

1 The Amalgamation and the Rise of Ethnic Militias in Nigeria

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5

6 **Abstract**

7 The area later named Nigeria had long existed with diverse and autonomous ethnic
8 Nationalities. These ethnic groups had its unique culture and political systems. The scramble
9 for Africa by the European powers resulted in the British carving out the area later named
10 Nigeria as its area of influence or territory. With over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, the
11 area was divided into two parts: the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the protectorate of
12 southern Nigeria, this was for the purpose of easy administration of the area. Each of the
13 protectorates was made up of diverse ethnic groups. The decision to bring together the two
14 protectorates and its diverse ethnic groups was purely that of the British without the consent
15 of the people that constituted the area. People still gave their loyalty to their ethnic
16 nationalities instead of loyalty to the federation of Nigeria after the amalgamation. The
17 outcome of the amalgamation according to the research has been the agitation by minority
18 ethnic groups and the rise and proliferation of ethnic militias which resulted in some sections
19 attempting to secede. This article attempted to analyze the root causes of the proliferation of
20 ethnic militias and insurgency in Nigeria. Relying on secondary sources and the historical and
21 descriptive research method the paper examined the amalgamation of Nigeria as the reason
22 for the rise of ethnic militias which has threatened the unity of the country. However, the
23 paper maintained that the amalgamation can be sustained to enhance development which will
24 take Nigeria to international limelight.

25

26 **Index terms—**

27 **1 Introduction**

28 Nigeria is the only country in Africa that the term amalgamation was used to describe the unification of all the
29 sections of the country into one nation. Before the unification, the entire area later named Nigeria was made
30 up of many ethnic groups. Each ethnic group had its own bureaucratic principles which described their various
31 administrations. Such City States included Kanem Bornu, the Igbo City State, Idoma City State, Nupe City State
32 and others, with distinct mode of political administration. Trading and relationship was carried out in the form
33 of international relations. 1 Lord Lugard who came to Northern Nigeria in 1895 from Uganda was the architect
34 of Nigeria's amalgamation. He came to Northern Nigeria at the instance of the military campaigns of George
35 Goldie authorized Royal Niger Company (RNC). He contributed immensely to the conquering of Northern Nigeria
36 for the Royal Niger Company. Sokoto, the seat of the Caliphate was the last Northern territory he captured
37 for the British in 1903. He was appointed the first British high commissioner of Northern Nigeria. He later
38 created the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In 1862 Lagos Island became a colony of Britain and Mr. H.S.
39 Freeman was appointed the Governor. Thirty two years after the formation of Lagos colony, in 1893; oil Rivers
40 Protectorate was established and later renamed the Niger coast protectorate with Calabar as the capital. In
41 1890, British Reporter Flora Shaw later Flora Lugard suggested that the area occupied by the British be named
42 Nigeria after the Niger River. In 1900 the Niger coast protectorate was merged with the Colony of Lagos and

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43 renamed the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Lord Lugard proposed the merging of the two protectorates for
44 easy administration.

45 The idea of administrative convenience as the aim of the unification has been debated by Scholars over the
46 years. Richard Akinjide noted the reason behind Lugard's amalgamation bid: "He said that the north is poor
47 and they have no resources to run the protectorate of the North. That the South has resources and that they
48 have educated people". ?? This imply that the amalgamation was done so that the resources from the South
49 could be used to run the entire administration of the country including the north with limited resources.

