



**NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY,
KEFFI, NIGERIA.**

Inaugural Lectures Series

Volume 1

**Edited by
G.S. Omachonu**

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Preface

An inaugural lecture, even from its very beginning at the University of Oxford, England where it originated as far back as 1623 (Omole as cited in Folorunso 2016:9), is meant to serve, at least, three major but purely academic purposes: (1) an account of the professor's stewardship in the academia and to inform the audience of the essence of his/her work to date, including current research, (2) stating his/her future plans especially the scheme of research which the professor proposes to do while occupying the chair, and (3) to talk about the state of the discipline; charting its progress, discussing its current health and problems, as well as examining its intellectual outputs which justify its inclusion in the university academic curriculum.

In line with the tradition, an inaugural lecture is a public presentation at which the professor is expected to tell the world what he/she professes in a language that is devoid of professional jargons and esoteric registers. The simplicity of language is important because an inaugural lecture provides the professor with the opportunity to address three blocks of audience simultaneously: his/her professional colleagues, the entire university community and the general public. With eighteen (18) of such lectures in a series in our university, one can attest or speak of an established tradition of inaugural lectures in Nasarawa State University, Keffi. The contribution(s) of each of the lectures is clear but the decision to edit into volumes (ten lectures in one volume), is informed by the desire to preserve the pieces of information contained in the lectures in one piece for unity of purpose, uniformity of preservation format and best practices. It is to allow the pieces of information to hang together rather than hanging separately; the more the merrier.

Of the eighteen (18) inaugural lectures presented so far in the series, this volume contains the first ten lectures in the series comprising three from the Faculty of Agriculture, two from Arts, another two from the Faculty of Natural and Applied Sciences, and one each from the faculties of Administration, Environmental Science and Social Sciences. These are inaugural lectures presented from 26th March, 2008 when the first of such lectures in the university entitled 'Soil Husbandry: Lifeline for National Food Security and Economic Empowerment' was presented by Prof. Olusola O. Agbede of the Faculty of Agriculture to 18th November, 2015 when the tenth Inaugural Lecture was presented by Prof. Folorunso A. Ajayi of the same faculty.

Agbede's lecture which is the first both in the series and in this volume, concerns itself with how our soils must be carefully and wisely used to attain food security in Nigeria. The second in the series and in the volume was presented by Prof. Obaje of the Faculty of Natural and Applied Sciences. Obaje's lecture entitled 'Geology and Mineral Resources of Nigeria: Development Options for Economic Growth and Social Transformation' (13th August, 2008) presents options that will enhance optimal exploitation of the mineral resource wealth of the nation for its economic growth and socio-political transformation. 'Before we Set the House Ablaze: Let Us Consult Our Oracle (History)' presented by Prof. Olayemi Akinwumi of the Faculty of Arts on 11th December, 2009 is

the third in the series. It was an eye-opener to the fact that if Nigeria is to be truly a great nation, we must go back to our sense of history; for the nation suffers which has no sense of history. This was followed by the fourth, 'Farm Production Efficiency: The Scale of Success in Agriculture' by Prof. Abdul Rahman of the Faculty of Agriculture presented on 26th June, 2013. Its major preoccupation was to describe farm as a system that produces agricultural commodities under certain restrictions as well as the interrelated factors that determine success in the entire agricultural sector of the national economy. The fifth in the series and in this maiden edition was MAINOMA (Most Acceptable Index Needed of Measuring Accountability) presented by Prof. Mainoma of the Faculty of Administration on 8th January, 2014. It seeks to provide the most acceptable model or index for measuring accountability.

'Researching Criminal Justice and Security Administration in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities' is the sixth in the series. It was presented on the 12th March, 2014 by Prof. Sam O. Smah of the Faculty of Social Sciences. The focus of the lecture was to draw attention to the fact that inaccuracy of available data due to lack of expertise by statistical officers, weak or poorly framed information gathering techniques and instruments, poor documentation attitude, inadequate analysis and storage are the banes of effective and efficient criminal justice and security administration in Nigeria. The seventh and eighth in the series were presented by Prof. Kwon-Ndung of Natural and Applied Sciences and Prof. Zaynab Alkali of the Faculty of Arts on the 17th September, 2014 and 17th December, 2014 respectively. Whereas the former shows how the presenter's research works in Plant Genetics and Breeding have contributed in the search for national and global food security, the latter dwells on the relevance of Gender Studies in Nigeria's Higher Institutions of Learning. The ninth Inaugural Lecture entitled 'Habitats and our Habits, Ecological Community and Common Unity' was presented by Prof. H. K. Ayuba on the 22nd April, 2015. It draws attention to the manifestations of unfolding economic, social and environmental catastrophes, which were largely due to pressures from human activities and economic necessities. It suggests a paradigm shift towards sustainable environmental management. The tenth in the series and the last in this volume was presented on 18th November, 2015 by Prof. Ajayi of the Faculty of Agriculture. The lecture entitled 'Insects, Plants and Humanity: The Organic Agriculture and Stored Products Protection Axis' is essentially an overview of the interplay between man and insects, highlighting that much of the crop harvests are lost to obnoxious insect pests during storage. It enunciates the factors that can enhance food security through better management of postharvest losses, propagating the use of traditional plant products as a means of protecting stored produce. In all, the divergent views and the varying thematic preoccupations of the lectures notwithstanding, one is left with the impression that though celebrations may vary from one place to another, true politeness is everywhere the same. In other words, methodology and approaches may vary but truly good scientific research is so recognized in every discipline.

Editing inaugural lectures which appear somewhat like finished products from seasoned professors who are authorities in their own rights was a daunting task. What we did was more of language editing to minimise grammatical and typo errors wherever found.

Even as it is, we do not guarantee uniformity in styles of content presentation and referencing but we have done the best that is possible given the circumstance in which we have found ourselves. I wish to thank all who had assisted in one way or the other in the editing and/or proofreading of the manuscripts.

I wish to use this medium to thank the Vice-Chancellor of our great university, Prof. M. A. Mainoma, and his Management Team for the all-round support and encouragement we have received from them since we came on board as the University Inaugural Lecture Committee, especially the provision of the fund for this publication. I thank the Inaugural Lecturers whose lectures have been published in this maiden edition of the NSUK Inaugural Lectures Series for the permission to do so. Congratulations! I thank the Information and Protocol Unit under the leadership of Abraham Ekpo who had been very helpful in organizing the University Inaugural Lectures Series. Thank you all.

Prof. G. S. Omachonu, PhD, FAvH, FICSHER
Editor/Chairman, Inaugural Lectures Committee
Keffi, 3rd July, 2018.

Foreword

Nasarawa State University, Keffi is known for upholding core University Academic Traditions, one of which is the Inaugural Lectures series. As many of us are aware, inaugural lecture provides an academic an opportunity to tell the world what he professes. It is a moment to celebrate excellence and breakthroughs with family, friends and colleagues. It is a testimony of one's contribution to the body of knowledge and his identification of his own building blocks in the system. It also affords the larger society opportunity to know researches that were carried out, those ongoing and the future plans. It also provides an opportunity to share with the audience how he/she used the knowledge of his/her chosen profession to advance the cause of the society especially in problem solving. To my mind, besides their contributions to knowledge, what Professors in NSUK have done thus far, presenting their inaugural lectures, is to really address societal problems using the insights and knowledge from their respective disciplines or professions.

The Nasarawa State University, Keffi Inaugural Lecture series Vol. 1 presents an opportunity to put together the first 10 inaugural lectures that were presented in the University. These are:

S/N	Presenter	Title of Lecture	Date
1	Prof. Olushola O. Agbede, Professor of Soil Science	Soil Husbandry: Lifeline for National Food Security and Economic Empowerment.	26 th March, 2008
2	Prof. Nuhu G. Obaje, Professor of Geology	Geology and Mineral Resources of Nigeria: Development Option for Economic Growth and Social Transformation.	2 nd February, 2009
3	Prof. Olayemi D. Akinwumi, Professor of Inter-Group Relations	Before we Set the House Ablaze, Let's Consult the Oracle (History)	11 th December, 2013
4	Prof. Shehu Abdul Rahman, Professor of Agricultural Economics & Extension	Farm Production Efficiency: The Scale of Success in Agriculture.	26 th June, 2013
5	Prof. Muhammad Akaro Mainoma, Professor of Accounting and Finance	Most Acceptable Index Needed Of Measuring Accounting (MAINOMA)	8 th January, 2013
6	Prof. Sam O. Smah, Professor of Criminology Studies	Researching Criminal Justice and Security Administration in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities.	12 th March, 2014

7	Prof. Emmanuel Hala Kwan-Ndung, Professor of Plant Genetics and Breeding	Unlocking Genetic in Search of Food Security	17 th September, 2014
8	Prof. Zaynab Alkali, Professor of Literature and Literary Studies	The Relevance of Gender Studies in Nigeria's Higher Institutions of Learning: Why Gender Studies?	17 th December, 2014
9	Prof. Haruna Kuje Ayuba, Professor of Biogeography and Environmental Science	Habitat and our Habits, Ecological Community and Common Unity	22 nd April, 2015
10	Prof. Folorunso Abiodun Ajayi, Professor of Agricultural Entomology/Crop Protection	Insects, Plants and Humanity: The Organic Agriculture and Stored Products Protection Axis	18 th November, 2015

This publication is intended to provide easy reference material to the academic community, policy makers and the general public. It is hoped that we shall continue with this tradition with subsequent editions.

