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PCR331 HISTORY OF CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

MODULE 1 DEFINITION OF CONFLICT

INTRODUCTION

The word „conflict" is a concept synonymous with human behaviours. Since man cannot exist in isolation, then in the course of interactions with other members of the community there will be disagreements, intrigues and misunderstanding. The disagreement or misunderstanding occurs in forms of revolution or war. In understanding the meaning of conflict, it must be seen from the perspective of inter-group relations whether, as individuals or groups.

The Meaning of Conflicts

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 in the social, political or economic realm. It can be man versus man, man versus group or group versus group. Conflicts that are mostly imminent are usually group versus group.

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 the 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.

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The Human Behaviours in Conflict

- Competition over scarce resources such as: money, leisure, sexual partners and so on
- Inequality in terms of power, reward, opportunity and chance
- Expansion and subjugation which leads to migration, unity and division of communities

Competition

Is a term synonymous with the business or economic parlance. 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 breeds all forms of acts that can mark the weak industries. In essence, the strong industries may assume monopolistic rights over the weak industries.

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.

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. Unequal access to opportunities in a community leads 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. 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.

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Expansion and Subjugation

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.

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.

The Definition of Terms

Conflict Analysis

Conflict Analysis involves an evaluation of roles, values and attitudes of people in the 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 the crises in a position that would proffer amicable settlement (peace-making).

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 based on 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).

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

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wish to spread the conflicts because of cordial intergroup relations that have enhanced growth and development.

For instance, scholarly works on the Nigerian civil war argued to resolve that the crises was a problem that emanated from regionally based elites in their struggle to acquire state power and wealth. Ordinary Nigerians had nothing against each other. 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.

UNIT 2 TYPES AND MODES OF CONFLICT

The Types of Conflict

A. 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. 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.

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 as a human behaviour in political conflict as "the use or 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."

B. 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.

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, conflicts informs of protests, demonstrations, strikes or boycotts arise to ensure changes change.

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The Agbekoya Parapo Revolt of 1968-1969, a peasant revolt in postcolonial Yorubaland was 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. Before 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 way to regulatory work standards to protect the interest of peasant farmers as regards pricing. The crux of the revolt was the activities of the peasant farmers that involved protests which culminated into violence.

C. 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 conflict implies that women (and girls) are predominantly victims who experience neglect within the dominated organization.

Gender 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.

Although the status of women varies in precolonial 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 conflict was not to 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.

D. Religious Conflict

Religious Conflict is a type of conflict that is peculiar to Nigeria. It is mostly prone to violence. It occurs when people of different religions fail to co-exist and relate with each other by respecting what each other stands for. In

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Nigeria, religious conflict has claimed lives and properties. At any slight provocation, religious conflicts resurge.

The violence thereafter contributes to socio-economic and political instability. At times the 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. To solve the problems there are Inter-faith mediation centres nationally and globally established to co-ordinate religious teachings to stop conflict situation.

The Mode of Conflicts

A. Organizational Conflict

This is mostly associated with work place. In order to achieve the goals set for progress, conflict occurs in organizations because of clash of interest or clash of priorities necessary.

B. International Conflict

This occurs among different countries that constitutes an international organisation. This may occur through varying interests on socioeconomic and political policies to be adopted. Each member country would always prefer that the aims and objectives of the organization correspond with its foreign policy objective.

C. Environmental Resource Conflict

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

UNIT 3 CONFLICT RESURGENCE AND ESCALATION

Conflict Resurgence

Conflict resurgence can be described as a continuation of conflict trends that had been recurring. It occurs in form of violence when peace-making 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

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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 socioeconomic 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.

Conflict Escalation

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. Unlike conflict resurgence, Conflict escalation has to do with compounding or complex aggression. Though escalation is also a recurrence, but it may involve more that 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.

The Difference between Conflict Resurgence and Escalation

Conflict resurgence is as a continuation of conflict trends that had been recurring while conflict escalation on the other hand, refers to the increase in the severity of aggressive behaviour.

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UNIT 4 CONCEPT OF PEACE

What is Peace?

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. 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 tranquillity. 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 letter is usually the form of peace which is agreed to in the society. In other words, self interest is paramount in peace agreement.

The Major Processes in Peace Building

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

Peace Negotiation

Peace negotiation 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. Both parties put forth their views and analyse by educating each other. In this case, there is basic a 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.

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Mediation

Mediation 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 crises. The compositions of mediators are drawn from various religious and definitely various ethnic groups to provide a dialogue for conflict resolution.

Diplomacy

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

MODULE 2 Political Structures in Nigeria

UNIT 1 POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN PRECOLONIAL IN NIGERIA

A. 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 the people by virtue of language there are sub-group 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. This separation is a means of check on arbitrary rule. The Awo (priest) assists in checking and balancing the power of tyrannical king.

