

Building and Sustaining peace and security in multiethnic Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

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Since Independence in 1960, Nigeria has been inundated with series of peace and security challenges, which have risen to an unprecedented level in the last one decade. Some of the major causes among several others include tribal and ethnic affinity and allegiances, bad leadership, prolonged military rule, large scale corruption, institutional failure, poverty, religious bigotry, inequitable distribution of wealth, deplorable conditions of social and infrastructural amenities, unemployment and underemployment, unreliable security agents/institutions and porous border entry points. These have resulted in serious security threats to life and property in various parts of the country. For example, kidnapping for rituals and ransom is very common in the Eastern part of the country; armed robbery in southwestern geopolitical zone; and religious killings in the northern part of the country. The federal, state and local governments as well as nongovernmental organizations have made several efforts to address the problem with little or no results. The paper therefore discusses and analyses the various causes; examines case study episodes; assesses efforts made at addressing the problem and proposes the way forward that can assist in building and sustaining peace and security in the country.

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Historical and geographical Profile of Nigeria

Nigeria came into existence on January 1, 1914 as a result of the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates and the Lagos Colony under the British colonial administration. Before the amalgamation, Nigeria was “a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and even multi political culture. As such, Nigeria was extremely heterogeneous and complex.”¹ (Uka, 2012). There are over 300 different ethnic groups with as many languages and over 1,000 dialects. Various parts of the territories known as Nigeria today were ceded to the British imperialists at different times and dates. Lagos was ceded to Britain in 1861, while the Southern Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office in 1899. The Northern part of the country that was administered by the Royal Niger Company, whose primary interest was commercial, was taken over by the British colonial administration on January 1, 1900. Lagos was the seat of government until in 1990, when it was removed to Abuja by Babangida military administration.

On October 1, 1960, Nigeria attained her independence and operated a Westminster Parliamentary system of government with three regions (became four regions in 1963) under a federal system and became a republic on October 1, 1963.² Between 1964 and 1966, the country witnessed unprecedented violent political and ethnic crises that led to abrupt termination of the First Republic through the first military coup in 1966 led by an Igbo military officer. The coup was believed to have ethnic coloration for killing the Prime Minister (a Northerner), the premiers of the Northern and Western regions and other key northerners along with top Army officers that were brutally assassinated. This led to a reprisal coup led by a northerner in July; and consequently thirty-month civil war from 2 July 1967 to 15 January 1970. The military rule lasted for thirteen years; a civilian presidential regime emerged under the leadership of President Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria on October 1, 1979. The civilian administration was terminated on December 31, 1983 by a military coup. This marked the return of the military to the country’s political arena until May 1999.

The new military regime led by Major-General Muhamadu Buhari was overthrown in August 1985 by Major General Ibrahim Babangida – the Army Chief of Staff who proclaimed himself ‘President’. Babangida led the country through a squally and gusty political transition programme to civil rule, which he eventually scuttled by annulling the June 12 1993 Presidential election that was presumably won by late Chief M.K.O. Abiola.

¹ This was acknowledged by the Governor General of Nigeria between 1920-31 , Sir Hugh Clifford, who described Nigeria as "a collection of independent Native States, separated from one another by great distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers." (Nigeria Council Debate. Lagos, 1920 – Cited from Abubakar A. Atofarati (1992).

² The period between 1960 and 1966 is referred to as the First Republic; 1979-1983 the Second Republic; 1992-1993 the aborted Third Republic; and 1999 to date the Fourth Republic.

The heat and violent protests that greeted the annulment of the elections forced Babangida to “step aside”. He then put in place an Interim National Government (ING) led by Chief Ernest Shonekan. Shonekan’s government lasted until November 1993 when his Secretary of Defence, General Sanni Abacha, removed him in a palace coup and made himself the head of state until his death on June 7, 1998. The members of his Provincial Ruling Council (PRC) then selected the Chief of Defence Staff, General Abdulsalam Abubakar as his successor who handed over to a civilian government on May 29, 1999. By May 1999, Nigeria had been ruled by the military for about 30 years out of 39 years of independence. This historical profile clearly portrays a horrid governance environment devoid of peace, full of political instability and unhealthy ethnic rivalries, which adversely affected socio-economic development of the country.

Nigeria occupies 924,000 square kilometres with two distinct climatic zones – the tropical south and the hot, dry north. Three main cultural groups dominate; situated in the southwest (Yorubaland), the southeast (Igboland) and the north (Hausaland/Borno). The 2006 Population Census put the country’s population as 140 million. The current estimated population of the country is about 160 million. The rest of the paper is divided into five sections.

Breach of Peace and Insecurity in the Country from Independence in 1960 to 2014

This section discusses issues bothering on breach of peace, insecurity and political instability from Independence in 1960 to 2014.

1960-1966

This period referred to as the First Republic witnessed several crises before its collapse on January 15, 1966. Prominent among these crises include the political turmoils in the Western Region leading to the declaration of the state of emergency on May 29 1962. The Prime Minister declared that “That in pursuance of Section 65 of the constitution of the federation it is declared that a state of public emergency exists and that this resolution shall remain in force until the end of the month of December, nineteen hundred and sixty-two.”³ He added that “No responsible government of the federation could allow an explosive situation such as that which now exists in Western Nigeria to continue without taking adequate measures to ensure that there is an early return to the region of peace, order and good government.”³ There were also series of serious riots in Tivland in 1960 and 1964. The cumulation constituted the remote causes that led to the first military coup in on January 15 1966. The immediate cause, however, “concerned the nationwide disillusionment with the corrupt and selfish politicians, as well as with their inability to maintain law and order and guarantee the safety of lives and property.”⁴ The coups aggravated ethnic tensions and increased more mass pogroms in July and September 1966.