While congratulating those that are part of this publication, I recommend this publication, to the professional colleagues of the inaugural lecturers, University community, policy makers and the general public.

Professor M. A. Mainoma
Vice-Chancellor

Table of Contents

		Page
	Preface	iii
	Foreword	vi
1.	Soil Husbandry: Lifeline for National Food Security and Economic Empowerment. Prof. Olusola O. Agbede	1
2.	Geology and Mineral Resources of Nigeria Development Options for Economic Growth and Social Transformation. Prof. Nuhu George Obaje	45
3.	Before We Set the House Ablaze: Let Us Consult Our Oracle (History)". Prof. Olayemi Akinwumi	126
4.	Farm Production Efficiency: The Scale of Success in Agriculture. Prof. Shehu Abdul Rahman	161
5.	Most Acceptable Index Needed of Measuring Accountability (MAINOMA). Prof. Muhammad Akaro Mainoma	195
6.	Researching Criminal Justice & Security Administration in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities. Prof. Sam O. Smah, FCIM	256
7.	Unlocking Genes in Search of Food Security. Prof. Emmanuel Hala Kwon-ndung	300
8.	The Relevance of Gender Studies in Nigeria's Higher Institution of Learning: Why Gender Studies? Prof. Zaynah Alkali	407
9.	Habitats and our Habits, Ecological Community and our Common Unity. Prof. Haruna Kuje Ayuba	428
10.	Insects, Plants and Humanity: The Organic Agriculture and Stored Products Protection Axis. Prof. Folorunso Abiodun Ajayi	472

3

"BEFORE WE SET THE HOUSE ABLAZE: LET US CONSULT OUR ORACLE (HISTORY)"

OLAYEMI AKINWUMI PhD (Ilorin), AvHF., FHSN
Professor of History and Dean, Faculty of Arts

Friday, December 11, 2009

Mr. Vice -Chancellor.
Principal Officers,
Deans and Directors,
Royal Fathers,
My Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
Members of the Historical Society of Nigeria,
Colleagues,
Gentlemen of the Press,
Students of this great institution,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is with humility and profound thanks to God, the creator of heaven and earth that I stand before you this afternoon, to deliver the 3rd Inaugural Lecture of this University. This lecture is the first from the Faculty of Arts and the first in the Department of History. It is not very common for Historians to make history. Thanks to the University Management, under our able Vice Chancellor, for the opportunity to make history with this lecture. I am by the special grace of God inaugurating the first chair of History in the university. Till the world comes to an end, this lecture will continue to be a reference point for other chairs that will emerge in the Faculty of Arts in general and the Department of History in particular. Permit me, Mr. Vice Chancellor, to register, on behalf of my colleagues (I mean those the university found worthy to be appointed professors) our gratitude to the university for the appointments.

The Inaugural Lecture tradition in Nigeria is always an opportunity for new professors to showcase to the world their contribution to humanity through their research activities. It is, in a way, a tradition of having them to give account of themselves to the society. In doing this, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the new professor should be explicit on his contributions to knowledge, the

importance of his discipline in a global system; and also relate the above to national development. In other words, an Inaugural Lecture should be able to "highlight a problem, provoke meaningful debate, stimulate discussions and ideas and then provide solutions to the problem"¹. This is what I intend to achieve in this lecture.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, permit me to doff my cap to the two distinguished professors, Olushola Agbede and Nuhu Obaje who gave their lectures before me. In deed, they have done well to educate us on their achievements as agronomist and geologist respectively.

Sir, my inaugural lecture is in two parts. The first is to give the account of my stewardship as the first substantive Head of the Department of History for close to four years. The second is on my field of study, inter-group relations. Inter-group relations is a field not restricted to history alone, but it cuts across many disciplines. We have experts on inter-group relations in Sociology, Psychology, Political science and Economics. I am, however, giving my lecture on inter-group relations from a historical perspective. I must however acknowledge the contribution of Professor Obaro Ikime, one of the foremost Nigerian historians, who is today referred to as the father of inter-group relations in Nigeria². I have learnt tremendously from his works on inter-group relations.

On assumption of duty in this University in 2004, I was made the acting Head of Department of History. I met only four lecturers on ground. Two of them, Adayi Onoja and Charles Azgaku, were Assistant Lecturers, while the other two, Dr. J. Aper and F. N. Fayam were Lecturers I and II respectively. The first challenge therefore was to increase the staff strength: and the second was to make the Department a historical reference point particularly in the North-Central geo-political zone, and in the country in general. At this point, permit me to thank the Vice Chancellor for giving me the opportunity and free-hand to recruit more lecturers in the Department. Seven lecturers. Dr. Mailafiya Filaba, Jonathan Ayuba, A.A Kudu, Mallam Nuruddeen Abubakar, Messrs Mejida Maiyaki, Philip Akpen and Gershorn Dalat, were employed. With the support of my colleagues, the Department was able to go through the National Universities Commission's accreditation exercise and the Department had full accreditation just after the first visit only. It was based on this that we mounted the first postgraduate programme in the faculty.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir. I will also want to mention the quality of lecturers in the Department. I am very proud to say that all the lecturers in the Department are of the first class status. I have been able to mentor the junior ones in the Department and today, they can compete with their colleagues anywhere in the world. I have in mind Dr. Adayi Onoja and Charles Azgaku.

They were Assistant Lecturers when I came to join the University. Today, they are Ph.D holders and Senior Lecturers. The quality and quantity of their publications speak volumes of their academic stewardship under me. I am very proud of them. Maiyaki in economic history and Dalat (an archaeologist) are making progress in their postgraduate studies at Jos and Nsukka respectively. I am confident that very soon they will cross the rubicon and become Ph.D holders.

The senior ones are making waves too. Dr. Mailafia Filaba, who is currently the acting Head of Department of History came to join the University from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He was trained by one of the foremost Nigerian historians, the late Dr. Bala Usman. My interest in him stemmed from his quest for originality. He is currently consolidating the foundation of the Department. Dr. Jonathan Ayuba joined the Department from one of the prestigious institutes in the world, the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Mr. Vice Chancellor, I have no regret in bringing him to the Department. His interpretation of historical data and his knowledge of the philosophy of history are second to none. Dr. J. Aper and Mallam Nuruddeen Abubakar are specialists in two essential areas of history, economic history and history of science and technology. Their contributions to the growth of the Department are phenomenal. While Dr. Aper is a foundation staff and the first coordinator of the Department, Mallam Nuruddeen Abubakar was one of those who joined the Department as a result of my effort to strengthen the Department. The Vice Chancellor will recall my many memos to him to have more staff. I thank the Vice Chancellor for always approving my Oliver Twist requests.

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Sir, our Department is robust and virile. We work together as a team and as a closely-knit family. In the Department, we are committed to the pursuit of academic excellence; as we have the evidence for this.

The second challenge was to make the Department the best in this geopolitical zone and among the best in the country. Although this was not an easy task, its accomplishment was made possible with the support of my colleagues in the Department and with the backing of the University management under the visionary and selfless leadership of the Vice chancellor, who was always ready to listen to me. I began to announce the existence of the Department to the outside world through programmes. I started the international conference series, (known as the Keffi International Conference), which brought many local and international scholars to the Department. The first conference was on Inter-group Relations in Nigeria, my area of specialization. We had more than one hundred scholars who registered and participated in the conference. One

of the international participants who came in from Canada was so impressed with what he saw in Keffi, Today, he is working on the conflicts in Toto, Nasarawa State for his Ph.D thesis. The outcome of that conference was the book: *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*. The book is the first comprehensive and most authoritative book on intergroup relations in contemporary Nigeria. It has 50 chapters.³

Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, still on the first conference, the Historical Society of Nigeria, the first academic society in Nigeria (founded in 1955), at its fiftieth anniversary in the University of Ibadan publicly recognized the Department of History, Nasarawa State University as one of the leading Departments of History in Nigeria because the Department has been able to sustain academic tradition in spite of the harsh economic realities in the country.

The second conference was on African Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Science. It has been the most successful of the conferences organized by the Department so far. Ten foreign scholars came from the USA and five from Europe. The Guest Speaker, Professor Gloria Erneagwali, from Connecticut State University, openly confessed that the conference was the best she ever attended in recent times. The outcome of that conference was the book: *African Indigenous knowledge Systems and Science*.⁴ It was also the first of its kind in Africa. Soon after the publication of the book, I got many foreign invitations as Guest Speaker in Ghana and South Africa and as external assessor at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana.

Based on our achievements in these conferences, many scholars trooped to Keffi for the third conference on Technology, Knowledge and Environment in Africa. The Ahmadu Bello University Press has published the book on the conference. The book is on *Technology, Knowledge and Environment in Africa: A Perspective from Nigeria*.⁵

Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, you can see how we have transformed the Department from a local to an international centre for research and scholarship. With all humility, we can claim that the Department of History, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, is the best at the moment in the North Central region of Nigeria. My colleagues from Benue State University, University of Jos, Ibrahim Babangida University, and Gombe State University, who are here today will bear witness to this. At the national level, Professor Yakubu Ochefu, the President of the Historical Society of Nigeria will also testify to the fact that our Department is a top ranking History Department in Nigeria. Thanks to God and the University administration under Professor Adamu Baikie.

Sir, what about our products? We have graduated three sets of

undergraduate students and one set of postgraduate students. Our products have been doing well in their respective places of work. Those who went for their postgraduate studies outside the university have done us proud. I have good reports from colleagues in Ibadan and Lagos concerning our products. They have proved the skeptics wrong about products from state universities. Again, two of our products have been engaged as lecturers in other universities. One of them has been engaged as Lecturer II at the new Taraba State University, Jalingo. Before his graduation, he imbibed the academic culture in the Department by attending conferences with us and by writing.

