

## **Ethnic, Religious and Communal Conflict in Nigeria: Implications for Security**

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### **Abstract**

This paper traces the source of ethnic, religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria to the British Colonial policy of divide and rule in Nigeria. The British through superior fire power lumped together people of radically different culture, language and religion for their own economic and political benefit. Worst still, the British hoisted a political system that favoured the North against the South. More so, though Britain was supposedly said to be a Christian country, yet it hindered the spread of Christianity in the North to the advantage of the Muslims. These were the genesis of the unhealthy ethnic politics and mutual distrust among various cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic groups in Nigeria and the main causes of Nigeria's ethnic, religious and communal conflicts. The paper underscores the serious implications of these conflicts for security and suggests how ethnic and religious activities should be organized to reduce the incidence of ethnic and religious violence in Nigeria, and thereby check threats to its security and corporate existence.

### **Introduction**

Arising from the Topic

- 1 Can people who belong to different cultures, different ethnic groups, and different religions live together peacefully in a single state or could separation be the only way to survive?
- 2 Nigeria is in trouble if 44 years after independence her politicians refuse to take a serious look at why violent threats from its diverse Ethnic/Religious groups still persist.

- 3 Why does the Federal Government tolerate ethnic movements like:
- Odua People Congress - OPC
  - Arewa People Congress – APC
  - Niger Delta People Volunteer Force – NDPVF led by Asari Dokubo but hound and persecute MASOB – Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra led by Uwazurike whose agitation is to draw attention to the fact that Igbos are cheated in the distribution of strategic political posts in Nigeria, including the Presidency (TELL No. 41 Oct, 11, 2004 pp.11-22).

In Nigeria today, Muslims vis-à-vis Christians, including other diverse ethnic groups, no longer trust each other in matters of everyday life. Since each group lives in “a state of nature”, how can we talk about national unity amidst perpetual conflict, bitterness and gross animosity between Muslims and Christians and among the Ethnic groups? For this reason Okafor observed that “The unhealthy ethnic politics and mutual distrust among various cultural linguistic and ethnic groups in Nigeria are the main causes of Nigeria’s social and political upheavals”(Okafor, 1997. 1). In view of this, the need for objective Ethnic/Religious Dialogue is Imperative!

### **The Political Background To Nigeria’s Ethnic Conflicts**

Nigeria, before it was colonized by the British, had a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and even multi political culture. As such, Nigeria was extremely heterogeneous and complex. In spite of these diversities in language, tribe and culture, ‘Nigeria’ was forcibly put together by the West African constabulary force in 1900 without any consultation with the tribes concerned. The name Nigeria was coined by the Journalist wife of the first British Colonial ruler of Nigeria. Lord Frederick Lugard, who in 1914, completed the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates to form the country known and addressed as Nigeria. Since this geographical expression known as Nigeria was forcibly put together by a foreign power, its disparate units have not ceased to live in comfort with one another. In fact, they live in mutual suspicion and distrust.

Nigeria gained her political independence without economic independence in October 1, 1960 on a platter of gold. This means that there were no killings, no maiming and no bloodshed. The transition from the British to the Nigerian rule was programmed and supervised by the

British who gave the North under Northern People's Congress (NPC) as undue political advantage over the East and the West political zones. The North was carved out to be bigger than East and West put together. Hence, after the 1959 election, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Belewa, an Hausa-Fulani Muslim emerged the Prime Minister from the North (NPC), while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (NCNC), an Ibo man and a Christian from the East, became the first Ceremonial President in Nigeria and Chief Obafemi Awolowo (AG), a Yoruba man and a Christian from the West settled for the post of the Leader of Opposition. All this arrangement was orchestrated by the British to serve their political interest.

By this political arrangement, it became obvious that our erstwhile colonial master left us with politics of ethnic and religious conflict that has plagued the nation since its inception. Let us prove this point by examining the political history of Nigeria since its adoption of a formal federal parliamentary system of government with the dawn of Lyttleton Constitution in 1954.

### **Nigerian Federalism**

Federalism is a system of government in which governmental powers that exist in a country are shared between a central government that represents the whole country and government of component regions or states. This arrangement makes it possible for each to be legally and constitutionally independent and autonomous but subject to the central government in all matters pertaining to its External Affairs.