50 The amalgamation bid was deliberated for a long period before implementation, therefore; it was not a
51 spontaneous thing. He had the idea of merging the different part of the country ten years before his appointment
52 as Governor General of Nigeria. He noted the tribal acrimony that existed between the different part of the
53 country and how enactment and execution of National policies were delayed. Lord Lugard was not alone in the
54 advocacy for amalgamation. For instance, Sir William Macgregor (Governor of Lagos) and Sir Raph Moore (High
55 Commissioner of Southern Nigeria) agreed with him and strongly advocated for the amalgamation even though
56 the Queen of England never saw the need for it 3 . Lord Lugard submitted his amalgamation proposal to the
57 secretary of State for the colonies, Mr Lewis Vernon Harcourt who was unanimous with him that the merger was
58 of utmost importance for effective administration of the area. In his response, Harcourt advise Lugard to carry
59 out an in-depth field work of the country and therefore determine if the different regions should be unified. The
60 colonial Secretary further urged him to get acquainted with the local condition of the two protectorates before
61 finally submitting the amalgamation proposal to the Queen of England. This was carried out by Lord Lugard
62 before finally submitting the detached proposal in may 1913 to the Queen of England. Lord Lugard was appointed
63 Governor of both the Northern and Southern protectorates during the transition period of amalgamation to enable
64 him conduct the task of amalgamation effectively. There was intense correspondence and negotiations between
65 Lugard and Harcourt almost on every issue, from boundary adjustment to taxation policy and even down to
66 individual appointments to various positions in the new unified civil service. ?? Between 1912 ?? Between -1913,
67 the processes leading to amalgamation were formalized in formal document which included the formal unification
68 of the geographical entities into one, the formal unification of the administrative structures and institutions such
69 as the civil service, army, Police, railway and others, the appointment instrument of Lugard as Governor General
70 of the unified territories, enactment of legal instrument for the territory, appointment of key political officers
71 such as L. C. Temple as Lieutenant Governor of Southern Nigeria, the appointment of Sir Edwin Speed as the
72 first Chief Justice of Nigeria and other ancillary provisions. On first January 1914, the Northern and Southern
73 protectorates were finally unified in a historic amalgamation ceremony held in both Lagos and Zungeru. The
74 ceremonies were conducted in the Supreme Court building at Timbu Square, Lagos -Island on 1 st January 1914
75 and Zungeru on 3 rd January 1914. Zungeru was the then capital of Northern Protectorate 5 .

76 Nigerian Scholars have critically faulted the unification of over two hundred and fifty ethnic nationalities into
77 one entity called Nigeria. Akinjide attribute the root causes of Nigeria's problem to 1914 amalgamation 6 . The
78 British amalgamated the administration of the territory under their controlled and not the people of different
79 ethnic nationalities. The objective was that with a unified administration of the country, it would be possible
80 to construct a railway line from the North to the South for easy convergence of raw materials and other goods
81 from all sections of the territory before finally shipping to their industries overseas. Lord Lugard through his
82 field work and under study of the entire territories under British jurisdiction realized that the South was very
83 rich in natural resources with access to the sea. The North was not very lucky with these natural endowments
84 apart from agricultural resources whose revenue was quite low. Therefore, it was their well thought out plan
85 to unify the entire territories together so that the huge revenue of the south could be used to run the entire
86 administration of the country including the North 7 . Also Joseph Garba argues that Lugard had no intention
87 of revolutionizing the social, political and economic institutions of the territory where he reigned. But he was
88 determined primarily to conserve and tightened British hold on the area known as Nigeria. Lugard had similarly
89 no desire to forge unity between the diverse peoples of Nigeria and weld them into a common people 8 .

90 Similarly, Akinola Aguda posits that the British wanted a large and expansive market for their developing
91 manufacturing concerns 9 .

92 The amalgamation of the country still left some sections of the country to the Nationalism of their ethnic
93 groups. Most of the things done especially in the 1950's were carried out on ethnic lines. In the field of politics,
94 when the Northerners formed a political party, they named it The Northern People's Congress instead of Nigerian
95 People's Congress. Aminu Kano formed The Northern Element Progressive Union. There was no political party
96 in the North that had a nationalistic outlook. Obafemi Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikiwe were patriots the Nigerian
97 amalgamation. They formed the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), and the National Council of Nigeria and the
98 Cameroun (NCNC) respectively. The political parties of both Awolowo and Azikiwe were true Nigerian political
99 parties considering the names of the parties. But even with these, the political parties were formed on ethnic
100 nationality basis. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) formed by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was to
101 promote the political interest of the people of the South East, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) by virtue
102 of its name was an exclusive political party of the people of Northern Nigeria while the Nigerian Youth Movement
103 (NYM) was formed and led by Obafemi Awolowo for the political interest of the people of the South West 10 .
104 The emergence of ethnic based political parties as mentioned above later led to the formation of ethnic based