Sir, what we did at the Departmental level has been replicated at the Faculty level. I took over the Faculty of Arts from Professor Zaynab Alkali. Her developmental programme has been followed to the letter. Today, the Faculty is the best in terms of academic activities. We won the Vice Chancellor Performance Prize for the 2006/2007 academic session. Secondly, all the programmes in the faculty are fully accredited by the National Universities Commission. Let me thank the University Management for approving our application to start the Department of Theatre and Cultural Studies in the faculty. The new programme is unique. It will be the first Department in Nigeria to have a degree programme in cultural studies. I acknowledge what Dr. Emmanuel Dandaura is doing in the Department now.

Mr. Vice Chancellor, sir, having made these general remarks, I now wish to focus on my lecture.

BEFORE WE SET THE HOUSE ABLAZE, LET US CONSULT OUR ORACLE

Mr. Vice-Chancellor. Sir, there is the need for me to clarify the three concepts employed in this lecture: House, fire and oracle.

In ordinary usage, a House is a structure, built either with blocks or mud and meant to accommodate inanimate and animate beings. In this lecture, I am not talking about physical structure but a geographical space. The concept of House used in this discourse is akin to that by Professor Chinua Achebe, the literary giant in his book: *The Trouble with Nigeria* published by Heinemann in 1985.⁶ Karl Maier's, *This House has fallen: Nigeria in Crisis* published by Penguin books in London⁷ and Olaosebikan O. Ebenezer's book *That this House may stand: Towards Rebuilding the Nigerian State* published in Lagos⁸, In this context therefore, we should picture Nigeria as a big house, not as blocks of flats or apartments, but as a type of house we call "face to face" structure⁹.

The following characteristics are noticeable with the "face to face" house structure and are very important in explaining inter-group relations in Nigeria. They include: lack of privacy, sharing of facilities, forced interactions, frequent strife, and corporate hazard. It is in this light that we will better understand the

nature of inter-group relations in the country. Geography forced the various ethnic groups to interact and in the course of interaction, there are frictions. It is these frictions that have been exaggerated by many to say that there is no basis for unity in the country or that Nigerians are strange bedfellows. Our political elites, ignorant of the pre-colonial history of Nigeria, have specially championed this course and have called for the break up of the country indirectly or directly through the various crises perpetrated in the various sections of the country. As we will see later in this lecture, Nigeria is not the only plural country in the world but the inability of Nigerian leaders to manage the internal crises have made her future very bleak. A US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Security Assessment in 2001 had predicted that Nigeria would cease to exist in its present form in 15 years. Similarly, a Washington based think tank, Fund for Peace, published its 2009 failed state index and listed Nigeria among the 15 most vulnerable nations on the globe. Yet, no effort is being made to stop the fire¹⁰

The second concept adopted is Fire. Fire, in its most common form, can result in "conflagration, which has the potential to cause physical damage through burning"¹¹. It is in this metaphorical destructive context that the concept of fire is used in this lecture and not in the physical form.

In many literature, the term fire has been used to describe crises in world history, especially in Africa, which has been going through different crises. These crises, like wild fire, have devoured many countries. Such countries are today either failed states or in the process of failing. Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia have been set ablaze by crises.

The third concept is oracle. An oracle is a person or an agency considered to be a source of wise counsel or who has prophetic prowess, an infallible authority, usually spiritual in nature¹². The imagery of oracle used in this lecture is to portray the value and the usefulness of history. History is the record of the past. If an oracle is considered to be "a source of wise counsel or an infallible authority" then history, if painstakingly and objectively recorded, is an oracle. It is an oracle in the sense that it chronicles examples of the past that are relevant to contemporary problems. A contemporary state may escape the mistakes of the past if and only if the policy makers care to learn from history. Sir, let me make reference to Harry S. Truman, a former President of the United States of America on the value of history in decision making in the government. When North Korea invaded South Korea in the thirties, Truman went back to history for solution. He recalled: "I had trained myself to look back in history for precedents, because instinctively I sought perspective in the span of history for the decisions I had to make. This is why I read and re-read history?"¹³ Mr Chairman, it will interest you to know that there is always a historian appointed

to the White House.

As we can see in contemporary African history, many of the African political elites, especially the Nigerian elites have no knowledge of their own local history, not to talk about the history of other areas in the country. This explains why mistakes are made everyday.

Mr. Vice Chancellor sir, we cannot undermine the value of history in any society. Unfortunately, In Nigeria, however, the discipline of history means nothing to the political leaders. One may attribute attempts to exclude history from our educational system as a deliberate agenda of Nigerian elites to their quest to continue to keep the generality of the people in perpetual ignorance. The day we learn to appreciate history, the Nigerian masses will be free.

Nigerian History in Retrospect

Nigeria is a deeply divided state. It comprises about 250 ethnic groups: three of these groups are classified as major ethnic groups while the remaining groups are classified as minority groups. The three major groups dominated the three former regions at the expense of the other minor groups.

Apart from the ethnic composition, the country is also divided along religious lines. The north is principally a Muslim region, while the south is predominantly a Christian area. In both regions, are elements of traditional religion.

This was largely a colonial creation. It is important to note that before the advent of colonialism, the region known as Nigeria today consisted of different groups. Each of these groups operated different administrative systems that were suitable for their respective domains. Through such systems, the various groups were not only able to maintain law and order, but also maintain symbolic coherence between the mini-state and society in a mutually reinforcing way. Colonial intervention, however, disrupted and disarticulated the ongoing process of state building. Not only did the colonial powers bring together these separate groups and systems to create Nigeria in a manner that disregarded the existing disparities in cultural values and preferences, but also failed to make nation-building parts of the foundation of the forceful process of state building. An important example remains the fact that the amalgamation of 1914, despite all pretence to the contrary, failed to achieve the pretences for unity by the British colonialists. Despite the amalgamation, the Southern and Northern protectorates "continued to develop along different lines"¹⁴ with mutual suspicion into the bargain. Nigeria was ushered into political independence in 1960 with these contradictions intact.

It is always convenient to continue to blame colonial legacies for the

deepening crisis of sustainable governance, democracy and development in Nigeria. But on a deeper reflection, there are some internal contradictions that have added bite to the problem. For example, as Claude Ake of blessed memory argues, the new elites of power that took over from the colonial masters had the opportunity to deal with and dismantle the vestiges of colonialism that were inimical to sustainable democracy and development. Rather than explore these opportunities, they squandered them. This was possibly so because of their interpretation of the state as an arena for primitive accumulation of capital¹⁵, what Osaghae called the 'extractive role' of the state.¹⁶ This perception eventually gave rise to the privatization of the state in such a way that it became a tool for servicing the private interests of the dominant faction of the elite (leaders)¹⁷.

It was, therefore, hardly surprising to see that shortly after the attainment of political independence in 1960, the ethno-religious divisions created by the colonial state had deepened, became very visible and tools in the hands of opportunist political class to exploit the differences for political and economic reasons. The 1967 civil war, for example, was avoidable; unfortunately however, the country went to war. The first and second military coups and the civil war. few years after independence, brought the country close to the brink of collapse. The civil war was a litmus test and by divine providence, the country survived the crisis. The scars of the war. however, remain very visible to date. Ever since, several other attempts have been made to set the House ablaze. The question is have we learnt from the civil war? Or from the facts of history?

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I made bold to say that we have not learnt anything from the war. In spite of the "No Victor. No Vanquish" declaration by General Yakubu Gowon, we know that the scar of the war is still fresh and visible in the body politics of the country. We need to listen to stories from the eastern part of the country. The emergence of the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), though many people will claim it as insignificant is a testimony to the fact that there is "fire on the roof". Nigeria may not be lucky to remain united should there be another civil war.

Since the end of the civil war to date, this situation has degenerated. Post civil war period has witnessed an unprecedented upsurge in ethnic and religious crises in the country. This was more noticeable in the eighties. At present. we have lost count of the various crises that have rocked the very foundation of our dear country, Nigeria. The various sectarian cum religious crises. most notably the Maitatsine revolt and the Boko Haram uprising in the

northern part of the country, both of which almost set the country ablaze. were notable examples. There is no country in this world that had survived a religious war. We know this, yet no concrete effort is being made to avert a potential religious war in the country.

Ironically, the Fourth Republic that is expected to herald peaceful inter-group relations in the country has witnessed the worst dimension crises in inter-group relations. Ethnic groups, as represented by the ethnic militias engage in warfare with themselves. The result is wanton destruction of lives and property. Religious crises have also emerged in full force in the country during this period. The crisis brought out again the internal contradictions in the country. All these could have set the country ablaze.

How do we explain the incessant ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria? It is the failure of the political leadership in the country that is responsible for this. The leadership continues to exploit the differences for obvious political reason. It is in this light. that I focus on Nigerian leaders.

Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria

Date	Location	Principal Actors
May 1980	Zaria (Kaduna State)	Disturbances in Zaria during which properties belonging to mainly Christians were destroyed.
December 18-29, 1980	Yan-Awaki Ward in Kano, (Kano State)	Riots by Maitatsine sect, 4, 177 people died, extensive destruction of properties.
October 29-30, 1982	Bullumkutu, Maiduguri (Borno State)	Kala-Kato and Maitatsine sects & 118 people died, extensive damage to properties.
February 27 -March 5, 1984	Dobeli Ward, Jumeta -Yola (Gongola State)	Maitatsine sect, 586 died, wanton destruction of properties.
April 26-28, 1985	Pantami Ward, Gombe (Bauchi State)	Maitatsine sect, 105 died, extensive destruction of property
March 1986	Ilorin (Kwara State)	Muslims and Christians clashed during a Christian procession at Easter.
May 1986	Ibadan, University of Ibadan (Oyo State)	Demonstrations by Muslims in which they burnt the figure of the Risen Christ in the Chapel of Resurrection, University of Ibadan.
March 1987	(a) Kafanchan (Kaduna State)	Clashes between Muslims and Christians at the College of Education, Kafanchan & lose of some lives and the burning of some Mosques by Christians and native Kajes
	(b) Katsina, Funtua, Zaria, Gusau and Kaduna (Kaduna State)	Wave of religious riots in which Muslims burnt down numerous Church buildings, and damaged property belonging to Christians. Many lives were lost.
February 1988	Kaduna, Kaduna Polytechnic (Kaduna State)	Religious riots, ostensibly among students, destroyed the foundation walls of the Christian Chapel

April 1991	(a) Katsina (Katsina State)	Religious violence spearheaded by Mallam Ya haya Yakubu, leader of the Fundamentalist Shite sect in Katsina. It was a protest over a blasphemous publication in Fun Times, several lives were lost and properties destroyed
	(b) Tafawa Balewa (Bauchi State)	Started as a quarrel between a Fulani man and a Sayawa meat seller in Tafawa Balewa. Escalated into a full blown violence and later took the colouring of a religious war in Bauchi. Several lives were lost and properties valued over hundreds of millions of Naira was destroyed.
October 1991	Kano (Kano State)	A peaceful procession initiated by the Izala sect to halt Rev. Reinherd Bonke from having a crusade in Kano, later degenerated into very bloody religious violence. Thousands of lives were lost and properties valued at millions of naira was destroyed.
May 1992	Zangon Kataf, Zaria, Kaduna, Ikara, (Kaduna State)	A communal feud between the Katsafs and the Hausas later took the dimension of inter-religious war between Muslims and Christians in other major cities of Kaduna State. Several lives and properties were destroyed.
January 1993	Funtua (Katsina State)	The Kalakato religious sect assaulted the village Head and burnt down a Police Vehicle. Lives and properties were also lost.
February 2000	Kaduna	Conflict engulfed the city between Christians and Muslims over the implementation of Sharia Law. Thousands of lives and properties worth millions were destroyed.

Source. J. I. Elaigwu: The shadow of Religion on Nigerian Federalism: 1960-93 (NCIR) monograph series No. 2 1993.

Nigerian Leaders and History

The Vice-Chancellor Sir, this is the appropriate time to see our leaders through the lens of the historical microscope. The progress or otherwise of any nation largely depends on the leadership or the people at the helm of its affairs. We have seen on the pages of history books how the fortunes of some nations have changed as a result of the vision and the commitment of their leaders. George Washington's vision of one united and indivisible nation has made the United States of America what it is today. Churchill's determination to safeguard the territorial integrity of Britain against all odds is still remembered today. Little wonder, citizens of these countries do not consider sentiments in the choice of their leaders. The recent election of Barak Obama as the President

of the USA against all odds (a black; has Islamic background and too young for the position) is not only a classic example, but also a historical milestone.

In Asia, Dr Mahatir Mohammed and Lee Kuan Yew of Malaysia and Singapore have provided the necessary impetus that established their countries as major global economic power today.¹⁸ We were at the same level of development with these countries in the sixties. Today, they are referred to as Asian Tigers, while Nigeria is derogatively referred to as a giant with clay feet.

Modern African history has also shown that the continent is not bereft of individuals of comparable status. We have seen how the likes of Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nasser of Egypt and Madiba Nelson Mandela of South Africa have provided purposeful leadership that has triggered off monumental development in their countries.

The leaders that are mentioned above are societal leaders. They are different from instrumental leaders, who use power and influence primarily in pursuit of selfish goals. Societal leaders use their position to promote societal goals. Unlike the instrumental leaders who hold tenaciously on to power to satisfy their private interests, the societal leaders are likely to resign when convinced that they can no longer positively impact their societies.¹⁹

Mr Vice -Chancellor, many have attributed the problems of Nigeria to poor leadership. Chinua Achebe, one of Nigeria's legendary writers in one of his widely cited books, *The Trouble with Nigeria*, pointed out that "there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character, there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else but leadership"²⁰. Professor Kyari Tijani in his inaugural lecture attributed Nigeria's underdevelopment to the political elite (leaders). According to him

... the Nigerian elite whose duty and responsibility it is to enable Nigeria to realize its manifest destiny have betrayed this responsibility and effectively rendered Nigeria's aspirations for development, unity and stability into mere cliches ...²¹

Alhaji Maitama Sule, one of the respected political leaders in Nigeria and one of the few who have seen it all since Independence also shared the conviction that bad leadership is the problem of the country. Maitama said "Leadership is Nigeria's main problem and it is the one thing that is badly needed and the one thing that is sadly lacking-leadership."²²

In another interview, he attributed the underdevelopment of the country to bad leadership. According to him, in 1960-61, an International report predicted that India, Brazil and Nigeria will be industrialized countries: While India and Brazil are now industrialized, Nigeria is yet to achieve this. In his words:

The problem is bad leadership, pure and simple. If you have a good leader with sincerity of purpose, honest dedicated and committed, a leader who is concerned about the plight of his followers, things will be alright. He will be able to get the support of his followers; he will develop the country and establish peace and stability. And with good leadership, there would be peace, stability and development because peace and stability are the prerequisites for development. With development, there will be work, they will be occupied and there will be no armed robbery and so on and we would move forward.²³

While, we generally accept the fact that the political class has failed the country, I want to say however that leaders of First Republic deserve some sympathy if only we can compare the rot in the country today with the situation in the First Republic. Sir, I make bold to claim that if the five military majors that terminated that regime were alive today, they would be regretting their action. The failure of the First Republic could be understood in the political context of the era. None of the three political leaders, Sir, Ahmadu Bello, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo took over the administration of the country. Sir Tafawa Balewa, who eventually became the Prime Minister in the first republic, was not the leader of his party and not prepared for the position. This would explain why the administration was slow in taking decisive actions.

The same trend has continued to date. People who are not prepared for the leadership position have been saddled with the responsibility of governing this country. Alhaji Shehu Shagari wanted to be a Senator but ended up as the first executive President of Nigeria in the Second Republic. General Olusegun Obasanjo was brought out of prison to become the President, and Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, who was contemplating going back to the classroom after his governorship stint in Katsina, was dragged to become the President.

More still, the First Republic leaders deserve our sympathy, because as regional leaders, they did their best and their achievements are still visible in the country today. They could be classified as societal leaders.

Chief Bola Ige wrote concerning the period:

... in each of the three regions, our leaders took bold, innovative and progressive steps to improve the standard of our people socially and economically; and they took action to improve the political life of our people by enacting laws to further democratize the local government set-up. Each of the three leaders had his own peculiar style, but they achieved results. Because these leaders were seasoned administrators ... serve their regions, and by the same token their country Nigeria, with zeal, patriotism and selflessness²⁴.

Indeed, it was the first time in the political history of Nigeria, that there was healthy rivalry among the various regions to develop the country. Our understanding of the post colonial history of the country will show that they were after all, not devils as they were so painted by the military coupists.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Nigerians are re-writing the history of these past leaders. The condemnation of the past years, especially after the first military coup is changing to appreciation and acknowledgement of their achievement. This is as a result of the failure of the present leadership in the country. Dele Momodu, a columnist in *This Day*, in a feature captioned "Time to Rebuild this House" described the first Republic leaders in golden terms. He described them as "charismatic ... and big dreamers, and had their ideological leanings".

Mr Chairman, permit me to quote extensively from the write up because it will assist us to refresh our memories of these late leaders and their background.

... the story of Sir Ahmadu Bello was not different. He was born in Rabbah, Sokoto State. He was a leader who truly prepared himself for power and greatness. Though he started out as a teacher, he later travelled abroad on scholarship to study local government administration. By the time he came back, he was ready to become a representative of the Province of Sokoto in the Regional House of Assembly. Sir Ahmadu rose to become the first Premier of Northern Nigeria. He worked hard and distinguished himself as a major defender of Northern interests. He was extraordinarily selfless. Even when the chance came for him to be the first Prime Minister of Nigeria, he chose to transfer the rare feat to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa while he remained the Premier till January 15, 1966, when he was killed in the first military coup in Nigeria. But he left an indelible legacy of working assiduously at modernizing the region. We have not read anywhere that he built a 50-bedroom mansion. In fact, he was survived by one child. His was a lesson in contentment.

On Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dele Mornodu wrote:

One of the biggest pan-Africanists came out of Nigeria.... born in Zungeru, now in Niger State before migrating to the United States of America in search of the Golden fleece. He succeeded in studying Political Science and Anthropology at Lincoln and Pennsylvania Universities. On his return, he settled in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), where he was the Editor-in-Chief of the *African Morning Post* in 1937. He did not stay long but returned to Nigeria where he founded the West

African Pilot. He was able to use his journalistic and oratorical skills to great advantage, and would become the first indigenous Governor-General in 1959, and the first President in 1963. He remained relevant for most of his political life and was wooed by everyone as the quintessential bride of Nigerian politics.