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 gods (Kabiyesi

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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 Ogboni cult which was made up of freemen, remarkable for age, experience and their prominence in sociopolitical and economic life of the community.

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 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.

B. 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 identify 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 to 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.

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.

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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. They function to ensure peace and security, regulate the exploitation of natural resources. The Ndi Ichin were 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.

C. The Niger-Benue Confluence

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.

Tiv

The political structure of Tiv was centred around 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

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Tor Agbande (Drum Chiefs). The Tor Agbande were compulsory members or Mba tsav. **Igala**

The Ata is the king of Igala. The Ata was at one time of 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.

D. 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.

E. Hausa

Political structure in Hausa was centered around 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.

Designation and Functions of Office

The Galadima was the governor in charge of the town. He was the intermediary or representative, if the King (Sarki) was on war or diplomatic missions. There was also the Madawaki (Master of the Horse) that is commander-in-chief. The office 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 Kurdin Kasa (land tax), Gaisau (tributes) and other dues.

F. Kanem-Bornu

The Kingdom was administered by a hereditary sovereign referred to as Mai. The Mai (king) his 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.

UNIT 2 POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN COLONIAL NIGERIA

An Overview of Political Structures in Colonial Nigeria

In the twentieth century, British emerged with colonial administration. From 1898, the British government sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. Their emergence with a colonial administration was established with a view to abolishing all forms of acts they perceived as in human and to put a stop to the conflicts of centuries that existed among Nigerian peoples. The process involved a number of measures including – The

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removal of all opposition to the imposition, expansion and consolidation of British central authority. Other European nations such as the French, and 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. Even among the peoples, there were attempts at resisting colonial rule, such as it was found in Benin and Borno. Where there are no attempts of resistance, Britain took advantage of the wars 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, he was not a member of the Special Committee which recommended that British „Niger Territories" be amalgamated.

The Nature or Structure of British Colonial Administration in Nigeria

- **Central Administration**

The Central Administration had the Governor-General as the head, which is 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.

- **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. 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.

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- **Executive Council**

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

- **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.

- **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.

The 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:

- Introduce innovations of modernization without resistance
- Manipulate traditional rulers to enforce innovations on the people
- Use the example of the organized political structures in northern Nigeria to successful 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 South-western 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

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colonial government introduce the imposition of warrant Chiefs. The warrant chiefs became agents that further aggravated conflicts. The Aba Women Riots of 1929 emanated from the imposition of warrants chief.

UNIT 3 POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN POSTCOLONIAL NIGERIA

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 Three Arms of Government

The 1960 independence constitution defined the political structures as follows:

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 practice 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 Midwest 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.

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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. The Judiciary

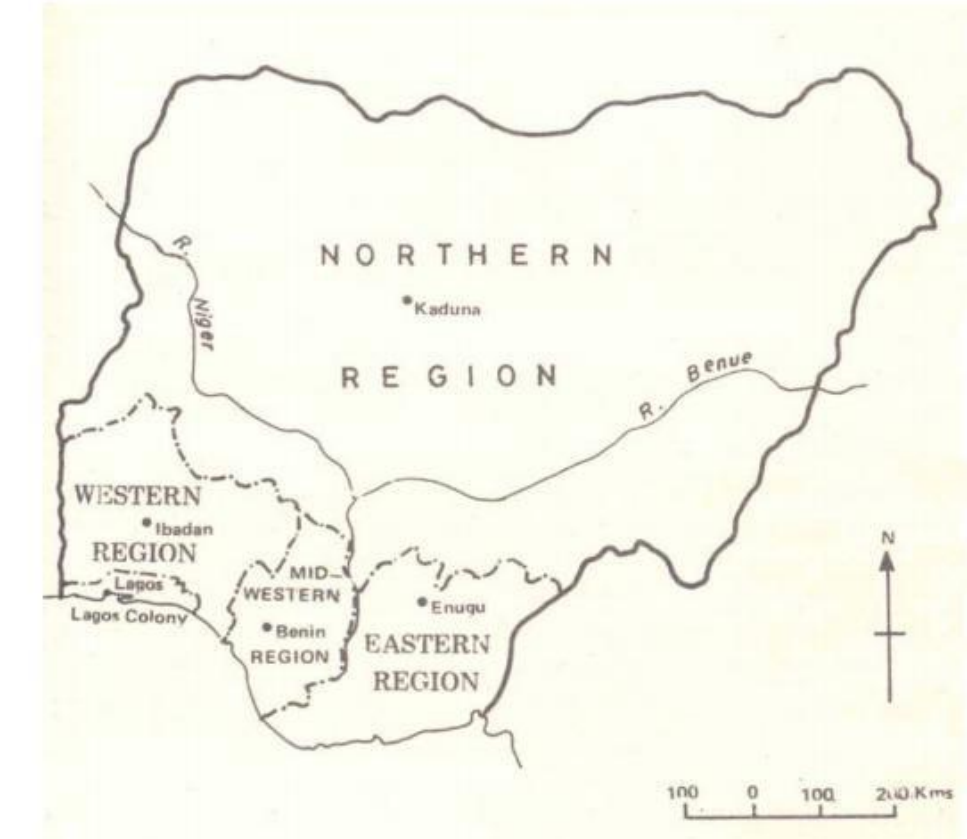
This organ of government interprets the law. It ensures that the constitution and statutes were obeyed. There was a supreme court with not less than five judges. The Chief Justices and other Justices of the Supreme Court were appointed by the President. The three arms – legislating executive and judiciary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