105 militia groups to protect and propagate the interest of their ethnic groups. Some of the ethnic militias were
106 formed as militia wings of the political parties, to protect the party's interest during election.

107 **2 II. Ethnic Consciousness and The Rise of Ethnic Militias in 108 Nigeria**

109 The unification of all the ethnic groups of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 did not
110 alter people's loyalty and commitment to their ethnic nationalities. It is always contended that Lord Lugard
111 unified the administrative structures of the country and not the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in the
112 country. The people were still conscious and owe allegiance to their ethnic groups. After the amalgamation of
113 the country, three major ethnic groups were prominent among all the ethnic groups that make up the country.
114 These were the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba. The Hausa/Fulani people occupied a greater part of the North,
115 Yoruba people occupied the West while the Igbo dominated the Eastern part of the country. There was unity of
116 purpose among members of Volume XX Issue I Version I

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118 each of the major ethnic groups even after the amalgamation of the country. For instance in 1947, Alhaji
119 Abubakar Tafewa Balewa in support of the Hausa/ Fulani stated that "he decided to make it clear to all, that
120 if the British quitted Nigeria now at this stage, the Northern people would continue their conquest to the sea".
121 Similarly and in response to Balewa's statement, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe made a shocking statement that perverted
122 his national outlook and undermine his nationalistic feelings and reputation; a very dangerous ethnic remark:

123 It would appear that God of Africa has specially created the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from
124 the bondage of the ages? the martial prowess of the Igbo nation at all stages of human history has enable them
125 not only to conquer others, but also to adapt themselves to the role of preserver? the Igbo nation cannot shirk
126 its responsibility 11 .

127 The statement by Azikiwe has prompted scholars to analyze his intention leading to the conclusion that
128 Nigerian elites right from the period of colonialism were tied to their ethnic groups instead of commitment to
129 Nigeria as a nation. The false amalgamation of Nigeria and the consciousness of ethnic groups reflected in the
130 establishment of media organizations such as newspapers during the colonial period. The three major ethnic
131 groups had Newsprints in which they used as a mouth piece to propagate their activities. The West African Pilot
132 was an Igbo organ used in presenting the interest and aspirations of the Igbo people and the National Council of
133 Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC). Also, the Daily Service was the weapon of war of words for the Yoruba and
134 the Action Group (AG). ??2 The confrontation assumed a greater magnitude almost degenerating into ethnic
135 conflict between the Igbo and Yoruba. Onigu Otite captured it thus: between July and September 1948, the Igbo-
136 Yoruba hostility assumed such high proportions that extremist on both sides bought up all available machetes
137 in the Lagos markets in anticipation of ethnic violence. Although violence did not erupt, growth in ethnic
138 prejudices, identification and sentiments had increased beyond a tolerable threshold. ??3 The statement above
139 affirms ethnicity and ethnic loyalty in Nigeria. Political parties during the colonial period were formed based on
140 ethnicity. Each of the parties promoted and protected the interest of the ethnic group they represented. The
141 political parties of the period emerged from the cultural associations of the ethnic group. The Northern People's
142 Congress (NPC) represented the interest of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. The National Council of Nigeria
143 and the Cameroon (NCNC) represented and protected the interest of the Igbo ethnic group. While, The Action
144 Group (AG) was the dominant political party of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria, concerning these ethnic
145 cultural based political parties, Onigu Otite notes: ? It has been noted that political parties were strengthened
146 by the respective ethnic cultural associations of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, the Igbo State Union and the
147 Egbe Omo Oduduwa of the Yoruba? pre independence politics in Nigeria represented this political triangle.
148 ??4 The people of the Middle Belt dominated mainly by the Tiv in the Benue and Plateau regions exonerated
149 themselves from the main stream Northern group -the Hausa/Fulani. They were described by the Moslem Hausa
150 Fulani as pagan people with pagan culture. Their indigenous interest were put forward when they formed a
151 political party known as the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) led by J.S. Tarka. On the whole, indigenes
152 of certain sections of the country formed political parties to articulate the interest of such areas. Alhaji Aminu
153 Kano mobilized for the exclusiveness of the Kano area and therefore formed the Northern Element Progressive
154 Union (NEPU). It is noted that these ethnic affiliations of political parties were done to enhance the national
155 interest of the entire ethnic group or component unit concerned and to preserve the identity of such ethnic group.