On Chief Obafemi Awolowo:

... who was born in Ikenne, Ogun State to a father who was a farmer and sawyer. Like Ahmadu Bello, the young, Obafemi Awolowo was a teacher in Abeokuta. He later served as a clerk at the famous Wesley College after qualifying as a shorthand typist. He also shared some thing in common with Chief Azikiwe; he was a journalist and correspondent for the Nigerian Times ... he engaged in different ventures to rake in funds to travel to the United Kingdom where he was able to study law. He returned and rose to become a Queen's Counsel on account of his exceptional brilliance

Awolowo's main obsessions were in the area of education, health and infrastructural development. Generations unborn are still able to salvage at the accomplishments of that golden era in Nigerian history. The Western Region was able to record many firsts: the first stadium in West Africa, named Liberty stadium in Ibadan; the first television station in Nigeria, named WNTV in Ibadan; the tallest building in West Africa, named the Cocoa House in Ibadan; the most efficient civil service in Africa; Africa's most beautiful campus, named the University of Ife ...²⁵

There are other leaders in the First Republic that should be commended also. These include Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, Alhaji Aminu Kano and a host of others.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, their successors, described as carpetbaggers, are different. None of these leaders, whether at the federal, state or local government levels, has the vision of the independence leaders. They are intellectually bankrupt, lazy, political bandits, consummatory leaders and lacking in ideology²⁶. They are a crude set of capitalists without any vision and only interested in primitive accumulation.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the sad thing is that most of the present leaders were disciples of these former leaders. To date, they have continued to use the names of these leaders to advance and establish themselves in government as we see in the Second Republic, the aborted Third Republic and the current tottering

republic. Nigeria is yet to move forward. Little wonder, Eghosa Osaghae, a leading authority on Nigerian government and politics, called Nigeria a "crippled giant"²⁷.

The tragedy of all was the military adventurers that hijacked the government for many years. Because these various military administrations lacked legitimacy, acceptability or credibility, they always adopted the policy of divide and rule. The result is the lack of integration in the country today.

I will like to mention three administrations to buttress my point starting with the most recent.

I. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo

At the time Chief Olusegun Obasanjo emerged as the civilian President of the country, Nigeria was at the brink of collapse. Many people believed, because of his experience as a former military Head of State, he would be the capable person to heal the wounds of the June 12 election by being able to unify the country, but he failed. This is however not surprising to me because I see similarities between him and Sir Frederick Lugard.

Frederick Lugard and Olusegun Obasanjo were both military men who were assigned to carry out civil responsibilities. Lugard was to amalgamate the northern and southern protectorates into a country, while Obasanjo was saddled with the responsibility of building a democratic country after a long military rule. Both failed in their assignments as a result of their poor political reflexes, the messianic concept of themselves and their application of military tactics to purely civil problems. As pointed out by Idowu Akinlotan, Obasanjo did not have "the intelligence, temperament or selflessness to do the job"²⁸. In the case of Lugard, Professor Z.O. Apata observed that Lugard was very temperamental and lost his temper when criticized.²⁹

Another similarity between the two of them was their love for power. Fredrick Lugard compelled the Colonial Office in London to grant him the opportunity to continue to rule Nigeria during his annual leave, while Obasanjo attempted to subvert the constitution through the third term Project. Had the project succeeded, the country would have been thrown into political confusion.

In one of my books, *Crises and Conflicts in Nigeria*³⁰, I pointed out that Lugard only amalgamated the two protectorates on paper. If the amalgamation had been done properly, it could have resulted in a united and strong Nigeria. From 1914 when the amalgamation took place, the representatives of the two protectorates only sat together in 1947. On the other hand, the democratic experience under Obasanjo also failed. After eight years in office, Nigeria was far from being a democratic country. The 2007 election, in which Obasanjo handed over to President Yar'Adua attests to the above fact.

ii. **General Ibrahim Babangida**

The Babangida's administration, in every sense of it, was a curse to this country. General Babangida did not only draw back the hand of progress on this country, but was also ready to set the country ablaze in order to retain power. His annulment of the June 12 election was a historical mistake. For us in inter-group relations, the election, for once resolved the religious and ethnic contradictions in the country. The acclaimed winner of the election did not win on the basis of ethnic or religious affinity. He won because he was a Nigerian. This was not what Babangida wanted and unfortunately, the country went back to the pre-June 12 acrimonious years. Mr. Vice-Chancellor, perhaps in future we may have an election where religion will not be the basis of election as we had in the Muslim-Muslim ticket of June 12 and where ethnicity will equally not be the basis. For now, however, religion and ethnicity will continue to play significant role in Nigerian Politics. No thanks to Babangida and his military adventurers that are now playing prominent roles in this Fourth Republic as executive and legislative members.

Of all that has been written on Babangida and his administration, I found the late Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf's analysis of his regime very apt to this lecture. He saw no difference between Babangida and Adolph Hitler. According to him:

... when Gen. Babangida engineered the coup that catapulted him into the office of President, citizens anticipated healthy change. Changes there were, but healthy they were not. In some ways the early popularity of Gen. Babangida's military junta reminded me of Adolph Hitler's early popularity in Germany. At first Hitler seemed to understand his country; he sympathized with the poor and victimized people. So did Gen. Babangida, or so we were led to believe. Hitler portrayed himself as a "man of the people". So did Gen. Babangida. The people saw Hitler as the leader who personally could lift Germany from its plight. But everyone who knows history knows the rest of that terrible era³¹.

iii. **General Sani Abacha**

Sir Ahmadu Bello, the former premier of Northern Nigeria once said that "Nigeria is too big and too important, and too many people are involved, to use it as a stage for amateur administrators"³². It seemed he had people like General Sani Abacha in mind. His selfish ambition nearly set the nation ablaze. The minority problem became exacerbated, especially with the killing of Ken Saro Wiwa and his Ogoni agitators. There was major suspicion between the majority groups also. In deed, his tenure witnessed the proliferation of ethnic

associations and militia groups all over the country.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the present leaders, at the local government, state and federal levels unfortunately, from their deeds and actions, are amateur administrators who cannot and will never lead us to the Promised Land. As Bola Ige said, they have been using Nigeria "as a stage for their ignorance, mediocrity, illegality and arrogance".³³

Finally, the general conclusion in most of the discussions in the print and electronic media when the country celebrated its 49th Independence was the failure of the leadership. Dr. Reuben Abati, the Chairman, Editorial Board of the Guardian Newspaper aptly concluded on the failure of leadership thus:

Leadership is the reason we are where we are. There is lack of character on the part of leaders. It is the failure of the Nigerian elite. If you look at the countries that have worked in the world, you will see that there is elite consensus. We talk of Singapore; we like to talk about China. We like to talk about Malaysia. We like to talk of India and the progress it has made. In those countries, you will see that there are leadership elites that are aware that the best way to protect their own interest is to protect the common good. It means that the elite in the society will have some privileges. But you have to ensure that the interest of the poor is protected³⁴

Ethnic Militias, Proliferation of Small and Light Arms Weapons (SALW), and the Minority Syndrome

Mr. Chairman Sir, as I mentioned earlier in this lecture, inaugural lectures are more of a reflection of the lecturer's work over the years. The issues under discussion here. Ethnic Militias, Proliferation of Small and light Arms and the minority question are what I have worked on extensively in my career as a lecturer. They all come under the broad topic of inter-group relations. The emergence of ethnic militias in Nigerian political landscape is, to say the least, unfortunate.³⁵

I have argued in several fora that the emergence of these groups and the attendant violence were part of the agenda of the elite to set the country ablaze. The greed and failure of some of the elite at the various levels of governance in the country provided the opportunity for the formation of these groups. These groups were presented as champions of their various ethnic groups by these elites.

These ethnic militias include, among others, the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), the Bakassi Boys, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Arewa Peoples Congress (APC), the MOSOP, the Chikoko Movement, the Fgbesu Boys and recently the Movement

for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). These groups now represent the military wings of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. As a result, their activities have escalated inter-group tensions. The OPC, in the early years of the fourth republic engaged the Hausa, the Igbo and the Ijaw in bloody clashes in the south west. The Bakassi Boys and MASSOB, which are Igbo groups had also engaged in retaliatory attacks on the Hausa and the people of other ethnic groups, and the APC, did not see anything wrong in the killings in the north.

These militia groups should be differentiated from the various cults that now dominate the politics of Nigeria particularly in the Niger-Delta region of the country. These are groups formed and sponsored by the political elite in the region to perpetuate themselves in power, especially for the 2003 election in Nigeria. After the 2003 election, the cults metamorphosed into monsters that could not be controlled by their masters.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the fact that individuals and groups continue to rely on these ethnic militias for justice, security, and to defend the rights of their members against members of other ethnic groups speak volume of the failing system in Nigeria.

For the sake of emphasis, the existence of these various militias or cults is dangerous to the corporate existence of this country. It is an ill wind that will blow nobody any good if measures are not taken now to put a stop to their existence. The existence of these ethnic militias could also explain the failure of the security system in Nigeria.

Proliferation of Small and Light Weapons³⁶

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, permit me to quote from the report of the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, on the danger of the proliferation of Small and light arms in the society. According to him:

The death toll from small arms dwarfs that of all other weapon systems, and in most years greatly exceeds the toll of the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In terms of the carnage they cause, small arms, indeed, could be described as "weapons of mass destruction"³⁷

All the weapons classified as light and small arms are readily available in Nigeria today. The easy access to these weapons of mass destruction has made the weapons to be classified in Nigeria as "pure water". In other words, these weapons can easily be bought as "pure water" on the major streets of the country.