³ See http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/FedGovt/Federalism/emergency_rule/western_region_balewa.html

⁴ http://www.photius.com/countries/nigeria/government/nigeria_government_the_1966_coups_civi~10021.html

Civil War

Then, came the 30-month civil war (2 July 1967 to 15 January 1970) resulting from the various unresolved ethnic and political crises in various parts of the country and in particular the coup and the counter coup of 1966. The failure of Aburi Conference⁵ to resolve the crisis and the creation of twelve states on May 27 1967 from the four existing regions were perhaps the immediate causes of the war. The then Military Governor of the Eastern Region, Lt. Col. Ojukwu saw the act of the creation of states by decree "without consultation" as the last straw,⁶ and thereby declared the Region an independent state of "Biafra" on 30 May 1967, which the Federal Government considered as an act of secession and illegal. Efforts to resolve the issue peacefully failed; and to avoid total disintegration of the country, the federal government had only one choice of bringing back the Region to the main fold by force.⁷ The war, which led to loss of thousands of lives and properties, is difficult to estimate and value.

Ethnic, Cultural and Militia Movements⁸

The failure of the State to provide effective security services and ensure protection of lives and properties in the country and particularly the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the Nigeria Police and other enforcement agencies like the State Security Service (SSS) in carrying out their constitutional duties, made some communities and ethnic groups to establish themselves as "Self Determination Groups". (Chikwem, 2005). According to Chikwem "some were initially formed on a genuineness to assist the society and others, on self-enrichment strategies." He argues that some of them, however, "have taken laws into their hands and are responsible for numerous human rights abuses, murder, execution, illegal detention, unlawful arrest, rape, extortions, illegal judgments, terrorist activities, etc." Prominent among these groups are the Bakassi Boys, O'odua Peoples Congress (OPC), Movement of the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Arewa People Congress (APC), Oodua Liberation Movement (OLM), Revolutionary Council of Nigeria (RCN), Igbo Peoples Congress (IPC), Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), Ijaw National Congress, the Hisbah groups, Egbesu Boys, Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and and more

⁵ The Aburi Conference held between 4 and 5 January 1967 at Aburi, Ghana was at the instance of Lt.-General J.A. Ankrah - the Ghanaian Head of State. The venue was chosen because the eastern delegates led by the Governor of Eastern State Colonel Ojukwu's felt their safety could not be guaranteed anywhere within the western or northern part of the country

⁶ Abubakar .A. Atofarati (1992) "The Nigerian civil war: causes, strategies and lessons learnt."
<http://www.dawodu.com/atofarati1.htm>

⁷ <http://www.dawodu.com/atofarati1.htm>

⁸ This various groups cannot be discussed within the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that each of the groups can be a full study on its own.

recently the dreaded Boko Haram religious terrorist group in the North.⁹ These ethnic, cultural and militia movements have played prominent roles in either disrupting, or keeping, maintaining and building peace in Nigeria.

Apparently disturbed by the activities of the ethnic groups, President Olusegun Obasanjo, sent a bill (The Prohibition of Certain Associations Act 2002)¹⁰ to the federal legislature, which if passed would empower him to "dissolve and proscribe any persons, association of individuals or quasi-military groups, which in his opinion is formed for the purposes of furthering the political, religious, ethnic, tribal, cultural or social interest of a group...contrary to the peace, order and good governance" of the federation. The "targets of the bill include organizations led by prominent politicians, which purport to defend the interests of ethnic groups or sections of the country," which he has accused three such groups of being catalysts of ethnic conflicts. These are Arewa Consultative Forum, Afenifere and Ohaneze, which respectively champion the interests of the biggest ethnic groupings, the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and Igbo." Proscribing those groups was felt to be a violation of human rights and a way of silencing those opposed to his administration. Accordingly, Chickweed (2005) recommended that "Afenifere, Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, and Arewa Consultative Forum the apex body of the Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa respectively should provide advisory support to genuine self-determination groups (SDG) within their regions and to reengineer their programs to accommodate the Nigerian society of the 21st century. "

Insecurity in Nigeria from 1999-2014

This period witnessed the highest era of insecurity and breach of peace in the country. It is perhaps, the most traumatic, distressful and lawless period in the history of Nigeria. Thousands of lives were lost to insurgency and terror attacks, kidnapping, armed robbery, political thuggery and assassinations. See tables 1 and 2.

Causes of In security and Breach of Peace in Nigeria

Several reasons have been adduced to ethnic violence, insecurity, breach of peace and political instability in the country including among others: over-concentration of political power at the centre; weak judicial system, injustice, nepotism and a culture of impunity; high level of corruption; weak (political, social, economic and traditional) institutions; unpatriotic, unscrupulous and greedy leaders; unemployment and underemployment; and lack of record/database of criminals (Don Okereke, 2012). Others include boundary disputes, ignorance, intolerance among various groups and communities, unequal distribution of

⁹ Boko Haram is not an ethnic or cultural group but an Islamist organisation that has been active in Northeastern Nigeria since 2009. The name of the group literally means, "Western" education is a sin or an abomination. The group has launched violent attacks on churches and institutions especially schools and police stations and sometimes banks.