The 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.

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Map of Nigeria to show Regional Structure



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UNIT 4 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN NIGERIA

Political Systems in Pre-colonial Nigeria

The political system in pre-colonial Nigeria can be grouped into two:

1. Centralized
2. 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 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, but they were most prominent in noncentralised 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.

Constitutional Developments and the Emergence of Political systems in Colonial Nigeria

- **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 was resolved by negotiation. The agitation had started right from the nineteenth century. The efforts towards agitation shall be discussed later.

- **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 on government. Hence, it served as reinforcement to Nigeria to 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 regions councils further provided framework for the introduction of Federal System of government. The regional government assisted the Central government.

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- **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 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. 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.

- **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.

Independence Constitution of 1960 and Republican Constitution of 1963

Both constitutions were modifications. The independence constitution was the result of agitation for self-government that was attained in 1950s. The Republican constitution 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 to the establishment of Supreme Court of Nigeria.

The 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

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highest ruling body, the Supreme Military Council (SMC), comprising all military and paramilitary read 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.

The Political parties in Nigeria before 1960 Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP)

The party was the first that spring 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 King 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 People's 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

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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. Moreso 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.

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 counter 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 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.

MODULE 3 PROCESS OF WAR MAKING

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

INTRODUCTION

The process of war making was mostly attached to the practice in 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 ensure victory.

The Process of War Making in Yorubaland

In the pre-colonial period, war expeditions were sent out every other year by the Alaafin of Oyo to distant communities. The purpose of such was 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.

There are various forms of war Ogun Abele, Ogun Agbaye and Ijagboro. Ogun Abele referred to as domestic/civil war 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.

The Features of War Making in Yorubaland

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

The War Titles

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

1. The Senior Grade: This comprises the Balogun (Commander-in-chief), the Otun and Osi Balogun left wings), Asipa (Ekerin, Ekarun and Ekefa)
2. 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.

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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 to 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.

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), 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).

The Rules and Methods in War Making

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.

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Tactics

Success of a group in a war depends on the organisation. But the success varies base 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.

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.

Communication in Wars

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.

Alore: This was a provision for a night watch man 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.

UNIT 2 WEAPONS OF WAR IN YORUBALAND

Weapons of War in Yorubaland

I. Kumo (Clubs)

This is the oldest of the weapon. 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.

II. 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.

III. 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 tow and 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.

IV. (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 type – the broad bladed (Agegengbe) and double edged (Ajaka).

V. 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.

VI. 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, while the spear has the advantage of close and long range fighting.

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.

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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.

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 (tightlegged trousers which reaches the ankles).

Drums

The drum being referred here is the talking drum which serves various purposes not only in Nigeria but throughout Africa. It issued 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.

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.

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War Dance

It was the belief in Yorbaland 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.