One of the potent reasons for the adoption of the federal system of government was to allay the fears of domination by any one of the major ethnic groups, be it Hausa, Ibo or Yoruba. Since its inception, there has been rivalry among these ethnic groups. The major issue that brings about this rivalry is the quest for leadership of the country at the centre. At the centre, the winning ethnic political party wields all the political power almost always to its advantage. As a result of this, none of the three ethnic groups wants to concede the leadership of the country to the other because they know that whoever gets the political power first, will have all other things added unto them.

As a result of this, the political party that emerges to contest for political power relies heavily on mobilizing primordial ethnic/religious sentiments to capture power at the centre. This fact made is made evident with reference to the Northern Peoples Congress which emerged from a Northern cultural group known as Jamiyyar Multanen Arewa which

concentrated its base amongst the Housa-Fulani. The Western Egbe-Omo-Oduduwa cultural group later metamorphosed into Awolowo’s Action Group (A.G). it mobilized its support among the Yoruba. The National Convention of Nigerian Citizens under the leadership of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe consolidated its base within the core Igbos in the East. Thus politics in the First Republic was not only based on ethnic and religious tendencies, but was dominated by powerful ethnic personalities. This situation gave birth to the emergence of an unstable national political culture. For example, the 1959 election produced predictable results as follows: NPC 142, NCNC 89, AG 73. (Post, 1963:15).

**Ethnic Minorities**

The fallout from the mega tribes jockeying for power was the emergence of ethnic minority groups who were marginalised in the struggle for state-power. They too started to form their groups. And so in the first Republic 1960-1966, the United Middle Belt Congress (UNBC) emerged under the dynamic leadership of J. S. Tarka. There was also the Bornu Youth Movement led by Ibrahim Imam; the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) was under the able leadership of Aminu Kano. Table 1 below gives us a graphic picture of the political parties and their Ethnic bases 1951-1966. (Source - A. Dudley (1990.70).

**TABLE 1: First Republic Political Parties And Their Ethnic Bases 1951-1966**

	<b>Party Support</b>	<b>Regional Base</b>	<b>Ethnic Support</b>
1	Northern People’s Congress	North	Hausa/Fulani
2	Action Group	West	Yoruba
3	National Convention of Nigerian Citizens	East/Mid-West	Igbo, Edo, Yoruba
4	Northern Elements Progressive Union	North (Kano & Zaria Province)	Hausa/Fulani
5	United Middle Belt Congress	North (Middle Belt)	Tiv, Berom

6	Dynamic Party	East	Igbo
7	Mabolaja Grand Alliance	West	Ibadan (Yoruba)
8	Niger Delta Congress	East	Ijaw, Kalabari
9	United National Independence Party	East	Ibibio
10	Igbirra Tribal Union	North	Ebira
11	Nigerian National Democratic Party	West	Oshun, Oyo (Yoruba)

According to Duley, the first Republic was not only bedevilled by divisive forces of ethnicity and regionalism but also by electoral malpractices characterized by intimidation of electoral opponents.

The upshot of all these developments give credence to the fact that the political behaviour of Nigerians is till greatly influenced by the hyperbolic assumption that one's political destiny is intrinsically and exclusively linked with one's ethnic linguistic and, to some extent, religious identity. According to Harura D. Dlakwa, it was as a result of such mutual suspicion that the civil war (1967-1970) was precipitated in Nigeria. In a similar vein series of religious crises were brewed in various cities during the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the northern states. Such sectarian crises were experience in Kano (1980, 1982, and 1991), Katsina (1991), Kaduna (1987, 1988 and 1992), Maiduguri (1982), Yola (1984), Bauchi (1991), Zaria (1992), Zango Kataf (1992), Funtua (1993), and Potiskum (1994). These crises, although religious in their connotation, had a tinge of ethnic confrontation in them. (See S. P. I. Agi, *Political History of Religious Violence in Nigeria.*, Calabar, Ushie Printing and Publishers, 1998, pp. 55-65).

The lives lost to such sectarian clashes between 1980 and 1994 were well over 10,000, and the wanton destruction of property was massive. The breach of the peace caused by both ethnic and religious crises has been so great that political alignment and the formation of political parties have been characterized by the ganging of ethnic champions. This claim, according to Professor Humphrey Nwosu, the Chairman of the National Electoral Commission, resulted in the collapse of the aborted Third Republic in 1993.