¹⁰ The Bill was sent on April 10, 2002. Please see <http://www.irinnews.org/report/31092/nigeria-obasanjo-proposes-law-to-ban-ethnic-militias>; <http://www.dawodu.com/chikwem1.htm>;

resources among others. (Jimoh, 2013). Other factors include marginalisation of minority groups, intolerant violent political activities, proliferation of small arms and ammunition across the country; porous borders, constitutional lapses like immunity for serving governors, the president and their deputies; religious bigotry, inefficient and ineffective, corrupt and ill-equipped security outfits etc. These factors have contributed in various degrees to insecurity in the country.

Institutional Analysis of Building and Sustaining Peace in Nigeria

Nigeria is faced with multi-facet problems that have threatened the peace, security and survival of the country at different times and places from the colonial times through independence in 1960 up till present time that have necessitated multi-various institutional approaches in building and sustaining peace in the country. A few of such actions and approaches are discussed. Some of the institutions and interventions are adhoc while others are semi-permanent or permanent.

The Aburi Conference in Ghana in 1966

The Aburi Conference was an attempt to rescue the nation and the military institution from collapsing arising from ethnic, social, and political crises that plagued and engulfed the nation. The military leaders and senior police officials met at Aburi, Ghana, between 5th and 7th 1967, at the instance of the Ghanaian military head, Lt-General Joe Ankrah. By now, the Eastern Region was threatening secession. In a last-minute bid to hold Nigeria together, the military reached an accord that provided for a loose confederation of regions that was later jettisoned because it was felt that Gowon¹¹ did not fully comprehend the constitutional implications of the agreement. Colonel Ojukwu¹² had argued "It is better that we move slightly apart and survive, it is much worse that we move closer and perish in the collision." In essence, Ojukwu wanted to achieve a constitutional arrangement that would devolve so much power to the regions that the entity known as Nigeria would exist in name only. At the end of the day, the Aburi Conference failed to restore political, social, law and order to the country; neither did it succeed to avert the civil war, nor build and sustain peace in the country.

Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

One of the steps taken by Gowon's administration after the civil war was the display of magnanimity of his government to embark on a post-war policy of Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction implemented through the Second National Development Plan (1970-1974). The plan aimed to serve largely as "a means of reconstructing the facilities

¹¹ Colonel Yakubu Gowon was the military head of state appointed after the second coup in July 1966.

¹² Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu was the Military Governor of Eastern Region and the force behind the declaration Biafra Republic.

damaged by war and promoting economic and social development throughout the Nation" (Tomori and Fajana, 1984: 140).¹³

National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)

This scheme, the longest surviving government programme in Nigeria, was established by Decree No 24 of May 22, 1973 by General Yakubu Gowon's administration and amended by Decree No. 51 of June 16, 1993. The scheme was part of efforts to reconstruct, reconcile, and rebuild the country after the Nigerian civil war with utmost purpose of ensuring unity and peace in the country. The scheme is also to inculcate in Nigerian youths the spirit of selfless service to the community and the spirit of oneness and brotherhood of all Nigerians, as well as facilitating national integration irrespective of cultural or social background. Through the programme, there are instances of intermarriages of corps members from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The scheme has also helped to improve cultural understanding among Nigerian youths particularly corps-members.

Four decades after the introduction of the programme in 1973, there are mixed feelings as to whether the programme has actually achieved its purpose of national integration and unity. In its early years, one could agree that it has achieved it largely. However, in recent years, corps members serving in some states of the federation have been killed while scores of others were raped, molested or assaulted and in some places kidnapped. This has led to calls in some quarters to scrap the programme. For example, Imo State Governor, Chief Rochas Okorochoa, has called for the scrapping of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and argued that the scheme had outlived its usefulness because it has failed to promote unity.¹⁴ Oluwale Aluko, an Ibadan-based lawyer, file a suit against the President and Attorney-General of the Federation seeking the invalidation of the National Youth Service Corps, scheme in a Federal High Court in Ibadan, Oyo State, which was dismissed. He had sought the scraping of the NYSC scheme, contending that NYSC Decree (now Act) amounts to servitude and forced labour; and is therefore inconsistent with the 1999 Constitution.¹⁵ On the other hand, the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar, argued against the scrapping of the National Youth Service Corps, the call he described as unpatriotic because "the scheme is making critical impact positively in the various sectors of Nigeria's economy."¹⁶ Again, this is another institution that has apparently failed to build peace and sustain it in the country.

¹³ See www.onlinenigeria.com/military/?blurb=677; www.onlinenigeria.com/military/?blurb=677#ixzz2zxEjlqTj

¹⁴ See *This Day News Paper* 26 November 2012.

¹⁵ Legal Tussle to Scrap NYSC Begins, *This Day News Paper*, 13 May 2011 and *Vanguard* November 28 2011.