156 Ethnic based politics also reflected in 1979 during the second Republic where the five political parties that
157 contested the 1979 election were formed based on ethnic enclave. Party officials and supporters of these political
158 parties were also from ethnic domain. Some of the parties were reincarnate of the defunct parties of the 1950's.
159 The National party of Nigeria (NPN) was a replacement of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and majority
160 of the party's members and supporters were from the Hausa /Fulani of the Northern section of the country.
161 Unity party of Nigeria (UPN) was a Yoruba ethnic based political party. Membership and supporters spread
162 from Ondo, Oyo, Kwara, Lagos and Ogun. Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.
163 The party replaced the defunct Action Group (AG) of the 1950's. Also, the defunct National Council of Nigerian
164 Citizens (NCNC) was replaced by the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) led by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, party's officials,

members and supporters were from and among the Igbo people of the South East. Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), formerly led by Aminu Kano was replaced by the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) and its base was in Kano area among the Hausa/ Fulani and some other minority ethnic groups in the area. In 1976, following the creation of Borno State, the Kanuri people of the State broke away from the NPC/NPN and gave full support to Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim who formed the Great Nigerian people's Party (GNPP). ??5 The analysis on ethno nationalism and the formation of political parties has shown that people pay more attention to ethnic groups than the unity of the country as an entity. Nigeria is a plural society with over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups. Three major ethnic groups, Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo are more prominent. Within each of these major ethnic groups are smaller ethnic groups usually referred to as minority. The minority groups are still subjected to domination by the major ethnic groups leading to fear on their part on what are their stakes in the polity. The fears of the minority have been the bane of the operation of Federalism in Nigeria since the colonial period. The Richard constitution of 1946 divided the country into three major regions taking into consideration the conspicuous cultural, linguistic, territorial and historical dissimilarities within these regions. This Colonial decision laid the foundation for the crisis that engulfed Nigeria immediately after independence. Sir Richard also failed to give consideration to the smaller ethnic groups within the three major regions. For instance in the Northern region of Nigeria the minority ethnic groups include the Kanuri, Tivs, Angas, Idoma, Nupe and others apart from the Hausa Fulani, the largest and majority in the region. In the Eastern region, apart from the Igbo being the majority, there are the Ogoni, Ijaw, Ibibio, Efik and others. In the western region, the Yoruba are the majority while the minorities include Urhobo, Edo, and Bini. ??6 The minority ethnic groups towards independence became agitated and conscious of their position and place in the scheme of things in the Federation. This was due to the procedure and the modus operandi of the Colonial Government especially its working relationship with the major ethnic groups. This created the consciousness on some groups as belonging to the minority. These ethnic minorities had earlier before 1946 constitution formed ethno cultural associations to propagate its interest. The Ibibio Union was the first cultural organization in Nigeria even though without a clear and explicit political agenda because the issue of Federalism and marginalization were not evident in its agenda or program. Later, other ethnic minority unions such as Edo National Union, Calabar Improvement League and the Ijaw Progressive Union emerged with a clear cut political character. The minority unions wanted representation in the political process of the federation. They also agitated for the creation of exclusive region independent of the majority ethnic group. 17 Increased agitation of the minority attracted the attention of the colonial Government. To address the issue, the colonial secretary of Nigeria Alan Lennox Boyd set up the minority commission headed by Sir Henry Willink on September 25 th 1957 to examine the grievances and demands of the ethnic minorities and proffer solution. The Willink commission was the first and the most comprehensive attempt at resolving multi ethnicity in Nigeria. It generated a rich collection of document, legal draft, reports and opinions from its sitting held in different parts of the country. The memorandum submitted, have become a valuable data for understanding minority agitation in Nigeria. The commission created awareness and a resurgent of minority agitation in Nigeria. The commission realized two major fears of the minority: the division of the country into three regions and each region with a major ethnic group with large population, second, with the then approaching independence; the minority feared that they may not be quite significant. The report of the commission was a major gateway to the long debate and agitation for ethnic balancing in Nigeria federal system. The minority ethnic group expected that the commission would recommend for the creation of a separate State for them in each region. The colonial government quite agreed with the findings of the commission but opted for the massive infrastructural development of the area as the best way to end the agitation and fears of the minority 18 . The commission was unable to resolve the fears of the minority during the late 1950's, hence the emergence and proliferation of political instability in Nigeria from the eve of independence to the outbreak of the civil war. Lack of implementation of the recommendation of the Willink Commission by post independent Government has resulted in the formation of ethnic militias in both the majority and minority areas due to marginalization.

