns viz – Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, Ikirun, Ogbomoso, Ejigbo and Iseyin is vested in the general government of Ibadan and the local authorities of the said town act in harmony with and are subject to Ibadan. That we fully recognize all the provisions of the treaty dated 3rd February, 1893 made at Oyo and that the Alaafin of Oyo is the head of Yorubaland.*





### **UNIT 3     TREATIES AND AGREEMENT IN NORTHERN NIGERIA**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 3.1. Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
  - 3.3.1 Treaties and Agreements in Northern Nigeria
    - 3.3.1.1 Treaty
- 3.4 Summary
- 2.5 References, Further Readings and Web Sources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The focus of this unit is aimed at presenting to you the nature of the treaty and agreements made in Northern Nigeria. Having gone through those of southern Nigeria, studying this unit will enable you to make a comparison based on the antecedents that formed the origin and causes of conflict in the North. To the Emirs, it was an agreement to foster trade relations, based on the experience they had encountered in the previous trans- Saharan trade relations. To the Northerners, the agreement with the British was just another form of imperialism which they were unconsciously aware of. The imperialism refers to the trade with Arabs which had mutually sustained peaceful relations. Hence, the new form of imperialism was British commerce which was accepted in the first instance.

#### **3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES**

The purpose of this unit is to expose you to the nature of treaties and agreements signed by Emirs in the north. After a careful study, you should be able to.

- explain the reason why the Emirs agreed to the treaties
- describe the role of Islam in the agreements
- highlight the possibilities of conflicts that can occur.

### 3.3 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.3.1 Treaties and Agreements in Northern Nigeria

##### 3.3.1.1 Treaty

What God wishes suffices  
The help of the slave is  
with God: 'Umar b. Muhammad  
al-Amin al-Kanemi.

In the name of God, the merciful and the beneficent, Praise be to God, Lord of all peoples, the peace of God be upon our Lord Prophet and master, Muhammad, the best of all Prophets and Messengers and upon his family and his companions all. To continue, the document of the state of the English (i.e. England) containing stipulations which shall be mentioned in this legal document, has reached the revered exemplary of leaders, the flower of leaders, the celebrated, the most glorious, the eminent, the most happy, the shining light of the Kingdom of Bornu and the happiness of these Islamic regions, the most mighty, the most famous, the most fortunate, the dazzling Imam, the illuminating lamp of his time and a perfect jewel. He is in his place; my master, the Shaikh Umar, son of the one who knows God well; my master, the Shaikh Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi. May God surround him with his gracious help. This sublime Imam has considered the stipulations of the documents and his disposition to its contents. He has ordered one of his scribes to write down his stand on each of the six stipulations which came from that state. (England). The answer is, in reality, according to the stipulation of the *Hanifi* (Islamic) religion. We shall set down the stipulations and answer them according to the principle of the accepted *shari'a*.

##### The First Stipulation

That the English shall not be prevented from entering the land of Bornu and all its territories and from journeying in them. That their settlers shall be as friends of its (Bornu territory) people as long as they remain in it and that their persons and their property shall not be endangered. They shall also not be prevented from traveling at the time they wish and the same condition shall apply to (the movement of) their possessions. The answer to this is: They shall not be oppressed and their persons and property shall not be endangered by any one. They, with their possessions, shall not be hindered from journeying and leaving at the time they desire.

**The Second Stipulation**

That the subjects of the English Queen (Sultana) shall be equal with the people of Bornu with regard to all the goods they may wish to buy or sell throughout Bornu territories and that the ruler of Bornu shall ensure to them that no preference shall be given to any trader of other races. The answer to this is: they shall not be hindered from buying and selling whatever is legal for them according to the *Sharia* of Muhammad (the peace of God be upon him). But with regard to illegal things such as slaves, copies of the Qur'an and the like, no. However, with regard to there being no preference between them and other races, if those others are Christians, they shall not be given preference over them since the religion of all Christians is one and the same religion to us and as such (they are entitled to) the same protection (*dhimmi* status). This is the answer.

**The Third Stipulation**

That the roads shall be safe throughout the land of Bornu and the English traders shall not be prevented from carrying their goods from one town to another nor from roaming about in the country and moving from one town to another and that other traders shall not be prevented from passing through and trafficking with them. The answer to this is: They shall not be hindered from all this if there is no disobedience of the pure *shari'a* involved.