¹⁶ *Vanguard News Paper* March 14, 2014 <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/03/scrapping-nysc-scheme-will-be-antithetical-sultan/>

Truth Commission

President Olusegun Obasanjo on June 14 1999 inaugurated a seven-person commission - the Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission (HRVIC, a.k.a. the Oputa Panel), headed by Justice Chukwudifu Oputa; to investigate human rights abuses dating back to the military coup of January 15, 1966 till May 28, 1999, the day before the last military handover to civilians. Specifically, the Commission had the mandate “to establish the causes, nature, and extent of human rights violations - in particular the assassinations and attempted killings - between January 15, 1966 and May 28, 1999, to identify perpetrators (individuals or institutions), determine the role of the state in the violations, and to recommend means to pursue justice and prevent future abuses.”¹⁷. The report which was submitted in May 2002 was discarded and government refused to implement any of its recommendations. The resources and time (2 years, 11 months) invested in the commission amounted to wasted efforts in its attempt to build peace and sustain it in the country.

Nigeria can borrow cue from countries where truth commissions had been successful in bringing about national healings and reconciliation. As reported by Amnesty International in “more than 30 countries, truth commissions have been established as official, temporary, non-judicial fact-finding bodies to investigate a pattern of abuses of human rights, including the crimes, and to establish the truth. Most conclude their work with a final report containing findings of fact and recommendations. From 1974 to 2007, at least 32 truth commissions were established in 28 countries.”¹⁸

Presidential Amnesty

To address the incessant conflicts, crises and insecurity in the Niger Delta, President Umaru Yar'Adua inaugurated 44-member Committee on 8th September, 2008. The Committee had the mandate to collate, review and distil the various reports, suggestions and recommendations on the Niger Delta from the Willinks Commission Report (1958) to the present, and give a summary of recommendations necessary for government action; to appraise the summary recommendations and present a detailed short, medium and long term suggestion to the challenges in the Niger Delta; and to make and present to Government any other recommendations that will help the Federal Government achieve sustainable development, peace, human and environmental security in the Niger Delta region.¹⁹ The committee submitted its report in November 2008 and made far reaching recommendations including appointing a mediator to facilitate discussions between government and militants; granting of amnesty to some militant leaders; launching a disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation campaign, and increase in the percentage of oil revenue to the Delta to 25 percent from the current 13 percent; establishing regulations that compel oil companies to have insurance bonds; making the enforcement of critical environmental laws a national priority; exposing

¹⁷ <http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-nigeria>

¹⁸ <http://www.amnesty.org/en/international-justice/issues/truth-commissions>

¹⁹ See Terms of Reference of the Committee

fraudulent environmental cleanups of oil spills and prosecuting operators, ending gas flaring by 31st December 2008 as previously ordered by the Federal Government (Oluduro and Oluduro, 2012).²⁰ Unlike the Report of Truth Commission that was jettisoned, the federal government set up “Presidential Panel on Amnesty and Disarmament of Militants in the Niger Delta on the 5th of May, 2009 to implement the recommendation concerning the granting of amnesty to Niger Delta militants. In its recommendations, this Panel set out the terms, procedures and processes of the grant of an amnesty to the Niger Delta militants. Accepting the recommendations, President Umaru Yar’Adua pursuant to section 175 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria granted ‘amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta’ “(ibid). An appraisal of the amnesty is certainly beyond this paper; suffice to say that the amnesty has brought huge relief to the region since the cessation of militants fights and attacks on oil installations.

State of Emergency

Since 2009, there has been growing incidence of violence and insecurity in the country, especially in the North East as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency and their terror activities. To ensure the protection of lives and property and avoid a total breakdown of law and order in the North-Eastern Nigerian States of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, the Federal Government on 14th May, 2013, declared a State of Emergency in those States, while political institutions and structures of elected Governments are, however, to operate unhindered. The State of Emergency, which was approved by the Senate and House of Representatives, is to be lifted as soon as normalcy returns to those States. In his broadcast to the nation, President Goodluck Jonathan declared “Following recent developments in the affected states, it has become necessary for Government to take extraordinary measures to restore normalcy. After wide consultations, and in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of Section 305, sub-section 1 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended, I hereby declare a state of emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. He added, “Accordingly, the Chief of Defence Staff has been directed to immediately deploy more troops to these states for more effective internal security operations. The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders to take all necessary actions, within the ambit of their rules of engagement, to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists.” What President Jonathan did can be described as partial state of emergency since the act does not suspend and/or change the functions of the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. This is different from what President Olusegun Obasanjo did in May 2004 when he declared a state of emergency in Plateau State. Obasanjo sacked governor Joshua Dariye, dissolved the Plateau State legislature and appointed a retired army general, Chris Ali, as interim administrator for the next six months.

President Jonathan’s action has been condemned in some quarters. Ekujumi (2013) strongly expressed his view:

²⁰ . see details in the Report of the Technical Committee Volume 1.

By the declaration of a state of emergency in some Northern states, President Jonathan has unwittingly indicted his administration as the chief perpetrator of the insecurity bedeviling the country. Why do I say so? Mr. President is the commander in chief of the armed forces, he controls all the agencies of state that are constitutionally charged with security matters and so if there are security breaches anywhere, we must hold no other person responsible but Mr. President. Another question that I would also like to ask Mr. President is, what use is the State Security Services (SSS), the Police, the JTF, the directorate of military intelligence (DMI), etc if we can witness such upscale insecurity challenges in these states now under emergency rule? By this action, Mr. President has confirmed that the federal security apparatus have failed and thus there is urgent need for a surgical operation to save the country from this drift.