As he put it:

Our party system, from its inception in the late

1940s and early 1950s, reflected the injection of ethnicity into our political system. In due course, the major political parties and minor ones became vehicles for the representation, protection and aggregation of ethnic interests. Our political leaders, by and large, exploited ethnic ties and symbols to promote their selfish interest and to consolidate themselves in power in their regional enclaves. The regionalization of politics, which our early experiment with quasi-federal government in the early 1950s represented, also fed and encouraged the ethnicization of our party system. The failure of our pioneer political class was their inability to rise above ethnic questions at a time when the dynamics of our federalization was, paradoxically, moving towards the federalization of our party system. At best our defunct political parties were an amalgam of ethno-sub national coalitions. They were unable to contain crises that shook the foundation of Nigerian nationhood. They are inherently unstable and this affected national stability<sup>3</sup>.

## **Religious Crises**

### ***Post-independence Crises (1960-1966)***

Religious crises in Nigeria both in the pre-independence period and between 1960 and 1966 were for the most part at the level of a cold war, characterized by external mutual respect between Muslims and Christians.

The mutual respect stemmed from the fact that none of the religions really knew the strength of the other. Thus, the mutual tolerance was merely out of fear of the other and not any genuine respect. Each one respected the other from a distance and never dared to overstep its bounds.

In 1961, the Sardauna of Sokoto formed the Jamaatu Nasril Islam (JNI), an Islamic movement charged with the special responsibility of propagating Islam. It was thought by some people to be the religious wing of the NPC. However, some of the activities of the JNI were not acceptable to other Muslims, especially those who did not belong to the

NPC.

### ***Religious Crises after the Civil War (1970-1975)***

The first five years after the civil war were declared the period of reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Despite the attempted reconciliation, the religious face of the civil war persisted even after the war had ended. It continued in the form of a religious cold war.

### ***The Sharia Crisis (1976-1979)***

The Sharia issue is as old as Islam itself in Nigeria. It was the aim of Usman dan Fodio to implement it in the northern emirates in order to reform what was perceived as the lax practice of Islam among the rulers. Matthew Kukah supported this view when he wrote: "The basis of the Jihad of Usman dan Fodio was the establishment of an Islam State based on the Sharia" (Kukah: *Religion, Politics and Power...p115*).

While the Constituent Assembly was debating the issue, Muslims outside sought to enforce their argument by engaging in threats and riots to support the idea that if the Sharia was not accepted they were going to make the country ungovernable. The Muslim Students Society (MSS) for example demonstrated at Ahmadu Bello University, pleading with the Assembly men to "stop opposition to Sharia or take full responsibility for putting the entire nation in chaos". In April 1979, protesters took to the streets in Zaria and Kaduna with such banners as: No Sharia, No Peace, No Sharia, No Constitution, No Sharia, No Muslim, No Nigeria, etc. (see Sylvanus Udoidem, "*Religion in the Political Life of Nigeria*", in F. U. Okafor Ed. p162).

From what has been said so far about the Sharia issue, two conclusions could be reached namely:

- (1) That the Sharia debate has both religious and political implications. On the religious grounds, it sought for the establishment of an Islam state, where an ideal Islamic religion could be practiced. On political grounds, the defenders and the opposers used the debate to gain a political following either as the defenders of Islam or the protectors of Christianity from Islam domination.
- (2) That the Sharia issue is major source of conflict in the Nigerian body polity, is incontestible. It was this Sharia debated that set the

stage for the prevalent religio-political conditions that existed at the times that Alhaji Shehu Shagari became the president during the Second Republic (1979-1983).

### ***The Shagari Regime Religious Crises (1979-1983)***

Although the Sharia provisions were not included in the 1979 Constitution in exactly the same way the Muslims demanded, they at least saw the election and swearing-in of President Shehu Shagari as Allah's will for Nigeria. With Shagari, a Sokoto prince and a Muslim, Muslims felt that the stage was set for the achievement of the will of Allah: effective Islamization of the country.

### ***Kano Riot (18-29 December 1980)***

The December 1980 Kano Riot, because of its bloody nature and level of destruction, has come to be referred to as the first religious and bloody riot in contemporary Nigeria. However, according to the report of the Tribunal of Enquiry set up after the 1980 riot, prior to the outbreak in Kano, there had been over thirty violent incidents of religious riots in the northern states. But these were nothing compared to the December 1980 event.

When in 1980 therefore Maitatsine resurfaced in Kano, it was certain that he had come, if not for a revenge, at least to wage a war of purification of Islam.