The availability of these weapons is as a result of the fact that they are lethal, cheap, portable and concealable, require minimal maintenance and can easily be handled by novices. These characteristics have made them weapons

of choice.

These weapons of mass destruction are now being used in the conduct of inter-group relations in Nigeria. In other words, these weapons are now deployed or used to settle scores by Nigerians against Nigerians. It is therefore not surprising that the percentage of casualties in most of these ethnic or religious crises is almost on the high side.

Mr. Chairman, should there be any crisis in the country today, it will almost be impossible for the government to contain. The Niger- Delta crisis is a good example. The amnesty programme of this government will not and cannot stop the proliferation of the small and light weapons, which are last becoming threat to the stability of the country.

Let me end this sub-section with the statement credited to Ledum Mitee, a human rights campaigner, when he went to the MEND camp to negotiate an hostage release:

... but getting to ... seeing 200 to 300 young men in uniforms, machines guns, rocket launchers and ammunition ... I said. God, so we have come to this³⁸

The Minority Question in Nigeria

The minority issue dates back to the colonial period. As a result of the institutionalization of regionalism in Nigeria. The three regions, North. East and West became dominated by the three major ethnic groups in the country. In other words. the minority question never existed until 1939 when regionalism was imposed in the country. It began to plague the nation until the late fifties. As I pointed out in one of my works, by 1957, it was no longer possible for the colonial government to sweep under the carpet, the minority problem. The same year a minority commission, under the headship of Sir Henry Willinks, was set up to "ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria and to propose means of allaying those fears whether well or ill founded". The Willinks Commission. as the commission was called, went round the country and confirmed in their report that the fear of the minorities was genuine but unfortunately, it recommended against the creation of states, which was a major demand by the minorities. The failure of the political class to pressurize the colonial government to accede to the demand of the minorities became their greatest undoing as was seen in the collapse of the First Republic. No wonder, Professor Olusanya regretfully concluded that it was "unfortunate that the Minorities problem was not solved before independence".³⁹

The minority problem is still with us today after the balkanization of the three regions. This could be seen from two levels. The first at the federal level, where the minorities complain against the major ethnic groups in the country.

The second level is at the state level, where some minority groups of yesterday, as a result of the various state creation exercises in the country, have suddenly emerged as majority groups in their new states. The irony is that these former minority groups, now major groups in the various states, are more oppressive in their relationship with other groups. The creation of new states now will further complicate the minority problems.⁴⁰

The danger of not resolving the minority problem in the country is real as we can see in the Tiv riot in the First Republic, which contributed to the fall of that Republic. We can also see this in the Major Gideon Orkar's military coup on 22 April 1990, which was obviously a minority plot. In the coup message on national radio, Orkar announced the excision of Bauchi, Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Borno States from Nigeria. If the coup had succeeded, the coupists would have set the country ablaze with their decision to excise some states from the federation. The recent crisis in the Niger Delta region is part of minority crisis, which if not resolved, is capable of setting the country ablaze.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, for emphasis sake, creation of additional states is not the solution to the minority problem.⁴¹ The fragmentation of the country since 1967, in the name of state creation, has bastardized the so called federal system we are operating. Most of the states are not economically viable. A situation where states continue to depend on the monthly subvention from the federal government is not only unacceptable, but capable of promoting authoritarian administration at the federal level.

Lessons from Our Pre-Colonial History

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, sir, our lack of the basic knowledge of our history has caused more harm to the country than good. It is because of this that many have and are still questioning the basis for our continued co-existence as a country. Three extreme views have emerged with respect to this. One, that the country should be dismantled so that each group can go its own way. Two, that a confederal arrangement should be put in place to solve the problems facing the country. This, according to the protagonists, will solve the ethnic and religious crises threatening the existence of the country. And three, the clamour for a sovereign national conference where issues such as the restructuring of the country, including granting substantial autonomy to the federating units, would be addressed.

Let me quickly delve into our history to explain why ethnicity and religious differences should not be any problem. Ethnicity, that is now being used to manipulate the masses, is a recent development in the history of this country. Ethnicity became prominent in the political history of the country on the eve of independence when in the contest for power, the elite saw it as a

weapon to gain ascendancy. This explains first, the emergence of the various cultural groups like Egbe Omo Oduduwa. Ibo state Union and the Jamiyyar Mutane Arewa and later, their transformation into regional political parties.

The modern versions of these regional and ethnic groupings under the names Afenifere, Ohanaze Ndigbo. Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Ibibio State Union, Ijaw National Conference, etc. are inimical to the unity of this country. Professor Joseph Irukwu, a one time President-General of Ohanaze agreed to this in an interview granted to The Sun under the caption "God is fed up with us". He said:

„ it is unfortunate that the prevailing political environment makes it necessary for us to have these ethnic and sub-regional organizations, offer them the kind of political and social protection they believe they cannot get from Federations Administrations. This is not good enough. Those of us, who are patriotic and passionate about Nigeria, hope and expect that we will soon evolve a national political culture that would make unnecessary for Nigerians to resort to the umbrella protection or their ethnic organizations.⁴²

These associations should not only be condemned but should be exposed for their anti-Nigerian activities. Mr. Vice-Chancellor, may I also add that anybody in this gathering today who belong to any of these associations, is not a patriotic Nigerian.

History has shown that Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa as generic terms did not exist in the pro-colonial history of Nigeria. In fact, some of these terms were European terminologies to differentiate one ethnic group from the others. Let us take the case of Yoruba for example, the term only referred to the Oyo people. The Ekitis. Ijeshas. Ijebus, and Ondo did not see themselves as Yoruba until recently. The term Hausa was not a political expression in the pre-colonial period. It only represented:

a language spoken by many autonomous socio-political entities in and beyond the present Nigerian geographical area. These socio-political entities whose language is Hausa did not see themselves as having common interest. In deed their conflicting economic and political interests provide the key to the wars that erupted between them from time to time.⁴³

The same also applies to the Igbo. In the book, *The Aro of SouthEastern Nigeria, 1650 1980: A Study of Socio-Economic Formation and Transformation in Nigeria*. Professor K.O. Dike and Ekejiuba assert that Igbo is a nationality that

was formed in the twentieth century.

... it is often forgotten or merely mentioned in the footnote that Igbo is a modern ethnic category which many of the constituent groups have only recently and often reluctantly accepted as their ethnic identity, often on political and administrative grounds. During the period covered by our study, the now twelve million or more Igbo distributed over 30,000 square miles of territory east and west of the Niger were variously referred to either as cultural groups (e.g. Nri, Isuarna, Ezza, or Otanzu), or by ecological zones in which they are found (e.g. Olu or Oru, i.e. the riverine people of Adagbe, people of the flood plain, Enugu, people who live on the hills, Aniocha, people who live on heavily leached and eroded soils. Ohozara, people of the Savannah) or as occupational groups such as Opi egbe, people who fashion guns; Ndiuzu or Umudioka, blacksmiths, artists and carvers. Since Igbo was used at this time pejoratively to refer to the densely populated uplands, the major sources of slaves, and by extension to slaves, it is not surprising that many of these groups have been reluctant to accept the Igbo identity.⁴⁴

This also applied to other ethnic groups. I will like to quote extensively from Professor Obaro Ikime, who is referred to as the father of inter-group relations in Nigeria, on the same subject matter. According to him:

... what we had were myriads of groups, some of which spoke variants of the same language and possessed certain common or similar cultural traits. Identity or similarity of language and culture did not, however, result in common political action as a matter of routine. In that kind of setting, it did not make sense to speak of Hausa, Yoruba, Ibibio, Igbo, Tiv, It made far more sense to speak of Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Awka, Onitsha, Afikpo, Ife, Ijebu, Ondo, Oyo i.e. to speak in terms of groupings that regarded themselves as socio-political units.⁴⁵

If ethnicity is a product of history, definitely we need the same history to resolve it. I agree with Obaro Ikime that "history holds the key to that understanding in a way that no discipline can claim."⁴⁶

Our pre-colonial history has shown that after all, Nigerians were not strange bedfellows as it had been presented by some. The various ethnic groups had established political, economic and social ties that had survived many centuries. These ties had been made possible by the geography of the country. Professors Ade Ajayi and Allagoa stressed this point in their work in the *Groundwork of Nigeria History*. According to them:

Nigeria is not a self-contained geographical unit. .. In spite of the openness of its borders, however, there is a compactness about the Nigerian geographical environment which encouraged greater movement and interaction of peoples within it than people outside it. The compactness comes principally from two factors. The first is the complementarity of the Sudan Belt and the forest zone with the intervening transitional Middle belt dominated by the Jos Plateau.⁴⁷

They further contend that:

The second factor engendering compactness has been the essential unity of the river systems. Nigeria is really the basis of the lower Niger south of Bussa rapids with Benue, their tributaries and the enormous delta spreading out into several creeks and lagoons. The unity of these waterways encouraged a network of relationship within the basin. The river networks provided routes of contacts between people cutting across the north and south axis and supplementing it. Accordingly, one must recognize east and west movements of peoples and ideas as well as the north and south movement already suggested by the vegetation zones. It is because of this compactness that despite the fortuitous manner in which the political unity of Nigeria came to be achieved, culturally and economically, Nigeria was not really an arbitrary creation.⁴⁸

These ties, facilitated by the compactness of the geographical environment, has led to the propagation of some of the historical legends that are now used today for selfish reasons instead of promoting integration in the country as they were meant by our forebear. The Oduduwa legend established common ancestry between the Yoruba and the Edo. The Bayajidda legend established linkages between the Hausa and the Yoruba and the Nupe through the Banza and Bokwoi networks. The Kisra legend connected the Bariba (Baatonu), the Boko, the Bussa in the Central Nigerian region with the Kanuri of the North eastern region of the country. The Kwararafa legend, more than any of these legends, established connections among many ethnic groups in the country, especially in the central Nigerian region.