One year after the declaration of the state of emergency, the security situation in that part of the country has not improved; if there is anything, it has gone worse as can be seen in Table 1 showing the dastard acts of the insurgents. It is clear that the action has not succeeded in curbing insecurity or brought about peace and stability. This has led President Jonathan to extend the state of emergency for another six months.

Peace Initiative Network (PIN) Nigeria

Peace Initiative Network (PIN) established in 2004, with the goal of promoting peace and development in Nigeria, is a non-governmental organization based in Kano. Its mission is to prevent and manage violent conflict through advocacy and awareness raising campaigns. It does this through regular seminars, workshops, and sport as a tool to develop friendships among young people from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds in the country. According to PIN it has its Success story: Peace Club project for young people in northern Nigeria aimed at bringing about a change in awareness and patterns of thought that will lead to a change in the behaviour of young people and that the Peace Club has more than 8,000 members in 60 schools and colleges in four states in Nigeria (Kano, Gombe, Plateau and Kaduna).²¹ Despite its activities and that of government the area is very volatile and fragile with not evidence of sustainable peace. On 19 May 2014 there was a bomb blast killing between 20 and 30.

Other Institutional Interventions

The federal government has established several committees, commissions and panels of inquiry as well as numerous intervention bodies to address the problem of insecurity in the country. These include the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB), created by the 1960 Constitution, Niger Delta Basin and Rural Development Authority of 1976, the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) and the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000; committee on the proliferation of small arms and light weapons April 2013; dialogue

²¹ <http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/nigeria/peacebuilding-organisations/pin/>

committee on violence in the north April 2013. None of these has yielded serious positive results to facilitate peace building and sustaining in Nigeria.

National Conference²²

The latest efforts at ensuring sustainable peace in Nigeria is the inauguration of the National Conference, which President Jonathan describes as “a National Project, a sincere and fundamental undertaking, aimed at realistically examining and genuinely resolving, longstanding impediments to our cohesion and harmonious development as a truly united Nation.”²³ Some have expressed skepticisms on the usefulness and relevance of the Conference because the previous ones held in the past did not achieve anything tangible.²⁴ The President however believes that “every dialogue adds something valuable to our evolving Nation.”²⁵

According to Mr. Pius Anyim, Secretary to Government of the Federation, the conference “shall last for 3 months and shall discuss any subject matter, except the indivisibility and indissolubility of Nigeria as a nation, therefore the unity of Nigeria is non-negotiable. The decision at the National Conference shall be by consensus; but where it is not achievable; it shall be by 75% majority. It shall advise the Government on the legal framework, legal procedure and options for integrating the decision and outcomes of the National Conference into the constitution and laws of the country and the Conference shall have a Chairperson and a Deputy Chairperson of unimpeachable integrity.”

It is hoped that this national conference will produce the desire results of integrating the country, facilitate harmony among the various ethnic groups; produce peace and security in the country.

Concluding Remarks and the Way Forward

Successive governments in Nigeria right from Independence in 1960 appear to have shown considerable interest and invested massively to attain peace, security and stability in the country. However, the genuineness of such actions cannot be ascertained. There seems to be

²² Before now, there have been several national conferences including: the Constitutional Conference of 1957 in London; the Constituent Assembly in 1978; the 1994/1995 Constitutional Conference; the 2005 National Political Reform Conference

²³ President Goodluck Jonathan read these remarks on Monday 7th October at the State House, Presidential Villa, when he inaugurated the National Advisory Committee on the National Dialogue in Abuja.

²⁴ Orji Uzor Kalu “Agenda for the 2014 National Conference” *Dailly Sun* March 22, 2014 <http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=57151> (Accessed April 29,2014).

²⁵ As at the time of preparing this paper, the national conference with 492 delegates across the country was inaugurated on March 17, 2014 is ongoing and would last 3 months.

lack of serious political will to take decisive actions on crucial matters affecting the country's peace and security. The overpoliticisation of almost every issue (social, economic, ethnic, cultural and religious) has done great damage to the unity and stability of the country. The military institution and its incursion into politics as well as its role in amplifying corruption in the country has not helped matter.

Only genuine national interest that superceeds personal, ethnic, religious and regional interests will ameliorate the current situation. That will call for comprehensive reviews of all previous efforts and take appropriate actions to address crucial matters that threaten the existence of the country. There is also urgent need to carry out comprehensive and rigorous institutional reforms that will make them function. Leadership and management problem – the twin devil afflicting Nigeria must be addressed squarely, while corruption must be confronted headlong.