### ***Burning of Churches in Kano (October 1982)***

The burning of Christian Churches in October 1982 is an example of an inter-religious crisis in Nigeria. This was the first open and violent religious conflict between Christians and Muslims. The action of the Muslims was probably fuelled by the laying of the foundation for a Christian Church near a mosque in Kano. As noted by Matthew Kukah, "although there was no evidence of hostility visibly shown by the visit of the Archibishop to Kano, it was not accidental that the site where he laid the foundation stone for the building of the new Church became the scene of the violence that erupted in Kano six months after the visit. The violence was targeted at Christ Church in Fagge, Kano Metropolis" (Kukah p.157).

### ***The Buhari Regime Religious Crises (1983-1985)***

The regime which overthrew the Shagari-led civilian administration did not do much to allay the fear of non-Muslims, especially given the peculiar



nature of its composition and policies. Most of the members of the Supreme Military Council were either northern Muslims or Muslims from the south. This structure made Christians very uncomfortable. It was not only Christians that the regime offended. If anything the Buhari regime incurred the anger of almost all groups in the country. For example, by drastically reducing the number of intending pilgrims across religious lines, Buhari made himself unpopular even among Muslims. The religious riots that occurred during this period were for the most part political in nature.

### **The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) Crisis (January 1986)**

During the Babangida regime, information filtered out to the public that Nigeria had sought admission into the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). This raised a lot of anxiety among Christians who now believed that the federal government was systemically engaged in the process of Islamizing the country.

A bitter controversy erupted between Christians and Muslims. The Christians based their argument on the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution, which upholds the secular state of the nation. They argued that since Nigeria is a secular state it could not and should not belong to such an organization. All Christians were unanimous in asking for the withdrawal of the country from membership of such an organization.

The Muslims, on their part, argued that just as it is accepted for Nigeria to maintain diplomatic relations with the Vatican, there was nothing wrong in it being a member of an organization that was essentially at cultural body with many economic advantages for the country.

### **Ahmadu Bello University Religious Crisis (June 1988)**

In June 1988, during the Student's Union elections in Ahmadu Bello University, violence erupted when it turned out that a Christian candidate would win the elections. Prior to the elections, one of the campaign slogans popularly used by the Christian candidate, one Mr. Stephen, was 'A vote for Steve is a vote for Christ'. The implication of such a slogan was that the campaign for votes in the Student Union elections was being done on the basis of religion.

In January 1990, Christian in four northern towns protested against the marginalization of Christians in the country. Protesters carried placards with inscriptions such as: "We reject OIC", "Islamization of the country is totally rejected". "We are ready to buy our rights with our blood".

Christians were now determined either to fight for their rights or defend themselves whenever they were abused and attacked. Such preparedness was acted out in what came to be known as the Bauchi Riot.

### ***Kano Riot (11 October 1991)***

The Kano religious riot, 1991, was a case of an inter-religious conflict. A group of Muslim youths attacked people in Sabongari and the Fagge area of the metropolis. The attack was a protest against the religion crusade organised by the state chapter of CAN with a German Christian preacher, Reinhard Bonke, in attendance.

What offended the Muslim youths most were what they as anti-Muslim policy in the state. Earlier in the year, they had asked for permission to invite a Muslim fundamental preacher to Kano but the government refused. When therefore permission was granted to Christians to invite the preacher from Germany, they interpreted it as anti-Muslim policy.

### ***Obasanjo Regime 1999-2004***

In January 2000, the Governor of Zamfara State Ahmed Yerima introduced the Sharia legal system in his state. Since then, several Northern States have followed suit. This has led to several riots and destruction of lives and property both in the North and in other parts of the country.

### **Measures to help Curb Religious/Ethnic Violence**

#### ***Sanctions against Violent Religious Fanaticism and Extremism***

So far the government has taken little or no steps to curb the menace of religious violence. Panels have been set up to investigate the immediate and remote causes of religious violence. In most cases the issues ended with the committee's or panel's submission of the report. An assurance that perpetrators would no longer operate with impunity could have been a sufficient incentive to curb violent religious fanaticism, but no such assurance were given, and even where they were give, they were violated with impunity.

### ***Dialogue***

To curb religious violence, the religious bodies will have to engage themselves and should enter into dialogue with each other in order to

understand themselves and develop mutual respect, tolerance and harmony and co-operation that will lead to peaceful coexistence.

### ***Membership Education***

The religions have to inculcate in their members high ethical standards, respect for human life and dignity through social services. Educating and enlightening our children and adherents to be more loving and tolerant of other people and other religions is a duty religious leader have to perform.

### ***Equality in the Distribution of Resources***

All religions in the Country should be given equal access to the media. No religion should be denied the opportunity to publicize its activities. Similarly, government assistance to religious bodies should be extended to all religions in the Country, which have similar needs.