Post independent ethnic militias started in 1966 when Isaac Adaka Boro formed an armed militia consisting mainly of his fellow Ijaw ethnic group in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Isaac Boro observed the exploitation of his people where the oil revenue derived from petroleum resources of the Niger Delta was used by the Federal Government of Nigeria to provide infrastructures in other part of the country. The people of the area were marginalized and subjected to various environmental hazards as a result of oil spillage. Boro's contention was that the people of the region deserved to be given a fair share of the proceeds of the oil wealth. He formed the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF). Boro and his group declared the Niger Delta Republic on February 23 1966, attacked police stations in Yenegoa, raided the armory and kidnapped some security officers including police officers who were in charge of the command station. The militia group also blew up oil pipelines and gallantly fought the Federal forces for twelve days but finally they were subdued and arrested by the superior and well trained Federal forces. Isaac Boro and his associates were tried on a nine count charge of treason felony at Port Harcourt before Justice Phil Ebosie and condemned to death by the Aguiyi Ironsi's regime. Isaac Boro and his associates were however granted amnesty by Gen. Yakubu Gowon on the eve of the civil war in May 1967. ??9 Loyalty to ethnic nationalities reflected again during the first republic in Nigeria. This resulted in a military coup, cooked and executed by officers from the Eastern region on 15 th January 1966. Majority of the victims of the coup were Nigerian leaders from the Northern part of the country. This resulted in discord and hatred between the North and people of the Eastern region. The discord heightened when the first republic was

228 truncated bringing the military into power under the leadership of General Aguiyi Ironsi of the Eastern region.
229 This created suspicion that the coup was targeted at the people of the north resulting in a counter and revenge
230 coup of July 1966. The coup was planned and executed by officers of northern region against officers and the
231 people of Eastern region. The Head of States Gen. Ironsi and other officers of Igbo origin were murdered in cold
232 blood. This resulted in anti Igbo pogrom in the North. This provided a basis for the secession of the Eastern
233 region from Nigeria and naming the area Republic of Biafra. This plunged the country into a civil war that
234 lasted up to January 1970 when Biafra surrendered to the Nigerian forces ??0 .