Table 1: Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria, July 2009- April 2014

S/N	DATE OF ATTACK	STATE	LOCATION OF ATTACK AND NUMBER OF DEATH/CASUALTIES
1	July 27, 2009	Yobe State	Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters, three Policemen and one fire service officer died.
2	September 8, 2010	Bauchi State	Bauchi Central prison was set Ablaze and members of the sect freed
3	March 13, 2010	Plateau state	Another sect operation in the northern part of Jose Plateau State led to the death of 300 people.
4	October 1 2010	Abuja	Explosions near the Eagle Square, Abuja claimed 12 lives, leaving many injured.
5	December 24 2010	Plateau State	A bomb attack, in Barkin Ladi, Jos, plateau State, killed eight people
6	December 31 2010	Abuja	Explosions at Mogadishu Mammy Market, Abuja, claimed about 10 lives.
7	January 21, 2011	Borno State	The Borno state Governorship candidate of all Nigeria Peoples Party ANPP, for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former governor of the state, Modu Sheriff, killed by sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri, Borno State.
8	March 2 2011	Kaduna State	Boko Haram killed two policemen attached to the residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State
9	March 12 2011	Borno State	Assassinated Muslim Cleric Imam Ibrahim Ahmed Abdullahi for criticizing the violent groups in northeast Nigeria
10	March 30, 2011	Yobe State	Bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State, exploded and injured a police officer
11	April 8, 2011	Niger State	Bomb at INEC office in Suleja, Niger State, Claimed lives of eight corps members and a suicide bomber respectively
12	April 9 2011	Borno State	Bomb explosion occurred at a polling unit in Unguwar Doki Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber respectively.
13	22 April 2011	AdamawaState	14 prisoners freed by Boko Haram during a jailbreak in Yola,
14	April 26 2011		Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack
15	April 29 2011	Bauchi state	Army Barracks in Bauchi bombed.
16	May 19, 2011		Three policemen killed and two soldiers injured in bomb attack
17	May 29, 2011	Bauchi State	Explosion at mammy market of Shandawanka barracks in Bauchi State claimed lives and left many injured.
18	May 30 2011	Borno State	Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State 13 dead and 40 injured.
19	June 7, 2011	Borno State	Series of bomb blasts occurred in Maiduguri, Borno State, claiming five lives and leaving several others injured
18	June 16, 2011	Abuja	Nigerian Police Headquarters, Abuja, Bombed by a suspected suicide bomber,

			three killed and many vehicles damaged
19	June 16, 2011	Borno State	Four children killed in a bomb blast at Damboa town, Maiduguri, Borno State.
20	June 20, 2011	Katsina State	Seven police officers killed when Boko Haram stormed Kankara Police station in Katsina state. Two of the security men guarding a band opposite the state were also killed.
	26 June 2011	Borno State	Bombing attack on a beer garden in Maiduguri, leaving 25 dead and 12 injured
21	July 9, 2011	Borno State	A clash between Boko Haram and the military left about 31 people dead in Maiduguri, Borno State, also in Suleja, Niger Delta State; a bomb targeted at a church killed four and injured many others.
	10 July 2011	Niger State	Bombing at the All Christian Fellowship Church in Suleja
22	July 11 2011	Kaduna State	Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados street, Kaduna
	11 July 2011	Borno State	The University of Maiduguri temporarily closes down its campus citing security concerns
23	July 12, 2011	Borno State	Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle, which claimed five lives
24	July 15, 2011	Borno State	Explosion in Maiduguri injured five people.
25	July 23, 2011	Borno State	An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem, injured three soldiers.
26	July 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb explosion near the palace of traditional ruler in Maiduguri claimed eight lives.
27	12 August 2011		Prominent Muslim Cleric Liman Bana is shot dead by Boko Haram
28	August 25, 2011		Sect members killed four policemen, one soldier and seven civilians and carted away undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery by the sect.
29	August 26, 2011	Abuja	A Suicide Bomber Drove Into The United Nations building in Abuja, 25 killed and 60 injured.
30	September 12, 2011	Bauchi State	Seven people, including four police officers, killed during a bomb attack on a police station in Misau, Bauchi State.
31	September 13, 2011	Borno State	Sect members shot and injured four soldiers in an attack in Maiduguri, shortly after the arrest of 15 sect members, during military raids on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi State
32	October 3, 2011	Borno State	Boko Haram attacked Baga Market in Maiduguri and killed three people
33	November 4, 2011	Yobe state	About 150 people killed by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State
34	November 27, 2011	Yobe State	Seven people killed in attacks in Geidam. Yobe State
35	December 18, 2011	Borno State	Three members of Boko Haram were killed when their bomb detonated in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State.

S/N	DATE OF ATTACK	STATE	LOCATION OF ATTACK AND NUMBER OF DEATH/CAUSALITIES
36	December 22, 2011	Borno State	Explosive and gunshots killed four people and left several others injured.
37	December 24, 2011	plateau State	About 80 people killed in bombing in Jos, plateau State
38	December 25, 2011	Niger State	About 50 people died on Christmas Day bombing in Madalla, Niger State
39	December 30, 2011	Borno State	Seven people killed in Maiduguri, Borno State
40	January 5, 2012	Gombe State	About six people died in a church attack in Gombe state
41	January 6, 2012	Adamawa State	17 people died in a Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State while 20 Igbo people were also killed in Mubi in the same State.
42	January 20, 2012	Kano State	About 250 people killed in multiple attacks in Kano
43	January 22, 2012	Bauchi State	Two churches destroyed in Bauchi State; two military personnel, a DPO and eight civilian also killed by gunmen at the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in the State.
44	January 26, 2012	Kano State	The Sabon Gari of Kano State witnessed another explosion, which caused another pandemonium in the state. Many injured and some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.
45	January 28, 2012	Borno State	Gambiru Ngala
46	January 29, 2012	Borno State	Gambiru Ngala; Two killed
47	January 30, 2012	Borno State	Six people killed in Maiduguri, environs including two Air force officers
48	February 4, 2012	Borno State	Two people killed in Damboa
49	February 5, 2012	Yobe	SS man killed
50	February 07, 2012	Kaduna State	5 killed (Military Barrack)
51	February 07, 2012	Kano State	10 killed in Kano Market
52	February 10, 2012	Borno State	4 killed in Boko Haram, Soldier shot-out in Maidugri
53	February 10, 2012	Kano State	Boko Haram sect attacked Police Station and engaged the police in gun duel in Shagari Quarters, Kano
54	February 12, 2012	Borno State	Boko Haram members killed in Maidugri
55	February 15, 2012	Kogi State	Jail Break in Koton Karfe Prisons; a warder killed and 199 prisoners released.
56	February 15, 2012	Niger State	2 policemen killed and injured in Minna
57	February 17, 2012	Yobe	2 People killed in Geidam, Yobe State
58	February 17, 2012	Borno State	5 people killed in Maidugri metropolis
59	8 March 2012		During a British hostage rescue attempt to free Italian engineer Franco Lamolinara and Briton Christopher McManus, abducted in 2011 by a splinter group Boko