### ***Avoidance of Inflammatory Statement against any Religion***

One thing the leaders of various religions must do is to avoid utterances that help to sharpen the religious sensitivities of Nigerians and sow seeds of discord between Muslims and Christians. It is well known that some utterances are capable of inflaming passions which, of course, can develop into intolerance and eventually end up in riots. If the leaders will avoid foul language, it will encourage other members of their religion to follow suit. This will in turn promote good neighbourliness and strengthen the unity of Nigeria.

### ***The Role of Government***

It is important for the government of the Federation to act timely when there is religious crisis in any part of the federation. The untimely intervention of government in the past cases of religions violence has cost many lives and materials worth billions of naira. In the event of religious violence, the security agents in the country should act fast and decisively. Delay is absolutely dangerous.

### ***Impartial Handling of Religious Conflicts and Attitude toward Non-Muslim Nigerians***

One way religious violence can be reduced or eliminated in Nigeria is for persons in positions of political and religious power not to be partial in

handling any religious conflict that may occur in future. For, it has been correctly stated:

...the increasing state of religious conflicts in the country is not so much a result of cut-throat competition between Christians and Muslims ...but more a result of increasing government involvement in and regulation of religious affairs (Olupona 1992, 8).

### ***Strict Adherence to Religious Ethics***

Religious leaders should adhere strictly to their religious ethics. President Obasanjo rightly observed: "Christianity preaches peace and was established by the Prince of peace and Islam by name is a religion of peace. Both religions have love as cardinal in their creeds" (*Newswatch, March 6, 2000 19*). The religious leaders should, therefore, preach and practice the positive things in their religion to make for peace.

### ***Security Implications of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts***

All the crises we experience in this nation, ethnic, religious or communal conflicts have serious security implications. For instance when there is a religious crisis in a University or any tertiary institution, it can threaten the economic base of the University. If classrooms, cars, laboratory equipment, administrative blocks etc. are burnt down, lives may also be lost. It can even threaten the intellectual capital of the University through intellectual flight, as lecturers decide to go elsewhere. Religious and ethnic riots or conflicts can threaten the economic security of a city engulfed in the conflict. There is always a great loss, as in Kaduna religious crisis, where shops, cars, petrol stations, churches, sometimes schools are destroyed and people are killed, especially minority tribes. Dekki laments that what worsens the crises is that, the government represented by the Police Commissioner, being a Moslem, supports the mayhem by refusing to mobilize the police to quell the crises. They only respond after the damage had been thoroughly carried out (Dekki 2000, 38-71). One is yet to understand why the President did not declare a State of Emergency in response to the Kaduna riot, yet the dispatched a military contingent to subdue the people of Odi for agitating for their rights.

These religious and ethnic crises seriously threaten national security. In fact Nigeria has been lucky in that she has not been threatened

by any external aggression otherwise; she may have disintegrated and could have long ceased to be a nation. And as Lord Denning puts it: “We cannot divorce national security from natural justice. And Natural justice implies equity and fairness” (Chimaroke Nnamani Online, p.4). So, the point here is that, national security relates to people and issues, to the economy and is anchored in justice. For this reason, the Nations Security apparatus should be decentralized so that the States could man their own security outfit. There should be a clear demarcation of the limits of the national security guards and the state security guards. The fact is that, in Nigeria today, there is insecurity from within. The Nigerian leaders should give thought to O.B.C. Nwolise’s warning when he says:

A country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police force, the most effective custom men, most active secret service agent, and best quality prisons, but yet be the most insecure nation in the world, as a result of... bad governments, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger and unemployment. Thus a society with political injustice, economic deprivation, social discrimination, religious or ethnic antagonism, human right violations, etc. is greatly insecure! This is insecurity from within (cited in O. G. F. Nwaorgu, “*Ethnic Suspicion in Nigerian Politics*” in *Philosophy and Politics...*, edited by Maduabuchi Dukor. pp. 112-113.

### **Conclusion**

The problems of ethnic, religious and even communal conflicts constitute a serious threat to national security. As long as their rootedness in politics and revenue control continues, and whereas there has not been any significant or palpable transfer of ethnic loyalty to national loyalty, so long will the issues of ethnicity, religion and politics continue to have serious implications for our national security. Any solution to the situation must consider these facts.