**The Fourth Stipulation**

That the English Queen (Sultana) shall have the right to appoint an agent to live in the land of Bornu to see to the welfare of the English on the basis of the stipulations. That the agent shall be honoured and protected and his words shall be heeded and that the safety of his person and whatever belongs to him shall be guaranteed. The answer to this is: She shall have the right to install this agent and his safety and whatever belongs to him shall be guaranteed. But other than this, he shall be treated according to what is enjoined on us by the *shari'a* since it will not be proper for us to exceed its limits.

**The Fifth Stipulation**

That the ruler of Bornu, my master, the Shaikh 'Umar al-Kanemi, shall expend his energy in the matter of the correspondence of the subjects of the English Queen which may be sent to them and which they may send to their country. The answer to this is: This is an easy thing which does not call for his expending his energy. There shall be no occurrence of losses with regard to this or anything you will find distasteful.

### The Sixth Stipulation

That the ruler of the land of Bornu shall make a law and give an indication about the conclusion of these conditions and that he shall publish them (i.e. make them known) from the time of their conclusion and throughout their duration. The answer to this is: We shall give an indication according to the condition of the country and the locality and in line with the manner in which we have conceded these stipulations to you.

This is the sum-total of what we wrote down with regard to the stipulations. Indited in the morning of Tuesday the 7th of Shawal 1267 A. H.\* May the kindness of God be with its writer, Amen.

In the discourse on the origin and causes of conflict in Northern Nigeria, the focal point was the 1804 revolution that was aimed at re-orientating the community on the real practice of Islam. On the other hand, it brought about a sort of unification in the political structures and systems in line with principles of Sharia law. Hence, Islam became an official religion, except for the non-Muslim areas comprising some of the Tiv, Jukun, Igala, Nupe peoples among others. In essence, the position of Islam as an official religion presented the whole of Northern Nigeria to be binded together. Nonetheless can the minority groups stand in isolation. Although all the states were not all on mutual terms, between Bornu and Sokoto, there was still the ideological problem surrounding the reasons advanced by Uthman Ibn Fodiye for his revolution. Bornu peoples were of the idea that there was no need for change in the practice of Islam, bearing the fact that Islam came in through Bornu as far back as the eight century ever before it came to Hausaland. However, this was an internal conflict that had been resolved.

Therefore, by the first half of the nineteenth century, unlike it was in southern Nigeria, there were not initial uprisings against British activities in northern Nigeria. But the caliphate in power was cautious about the dealings with the British who were regarded as non-Muslims and infidels. For instance, in 1824, Clapperton was well received by the caliph (Muhammad Bello) who granted him treaty just as it was done in Southern Nigeria. The reception given to the British were cautionary in line with the principles of Sharia law concerning the type of relationship to be conducted with non-Muslims – that unless they seem to or prove to be harmful to the community, they should be respected and protected. Based on this, European activities were intensified and encouraged. The principles of diplomacy on part of the northerners facilitated the friendly relationship because the Europeans paid tributes. However, by 1880s, the European companies began to indiscriminately promote their selfish

interest by attempting to monopolise trade. This the traditional rulers (Emirs) did not agree to. Subsequently, the emergence of Fredrick Lugard aggravated the conflict situations.

Lugard's first act in Northern Nigeria was the proclamation of the protectorate on January 1, 1900.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What are the consequences of 1904 uprising in the north?

### 3.4 SUMMARY

TSlightly different from that of Southern Nigeria, conflict situations warranted the intervention of the British to make peace through treaties and agreements. But in northern Nigeria, the treaties and agreements were not really conflict driven. It was at the initial stage a mutual agreement between the Emirs and the British. Of course, the virile political structures would not have made the relations incompatible. In essence, the treaty and agreement in northern Nigeria was not necessarily spurred out of the need for peace, rather it was a mutual agreement for commercial reasons. This unit has been able to show you the nature of treaties and agreements in northern Nigeria. At the initial stage, it was a mutual agreement based on commercial relations. The northerners adopted a diplomatic approach based on the principles of sharia law in dealing with the stipulations of the treaty. But it subsequently resulted in conflicts by 1900 when the ambition for British political control was introduced.

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### 3.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

E1- The consequences of 1804 uprising include re-orientating the community on the real practice of Islam. It brought about a sort of unification in the political structures and systems in line with principles of Sharia law. Islam became an official religion, except for the non- Muslim areas comprising some of the Tiv, Jukun, Igala, Nupe peoples among others.