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

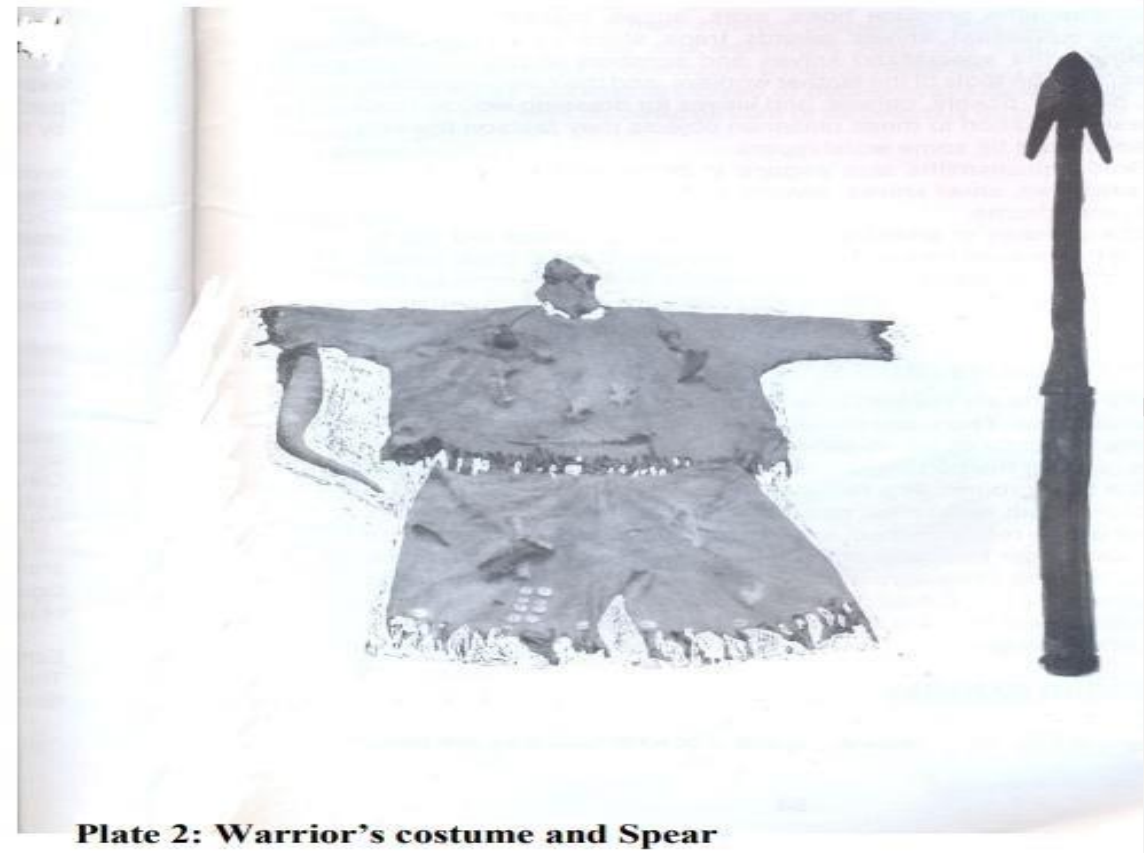


Plate 2: Warrior's costume and Spear

MODULE 4 ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

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

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.

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 resolved or ignored to ensure peaceful living.

The Origin and Causes of Conflict in Yorubaland

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 town 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 town 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.

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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 townspart of which was Egba which was destroyed and dispersed by 1827, along with surrounding areas comprising all Remo villages.

Simultaneously, while the Owu war and Egba conquest was going on, 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. But, the fact that all men are the same could not put an end to rebel. As they in Yorubaland were expanding and Conquering villages, so also it was for the Muslim migrants. 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, rather the ambition of the rulers and their selfish interest could not enhance the fight for a common cause. For instance, the Fulani Ilorin manipulated the rulers against each other and this further enabled Fulani to take over

The 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 occured 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 Basorun 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 stogges 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 were initially used on farmlands, but the emergence of European trade (transAtlantic 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.

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. At first just like the Portuguese and Dutch, there was transSaharan 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 equipments 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.

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 cooperation 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.

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.

UNIT 2 ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Origin and Causes of Conflict in the Colonial Period

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 dominate trade among other European countries. This probably affected the rate of penetration to the Niger-Delta, Abeokuta, Badagry and Calabar.

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 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

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The 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.

Northern Nigeria

During the first twenty years, there violent measure 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 1st, 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 nonMuslim cannot rule over them. The Satiru revolt was carried out by the Madhist group.

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 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.

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.

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.

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 co-ordinated 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.

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.

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 was 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 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.

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

The Origin and Causes of Conflicts in Post-Colonial Nigeria 1960-1970

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 Peoples 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 (MDE) 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 nonalliance 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

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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.

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 nonviolent conflicts. In essence there was a great threat to peace, particularly the western regional House of Assembly elections witnessed intra-regional violence.

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
- The planning of the constitution
- Nationalism
- Disregard for public opinion and abuse of power
- The intervention of military to maintain peace

Military Intervention and the Civil War

The fist 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 getting eliminating them, they would put an end

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to the recurring conflicts. But the January coup showed that the battle line had just been drawn for conflicts in Nigeria.

By January 15th, 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 where 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 29th 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 crises 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.

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UNIT 4 CAUSES OF CONFLICTS AND PEACE PROCESSES IN THE POSTCOLONIAL PERIOD 1970 -1993

Causes of Conflict and Peace Processes in Nigeria 1970-1993

The crux of the conflict plaguing Nigeria is the environmental resource conflict arising from oil in the Niger-Delta. 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.

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.

By 1985, General Ibrahim Babangida seized power from Buhari/Idiagbon. All along, the military used corruption as the basis for take over. 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 12th 1993 elections. The election was annulled. By August 1995, the crises 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, General Abacha became the head of state by November 1993.

MODULE 5 BRITISH INTERVENTION: TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

UNIT 1 TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS IN THE NIGER DELTA

The Itsekiri

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.

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 Rights 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

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Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty shall appoint for that purpose.

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.

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