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**Notes**

1. E. M. Uka, *Missionaries Go Home*: Switzerland: Peter Lang 1989, p. 272 whereas Senators like Senator J. William Fulbright sought to promote American National Security through government funding of Academic Exchange Programme between America and other nations, Nigerian leaders threaten National security by massively plundering the Nation's treasury for their personal financial security. On General Sani Abacha (see TELL Dec. 23, 2002 p. 72), he stole over \$5 billion dollars which represents about 20% of Nigeria's total foreign debt.

On Governor Joshua Diriyé, (see TELL Feb. 7, 2005, p. 32). His personal foreign bank Account with Barclays Bank London between July 1, 2000 – May, 10, 2001 amounted to about £926,622.00. Details of money transferred are shown in the magazine. Again, it is reported that Nigerian government officials' accounts in overseas banks have risen from \$50 billion dollars in 1999 to \$170 billion in 2003. World Bank Report published in Sunday Vanguard, August 29, 2004. The President refused to disclose names of the officials implicated in this kind of money laundering. This level of stealing from tax-payers money constitute a threat to National security in terms of her Economic welfare and food security.

Senator William Fulbright, *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*. New York, Vintage Books 1971. William Fulbright in this his book protests the use of American Tax-Payers money for formulating dangerous policies as ABM and Vietnam. In effect the author of Fulbright legacy is not in support of American invasion of other countries.

2. F. U. Okafor, "New Approach to an Old Problem" (pp. 1-12); Dauda Abubakar "The Rise and fall of The First and Second Republics of Nigeria"; pp. 69-97. Haruna D. Dlakwa, "Ethnicity in Nigerian Politics: Formation of Political Organizations and Parties" pp. 98-135. These are vital articles from F. U. Okafor (Ed), *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Nigeria*,

Enugu: Forth Dimension 1997. The argument of the paper in this section is that the British Colonial Power laid the ground rules for un-equal ethnic contest in Nigeria's Parliamentary Political System. She carved out the North who did not challenge them the way the educated ones from the East and West were doing. They allotted to them a land mass that was more than East and West put together. With this advantage the North has always had the numerical advantage over the people in East and West. As such, since democracy is a game of numbers, the North has always gained political advantage in controlling power at the centre. The formular the British laid down has prevailed over the years as disclosed by Harold Smith, a former British Colonial Officer now 78 years in his autobiography *Blue Collar Lawman*. This is reported in TELL by Ayodele Akinkuoto, "The Evils the British Did" in TELL (No. 10 March 7, 2005, pp.,33-45), this articles tells us how the British Rigged Elections in Nigeria and why British should be held responsible for the instabilities in Nigeria. See also O. G. F. Nwaorgu, "Ethnic Suspicion in Nigerian Politics" in Maduabuchi Dukor, Philosophy and Politics: *Discourse on Values and Power in Africa. Lagos, OOP 1998, pp. 101-113.*

3. Cited by Haruna D. Dlakwa "Ethnicity in Nigerian Politics: Formation of Political Organization and Parties" in *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Nigeria, edited by F. U. Okafor.*
4. Sylvanus I. Udoidem, "Religion in the Political Life of Nigeria: A survey of Religious-Related Crises in Nigeria Since independence" in F. U. Okafor Ed. *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Nigeria*, pp. 152-181. Udoidem has cited 23 major Religious-Related Crises. I have selected only a few of them as examples. See also E. U. M Igbo. "Towards Distributive and Social Justice in Nigeria" in Okafor F. U. *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic and Religious Conflicts....* S. P. I. Agi, *Political History of Religious Violence in Nigeria*, (see chapter 6 on Religious Violence: the Post Colonial Experience: 1960-1969, pp.55-65). The points stressed here is that inequality and injustice are potent source of ethnic conflict. This fact is

strong buttressed by Ucheaga-Dorothy N. Ucheaga “Social Justice and Social Crises and Polical instability in Nigeria” in UNICAL QUARTERLY Vol. 1 No. 2, March 1996. Pp. 143-148.

5. O. B. C. Nwolise, “Nigeria Defense and Security System To Day” in Uma Eleazu ed. *Nigeria: The First 25 Years*. Ibadan: Info data and Heinemann, 1985. Pp. 61-71. Nwolise underlines the need for responsible conduct in the exercise of governmental power. See also O. G. F. Nwaorgu, “Ethnic Suspicion in Nigeria Politics” in Maduabuchi Dukor, *Philosophy and Politics: Discourse on Values and Power in Africa*. Lagos, OOP, 1998, pp. 113-114.

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