There were well established commercial and social contacts between various Nigerian ethnic groups. The Igbo had contacts with the Ijaw, the Edo and the Igala to the north. The Hausa of the north had both commercial and diplomatic ties with the Yoruba, Nupe, Kanuri and the various ethnic groups in the middle belt.⁴⁹

Considering the above, it is not wrong to conclude that the Yoruba and Edo, the Igbo and Ijaw, the Hausa and the Yoruba; the Hausa, Igbo and Nupe, the Itsekiri, Urhobo, and the Igala knew more of each other in the pre-colonial period than today.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, it will also interest you to know that historical linguistics has proved beyond reasonable doubt the relationships between the various ethnic groups in the country. According to these linguists, three major language families, or phyla are represented in the indigenous languages of Nigeria. Nilo-Saharan, represented by Kanuri; the Afroasiatic is represented by Shuwa Arab, and the Chadic branch, of which Hausa has the greatest number of speakers; and the Niger-Congo, which has the remaining languages in Nigeria.

Mr. Chairman, 75 percent of the languages in Nigeria belong to Benue Congo, a sub section of the Niger-Congo language group, which was believed to be a proto language at the beginning. This conclusion was arrived at by examining the similarities between the languages. These languages include the Edo, Yoruba, Igbo. Ebira, Itsekiri, Igala, Ijaw, Nupe, Kambari, Jukun, Tiv, Idoma. Ibibio, Efik and etc.⁵⁰

Sir, it is a historical fact that the British created Nigeria. But with the nature of interaction between the various groups, Nigeria, though not necessarily in the present form, would still have emerged. The ambition of the Sokoto jihadists was to dip the quoran into the ocean. The project was still on until the colonial government aborted it. In the South west, the Ibadan State had emerged as the most powerful State in the region. The State foiled the further territorial ambition of the Caliphate in Yorubaland in the 1840 Osogbo war. Ibadan leaders were in the process of establishing a political hegemony in the west when colonialism was imposed. In the East, the Aro Chukwu priests had established through peaceful means, their influence beyond Igboland. The influence was such that the colonial government was forced to use military force to destroy it.

These three forces were operating in the nineteenth century. If the British had not intervened, one of the forces would have succeeded in subduing the others thereby paving the way for the creation of Nigeria. Nigerians are therefore not strangers to themselves and have been relating whether peacefully or otherwise before the colonial creation of the country.

Most of these historical facts are not known to the generality of Nigerians, especially our so-called political leaders who delight in promoting ethnicity at the expense of national integration. The danger of keeping history out of the curriculum of our educational institutions, especially, what unites us together, will soon dawn on us.

Mr. Chairman Sir, religion should never be the cause of any crisis in the country if the fundamentalists/fanatics have a basic knowledge of history. The two religions came to Nigeria through different routes. The Arabs came through the Sahara desert to the northern part of the country. This is why we have more Muslims in the northern part of Nigeria today. On the other hand, Christian missionaries came through the Atlantic Ocean. This is why there are more Christians in the south than in the north. Mr. Vice Chancellor, now comes the puzzle, suppose the movements of these universal religions to Nigeria is vice versa, the religious map of Nigeria will be different today. The north that is predominantly Muslim will be Christian and cities like Sokoto, Kano, Maiduguri, Katsina would have the biggest cathedrals; while the south will be Muslim and cities like Enugu, Onitsha, Port Harcourt, Akure, Ibadan, Abeokuta will have the biggest mosques in Nigeria. Why do we have to fight on religion?

The Bad and Good from other Plural Countries

Our country, Nigeria, is not the only plural country in the world. Some of these countries have been able to manage or contain the various centrifugal forces, while others have failed and are seriously facing the consequences. For the purpose of this lecture, I will give examples of countries that have been able or unable to manage or contain the centrifugal forces within them. This is with the belief that Nigeria can learn from their achievements or their mistakes.

As I have mentioned above, Nigeria is not the only heterogeneous country in the world. Countries like the United States of America and India are good examples of plural societies. Today, these countries have been able to solve the problems that are associated with plural countries. People may associate this with their advanced economics and technology. It is for these reasons that they will not be our examples in this lecture.

Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi have been selected for examination. These countries share the same characteristics with Nigeria. One, they belong to the same classification with Nigeria as developing or under-developed economics. Two, they were formerly colonies. In other words, these countries were created by their erstwhile colonial masters.

Tanzania is one country that has been able to contain the crisis associated with plural societies and also managed to achieve national unity. Tanzania, like Nigeria, comprises many ethnic groups, (some classified as majority and others as minority groups), and religious groups (Christian, Islam and traditional religions). With respect to the religious composition of the country, it shares the same characteristics with Nigeria. The religious groups, with exception of the adherents of the traditional African religion, are equitably

distributed among the country's population. The additional contesting identity, which is not a feature in Nigeria, is racial ethnicity.⁵¹

Tanzania, through deliberate policies, has unlike Nigeria, been able to manage, various internal crises. These policies, while I may not agree with some, especially the abolition of the chiefdoms and the introduction of one-party system, are aimed at promoting national unity as against primordial or ethnic loyalty. Others include the introduction of socialism; development of national culture and the introduction of Kiswahili as a national language.⁵² One thing that has counted in favour of Tanzania, which has been lacking in Nigeria, has been the emergence of national leaders, who command national respect and who live above ethnic and religious sentiments. Julius Nyerere, for instance, was a leader above religious and ethnic sentiment. No wonder he was able to build a united and strong country, Tanzania. This is contrary to the situation in Nigeria. Since Independence, Nigeria has not had a leader, military or civilian, who has not emerged as champions of ethnic or religious sentiments. This is why the country will continue to drift towards precipice.

Again, immediately after Tanzania's Independence, Julius Nyerere made the legendary Arusha's declaration, which spelt out Africa's socialism. His version of socialism provided an alternative to ethnic and religious sentiments which are prevalent in Africa. It is on record that Nyerere succeeded to handover a united country to his successor.

Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, etc are countries that have failed to manage the internal contradictions emerging from their plural nature. The inability of the political leaders to contain or manage the crisis in Rwanda led to genocide in 1994. The political leaders, like in Nigeria, manipulated ethnic differences between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi, minority in the country. As pointed out by Timothy Longman, ethnicity was used 'as a wedge to divide the opposition and attract public support ultimately culminating in the genocide that began on April 7, 1994.'⁵³ The genocide in Rwanda clearly shows that there is no difference between human beings and wild animals.

Conclusion

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, before the advent of Islam and Christianity, Africans, and in this sense, Nigerians, when faced with a crisis (may be local or national), oracle is consulted to find the causes and solution. Nigeria is presently faced with the crisis of integration since independence. Six years after independence, there was the civil war, in which about one million Nigerians lost their lives. As if we have not learnt from the civil war, ethnic and religious wars soon became a recurring decimal in the country.

In the context of this lecture, oracle is an embodiment of knowledge. It has the eyes for the past and could give direction to the future. The ability to use the past to give future direction is the reason why people say that "history always repeats itself". Mr. Vice-Chancellor, History will always repeat itself if we fail to learn from history.

In Nigeria, deliberate attempts have been made to confine history to dust bin. This is why we are making mistakes everyday. We lost Bakassi because of the failure of the politicians to consult our history. The panel that went to defend Nigeria's interest did not include any Nigerian historian, who could have justified Nigeria's claim to Bakassi from historical perspectives.

At the national level, panels have been constituted to enquire about many crises in the country. Yet, these crises continue to re-surface because of the failure to consider the historical background to those crises. Until history is considered as important in our day-to-day activities, it will continue to repeat itself with high casualties.

Mr. Chairman Sir, we have many things to learn from the history of our country and that of other countries, to be able to resolve the perennial problems that are confronting the country. The problem of inter-group crises can best be resolved, if and only if we go back to our history. Professor Ade Ajayi, in one of his lectures, advised Nigerians to emphasize more on what unites us than on our differences. This lecture has, by and large, demonstrated that we have more things that will make for our unity than those that will destroy us. Therefore it makes a clarion call on Nigerians to discard ethnic and religious sentiments and embrace with passion and consuming zeal factors that will make for unity and true integration. However, it cautions that in stressing the factors that will make for our unity, pertinent issues that will promote inter-group relations in Nigeria should be addressed. One of these is the issue of federalism. We need true federalism. This pseudo federal system will continue to create ethnic and religious suspicion among the various ethnic and religious groups in the country. As long as there is concentration of power at the centre, the different ethnic and religious groups will continue to demand for power shift.

Closely following the above is the issue of state structure. We have 36 States in Nigeria. The States were created to bring development nearer to the masses. However, history has shown that there was more development in Nigeria under the regional and provincial systems than under the present 36 States structure. Sir, I am making this categorical statement that Nigeria under this 36 State structure is not better than Nigeria under the regional and provincial levels. This must have prompted one of my old informants (one of those who looked forward to a better Nigeria at independence), to ask me "when will the independence end?"

Still on the issue of the 36 States structure, with exception of Lagos, Kano, and River States, the remaining States are not economically viable and lack independent fiscal resource bases for executing their allocated functions. The fact that these States depend on monthly allocations does not augur well for true federalism. To operate a true federal system, the 36 states structure should be dismantled and the six geo-political structures, popularized by Sani Abacha adopted. If possible, we should go back to the provincial days.