			Haram, both hostages were killed
60	31 May 2012		During a Joint Task Force raid on a Boko Haram den, it was reported that 5 sect members and a German hostage were killed
61	3 June 2012	Bauchi State	15 church-members were killed and several injured in a church bombing in Bauchi state.
62	17 June 2012	Kaduna State	Suicide bombers strike three churches. At least 50 people were killed.
63	17 June 2012	Plateau State	130 bodies were found in Plateau State. It is presumed they were killed by Boko Haram members.
64	18 September 2012		Family of four murdered
65	September 18 2012		Murder of six at an outdoor party
66	October 3 2012	Adamawa State	Around 25–46 people were massacred in the town of Mubi during a night-time raid.
67	March 18 2013	Kano State	Kano Bus bombing: At least 22 killed and 65 injured, when a suicide car bomb exploded in Kano bus station.
68	May 7 2013	Borno State	At least 55 killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks on army barracks, a prison and police post in Bama town
69	July 6 2013	Yobe State	School shooting: 42 people, mostly students, were killed in a school attack.
70	September 29 2013	Yobe State	Students of the College of Agriculture, Gujba, at 3 am as they slept in their hostels; 78 people were massacred.
71	January 14 2014	Borno State	At least 31 people killed, over 50 people injured by suicide bombing in Maiduguri
72	February 16 2014	Borno State	Izghe massacre: 106 villagers are killed
73	February 25 2014		At least 29 teenage boys dead at Federal Government College Buni Yadi
74	April 14 2014	Borno State	Chibok Local Government Area of Borno State Attack: Government properties, including the only girls' secondary school, attacked. At least 16 killed or missing, and 234 female students kidnapped.
75	April 14 2014	FCT, ABUJA	About 100 people were killed and many maimed in an early morning bomb explosion rocked a motor park in Nyanya area of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja .
76	19 May 2014	Kano State	There was a bomb blast killing between 20 and 30.
77	May 20 2014	Plateau State	Terminus Market near Murtala Mohammed way in Jos between 150 and 200 killed
78	May 21 2014	Borno State	17 people in an attack on Alagarno, a village in Borno State near Chibok

Serial No. 1-58) Adapted from Adagba, Ugwu and Eme (2012), pp86-89. Updated 59-75

Table 2: Some communal Clashes in Nigeria: 1999-2003

Date	Site	Belligerents	Cause(s)	Casualties
July 13, 1999	Alaba International Market, Lagos	OPC versus Alaba Traders	That the Igbo had taken over the market	Unknown
July 18, 1999	Sagamu, Ogun State	OPC versus Hausa Traders	Alleged defilement of the <i>Oro</i> (spirit) festival by an Hausa woman	More than 120
July, 1999	Aguleri/Umuleri, Anambra State	Aguleri versus Umuleri	Long-drawn communal land dispute	Unknown
July, 1999	Kano	Hausa-Fulani versus Yoruba and southerners	Retaliatory attacks over the Sagamu clash	Unknown
September 9, 1999	Apapa and Tincan Island Ports, Lagos.	OPC versus non-Yoruba dock workers	Yoruba workers lost out in the union elections	Eight
September 23, 1999	Apapa, Lagos	OPC versus non-Yoruba dock workers	Continuation of the OPC campaign in support of Yoruba candidates in the dock workers' union elections	Unknown
October 28- November 1, 1999	Ajegunle, Lagos	OPC versus Ijaw/Egbesu Boys	Some Egbesu boys were allegedly caught for armed robbery	28
November 3, 1999	FESTAC Town, Amuwo-Odofin, Lagos.	OPC versus Ijaw youths	Continuation of the OPC-Ijaw clash few days earlier	7 people
November 25, 1999	Ketu, Ojota, Mile 12 Market, Lagos.	OPC versus Shukura yam sellers (the Hausa)	Disagreement over the collection of royalty in the market	114 people
December 2, 1999	Ileas, Osun State	OPC versus College of Education Student	Unknown	Unknown
Date	Site	Belligerents	Cause(s)	Casualties
December 14, 1999	Mushin, Lagos	Gani Adams versus Frederick Fasehun factions of the OPC	Fight for supremacy between the two factions	Unknown
January 4, 2000	Mushin, Lagos	OPC versus Akala robbers/touts	Trying to rid Akala of armed robbers/touts	40 people
January 10, 2000	Bariga, Lagos	OPC versus Hausa	Unclear	Unknown; divisional police officer AfolabiAmao,