235 Renewed militia activities and ethnicity erupted in the late 1980's and early 1990's during the regime of
236 former military president Gen. Ibrahim Babangida. The annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election
237 by the Military President, open up ethnic militias in an unprecedented scale. The presidential election was
238 internationally acclaimed to be the freest and fairest election in the political history of Nigeria. It was won by
239 late Chief M.K.O Abiola of the defunct Social Democratic Party (SDP), a Yoruba of the South West. President
240 Babangida who annulled the election with no justifiable reason was of the Hausa Fulani of the North. This
241 threw the two ethnic groups into untold acrimony. Tension in the country grew to the magnitude that President
242 Babangida stepped aside in August 1993 leaving the country in the hands of Interim National Government (ING)
243 headed by Ernest Shonekan. The ING maintained the same structure of Government put in place by Gen.
244 Babangida. In a palace coup, Ernest Shonekan and his interim government was toppled on 17 th November
245 1993. General Sanni Abacha became the Head of states and refused to restore the electoral mandate of Chief
246 Abiola, the winner of June 12 th presidential election. In an attempt to sit tight in office, he used state security
247 apparatus to launched mayhem on the Yoruba. The Yoruba people responded and formed a militia group known
248 as Oodua People's Congress (OPC) to promote the interest and the course of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria.
249 The OPC inspired the formation of militia groups in the country. They include the Bakassi Boys, Movement for
250 the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the east among the Igbo ethnic group, Arewa
251 people's Congress (APC) for the Hausa/Fulani, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND),
252 Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) and others in the Niger
253 Delta 21 . Today there is the dreaded Boko Haram insurgent group in the North East that have engaged in
254 kidnapping, hostage taking and bombing of targeted areas in the North East. There is also, the Ombatse Ethnic
255 militia among the Eggon people of Nasarawa State.

256 The O'odua People's Congress (OPC) was formed in reaction to the marginalization of the Yoruba ethnic
257 group due to the annulment of June 12 th 1993 presidential election won by one of their own, late Chief Moshood
258 Abiola. The OPC captured the resentment of the Yoruba ethnic nationality to their perceived marginalization.
259 It formation had the endorsement of some prominent Yoruba indigenes as an organized reaction to the injustice
260 as well as iniquity being visited on the Yoruba by the Nigerian federation ??2 . Frederick Fasheun posits that the
261 aim of OPC was to protect and promote their socio-cultural aspect, and also fight for justice for all ??3 . Right
262 from may 29 th 1999, the OPC has slowed down in militia activities and operate as a vigilante group. This is
263 because President Olusegun Obasanjo who became the President of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 was of the Yoruba
264 ethnic group.

265 The Arewa People's Congress (APC) is a Hausa/Fulani ethnic militia formed to monitor and checkmate the
266 activities of the OPC and defend the Northern interest. The movement for the actualization of the Sovereign
267 State of Biafra MASSOB led by Raph Uwazurike, was formed to revived the struggle for the realization of the
268 secession bid of the people of the South East of Nigeria, the Igbo ethnic group. In a bid to launched itself into
269 limelight and achieve its objectives, MASSOB have engaged in widespread confrontation with the Nigerian police
270 several times. Concerning the 'MASSOB' confrontation with the Nigerian Police, Badmus states:

271 The attempt by this militia movement to launch the Biafran State in Aba, a township in South Eastern Nigeria
272 resulted in a bloody clash between the Police and the MASSOB, leading to the arrest of the militia leaders.
273 Frequent clashes between the group and law enforcement agencies always resulted in death of its members and
274 destruction of properties in most Igbo urban areas ??4 . In spite of the frequent arrest and dead of its members,
275 the militia group has continued with its separatist struggle undeterred.

276 The return of Nigeria to a democratic Government in 1999 has resulted in increase in militia groups in the Niger
277 Delta. This arose due to the neglect of the people of the region by both the federal government and the multi-
278 national oil companies. Even with the huge oil deposits in the region and billions of Dollars derived from oil sales,
279 the region still remain underdeveloped with lack of basic amenities especially during the military regimes. The
280 Niger Delta militia groups included Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Ijaw people's
281 Movement (IPM), Ijaw youth Council (IYC), Itsekiri Nationality Patriot (INP), Movement for the Survival of
282 Ogoni people (MOSOP), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger
283 Delta Freedom Fighters (NDFF), and the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). These militia groups first engaged in
284 peaceful protest over marginalization of the area, later, it degenerated into stronger measures which include
285 insurgency, vandalization of oil pipelines, kidnapping and hostage taking of oil workers and government officials
286 and illegal oil bunkering. ??5 III.