I know that I may have disappointed those who are agitating for more states. We don't need another state creation exercise. Agitations for new states will only unravel new inter-group crises in the proposed new states. New majority-minority wrangling will surface, which will only lead to new agitations for new states. What we need now, as the Justice Irikafe panel recommended to the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime is good government not an endless creation of states.⁵⁴

Mr. Chairman sir, history has also shown that elections in Nigeria since Independence are contributory factor to inter-group crises in the country. The 1963/64 elections in the First Republic led to the fall of the Republic and eventually to the civil war. The elections in the Second Republic, especially the 1983 elections, led to the call for a confederal arrangement in Nigeria. The June 12 election in the aborted Third Republic would have set the nation ablaze. The 2003 and 2007 elections in the Fourth Republic are still subject of debate in the country. To avoid all these controversies there is need for new electoral reforms. The electoral body should be made independent of the executive. The federal chairman and the state chairmen should be appointed by the National Assembly and they should be non partisan, responsible, and men and women of integrity.

Relatedly, all political positions in the country, with exception to the positions of President, Vice President, Governors and Deputy Governors, should be on part time basis. It is because the constitution makes these political positions lucrative that political leaders have the opportunities to manipulate ethnicity and religion to get elected. However, if the idea of part time is not acceptable, political office holders should be remunerated according to their educational background. We should encourage honest and interested people to come out and contest for these positions. We should put a stop to godfatherism and money bag politics.

Sir, I will not end this lecture without condemning the indigene non-indigene crisis in Nigeria. It is part of the inter-group crises that needs to be urgently resolved if we want to continue to see ourselves as a nation. Nigeria will continue to drift apart until the issue of indigeneship is resolved in favour of residency instead of parental birth place. Why will a Nigerian reside in a

place for years fulfilling all constitutional obligations and still be referred to as a non indigene? Why will a Nigerian be referred to as a settler in his country?

Mr. Chairman, in many pre-colonial Nigerian societies, when a traditional ruler is appointed, he is expected to go into seclusion. The period of the seclusion is to enable him to learn more about the society he is to govern. After the period of seclusion, he becomes more informed about his society. Anybody aspiring to lead us in this country, at whatever level must be made to understand the history and culture of this country. He/she must be told that we have more things binding us together than separating us. In deed, I will like to suggest that the history to be taught should focus on the following:

"the pre-colonial period so that we can better appreciate the links that bound Nigerians together and thus free ourselves from the notion that Nigeria is a "mere geographical expression" of British creation

Themes that are most likely to unite the different member nationalities
Focusing also on things that divide only as a warning to the impatient and power hungry who may use false unities and autonomies to ride roughshod over the rights and feelings of minorities.⁵⁵

Failure to do this, our leaders may lead us to the road to Kigali (Rwanda). The road to Kigali is watered with human tears and blood. The concrete are made with human flesh and bones and the road side settlements are populated with destitute.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, let me end this lecture with reference to Professor Ade Ajayi's submission on the utility of history and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr's speech. First with Professor Ade Ajayi

The nation suffers which has no sense of history. Its values remain superficial and ephemeral unless imbued with a deep sense of continuity and perception of success and achievement that transient wealth. Such nation cannot achieve a sense of purpose or direction or stability and without them the future is bleak.⁵⁶

Rev Martin Luther King Jr on 28 August 1963 delivered the powerful "I have a dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D. C. The speech, is the same dream I have for Nigeria. Mr Chairman, I have a dream that one day, in this country, we will not be judged by our ethnical or religious background. We will not be made to produce indigenship certificate so as to be employed or admitted in any place or university. I have a dream that one day, a muslim Hausa/Fulani will be a governor of any of the eastern states, a Christian Igbo man will govern any of the states in North western states, a Yoruba Christian will be the governor of any of the North eastern States, a Tiv or Kanuri or Ijaw

will become a governor in the any of the western States. An Eggon or a Mada or an Afo man will be a governor of Lagos State and an Igbo man will become a governor of Nasarawa state. And if Nigeria is to be a great nation, this must become true.

Thank you sir.

Acknowledgements

I owe my achievements today to God. From the beginning of my academic career, He has been and is still visible. He has used my case to confound many who believed that I would never make it in my academic career. To Him alone be all the glory and honour.

I appreciate my father, Pa Moses Akinwumi Aiyegbiroju, today. He did not allow the death of his wife, my mother, to affect his love and commitment to us. He registered me at a tender age in school and continued to monitor my progress. When at the end of my secondary school, failed to make five credits required to advance to the next level, he re-registered me for the same examination and told me that if my friends could make it, I should be able to make it. I made it but disappointed him when I failed to read Law. I saw his anger that day I told him I have been admitted to read history. His friends intervened and we reached a compromise that after my first degree, I would go back to read Law. I hope I will still be able to read it.

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Finally, to my family, my wife, Oluwatoyin and the children, Grace, Joseph, and Maria who have had to bear my long absence from home. I dedicate my achievement to this wonderful woman and her children.

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- ¹ See Prof Simbo Banjoko (2009) Nigerian manufacturing sector: Bumpy past and shaky future: what options for survival? Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of Lagos in *The Nation*, Monday, November 30.
- ² Professor Obaro Ikime is the first scholar in Nigeria to mount a course on inter-group relations at the University of Ibadan. Today, his books are reference points for any lecture on inter-group relations. See for example, his book on *History, the Historian and the Nation: The Voice of a Nigerian Historian* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 2006).
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- ⁸ Olaosebikan O. Ebenezer *That this House may stand: Towards Rebuilding the Nigerian State* published in Lagos.
- ⁹ "Face to face" house structure is a type of building with many rooms shared by tenants. Always meant for the masses.
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- ¹⁹ Madubuike, *Politics...*
- ²⁰ Chinua Achebe (1983) *The Trouble with Nigeria*, p1.

- ²¹ Professor Kyari Tijani "Cliches, Fetishes and Elite Brinkmanship-Metaphors for Nigeria's underdevelopment" (Inaugural Lecture)
- ²² See Alhaji Maitama Sule in *The Nation*. Thursday, October 1. 200', p 15 under the captions "Our hopes have been dashed"
- ²³ See *The Nation*, Saturday. November 14, 2009.
- ²⁴ Bola Ige (1995)"Constitutions and the Problems of), Nigeria" N.I.A.L.S. Annual Lecture Series 13,21.
- ²⁵ Dele Momodu. (2009)"Time to Rebuild this House" *This Day*, 17 October
- ²⁶ See David Apter "The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda" *World Politics*. xii
- ²⁷ See Osaghae (1998) *Nigeria since Independence*
- ²⁸ Idowu Akinlotan "Ten Years of Democracy" in *The Nation*, Sunday, May 24. 2009. Vo13, 56.
- ²⁹ See Z.O. Apata "The 1913 Memorial: A Study of Protest and Discord Among the British Officers in Northern Nigeria" *African Study Monographs* 17 (3) 129-140.
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- ³⁴ See Reuben Abati "I met Nigeria good, but ..." *Saturday Sun*, October 3, 2009, 45.
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- ⁴¹ This is the same opinion held by the Irikefe Panel on States Creation. The Panel argued that the ultimate solution to the problem groups "lay in good government rather than the endless creation of states" in Eghosa Osaghae, 18.
- ⁴² See Daily Sun, Friday, October 9, 2009 "Irukwu on Nigeria: God is fed up with us" pp 38-39.
- ⁴³ Bala Usman "Towards understanding the national question". Keynote address delivered at a National question, organized by the Dept of History, ABU 4th August 1986, 116.
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- ⁴⁵ Obaro Ikime In Search of Nigerians: Changing Patterns of Inter-Group Relations in an Evolving National State, 85.
- ⁴⁶ Ikime, In Search, 85.
- ⁴⁷ Obaro Ikime ed. Groundwork of Nigeria History, 224-225.
- ⁴⁸ Ikime, Groundwork, 224-225.
- ⁴⁹ See Obaro Ikime "History for the Development of Nigeria" in History, the Historian and the Nation, 47-48.
- ⁵⁰ See Bolaji Aremo (2009) How Yoruba and Igbo became different languages (Ibadan: Scribo Publication) and Kay Williamson "Indigenous Languages of the Niger-Benue Confluence Region: Their Classification and its implications for pre-history" in Mantu, 45.
- ⁵¹ See Bruce E. Heilman and Paul J. Kaiser (2002) "Religion, Identity and Politics in Tanzania" Third World quarterly, Vol 23, No. 4, pp 691-709, 2002.
- ⁵² See Gaudens P. Mpangala "Inter-Ethnic Relations in Tanzani" in Nnoli Ethnic Conflicts in Africa, 311-325.
- ⁵³ Timothy Longman (1999) "State, Civil Society, and Genocide in Rwanda" in Richard Joseph State, Conflict and Development in Africa (London: Lynne Rienner), 352.
- ⁵⁴ This is the same opinion held by the Irikefe Panel on States Creation. The panel argued that the ultimate solution to the problem groups "lay in good government rather than the endless creation of states" in Eghosa Osaghae, 18.
- ⁵⁵ See A.F Afigbo in Okon Edet Uya "The History as a Citizen: The K.O Dike Challenge" K.O. Dike Memorial Lecture delivered at the 51st Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria held at the University of Jos, May 1-5, 2006.
- ⁵⁶ See J. F Ade Ajayi (1990) History and The Nation (Spectrum Books, 1990), 41.