				among victims
January, 2000	Owo, Ondo State	OPC versus palace guards and supporters of the Olowo elect	The palace guards thought, mistakenly, that the OPC men had come to support the rival, anti-Olowo-elect camp in the town	40 people
February 21, 2000	Kaduna	Muslims versus Christians	The planned imposition of <i>Sharia</i> law in Kaduna State	2000 people
February 2000	Aba/Owerri	Igbo versus northerners	Reprisal attacks over the Kaduna riot	Unknown
March 3-6, 2000	Ile-Ife	Ife versus Modakeke	Signpost on a Mosque, describing its location as Modakeke and not Ile-Ife	Unknown
June 5, 2000	Ibadan	Yoruba versus Hausa-Fulani tanker drivers, and others	A Kano-bound trailer driven by a northerner bus killing all the commuters; the driver fled and hid among the Hausa who refused to give him up to the mob	10 people
June 5, 2000	Mushin, Lagos	OPC factions	OPC faction challenged another faction, which had entered its 'territory'.	6 people
July 14, 2000	Alaba Market	OPC and Igbo traders	Control of the market	Five
July 2000	Mushin, Bariga, Idimu, Itire, Agege and Mile 12, Lagos	OPC and Police	OPC attacked police Alakara Police Station to fish out policemen allegedly colluding with armed robbers.	32
August, 2000	Wase, Pische, Mgontabo, Ganlang, Zanbang, Dadinkowa and Walnem Plateau State	Tarok (Langtang) versus Hausa/Fulani	Unknown	Unknown
October 15, 2000	Ajegunle, Lagos	OPC versus Hausa	Some Hausa were allegedly caught stealing	More than 100
October 2000	Oyo North	Yoruba farmers versus Fulani (Bororo) herdsmen	Herdsmen were accused of allowing their cattle to destroy farmlands	Unknown

2000	Agunleri/Umuleri	Agunleri versus Umuleri	Long drawn land dispute	Unknown
2000	Nasarrawa	Tiv versus other ethnic group	Inter-ethnic rivalry between Tiv ('settlers') and indigenes	Unknown
June 18, 2001	TafawaBalewa and Bogoro, Bauchi State	Safawa versus Hausa/Fulani	Crisis over chieftdom for the Safawa	Over 400
September 7, 2001	Jos	Native Borom/Christians versus Hausa-Fulani/Muslims	A woman who had disagreement with Muslims who were observing Friday prayers along Congo Russia area of Jos	1000
October 10, 2001	Vaase/Zaki-Biam Benue/Taraba State	Tiv militia men against soldiers	The militiamen mistook the soldiers for disguised Jukun militiamen	19 soldiers
October 17, 2001	Kano	Muslims versus Christians	Protest over US war against Talibans in Afghanistan	200
October 15-16, 2001	Ajegunle, Agege, Obalende, Mile 2, Ojuelegba, Lagos Island, Lagos	OPC versus Hausa, Hausa versus Igbo	OPC arrested killed some alleged robbers who were Hausa youths. The Hausa attacked the Yoruba and the Igbo in the ensuring crisis	Unknown
October 2001	Ilorin	OPC versus Hausa-Fulani	OPC was supporting Yoruba in Ilorin who want a Yoruba king.	Unknown
February 2002	Taraba State	Jukun/Fulani versus Tiv	Unknown	Unknown
November 2002	Kaduna	Muslims versus Christians	<i>ThisDay's</i> article on Miss World Beauty Contest considered disparaging to Holy Prophet Muhammed (SAW)	200
August 2002	Wase	Hausa/Fulani versus Tarok people	Land and resources	Unknown
2002	Ife-Modakeke	Ife versus Modakeke	Old disputes on 'indigenes' versus 'settlers' claims	Unknown
2002	Nasarrawa	Loku, Ugede and Agatu	Access to lake used for fishing by Agatu people	Unknown

2002	Adamawa	Duman versus Demsa Local Government	Long standing dispute over boundaries	Unknown
2002	Adamawa	Fulani versus 'indigenes'	Land	Unknown
2002	Idi-Araba, Lagos	OPC versus Hausa	Religious dispute	Unknown
January 31, February 2-4, 2003	Warri	Itshekiri versus Urhobo	Rumors of impending demarcation of local electoral wards	More than 20
March 1, 2003	Song Local Government Area, Adamawa State	Yungur People versus Fulani herdsmen	Grazing land for cattle	40
May, 2003	Inyimagu Abakaliki L.G., Ebonyi State	Inyimagu versus Agbaja	Misunderstanding between two youths, with one stabbing the other to death	Two
May 2003	Uruan Local Government Area, Ebonyi State	Ivingfiayong versus Mbiakong villages	Land dispute dating back to 1910	Unknown
May 8, 2003	Edda, Afikpo Local Government Area, Ebonyi State	Nguzu Edda versus Ekoli Edda communities	Land dispute	Six
May 12-14, 2003	Warri	Itshekiri versus Urhobo	Ownership of Warri and local councils location	10
May 14, 2003	Modakeke, Osun State	Commercial drivers versus rivals	Commercial drivers protesting the 'political enemies' of their leader who chased him out of town few months earlier	10

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