287 4 Conclusion

288 This article has analyze the event leading to the amalgamation or unification of Nigeria by the British colonialists.
289 The unification of Nigeria was purely for the interest of the British colonialist without considering the future

4 CONCLUSION

290 of the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in the area. Therefore the amalgamation was imposed on the
291 diverse people of the area. Some of these ethnic groups were outstanding kingdoms and Empires with powerful
292 rulers. The opinion of these ones should have been sought for before the final decision on the amalgamation. May
293 be some of the ethnic groups would have rejected it or opt out of the negotiation. It is my opinion that if there
294 was proper negotiation and agreement reached, a concrete rationale or philosophy would have been devised as
295 the tripod stand for the take off of the new nation. That philosophy based on truth, integrity and loyalty would
296 have held all the ethnic groups together. They would have look on to that guiding principle as the foundation of
297 the nation. With no general philosophy of amalgamation, people became loyal to their ethnic groups even before
298 independence in 1960. All the political parties during the period were formed based on ethnic considerations,
299 examples included Northern People's Congress (NPC), Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and others.
300 National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) was Igbo political party while the Action Group (AG)
301 was Yoruba based political party. Political crisis during the first republic revolved around the supremacy of these
302 ethnic based political parties leading to the first military coup and subsequently an attempt at secession by the
303 Igbo, leading to a bloody civil war which took the lives of over one million people. In the early 1960's after
304 independence, agitations and fears of the minority resulted in resentment and attempt at secession. This took
305 place when Isaac Boro formed the Niger Delta volunteer force (NDVF), a militia group in the Niger Delta region.
306 The group declared the Niger Delta republic and attacked police stations in the area. Although the attempt
307 was truncated, it was a gateway to the emergence of ethnic militias in Nigeria. Ethnic militias emerged in an
308 unprecedented scale in the early 1990's, first as a result of military rule and its attendant misrule, misappropriation
309 of funds and neglect of the people of the Niger Delta. Second, the annulment of the June 12 1993 election was won
310 by Chief MKO Abiola, a Yoruba while the military President, Ibrahim Babangida who annulled the election was
311 Hausa/Fulani. This resulted in acrimony between the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani. This led to the formation
312 of the O'odua people's Congress (OPC), a militia group of the Yoruba to actualized the mandate of June 12 th
313 1993 election. The formation of the OPC inspired the formation of other ethnic based militia groups all over
314 the country. They include Arewa People's Congress (APC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign
315 State of Biafra (MASSOB), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
316 (MEND), Boko Haram and many others. They have all engaged in insurgent activities in their respective areas
317 leading to destruction of lives and properties.

318 It is hundred and five years (105) after the amalgamation of Nigeria. The country has come a long way
319 on the journey to nationhood. Nigerians cannot still fold their arms and bemoan the ills of the amalgamation
320 of 1914. Nigeria is a great nation, with over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, massive land mass, over two
321 hundred million people and huge deposits of natural resources and agricultural produce. If these assets are utilized
322 properly without corruption, first, the standard of living of Nigerians will improve, second, proceeds from the
323 natural resources can be used for industrialization. No nation can developed in an atmosphere of insecurity and
324 insurgency caused by ethnic militias. If ethnic militias can lay down their arms, cooperate with the Government
325 and contributes their quota, the nation will be secured for people to engage in pragmatic ventures. Also, the
326 country will be secured for good governance and infrastructural development. It is when this is done that the
327 amalgamation of all the diverse ethnic groups will turn out to be a blessing instead of a cause for the division in
the country. ^{1 2}

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Figure 1: