

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

BIAFRA, CIVIL WAR, AND GENOCIDE

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My Address will be based on a personal experience of the Biafra-Nigeria War. I intend to speak to some elements in the causes of the War, the actual conduct of the war on both sides, and the very manner of the ending of the War in January, 1970. I hope to show how and why the underlying motivation for the war was genocidal rather than political. Biafra should stand in the world's conscience as a monument to the possibility of successfully resisting "final solutions."

ABSTRACTS

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THE SURVIVAL OF THE BIAFRAN CIVILIAN POPULATION DURING THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR

Scholars, analysts and commentators on the Biafran war are chagrined to understand the enigma behind the survival of the mass population in spite of the severe economic blockade and continuous shelling, bombarding and massive air raids unleashed on the zone by the federal troops, thus leaving in their trail hordes of destitute and refugee casualties. Answers to this and other related posers are located in the apostolic zeal to the point of martyrdom with which a consortium of religious and humanitarian organizations embarked on the rescue mission of saving a starving population with a view to forestalling the genocidal mission of the Nigeria Military Government acting in tandem with its British and Soviet backers and arms suppliers. By their selfless service to humanity, at the risk of their precious lives, these agency officials undertook the daunting task of feeding, clothing and administering to the health-care needs of a defenseless people. Their strictly, nightly flights, using Hercules cargo planes were routed at various times through Cotonou, Sao Tome, Fernando Po and Libreville airports, to the efficiently run terminal airstrip complex at Uli. This paper examines the relief delivery and its distribution strategy to the numerous refugee camps and sickbays.

The indefatigable role of the charity organizations notwithstanding, the paper also looks at the selfless effort of the people themselves, exemplified in the farming activities in the safer areas and more interesting, the cross-border trade known in the local parlance as "*ahia attack*", the proceeds of which gave succor to the starving population. Sight cannot however be lost in the diplomatic initiatives of the Biafran Government which among others earned it the recognition of well meaning governments both in Europe and Africa and whose deliveries of large tonnage of relief materials also paid off, even as the Biafran currency achieved the status of legal tender in far off places like Lisbon.

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THE ACTS OF GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE IGBOS DURING THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR

Since the Biafran war, there has been persistent and vociferous denials by the General Gowon regime and its successors that the genocidal charges as leveled by the Biafran authorities were baseless propaganda serving rather as General Ojukwu's grand design of using starvation as a political weapon to attract the sympathy of the world with a view to achieving political recognition. The objective of this paper however, is to demonstrate that beyond General Gowon's pious Christian looks and the saccharine image painted by the British on their role in the conflict, it was in all intents and purposes a state sponsored bulwark campaign aimed at finding 'a final solution' to 'a problem population'. The ethnic cleansing content of the conflict agrees in all ramifications with the UN Convention Article 11 definition on Genocide. It ought to be noted that the war started as a pogrom-like massacre of the Igbos and others of Eastern Nigeria origin domiciled in the different northern and western parts of the federation and ended likewise. In spite of the fact that it ended officially in January 1970, the federal soldiers billeting at the different towns of the war torn enclave took to rapping, killing and decimating the population with the result that the number of people killed in the six months post-war peace period nearly equaled those who died as the conflict raged. The paper therefore takes a hard look at the report of the International Observer Team on which platform the denials are anchored and dismisses it as biased, subjective and apologetic. It is against this backdrop that the essay concludes, that the effete and defective binoculars and *modus operandi* with which the International Community viewed the conflict was among the factors that gave vent to the eruption of other preventable, horrendous crimes against humanity as occurred in the post-Biafra era in Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and others in Africa.

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FROM BIAFRANS TO NIGER DELTANS: CHANGING PARADOXES OF OIL, STATE AND GENOCIDE IN POST-CIVIL WAR NIGERIA.

The contradictions that constitute the Nigerian state, which first manifested in political crises, military coups - the fall of the first republic in 1966- and the consequent genocidal civil war against the secessionist Eastern flank of Nigeria, have turned full circle and paradoxical in the current fourth republic against minority Niger Deltans. This is depicted in the post civil war domination and contradictory dynamics of state-power, in the ruling elite's marginalization of minorities and appropriating oil rents and other hydrocarbons resources that has turned genocidal today-from the Igbo to other peoples- in the Niger Delta Basin.

The historical root of the current Joint Task Force (JTF) military incursion in the Niger Delta is located in the scorning of the Willink Minority Commission Report of 1959 for the special treatment of people located in the Delta; Isaac Adaka Boro's "12-Day Revolution" grievances, and the genocide committed against the Igbo people in the civil war 40 years ago. This primitive quest for hegemony and state-power has pauperized the Ijaw, Ogoni and other ethnic nationalities of the region, hence, their struggles against the state and oil transnational companies for oil rents, environmental remediation, and social justice.

This budding genocide in the area currently depicts the paradoxical dynamics of oil, state, society, resources rights, and revenue distribution in Nigeria. Especially, the contradictions of post civil war Nigeria, because, most of the minority elements/ethnies that supported the federal state against the secessionist Biafra's clamor for self-determination are today vanquished and being decimated by the Hausa-Fulani ruling elites that used them

as instruments of destabilization during the civil war. This paper critiques the systematic genocide of the Nigerian state against its people, especially with the current use of warfare and aerial bombardment of civilians in the state's avowed quest to deal with oil criminals in the Delta and the Gulf of Guinea.

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THE "BIAFRANISATION" OF IGBO IDENTITY: RETHINKING THE IGBO IN POST-CIVIL WAR RELATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA

In reviewing forty years of the Nigerian Civil war that commenced with ethnic pogroms against peoples of Eastern Nigeria and later their proclamation of the republic of Biafra on May 30 1969, the consequently 30 month civil war from July 6, 1969 to January 15, 1970. It is imperative to reflect on the post civil war national identity and nation building that was predicated on the "no victor no vanquished", "re-conciliation", and "rehabilitation" slogans of the federal government. Especially, against the background of subtle economic pauperization and political and economic marginalization of the Igbo people in their quest for enterprise and nation-building.

This paper specifically, examines this phenomenon "Biafranisation" or fear of "the Igbo factor" in Nigerian state and society today. Some of its manifestation is seen in the discrimination against the Igbo in finding employment and occupying federal offices; lack of public infrastructures development in the Eastern flank of Nigeria; identity crisis and the dissociation of some Igbo sub-group from the larger Igbo population after the war, for example changing the names of towns in Ikwerre land in Rivers state, and Igboid speaking peoples west of the Niger river; and finally in the post civil war distortion of the "Ndi-Igbo" identity as secessionist stigmatization, despite the changing dynamics of state and post civil war geographical reconfigurations in Nigeria.

The paper examines this Igbo quest in overcoming discrimination and ethnocentrism 40 years after the war. Despite their devastation into becoming one of the poorest ethnic groups in Nigeria in the early 1970s. Their economic resolve to progress against all odds led them to gradually redevelop Igboland and southern Nigeria economically in the last thirty years. Thus, they again have prospered with the setting up of new factories in Eastern and Western Nigeria, through private businesses. Especially, the networks of informal trade that still constitute the bulk of Nigerian economy, without sulking about their executive marginalization in power.

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THE USE OF SPIRITUAL AND MAGICAL POWERS IN AFRICA WARS.

This paper examines the use of magical powers in African warfare. As the paper argues, the use of magical power, witchcraft and voodoo in warfare conforms to Africans pre-colonial religious milieu, which not only manifested in their day-to-day life experiences but also agrees with their religious beliefs. As manifested in the 19th century Yoruba wars, the Buganda Buyoro wars in Uganda and the Chaka De Zulu wars in South Africa;

magical powers form one of the numerous military hardware that cannot be understood unless in accordance with Africa's socio-economic and religio-cultural worldviews.

With examples drawn largely from the 19th century Yoruba war as well as current development in Nigeria, where herbal medicines, spiritual healings, etc dominated radio, televisions' airtime; the paper situate the use of magical and spiritual powers within the religio-cultural expression of Yoruba people and argues further that such practices as the raping of children as young as 3years old as antidotes to contacting or curing HIV/AIDS as witnessed in Southern Africa, West Africa and other areas in Africa conforms with the peoples beliefs in magic and witchcraft.

Using data obtained through oral interview, written and archival documents, the paper advocates for a more nuanced people-focused campaigns capable of addressing deep-sitting religio-cultural sentiments as represented by the use of magical powers

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THE CONTEXTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN LAW IN CIVIL WARS: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE BIAFRA-NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR (1967-1970)

1967-1970 marked a dark period in the annals of the political history of Nigeria. It was a period of civil war between the federal government of Nigeria and the break-away Republic of Biafra. At the onset of hostilities there was high expectation of an early victory on the Nigerian side. However, as the war became protracted; dragging on for thirty months, all kinds of military tactics and strategies were employed by the federal troops to ensure victory at all cost. What were some of the military tactics and strategies employed by the federal troops? What were the implications of these strategies for the human rights of the combatants and the civilian Igbo population (the non-combatants)? Can the civil war be situated within the ambient of humanitarian and human rights law? If so, to what extent, if any at all, did the prosecution of the war by the Nigerian troop conform to international law? What was the human cost of the war? These are the main questions in which this paper engages. Drawing on the content analysis of extant literature and international instruments, the paper argues that the civil war, though a non-international armed conflict, can adequately be situated and examined in the context of the law of war and the general principles of human rights. The paper argues that a systematic pattern of cruelty, in violation of established human rights and humanitarian law, was perpetrated by the Nigerian troops. Of particular interest were the grave implications, on the civilian Igbo population, of the "*scorched earth*" military strategy of the Nigerian forces. Contrary to international law, the necessary distinction between non-combatants and combatants was totally ignored. The paper concludes that, given the extent of the violation of human rights and humanitarian law, the civil war was a form of genocide.

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NIGERIA CIVIL WAR (1967 – 1970): ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

This paper looks at the Biafra-Nigeria Civil war with a focus on issues of ethnicity and foreign interest in the war. It discusses the emergencies that arose during the period of conflict, which resulted into interesting discoveries and fabrications of military weapons, tactics, skills and other areas of human needs which helped Biafrans to sustain the struggle. It argues that the war could have been avoided if not for extraneous influences. Despite the pressures and risks, Biafrans were determined to survive. Entrepreneurship developed in Biafra. It examines the presence of foreign mercenaries and their roles in the conflict. The role of foreign organizations like the international Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance of Great Britain, the Catholic Caritas international are examined to show how these international relief agencies assisted Biafrans to avert total annihilation. This paper looked at the outcomes of the war including inter-ethnic marriages and their long-term implications of the Igbo in post-conflict Nigeria.

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THE ORDEAL OF A BIAFRAN REFUGEE

The beginning of a book on the Nigerian-Biafra war [1966-1970], this paper chronicles the story of an internally displaced Biafran refugee's experiences. Episode One: "Return from Nnewi to Amawbia or I Discover My Filial Ties" deals with the aftermath of the declaration of total war. Schools are shutdown and I forgo my newly-found freedom teaching high school with a Higher School Certificate, to rejoin the family recently displaced from Enugu fallen after Nsukka. Episode Two: "Flight from Amawbia or Increase in Violence" sees threat to and flight from the homestead with the fall of Ugwuoba, sending millions from the Awka-Onitsha axis into exile. News and rumors were rife, especially about white mercenaries leading enemy battalion in their determined march to 'dip the Koran' in the River Niger at Onitsha. Episode Three: "Refugee at Unubi or Descent into Hell" sees us at Unubi, the home village of some business associates of my uncle-in-law, Mr. Anene Echi, husband of my father's only sister, Mabel. You felt free at last living in the teachers' quarters of the lone village elementary school, but broken as the knowledge of your refugee status sets in with its attendant physical, material, philosophical and moral traumas. This story is a simple, honest, non-manipulative and non-allegorical account of a slice in the life of the ordinary Biafran refugee during the hostilities. It is a testimony, a heroic narrative about small people in giant fights involving big powers, governments, mercenaries, relief organizations, journalists, and the list continues. A personal story, it nonetheless constitutes a block in the construction of a collective memory about a particular vicissitude of history that will affect generations to come. The rebuilding of a viable Nigeria will certainly need to consider millions of personal experiences like mine in the war in which a total of some two million people perished on both sides.

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GETTING THE TERMINOLOGY RIGHT: REVISITING THE QUESTION OF GENOCIDE,

ETHNIC CLEANSING AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN BIAFRA

This paper examines the question of whether it is appropriate or not to employ the term “genocide” to describe what happened in Biafra between 1967 and 1970. While the literature on the Nigerian Civil War is somewhat polarized on this issue, with a slight consensus tending towards the view that was not accompanied by genocide, the question of “genocide or not” has rarely been considered from within a careful use of genocide theory. One or two worthwhile discussions have taken place, notably by Robert Melson and William Shawcross, but these have to a large degree been obscured by a more general use of rhetoric (often ill-informed) from others who do not seem to be aware of what genocide actually connotes.

Through a measured consideration of genocide theory and its application, and illustrated through the use of historical examples from other genocidal episodes, this paper will attempt to clarify the appropriateness of the terms that have been employed when describing what happened in Biafra between 1967 and 1970, the better to be able to place that experience into its correct historical and conceptual setting.

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IRELAND AND BIAFRA: HUNGER, POLITICS, PUBLIC OPINION

In addressing the impact of the Biafra-Nigeria Civil War in Ireland, this paper draws on newspaper accounts, diplomatic correspondence, and the memoirs of missionaries to demonstrate the power of the media and the complexities of modern global relationships and politics. From the early twentieth century, missionary discourse had structured Ireland as a ‘mother country’ to the entire African continent. While this discourse was not altogether progressive, there was a strong sense of responsibility towards Africa in general, and towards Nigeria, where the largest concentration of Irish priests and nuns worked. By the 1960s, a significant change in missionary representations of Africa had occurred, and missionaries, no longer so narrowly concerned with conversions, had become involved with development work and had a more equal relationship with those among whom they worked. During the events of 1967- 1970, Irish missionaries who had been working in Biafra before the war broke out, were determined to stay on and help the Ibo people with whom they lived. At a basic human level, they felt they belonged with the people in whose midst they lived and worked. But there were also political reasons: they saw parallels with the fight for Irish Independence and, as conditions deteriorated, with the Irish famine of the nineteenth century. Missionaries wrote letters home and supplied journalists with eyewitness accounts of warfare and famine, and before long public opinion in support of Biafra was overwhelmingly at odds with official policy as the Irish government steadfastly refused to acknowledge the state of Biafra. At a time of rapid modernisation, the cause of Biafra united the ordinary citizens of Ireland in a humanitarian and political cause; the events are remembered in Ireland today and their effects are lasting.

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CYPRIAN EKWENSI AND BIAFRA’S MEDIA WAR MACHINERY

The Nigerian civil war remains one of the earliest civil conflicts in the world to be relayed through global print and electronic media. A major reason for this was Biafra's aggressive use of the media as a supporting framework to her war efforts. Its successful implementation pushed the Federal Government of Nigeria to remain on the defensive and gathered the support of western nations against what was considered a bullish federal offensive. The media success served to place the Civil war as an early mid-century precursor of other conflicts of like character: the Vietnam War, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the more recent Russia – Georgia conflict. This paper reviews the role of the media in the execution of Biafran War Effort against the Federal Government of Nigeria between 1967 and 1970, and argues that the Biafran Media Machinery was more successful than that of the Federal Government. Particularly, it focused on the activities of Cyprian Ekwensi, Biafra's foremost media practitioner at the time and one of the most prolific novelists in Eastern Nigeria. It submits that his role in the Eastern Nigerian Information Ministry and Broadcasting Service ensured the victory of Biafra over Nigeria in the print and electronic media even within the Nigerian territory.

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DANGEROUS MEMORY: THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, THE POST-WAR CHILDREN, AND A LEGACY OF FRUSTRATION

Ante-bellum Nigeria was plagued by an uneasy peace and fragile trust resulting from the forced amalgamation of very different key colonial strongholds. The declaration of independence from British Rule in 1960 was almost immediately jeopardized by coups and counter coups, leading to the bloody Nigerian civil war that broke out on July 6, 1967. It was on the one hand a war of survival triggered by the sense of insecurity following the events of 1966; and on the other hand, a forceful attempt to reintegrate, reunify and restore the territorial integrity and unity of a nation.

The end of the war on January 14, 1970 ushered in a new era of pride and great dreams for a young nation that has endured a crippling and bloody conflict. However little did we know that the future of this great nation and her children, yet unborn, hangs on a balance. For children born after the war, the memory of war passed down from the generation of our parents is a "dangerous memory," a memory of pain and frustration. This paper attempts to articulate the challenges facing post-war children of Nigeria on both sides of the conflict and how the legacy of frustration and mistrust we inherited can be addressed and subsequently discarded.

The thesis here is that the issues that collectively pushed us into war have been essentially ignored or glossed over. Today such problems have persisted and often fuel the radicalization of ideas such as the MASSOB, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Ogoni People, calls for external interventions, renewed call for secession, and the radicalization of our youth who yearn for answers to fill the gaping void and the frustrated dreams of theirs and their fathers.

Beginning with the premise that a critical appraisal of the events that led to the war is an essential category of analysis in answering some of the questions that plague our youths today, this paper contends that first: the in-bred sense of distrust and suspicion in our country will undermine any efforts at national unity. Second, an honest conversation and consideration of the concerns of South-Eastern Nigeria is essential in eradicating the legacy of frustration.

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MARKPRESS AND THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN – OUTSOURCING THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

The international campaign for international legitimacy went hand in hand with the domestic propaganda to ensure Biafra's survival. For the Biafran government, victory in the propaganda war was essential to the prosecution of a military campaign that was getting more and more desperate. To this end, the Biafran Government became one of the first political entities in the world to hire a public relations firm, Markpress, based in Geneva, to handle shaping public opinion. Although Markpress was incredibly successful in creating awareness of the plight of the Igbo, the relationship between public opinion and public policy were very deep and the Biafrans only had limited successes in achieving international recognition. Though the French, Portuguese, South Africans and Rhodesians supplied the Biafran military, most of the world, with several notable exceptions, remained staunchly supportive of the Federal "One Nigeria" policy. This paper, which will also feature as a chapter in my dissertation, looks at the international propaganda campaign and the problematic aspect of marketing political independence as the only remedy against starvation as well as the problematic aspect of placing such a high value on public opinion in a civil war.

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ALMOST 40 YEARS LATER...THE WAR NEVER ENDED..."

I have been intrigued by the fervor and determination with which Israel still hunts down Nazi criminals, even though most of them are evidently dead. It is a strong indication that the final ceasefire never fully determines the end of war. Emotions remain strong, indignations are rife, and the yearning for real justice continues to define relations between erstwhile warring factions. So, when Biafra issued its surrender instrument on January 15, 1970, which was followed by General Yakubu Gowon's melodramatic declaration of "no Victor, no vanquished," it was only the beginning of several ensuing socioeconomic and political developments that continue to brew to this day.

Even as a child I knew that the Civil War had winners and losers. But my personal observations took on an even more national perspective with issues like the "abandoned property" scandal, which continue to engender much pain and anger. Gowon's masterful creation of states prior to the war (thanks to the advice of his civilian bureaucrats), has resulted in a continued obsession with the creation of states largely for self-determination and economic purposes. But of what use is a state without the ability to wield authority where it is most pertinent? States within the former Biafran region are still the prime producers of oil—a major reason for the war. Those who swore that Biafra wouldn't have

dominant control over this prized resource have kept their vow years after the war ended. The process of gaining vital economic control, which ultimately defines political control, has been taken even further with a decisive move by northerners to also dominate the officers' cadre of the military, a segment once dominated by easterners and, to an extent, westerners. A slight shift from the larger national scene to the area formerly ruled by Biafra will show that even as a major war seemingly ended, new ones were created. People who once lived in relative harmony, their cultural and linguistic differences notwithstanding, found new enemies in each other because architects of the larger conflict had taught them how hatred and violence could serve as effective tools in grabbing what doesn't necessarily belong to you. In all, therefore, not only did the war never quite "end," but the victor is still pursuing his desires painstakingly even as new disputes are festering among former Biafrans

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IGBO RENNAISSANCE: LESSONS FROM YORUBA NATIONALISM.

The Igbo people are one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria who were very active in its politics, governance and social living. They and those of the Eastern Nigeria went to war in 1967 to demand for equity, justice and fairness in the administration of Nigeria. From 1970 when the civil war ended up to the present time, Igbos are intentionally marginalized in Nigeria making the need for their renaissance imperative. One of the avenues for this regeneration is to evoke their consciousness through ideals and institutions in which their especial traits and abilities were showcased and their psyche emboldened. An outstanding one is their activities as Biafrans. Unfortunately, this background identity, a symbol of their collective consciousness appears to be forgotten which necessitates drawing lessons from sister nationalisms and consciousness, viz the Yoruba nationalism.

The Yoruba's in Nigeria are an advantaged group who had benefited from every opportunity that is opened for them. An instance is their permanent agitations for the June 12 revalidation which resulted in their securing the presidency slot which Chief Olusegun Obasanjo filled. The Biafran war which got a tacit support from Awo and the Yoruba's was jettisoned when it was socially and economically advantageous to them to align with the then federal government, a position which secured them the economic power and base of the country. These, they achieved by drawing from their primordial sentiments of a common ancestor, a culture which has been proudly paraded, a language and a vociferous cry for agitations in addition to their especial blessings of controlling the Lagos-Ibadan axis of the press which appears to be the mainstream opinion gatekeepers of Nigeria. In a nutshell, they succeeded in having a nationalism whose root was anchored in the consciousness of the brotherhood of all Yoruba. The Igbos need to learn from the Yorubas ethnic nationalism which has adequately positioned them in the Nigerian nation. What is therefore needed today is to draw energy from the spirit of Biafra which contrary to critics is alive in every Eastern-Nigerian man. However, the preferred attitude is what I called 'Biafra of the mind' a consciousness which ought to be an elixir to all Igbo's with which they relate to their neighbors in Nigeria. As a way of empowering this consciousness, a day need be set aside annually for all Biafrans globally to remember all the lost/dead brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, uncles. This collective act will be a catalyst to invoking the Biafran spirit which is the needed spiritual imperative for the eventual re-emergence of the Igbos, the true liberators of Nigeria. After all, the Sun, a symbol of light, is known to arise from

the East and set in the West and return to the North. Therefore, the sons of the sun need to take their divine mandate and it is then that all things will be aligned for the good of Igbos and the Nigerian nation.

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POST-BIAFRA WAR LEADERSHIP DILEMMA: FAILURES AND CHALLENGES

The thirty-month Biafra-Nigeria civil war began July 6, 1967 and ended officially January 15, 1970. Since then, there has been a plethora of accounts from different authors, scholars and historian alike about the war. It has been 42 years since the crisis and the total social, political and economic impact and implications of the war on the Igbo Nation has yet to be fully articulated and resolved in the context of Nigerian polity.

This paper will attempt the focus on two issues about the Biafra war. The first is the negative impact the Biafra war has had on leadership and economic development in the Igbo Nation. The second deals with an articulation and implementation of a new paradigm for rethinking and reestablishing the Igbo viability within the context of the Nigeria's socio-political and economic system in the 21st Century. My rationale is to take a Post-Biafra war approach to addressing the complexities of the war and to recommend a way forward. In 1999 my wife and I co-authored a book titled, *After Biafra: A Nigerian Igbo Economic Development Revolution*. I believe that my paper will address the issues above based on the content of the book. As a Biafra- war veteran I also believe that my story will lend credence, integrity and credibility to the paper.

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STARVATION AND RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE NIGERIA/BIAFRA WAR: THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS BODIES AND THE LOCAL POPULATION.

The Nigeria/Biafra war was a complex interplay of political, economic, ethnic, religious and diplomatic conflict. The region-ethnic aspects of the conflict cannot be overlooked. The failure of political and diplomatic agreement led to the economic blockade of the South-Eastern region, mostly dominated by the Igbos of large Christian population. This policy of economic blockade created a situation of human-made famine in which millions of Igbo people faced death by starvation and disease. The high media coverage of the conflict and its humanitarian disaster provoked an unprecedented international outcry for relief operations. The operations of international relief agencies were often caught up in the wasp of the intricate debate on the issue of the priority of humanitarian over political considerations. Religious bodies and the local population played a significant part in the relief operations. Their intervention were often the last hope of saving the lives of thousands of people who could not be reached by the international relief organizations, bounded by art 23 of 1949 Geneva Convention on refugees and relief operations. The Federal Military Government was suspicious of the Religious organizations, which they regarded as allies of the Igbo Christian population. This paper investigates the actions of the Religious bodies and the local population in the relief operations of the Nigeria/Biafra civil war. The analysis is the fruit of the interviews of the surviving witnesses of the relief operations, as well as a wide consultation of written documents.

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CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN NIGERIA: A PARADIGM SHIFT

The paper examines conflict and the prevailing principles of post-conflict resolution in Nigeria and states the desirability of a shift in paradigm. This is because existing modus operandi is anything but effective. It collapses all the theories of conflict into two strands; the structural form of conflict consists of those arising from one's location in the state in relations to others. This generates the desire to participate in the decision-making processes, especially when one is not satisfied with he/she is getting out of the polity. Plato says that 'Justice is the basis of Peace'. The second causal factor of conflict in Nigeria is in the 'bad Governance' arising from the 'Ignorant Elites' in governance. The result of this is the exclusion of certain ethnic groups in the allocation of 'who gets what when and how'. This again generates the desire to also be in governance by all means (including violence) in order to also appropriate to oneself the expediencies of governance, in the guise of 'for my people'. Consequently, the variables germane to conflict in Nigeria are located in its historiography. This also explicates several case studies examined in the paper. The post-conflict management leaves scars, which generates further conflict in a vicious cycle. It then prescribes a management model, which turns conflict situations to a functional synthesis for development. The process is pro-active in content and re-active in remedial processes. It is meant to manage and reduce conflict to the barest minimum and to take advantage of the situation for social development.

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"BIAFRANS OR NIGERIANS: POST-WAR SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NIGERIA AND LESSONS FROM THE AMERICAN POST-CIVIL WAR INTEGRATION"

Social inclusion efforts have been a major denominator of inter-ethnic relations and national behavior since the end of the 30-month war in Nigeria in 1970. After the war, the Federal Government declared that there was "No Winner, No Vanquished", and announced a triple policy of Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Rehabilitation (the popular 3 Rs) all in the spirit of national integration of the Igbo in the Nigerian state. However, three decades after that, there are still sharp ethnic and sectional cleavages between the North and the East, and an unfolding tenuous relations among the ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Igbo have alleged that the reconciliatory assertions have not translated to action because of political marginalization, lack of a level playing field in the Nigerian social milieu, among others, which have resonated in Igbo ethnic nationalist sentiments resulting in the MASSOB and other movements for the revival of the State of Biafra. The paper investigates the historical facts; the trends, causes of the strains and stresses of 'Nigeria-Biafra' relations and implications for national cohesion. The American post Civil War integration and reconstruction strategies from 1865-date are explored and used as parameters to interrogate Nigeria's own post Civil War nation-building. Using social

integration model, the paper searches for clues in the American experience for Nigeria's efforts at social inclusion.

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WOMEN IN ARMED CONFLICTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE BIAFRAN- NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AND POST-WAR REINTEGRATION

Armed conflicts, such as civil wars, affect women in several ways, either as victims, facing numerous vulnerabilities or as co-actors, participating in varied degrees. During and after the Biafra-Nigeria civil war, the Biafra women aided their men by taking active parts in refugee camps and war fronts as nurses, doctors, social workers, and food and drug suppliers. They also resorted to less dignified means of livelihood to save their families from starvation. Many were the harsh effects of the war borne by the Biafra women. They were victims of rape and forced marriages perpetuated by the Nigerian soldiers. Some women joined the crew for negotiation in England for the restoration of peace in Nigeria.

However, war memorials, as is the case with Biafran War Memorial, aimed at reconciliation, healing, peace-building and development have often been dominated by the men's perspective or voice only. International conferences and policies such as the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995 and the Security Council "Resolution 1325" have called for a more gender-sensitive approach to conflict managements that ensures greater participation of women in conflict resolutions at all levels of decision-making.

In the light of the recommendations by these international policies on gender mainstreaming in pre-conflict, conflict and post conflict situation, this paper seeks to reappraise the Biafra-Nigeria war from the women perspective. It assesses the role women played during and after the Nigeria-Biafra war and explores the prospects it holds for peace and sustainable development especially in the light of the new social, political and security challenges facing Nigeria today. It pays close attention to the post-war Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation programs, inquiring, 'if they took place' how much, the Biafran women, who were both ex-combatants and victims of the war, are included in these reintegration processes.

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THE WRITER AS AN HISTORIAN: REPRESENTATION OF THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR IN FICTION

Ndigo, as the Igbo race occupying the Eastern part of Nigeria are referred to, have suffered several indignities in their quest for fulfillment in the Nigerian State. One of such is the pogrom and massacre of Easterners residing in the North in 1996 which culminated in the three year Biafran war that lasted from 1967 to 1970. Historical documentation of the war is replete with tales of intrigues, power play, suffering and exploitative tendencies the average Igbo had to contend with in the course of the war and since creative writing does not exist in a vacuum, the war has remained a social situation that actualizes and humanizes creativity in Nigeria. This paper is an attempt at interrogating how creative writers have adopted and adapted the traumatic

experiences of the war as creative writing facility. Particularly, the study will pay attention to the literary representation of the war vis-à-vis the degrading human experiences, genocide and the theme of failed leadership, (Nigerian and Biafran sides) in a reading of Festus Iyayi's *Heroes* and Chimamanda Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Similarly, the environmental consequence of the war, an area which earlier scholarship has either ignored or merely mentioned will also be examined. The choice of the novels is motivated by the writers' creative ingenuity as attested to by the recognition and international acclaim they hold in literary circles. This is in addition to the satisfactory treatment of the themes highlighted earlier. The study reveals the grandiose self serving disposition of the ruling class even as it foregrounds the resilience and indomitable spirit that has propelled Ndigbo to continue to break new grounds forty years after a war in which they lost all.

##

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THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR OF 1967 AND THE STIGMATIZATION OF CHILDREN BORN OF RAPE VICTIMS IN EDO STATE NIGERIA

The history of the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970, though short, still lingers in the memory of many Nigerians especially communities that were not among the many ethnic groups in the war, hence they were seen as saboteurs. For this many atrocities were netted on them; among which was rape. Up till date, it is still obvious in some of the names given to children now adults born of rape victims by the Biafran and Nigerian army during the two and half years the war lasted. This study therefore seeks to observe the attitude of 'children' born this period in question as a result of the stigma attached to their names; it examines community responses to incidence of rape and the level of compensation to mothers (rape victims) and the resultant children born after the war. The study employed principally qualitative methodology: in-depth interview and focus group discussion, among a cross section of 50 households drawn randomly and via a snowballing sampling method in three local government areas of Edo state Nigeria. Major findings from the study showed that 40years after the Civil War, 'children' were still seen as 'bad omen' mostly affected were the female 'children' now married 73% of them. Also observed was that many of the males (67%) have changed their names from war related meanings. The study concludes that rape in war times is evil and should not be encouraged in any form. Finally the study recommends that proper education and enlightenment campaign about the aftermath of rape should be given to soldiers preparing for war.

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##

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ABANDONMENT AND EXCLUSION AFTER BIAFRA: REFLECTIONS ON THE POST-WAR CONDITION OF THE IGBO OF SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

No singular event since the creation of Nigeria has elicited reactions, comments, and criticisms more than the

civil conflict that has become popularly named the "Biafra-Nigeria Civil War". The events leading to this thirty months infamy notwithstanding how complicated and confused they were have also been variedly interpreted and understood. The fact remains that a seige was levied on a particular group in an avid attempt to thwart the possibility of their independence and nationhood. The rooting of this conflict is directly linked to the events of January 15 1966, which snow-balled into a counter-coup in July of the same year, and the unwholesome massacre of innocent and defenseless Igbo residents in Northern and Western parts of Nigeria. With the inability of the defacto regime to protect the lives and limbs of the Igbo outside their homeland, and the associated failure of the regime to meaningfully negotiate a resolution of the crisis, the Igbo sought protection under their own shade by declaring the independence of Biafra in 1967. The response of the Federal military government was swift to this, as military force was deployed against the young Republic. Thus the Southeast became the theatre of the worst armed conflict in post-independence Africa. With the cessation of hostilities and the final end of the war in January 1970 under the slogans of "No victor, no vanquished" as well as the three Rs, Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction; the victorious Federal military government and its successors appeared not to have lived up to these noble pronouncements, even almost forty years after the end of the war. The paper seeks to examine the effects of the war on Igboland in the light of the post-war slogans of the federal government and see to what extent those were realized to ensure good intergroup relations and post-conflict accommodation for the purposes of nation building in Nigeria. It will also make recommendations on how best to move the nation forward.

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Emmanuel Onuoha INYAMA

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AMERICAN AND CHRISTIAN RELIEF EFFORTS TO SAVE THE IGBO IN BIAFRA: ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE SURVIVAL AND UNITY OF NIGERIA

The socio- political factors that lead to the Nigeria civil war between 30th May 1967 and January 1970 are enmeshed in propaganda that beclouds the real issues. But looking back at the war itself, what stands out is the degree and intensity of the unconventional measures employed by the Nigerian side to crush the secession. Apart from the pogrom and massacre of the Igbo, the Nigeria, side used Hunger as an instrument of Warfare. They imposed Economic Sanctions against the East. All other parts of Nigeria were banned from doing business with the East. The Nigerian currency was frozen for transactions with the East. Imports were forbidden into the East. There was total economic blockade of the East. Hunger, Starvation and sickness became the greatest problem in the secessionist enclave. Such sicknesses as Kwasiokor and Tuberculosis became the worst killers than weapons of warfare. There was World outcry. The American Government and the Churches rose up to the challenge. They mobilized humanitarian resources- Food, Medicine and other Materials to save life in the Biafran territory. Politics, Propaganda and Conventional warfare ragged and ended. All the measures taken by the Nigerian side were aimed at keeping the Nigerian Nation and its Unity. After four decades this paper looks at the contributions of America and the Churches to the survival of the Igbo on the one side and the continued existence and Unity of Nigeria on the other. The findings praise American and Christian Relief efforts as the real organs that ensured the survival and Unity of Nigeria, not the weapons and the military might of Nigeria and its cohorts like Britain and Russia.

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ETHNIC POLITICS AND BIAFRAN SCIENTISTS IN POST-WAR NIGERIA, 1971-1979

The emergence of the Biafran scientists and their technological inventions during the Nigerian civil war could be regarded as a child of necessity. The scientists' contributions, which will be detailed, sustained Biafra's resilience in the face of total blockade and prolonged the war till January 1970 when the war ended. The whole world appreciated and commended the Biafran scientists who were however not accommodated into the Federal Government's schemes of technological from 1971 to 1979 on account of some ethnic politics. Since the military government was dominated by the northern military elites and royal oligarchy, national policies depended on their whims and caprices. Indeed, northern ethnic transcended all other interests at the meetings of the Supreme Military Council, hence the deliberate neglect and marginalization of the Biafran scientists despite the recommendations of the members of the council from the south that the Federal Government should harness their scientific knowledge, expertise and creativity to launch Nigeria into the world stage of technological and industrial development. The lessons we learn include the opportunity cost of a lost advantage, true and false reconciliation, true and false forgiveness in total healing of a nation's wounds and nation building.

##

Tobe NNAMANI

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BIAFRA IN RETROSPECT: THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY - ETHICAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The role of the greater majority of established world governments in the Biafra-Nigeria war left much to be desired. It revealed the age-old recurring decimal of intrigues, maneuverings and manipulating by major world powers for economic and political interests. It portrays the disquieting paradox and dilemma in humanitarian intervention, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and the search for global peace. The paradox and dilemma consist in the double-standard role of a world community which pledges to prevent violent conflicts and wars in order to maintain world peace but at the same time, fuels the same conflicts it purports to eradicate. The established world governments' support for Nigeria to crush Biafra was a challenge to the basis of responsible government. The Biafra war was a perfect example of peoples' power versus governments' power. This was evident in the unprecedented support given to Biafra by the world civil society through relief agencies. Where does one draw the line between politics and relief in complex humanitarian emergencies? Is the international community an ethical community and what is the role of ethics in international relations? The paper seeks to provide answers to these questions. First, it explores the delicate nature of humanitarian intervention vis-à-vis the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention on the one hand, and on the other hand, the moral responsibility to intervene on behalf of those unjustly being murdered even by their own governments. Second, it critically analyses the ethical and political implications of the role of the international community in the Biafra-Nigeria war. Finally, it concludes that emerging global patterns tend to support a re-ordering of the world order and the infusion of ethics into international relations for the achievement of a new, peaceful and just world order.

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REVISITING THE NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN WAR: SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES IN SUNSET AT DAWN AND HALF OF A YELLOW SUN

Over four decades after the Nigerian civil crises of the sixties, issues revolving around the events of that era continue to engage scholarly interest and attention. Ostensibly, this is because the war in its entirety constitutes a significant part of Nigeria's history. A history with memories that albeit unpleasant, can nonetheless not be erased. Amidst other scholars therefore, literary artists in particular, have been relentless in their exploration and representation of the war experience/reality, in diverse fictional and non-fictional forms.

This paper seeks then to examine two texts that strive to recreate various aspects of the Nigeria-Biafra war reality from the distinct perspectives of the writers. Focus will be on each author's peculiar approach to, and engagement with the broad theme of war, as well as their individual portrayal and interpretation of narrated incidents; especially bearing in mind Chukwuemeka Ike's privileged position as an eye-witness of the war and Chimanda Adichie's unique representation of the event recorded years before her birth.

##

Rev. Sr Carol Ijeoma NJOKU

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WOMEN OF WAR VERSUS WOMEN OF WOE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE NIGERIAN WAR FICTIONS

This paper shall examine the plight of the Biafran women as represented in different Nigerian War Fictions. It shall explore the debilitating experiences of war especially as affecting women and children. The positions of some women militia shall also be appreciated in this research by vindicating their indispensable roles in promoting justice and conflict resolution. The fictional accounts of the Civil war by selected Nigerian authors like: Chinua Achebe- *Girls at War*, Chukwuemeka Ike- *Sunset at Dawn*, Ken Saro Wiwa- *Sozaboy*, Elechi Amadi- *Sunset in Biafra* and Chimamanda Adichie- *Half of the Yellow Sun* shall form the bedrock of this study. Finally the lasting consequence of the civil war shall be highlighted and the possibility of healing scars of war be examined.

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Western Kentucky University

MEMORIAL NARRATIVE ABOUT DEAD AND MIA BIAFRAN SOLDIERS: REMEMBERING WHEN, WHERE, AND HOW

Most dead MIA and Biafran soldiers have not been accounted for, but some of those who survived the war remember when, where, and possibly, how some of their fellow soldiers died or MIA. This panel will provide the context for such memorial narratives. The proceeding of the panel, which will be recorded, will later be transcribed by Professor Njoku. It is hoped that the transcripts will be preserved as a permanent exhibit in museum or mausoleum to be established somewhere in Igboland. The exhibit will be open to visitors who may include the relatives of the dead or MIA Biafrans. To some, this may perhaps help to bring a much needed closure and healing to a deep seated wound.

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**COMA MEU FILHO OU VOCÊ VIRA UM BIAFRA! MY SON YOU BETTER
EAT OR YOU WILL BECOME A BIAFRAN BOY! BRAZILIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE GENOCIDE.**

The History of Brazil has many links with Nigeria, especially what relates to the Yoruba ex-slaves who were brought to the country. One of four major African legacies is the Yoruba religion that in Brazil we call Candomblé. But our ties go beyond this: the genocide of Biafran population was accompanied by the Brazilian citizens with piety, driven mostly by the way the media covered it. I will analyze the articles and photos published on the conflict which floured the imagination of ordinary people and gave origin to the quotes that gives the title for this paper. Every mother over the seventies would threaten their kids by saying: you better eat or you will become a Biafra boy! I would argue that this genocide (coverage) laid the foundations for the Brazilian obtuse imaginary of what contemporary Africa is all about: military coups, ethnic war, genocide and disease. In the course of a Ph. D research in Brazil on Nigerian Literature, my aim is to study the Genocide as it appears in literature and its relation to history theories as a crucial theme for the nation and the media coverage of it is an important chapter, therefore my contribution will be to talk on how the Brazilian emerging media dealt with the problem.

##

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**GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS: A REFLECTION ON IGBO WOMEN'S
EXPERIENCE DURING THE BIAFRA-NIGERIA CIVIL WAR, 1967-1970.**

Conflicts which have their origins in both war and emergency situation have affected thousands of women across the globe. Women are often more vulnerable to sexual violence, abuse torture and rape in conflict situations. Yet, the global pattern [especially in Africa] has been to dismiss extreme gender-based violence as an inevitable and unavoidable by-product of conflict while perpetrators go unpunished. As a result, women survivors suffer physical and psychological health complications, economic and social exclusion because they often lack access to safe legal, health and social services. This paper examines the experiences of women during the Biafra-Nigeria Civil war (1967-1970) focusing on Owerri Zone. The war resulted in the unabated violation of women's fundamental human rights. Based on eye witness account and individual experiences as well as related written documents, we will attempt to recount the experiences of Owerri women during Biafra civil war and assess the impact of gender-based violence on women's lives. We will evaluate their experiences in the context of international policies and suggest ways of changing these systems of inequality in order to protect the rights of women in conflict situations.

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EXHUMING THE GHOST OF A TROUBLED PRESENT: HISTORY AND SURVIVAL IN CHIMAMANDA ADICHIE'S *HALF OF A YELLOW SUN*.

Ngozi Adichie's new novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun* presents Nigeria's familiar and historical problems in new words and images. The novel reexamines the circumstances surrounding the thirty-month civil war described as the darkest moments of Nigeria's history, captured in the works of many creative artist and social commentators. To justify this struggle, a General of the defunct Biafran army contended that, "throughout history, injured people have had to resort to arms in their self defense where peaceful negotiations fail. We are no exception...." Adichie reveals why and how the very factors that precipitated the avoidable war still bedevil the Nigerian state and stunt her developmental growth.

Fundamental in the circumstance above is the fact that the bloody war resulted from struggles between people of different cultures and orientation, who found themselves forced into the political structure called Nigeria. Why have all the efforts at nationhood since independence been unrealizable? *Half of a Yellow Sun* delves into the history of this contrivance and the several struggles engaged in by the different peoples, groups and individuals to survive the consequences of this forced relationship. It raises the nationality question and argues that the prevalent confusion in Nigeria today is because opportunities for the different people in Nigeria to negotiate their togetherness have never existed, but is fundamental for her survival.

In this paper, we intend to reexamine Chimamanda's *Half of a Yellow Sun* as an interrogation of the past, which is fundamental to the understanding of the troubles and problems of today's Nigeria. It will investigate the extent to which history has influenced attempts at nationhood and why those efforts have yielded only negative results. We hold that this exercise in collective exorcism provides Nigerians with adequate tools to negotiate a future shun of today's problems.

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THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA CIVIL WAR AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

Remembrance or memorial, as the open recovery and public acknowledgement of the truth about past injustices, has become a valuable process for healing, reconciliation and progress with restored unity and renewed vitality. Communal forgetfulness, the antithesis of such memory, betrays a morally outrageous and politically dangerous impunity.

The Biafra War Memorial is, like other modern remembrances, paralyzed by a "politics of memory"—involving either complete amnesia, selective memory or exploitation of memory. Perpetrators of these subterfuges typically refuse to acknowledge the victims, as though they were mere wraiths who had never existed, and the event itself had never occurred. Sometimes the victims themselves, unable to handle the traumatic effects of the past prefer not to remember them. There is also the opinion that such remembrances only serve to prolong the guilt and the bitterness of the past, and that forward-looking demands getting past the negative historical experiences. 'Selective memory'—retaining some memories while having amnesia of others, though a psychological pathology, has acquired political significance. It has been employed by both perpetrators and victims, to justify their competing claims. Within the Biafra community, some have also exploited the memorial for their own interest, leaving the victims doubly victimized.

This reflection seeks to contribute to the current Biafra War Memorial discourse by insisting that the remembrance of our past heroes and heroines is a grave responsibility owed to our history. However, this memorial must be seen, not as mere indulgence in sentimental intoxication with the past, but as an opportunity to heal the memory of past injuries and to plan practical initiatives for the future. It is a memorial that guides a justly embittered people towards more salutary and beneficial objectives rather than propagating hatred. To fully embrace this purpose, we must then return to our map with a proper perspective and sense of direction that would guarantee the commitment of this generation of the Biafra people to the cause of our past heroes. Thus, this reflection honestly explores the provocative question of what constitutes the true 'Biafran cause,' "sovereignty or security of the Igbo people." Adopting a *via negativa* method that critically analyzes examples of current Biafra War Memorial, it suggests how best to preserve that memory.

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THE ROLE OF UNICEF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE DURING THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR.

This paper examines the role of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) during the Nigeria Civil War. UNICEF, a UN organ, which began operations in Nigeria in 1953, works with governments of member nations and other partner organizations to promote and protect the rights of children and women in the areas of health and nutrition, basic education, water and sanitation, child protection, planning and communication. UNICEF boasts of providing technical and financial support to the government of Nigeria at three levels of administration – Federal, State and Local Governments - on the development and provision of services for children and on adopting appropriate policy and legal measures to ensure the fulfillment of child rights. During the war years; how did UNICEF discharge its functions to the Federal government, the war-ravaged Eastern Region and its local governments? What were the intervention methods adopted, especially in the face of gross abuse of women and children's rights by both Nigerian government and Biafran forces? As Nigerian children were air-lifted to Gabon, Ivory Coast and other parts of Europe for treatment against Kwashiorkor and to ensure their safety from the war; the International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW), rather than UNICEF took up the challenges to promote and protect the rights of Nigerian women and children.

Even immediately after the war, the IUCW, rather than the UNICEF, was nominated by United Nation High Commission for Refugees, the Federal Government of Nigeria, the governments of the three states involved in the war and other partner organizations / institutions to arrange for the children's repatriation, rehabilitation and return to their parents. In many of the writings that have since emanated from participants, victims and witnesses to the Civil War; UNICEF was alleged to have shirked its responsibilities to Igbo women and children and sided with the Federal Government. Besides efforts by the University of Nsukka to substantiate the claim in *Children and the Nigerian Civil War: A Study of the Rehabilitation Programme for War-Displaced Children*, this unsubstantiated allegation has not received any serious scholarly inquiry ever since. Besides soiling UNICEF's image in Nigeria, the public deserves to know what went wrong or right for UNICEF during the Nigerian Civil War. This paper, using interviews from veterans, victims and witnesses to the Nigerian Civil War; documentary and archival records, as copiously preserved at the National Archive, Enugu and Lagos, seeks to fill this gap in our knowledge of what role the United Nation's flagship organ for child's right played during the war years.

##

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ETHNO-NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL CONVENIENCE IN POST-CIVIL WAR NIGERIA

Works on the post-independence political economy of Nigeria have emphasized the effects of ethno-nationalism on the country's quest for socio-economic transformation. Many scholars, have, in that regard, observed that Nigerians' loyalties to their respective ethnic groups were stronger than their sense of nationhood, arguing that the country has failed to evolve from the "mere geographical expression" description. Unfortunately, while the scores of indigene/settlers conflicts, which continually plague the country seem to corroborate the above view, the institutionalization of policies like federal character, zoning and system appear as official attestation to the failure of Nigeria to attain the status of a nation. This paper, therefore, examines the consequences of an abbreviated nationhood for the long term survival and sustainability of Nigeria as a geopolitical entity. It argues that the post-civil war inter-ethnic relation is governed, principally, by the instrumentality of the oil resources, which have literally assumed the national identity. The ethnic groups, especially the major ones, the paper submits, have continued to tolerate one another not because of their sincerity about the advantages which the Nigerian union conferred on them, but rather, due to the desire to participate in the "oil-party". The paper concludes that unless the essence of nationhood is predicated on mutual trust, respect, choice and conviction, the knell, predictably, will toll for Nigeria once the oil resources are exhausted.

##

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INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR CHILD WELFARE: THE REHABILITATION AND MANAGEMENT OF CIVIL WAR-DISPLACED CHILDREN, 1971-1973

Owing to the devastation, death and displacement caused by the Nigerian Civil War; the 'Biafran' Government, in collaboration with some international organizations and agencies, arranged for the evacuation of a large number of children from the ravages of war and war-related diseases, most notably kwashiorkor, for treatment and safe-keeping in the Republic of Gabon and Ivory Coast. A few of these children were taken to Europe.

Immediately hostilities ceased in 1970, the first task of the Federal Government was to arrange for the repatriation of these children back to Nigeria. To facilitate this, the United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was invited to participate in the negotiation for the children's return. The Federal Government also nominated the International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW) to arrange for the children's repatriation to their parents after arriving Nigeria. Parts of the mandate given IUCW were to 'rehabilitate', 'manage through fostering', 'placement and family assistance' programmes for these children as well as, for those who could not locate their parents and family members, ensure institutional support for their well-being.

To achieve its mandate, IUCW sets up five transit centers: Port-Harcourt, Ikot-Ekpene, Azumini, Mgbidi, and Ngor Okpala; where these children were received, rehabilitated and handed over to their parents or relatives. A sizeable number of these children were reunited with either their parents or relatives. About 30% could not locate either parent or family members. For these 30%, the IUCW negotiated 'in-state homes' and welfare centers with the governments of the three Eastern states, as well as legal adoption processes with the public. By

1973 when the IUCW was closed down, more than 80 children were unclaimed in East Central State, 167 in Rivers, and 157 in South Eastern State. These children were left to the Social Welfare Departments of the states.

Using interviews, documentary evidence and archival records, this study attempts an objective evaluation of the activities of the IUCW, with a view to record its successes and failures in the social welfare intervention effort in Nigeria. The study also measures the rehabilitation programme, documents innovations recorded, and the peculiarities of the welfare programme. The importance of the study lies in the fact that it registers Nigeria's first involvement in international social welfare intervention.

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BIAFRAN WARS, HISTORIC BURDEN AND ARTISTIC VISION IN OLD EASTERN NIGERIAN LITERATURE

African literature is a socially conscious art engaged as moniker for (re)creating and engendering sociopolitical vision and discharging the burden of the writer as a historical witness. In Nigeria, the civil war of 1966-1970 is not the only gory event of martial conflict orchestrated in Biafra, the old Eastern Region that mainly comprised of the current South-East and South-South Geopolitical Zones. The historic military siege and recurrent attacks of the oil producing communities in this region by the Federal forces and the multinational oil companies as international allies, as well as the angst reactionary and multi-militant offensives by the indigenes all generate wartime topos that bond Biafran wartime experiences.

This paper examines how creative writers of old Eastern Nigerian extraction have explored the currents of wartime trauma, horror, destruction and death spilled by regional and oil politics through the subgenre of muscular or fighting literature. Biafran wartime literature by writers like Chinua Achebe, Chukwuemeka Ike, Catherine Acholonu, Chimamanda Adichie, Ogaga Ifowodo, Ibiwari Ikiriko among others, embody narrations, characterization, themes and idioms of feeling that vividly capture the victims of war as body in physical and psychic pain. They foreground the horrific and traumatic multiplier-effects of war such as dislocation of Biafrans from their domestic econiche and refugee problems, hunger and the privileging of food and sustenance through essentializing of relief materials, the horror of air raids, the travails of the wounded and shell-shocked, brambles of wartime exploitation, carnage, destruction and death. This paper posits that by manipulating various creative writing predilections, these writers present 'factionalized' experiences and sociopolitical dialogues that interrogate the causes and consequences of war as needless and meaningless carnage, as well as articulate the daily experiences and coping strategies of youths, women and children as the most vulnerable groups in the war torn region.

##

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POST-WAR STATE-BUILDING AND REINTEGRATION OF THE IGBO IN NIGERIAN POLITICS

State-building – the creation of new governmental institutions and the strengthening of existing ones – is an important aspect of the political development of any country. It is widely acknowledged that the colonial state-building project in Nigeria was a failure. The failure of the colonial state-building project contributed to the nurturing of the conditions that led to the Nigeria-Biafra War. Since the end of the civil war, the Nigerian elite have embarked on a new state-building project aimed at preventing resurgence of civil war, encouraging inter-group accommodation, and promoting democracy and good governance. The post-war state-building in Nigeria emphasizes the notion of ethno-regional power-sharing, especially in terms of equitable allocation of federal units, political/bureaucratic offices and oil revenue to various ethno-regional groups.

The aim of this paper is to examine whether and the extent to which post-war state-building has facilitated or impeded reintegration of the Igbo in Nigerian politics, and the lessons that Nigeria's experience offer. The specific questions this paper will address are as follows: (1) what are the main features of post-war state-building in Nigeria? (2) How has post-war state-building facilitated or impeded reintegration of the Igbo in Nigerian politics? (3) What lessons can be learnt from Nigeria's experience? This paper argues that growing commitment of Nigerian elite to the practice of power-sharing has encouraged reintegration of the Igbo in Nigerian politics. It claims that Igbo reintegration into post-war Nigerian politics manifests in several political concessions achieved by the Igbo, the key role played by the Igbo elite in several governmental institutions, and unrestrained participation of the Igbo in Nigeria's political process. The paper concludes that despite the gains made so far, Igbo reintegration into the mainstream of Nigerian politics is limited by the fact that power-sharing hampers the growth of democracy and tends to maintain, and sometimes, widen the asymmetrical power relations between the Igbo and the other major groups in the country.

##

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WOMEN AND INTRA-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF AGULERI/UMULERI CONFLICTS

This study investigates the role of women and women civil society organizations in intra-ethnic conflicts in Southeastern Nigeria. It does so based on recent revelations from the literature on ethnic conflict research in Nigeria which suggests that intra-ethnic conflicts are perceived as inconsequential and their analysis trivialized. Secondly, because civil society studies, until recently, have been largely gender blind by ignoring the specificities of women group involvement in socio-economic and political processes, the interface between intra-ethnic conflicts and women organizations is yet to be adequately explored. Nevertheless, we do know that women, as individuals and groups, are not always passive observers of conflicts; most times they are active collaborators and participants in ethnic conflicts and their management. From research findings conducted through a synthesis and synergy of observation method, in-depth and key-informant interviews, the study shows that women and their organizations play vital role in managing the Aguleri and Umuleri intra-ethnic conflicts, even though they have also consciously and unconsciously contributed in sustaining them. Hence, the study recommends the involvement and empowerment of women organizations as stakeholders in managing Aguleri and Umuleri conflicts. Secondly, to ensure that harmonious relations return to the two disputing communities emphasis should be devoted to traditional more than western models of conflict management.

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FROM THREE R'S TO REPARATION: POST-CONFLICT IGBO CHALLENGES AND THE NEW NIGERIA.

General Yakubu Gowon (Rtd) may have apologised to the Igbos sometime past but the genocidal eruption against the Igbo ethnic nationality between 1967 and 1970 is comparable to the Jewish holocaust prior to the second world war. The Igbos were hunted down like bushpigs and killed in their numbers. In recent times, the Igbos have suffered sundry persecutions that could be interpreted to mean a continuation of the war by other means. This is inspite of the post-war proclamation of the policy of *'Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation'* by the victorious federal government. This paper anchors the issues and cross-cutting issues of concern in the visible and concrete experiences of the Igbos. It highlights the necessary issue of reparation or compensation for the Igbos on account of the avoidable genocide and assorted injustices against them since 1967. It further argues that since the Yoruba ethnic nationality were compensated with the Obasanjo presidency six years after the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election won by a Yoruba man and the Hausa /Fulani have reclaimed the presidency after eight years, the Igbos that have suffered so much should be allowed a breathing space to excel and express themselves. The paper explores sundry policies and curious enactments against the Igbos which has wrecked their psychological balance to a point of self denial as several Igbos have found solace and satisfaction in denying their ancestry in order to avoid persecution and ensure survival. All these have been used as tools of disempowerment of the Igbos and manifest as veritable challenges to the Igbo nation. The paper concludes that while Nigeria has the capacity to critically review the policy proclamation of January 15, 1970 as well as de-legitimising all the curious and obnoxious enactments against the Igbos, the Igbos themselves must ensure that they cleanse themselves from anti social attitudes that has put them in bad light in recent times.

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'REMEMBER TO FORGET': THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, ITS POST-WAR HISTORY AND MEMORY POLITICS

With the end of the Nigerian – Biafran war (or the Nigerian civil war) in 1970, and due to the nature of its prosecution and outcome, there was a silent but firm policy by the government to foist on the Nigerian peoples a deliberate collective amnesia of the history, nature and dynamics of that civil strife. This was to be significantly aided by the outright silences, denials and/or the telling of 'half truths' by many actors from ethnic groups that were on the "Federal side" during that 30-month war. This paper interrogates the nature of the memory politics of the Nigerian – Biafran war that has unfolded since its end. It primarily focuses on government policies on public history education relating to the civil war history and its actions on the remembrance and memorialization of the civil war. Furthermore, the paper looks at the salient roles of some the war's actors in the post-conflict period and how these have contributed to the deliberate collective amnesia posture, or the lack of it, in the country. Highlighting some of the implications of such memory politics on the post-war reconciliation processes, it is argued in the paper that the shallow understanding and denials of, and the half truths perpetuated about, the civil war issues have been partly responsible for the neo-Biafran resurgences and other likewise identity formations of the last decade. The paper concludes that only truth, openness and

understanding can guarantee genuine social cohesiveness and act as elixir for ethnic-based violence in the country, such as that witnessed during the civil war.

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REINTEGRATION OF CHILD COMBATANTS IN AFRICA'S POST CIVIL WARS: LESSONS LEARNT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

The emergence of the human security concept in post conflict peace building discourse lately has shown that children, remain largely invisible in such discussion. Hence, post-conflict programmes of reintegration and reconstruction mostly undermine the incorporation of children, especially, child soldiers who are perpetrators in war scenarios, into the country's post-conflict reintegration programmes. This invisibility of child soldiers from such discussions is due to the following assumptions. First, adults constitute the most important segment in any war situation because of their economic importance and children depend on them for survival, hence, efforts should be to quickly rehabilitate adults leaving out children. Second, women and children are the most vulnerable groups in the society; therefore, any policy that takes care of women also naturally takes care of children. Third, another erroneous assumption is that child soldiers are only dangerous during war situations. But if post-war society can ensure that they are placed in the right environment (within the family set up), their war mentality would disappear. Due to these flawed assumptions, child soldiers' post-war reintegration are either not considered at all or considered as a short term programme. The result is that lives of former child soldiers are not endangered; it has also posed serious security threats to citizens in affected war-torn societies. Highlighting on the experiences of some war-torn states in Africa in the reintegration of child soldiers such as Nigeria, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to mention but a few, and focusing on the twinned states of Liberia and Sierra Leone due to studies carried out in both countries in the past, this study argues that from lessons learnt, any reintegration that does not enthusiastically consider child combatants in rehabilitation, demilitarization and proper reintegration will only face a future explosion of tyrants, rebels and war-mongers.

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SOURCES AND METHODS IN DOCUMENTING THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR: SOME HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Sources are sine qua non to the historian. In fact, no history can be written without sources. As relates to the Nigeria Civil War of 1967 and 1970; documentary sources have been many and multi-dimensional. Some have been produced by actors in the war themselves shedding lights on some of the considerations and happenings before, during and after the war. Some are official state reports and some have come in form of work of fiction. Besides documentary evidences, oral sources are also available, as some of the witnesses to the war are alive, although some have died.

Sadly, this avalanche of documentary and oral sources has not made reconstructing the civil war any easier. More than anything else, the task is made the more complex due to varying degree of divergences noted in some of the documentary and oral sources. As Thomas Spear had noted, documentary sources, like their oral counterparts, are largely seen as biased. For instance, while official sources have been silent on the number of the dead; hundreds of documentary sources from non-official sources have claimed that the dead ranges between five to ten million. The situation is made complex by the fact that official statistics on population before the war was either lacking or grossly inadequate. Besides the above example; Generals Gowon and Ojukwu, the two main actors in the war, have sounded discordantly over what led to the war. Humanitarian situation in any war situation tends to be acute, but that is not reason enough not to have a near-perfect picture of the humanitarian situation during the Nigeria civil war. Material evidences in either official reports or private writings are not helpful as they tend to paint different pictures. While official sources have been regarded as grossly under-presenting the truth of the civil war, non-official sources tend to be exaggerative. How then would a historian reconstruct the Nigeria Civil War?

It must be acknowledged that this situation is not peculiar to either the Nigeria Civil War or Nigeria alone; it is a general malady that historical writings have had to contend with over the years. The case of the Nigeria Civil War is daily made complex because other disciplines, like archeology, ethnography, linguistics, etch have left the task of reconstructing the civil war to the historians, biographers, novelists, and political scientists. As Toyin Falola noted long ago; most of African history remains history based on the written records, as historians refused to delve into what lies beyond the written texts. While reasons abound to justify this obstinate fascination to written sources, it must be noted that written sources, especially when they are controversial as in the case of the Nigeria Civil War must be taken with care. This study raises a few important questions an historian must consider before selecting and using any of the available written and oral sources in reconstructing the civil war. Historians must assess what types of document and perspectives are available and why. The documents provenance must be questioned. Who produces them, when, why and for what purpose(s)? What other version(s) are in existence? Historians need to know how authentic a version is and how it may have changed through successive versions and editions since the original. The historian must carefully read what a document says, how it says it, and why. There is also the need to know the context of the document and how the context informs the document and also how the document reveals context.

The mere fact that a document is produced by the government or one of the actors in the war is not enough for a historian to conclude and treat that whatever is in the document as the historical truth. In fact, the historian must be conscious that the fact that the various actors are still very much around gives room for (i) deliberate distortion; (ii) selective remembering; (iii) strategic denial; (iv) and deliberate forgetting. The task of the historian is made more complex by the prevailing politics of the Nigeria Civil War. More often than not, Eastern Nigeria politicians have unequivocally stated that since the civil war, trust and good relations between Easterners and other parts of the country have been eroded. They alleged that owing to the development, Igbo people are marginalized in socio-economic and political development of the nation. How much of this presentments. Others in the Nigerian nation have argued otherwise. While the duty of the historian is not to join in the fray, there is the need to know how much of this presentiments are involved in the production of most of the documents. The paper concludes by calling on other disciplines to probe, using their different research methodologies to probe into this critical stage of Nigerian history so as to build dependable historical materials for generations to come.

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A MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION: SOUTHERN BAPTIST WORK DURING THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

This paper will examine the impact that the Nigerian Civil War had on Southern Baptist mission work in Nigeria during the late 1960s. The Southern Baptist Convention spent much effort in Nigeria throughout the twentieth century in educational and medical endeavors, as a part of their work of conversion. Although most of the missionaries in the field of Nigeria were not in the area of direct conflict, there was nonetheless a Southern Baptist presence in those areas. Through an analysis of reports from H. Cornell Goerner, Secretary for Africa to the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, it is possible to track the situation for the missionaries as it unfolded on the ground. After an initial concern that led to a call for furloughed missionaries to delay their return, work continued.

The monthly reports given to the Board detail traveling conditions in the disputed territory, as well as the work that mission personnel continued in spite of the conflict. Concern over the humanitarian crisis that arose as a result of the fighting was evident. There were reports that the Nigerian government disallowed humanitarian aid that was supposed to help the victims of the conflict. In spite of these conditions, there was a hope evident in Goerner's writings that the Southern Baptists would be able to have a ministry of restoration and reconciliation in the aftermath of the Nigerian Civil War.

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John SHERMAN

"EDUCATING AGAINST WAR AND MILITARISM THROUGH CREATIVE WRITING BASED ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCES"

I expect to make a presentation about my personal experiences of the war and how I have chosen to use creative writing to educate against war and militarism. I have written a book and opera about a specific war, but the theme applies to virtually all wars. I will show a 20-minute excerpt of the opera featuring four singers, an orchestra, and dancers. The principal character, a Red Cross nurse, sings of the "benches of death," the seemingly endless rows of women with babies who come for her aid. A dream sequence, with women, one after another, reaching for medicine for their babies while sitting on the clinic benches, is seen in this performance. The opera excerpt ends with the nurse waking up to discover her own sick child has died.

I will read short excerpts from *War Stories*, show some of my photos taken at the clinics, and address the issues of the effects of war on women and children "left behind" as the men go off to fight. The opera segment will reinforce these views and, together, it is expected to be a powerful, personal reflection on a war from an observer who recalls, very vividly, the experiences of 40 years ago.

We provided medicine to hundreds of women and their children daily, knowing that many would not be returning to that village's clinic a week later because they would be even more severely ill or dead or because the front lines had changed and nearby fighting prevented them from safe passage to our site. The men were either in the military, in hiding, or dead. The women, left alone with their children and elderly men, had to be constantly on the run, unable to grow crops and incapable of providing stability for their families. They were forced to walk miles to and from the clinics, yet they had no other choice, as land mines made it too risky for us to drive to many villages. The women's health was very poor and they were subject to abuse by soldiers on both sides of the conflict.

While we concentrated on seeking to heal the children, we also treated their mothers whose mental and physical states were impaired by the severity of their children's health, and the women whose children had already died. Out of those searing personal experiences of working with a team of doctors and nurses and other Red Cross personnel who distributed food to thousands of people on a daily basis, I wrote a book (illustrated

with my photographs of the war, as well as ephemera – posters, newspapers, other propaganda pieces) entitled, *War Stories: A Memoir of Nigeria and Biafra* (Mesa Verde Press, 2002).

In 2006, I wrote the libretto for a three-act opera, “Biafra,” based, in part on my book, but presenting the story of the war through the actions and words of a cast composed of persons representing Nigerians and Biafrans, both military and civilian. Two aspects of the military conflict that I comment on in the book, and stress even more strongly in the opera, are that war is futile and that, in such situations, it is the children, those most innocent and most unable to defend or help themselves, who are the most vulnerable.

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‘NO VICTOR NO VANQUISHED’: THE POLITICS OF GENERAL AMNESTY AND THE CASE OF 143 NIGERIAN SOLDIERS.

This study examines the case of the 143 officers of the Nigerian Air Force who participated in the Nigeria Civil War and the politics of general amnesty granted BY THE Nigerian government since the end of the war. Following the secession of Biafra in 1967, Nigerian government ordered all its officers and men who were at training facilities all over the world to return home for the war. The instruction, as the study finds, was to the effect that these officers and men return ‘to their bases in their respective regions’. Majority of the officers and men who returned to bases which fell under the Biafran areas were compelled to join the Biafran side. At the end of the war, General Gowon, in line with his ‘no victor, no vanquished’ policy, declared a general amnesty ‘to keep Nigeria one’. This amnesty, has since been found to be limited in its application to officers and men of Northern and Western extractions, as officers and men from Eastern Nigeria, who, out of no fault of theirs, fought on the Biafran side, have found their names either removed from the list of officers and men of the Nigerian Army, Air Force and Navy or are not entitled to either pension or gratuities.

The paper specifically focuses on the case of the 143 Nigerian Air Force men who, prior to the war, were sent on training in Germany and, in line with the German tradition, were emblazoned as ‘Cadets’ and not as ‘officers’. These were men and women who have undergone, passed and graduated from training here in Nigeria before being seconded to Germany for further training. General Abdusalam Abubakar, who later ruled Nigeria, was among these officers. Other notable officers of the Nigerian Army caught up in this mess include Air Vice Marshall Anthony Okpere, Lary Koinyan, Ike Ernest, etc. These men, like others, fought on the side of the Nigerian troop, not by choice but owing to the fact that he was of the Northern extraction. Others, who were from the Western extraction and returned to their Western Regional bases, also joined the Federal troops while those from the Eastern Region fought on the side of Biafra.

At the end of the war, these officers and men, like the Biafran soldiers, were incorporated into the Nigerian Army except those officers and men who were trained in Germany and of Eastern extraction. The excuse for their non-inclusion was that they were emblazoned as ‘Cadets’ and by the military pension laws; they were regarded as students. Attempts, since the end of the war, to get the Nigerian government to incorporate them into the army so as to be entitled to pensions and gratuities, having been trained abroad and in Nigeria before, proved unsuccessful.

The latest in the series of the efforts was in 2006 under President Olusegun Obasanjo. After intensive lobbies; the Federal Government in the Federal Government of Nigeria Official Gazette No. 40, Volume 93 announced another general amnesty or presidential pardon for soldiers, mostly air force men, who fought during the Civil War. Under this new amnesty regime, only 103 of the 143 qualified. The breakdown of the 103

personnel granted pardon shows 26 Commissioned Officers, 43 Officer Cadets, and 34 Lance Corporal and Air Men. Others who completed training in Germany like these men and were equally emblazoned as 'Cadet' were left in the cold.

The paper uses interviews, documentary evidences, and written records to interrogate the politics surrounding government's general amnesty since the end of the Civil War and the effects of the politics on people who laid their lives for Nigeria to be one. The study finds that ethnicity, favoritism, and corruption rather than nationalism dictates the direction of government amnesty whether under General Gowon or President Obasanjo.

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BIAFRAN MOTHERS AND CHILD CARE DURING THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, 1967-1970

This paper examines the effect of the Nigerian Civil War on the mothers especially nursing mothers in the Biafran enclave. It investigates the experiences; difficulties and challenges which the war imposed on the Biafran nursing mothers during the three years period of the war, as well as the consequences of these on the society during and in the post war period.

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CIVIL WAR AND MEMORY: RECONSTRUCTING THE BIAFRAN-NIGERIAN WAR EXPERIENCE USING BIAFRAN SONGS

On the intellectual landscape of the Biafran-Nigerian war, efforts have been made by scholars of different academic persuasions to present different dimensions of the tragedy. In spite of the spate of publications on the war, it seems that one area in historiography that has not benefited much from the academic search-light is the area of using songs to capture the totality of the experience of the people. As a veritable source of historical reconstruction, songs have been used by scholars of American slavery to mirror the past of the African slaves. Adopting inside-out modality, it provided a window through which we now have a clear picture of the life of the slaves. This is evident in the "Let My People Go Spirituals", such as Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel. This academic leaning corrected the misrepresentation of the slaves which the "White Filter" approach engendered. Perhaps, it is in recognition of the usefulness of the inside-out modality that the convener of the conference on Biafran-Nigerian war rightly included as one of its sub-themes "Civil War and Memory". In the realm of memory, song, as a short metrical composition intended or adapted for singing, graphically mirrors the past in time and space. Evidently, in the gathering of the forms of oral tradition, song is highly recognized. Thus, in the present dispensation, it is the aim of the writer to use Biafran songs to make a pictorial representation of the war experience. The songs that are critical in this context are those depicting the bight of the Biafran nation, the religious inclination of the people, dirges, praises, sabotage, relief operations, etc. The methodology adopted here is holistic and eclectic.

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REFLECTIONS ON BIAFRA-NIGERIA WAR IN OBIKE'S *EKE UNE*: AN IGBO MYTHICAL EPIC POEM

This paper attempts an allegorical interpretation of *Eke Une*, a written Igbo mythical epic poem by Emmanuel Anawanti Obike. The poem, *Eke Une* is a one thousand, five hundred and two line poem which the poet structures in ten chapters. This study sees *Eke Une* which on the surface evidently draws much of its inspirations from the oral myths of the Isieke Ibeku Umuahia Igbo at the underlying structure as a thin veiled history of the Biafra-Nigeria War. The main thrust of the paper therefore, is to isolate some key characters in the poem and examine certain actions ascribed to such characters by the poet. Such characters, their actions and some other objects found in the poem would form the data for use in this paper to reconstruct the content of *Eke Une* as allusions to the events and experiences, especially of the Igbo during the Biafra – Nigeria War 1967 – 1970. Various themes that portray woes in the form of deprivation, destruction, fear, insecurity, suffering and death would be highlighted as substratum for the study findings. Thus the paper proves that most of the ingredients the poet used in *Eke Une* are allegorically employed to paint a silhouetted picture of the facts and ideas to which they allude. These are facts and ideas which can only be comprehended by a critically inquisitive mind.

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BIAFRAN CIVIL WAR HISTORIOGRAPHY

This study revisits the Nigerian civil war historiography with a view to analyzing the varied perceptions of the war among the local and foreign commentators and analysts. The civil conflict popularly remembered as the Biafran war has attracted a profuse of literature with the dominant themes ranging from causation, ethnicity, economics, heroics, genocidal, betrayal, nationalism, international conspiracy, and lots more. A number of reasons make the civil war an interesting topic. It was the bloodiest civil war since the United States civil war of 1860s. The outbreak of the war was also a colossal disappointment for the political pundits and optimists who had on the eve of independence endorsed Nigeria as a promising beacon of democracy in postcolonial Africa. Again, the war that polarized the ideological regions of Christian Southeast and Northern Muslims was the first conflict that saw all the big powers of the Cold War order pitching their support to the federal government of Nigeria, while the European public perceived the war as a moral indictment on the side of the West for failing to aid the suffering Biafrans. These multitudes of interests and perspectives have contributed in shaping the burgeoning Nigerian civil war historiography.

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IN THE NAME OF THE FATHERS: THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT AND THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA WAR

Nigeria's eastern region proclaimed itself the Republic of Biafra, breaking away from the federation, with the bulk of Nigeria's oil reserves. To force Biafra and its oil reserves back into the federation, Nigeria unleashed its military might and enforced a total land, air and sea blockade on Biafra that led to the collapse of Biafra. The Biafra War (1967 – 1970) produced the world's first major post-World-War humanitarian catastrophe brought about by mass starvation and death of millions of people, mostly children. Church-based humanitarian organizations evaded regional and international law – and Nigerian military aircraft and shells to fly food into Biafra's Uli airport in the dark, in rotten, unlicensed aircraft flown by renegade pilots to save lives. This paper will examine the nature and role of the nocturnal airlift, and of the humanitarian flight operators that pulled off this inimitable aviation feat, on the war.

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WAR AND THE MAKING OF AN ORGANIC SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INTELLIGENTSIA: THE CASE OF BIAFRAN SCIENTISTS

The term *intelligentsia* has a long origin but was popularized by several scholars in the 19th century. In general, it refers to a well-educated group of people who create as well as use their knowledge to provide leadership for the development of various spheres of society. Many highly educated Biafran scientists and engineers performed socially relevant science in an organization known as Research & Production Directorate. They researched and, with their support technicians, produced both military and nonmilitary products that sustained the war in no small measure. However, accounts of the Biafra-Nigeria war make only passing or no mention of them. Hence, this group of intellectuals who sowed the seeds of an African indigenous scientific and technological development tends to have been forgotten.

This paper raises and attempts to answer a number of questions: Who were the Biafran scientists/engineers? Did they constitute an intelligentsia? What factors led to their performance of socially relevant science? And why was the Biafran scientific and technological intelligentsia who made something from nothing not replicated in post civil-war Nigeria? The paper concludes with a model of scientific and technological environment that indicates the difference between Biafra and post civil-war Nigeria and proffers suggestions for a socially relevant scientific and technological intelligentsia in the latter.

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REFUGEES AND RETURNEES AT OGWA: FACING THE CHALLENGES IN WAR-TORN BIAFRA.

In 1966, the massacre of Igbo immigrants in northern Nigeria led to the exodus of returnees to their eastern homelands. Before and after the secession of the eastern region from Nigeria, and subsequent declaration of a republic of Biafra, other ethnic groups of southern origin who believed in the Biafran cause also fled to Biafra, forming a refugee population of non-Biafrans. Soon after war broke out between Nigeria and Biafra, military air-raids were **rampant**, the sounds of ‘shelling machine guns’ were heard in the Niger Delta city of Port- Harcourt and its outskirts, forcing the evacuation of people. The evacuees, consisting mostly of Igbo settlers and labor migrants fled to their ancestral hinterland, thereby, constituting the second category of returnees. Similarly, the Ika- Ibo and other groups of the Midwest, ethnic groups of the Niger Delta, including the Ijaw, Ibibio and others fled to the Biafran hinterland forming another group of refugees. Located in Igbo heartland, Ogwa served as a ‘safe haven’ for the displaced and runaways. As the Nigerian troops made their in-roads into the Biafran interior, many rural communities in Owerri, Ngor-Okpala, and others, including one of Ogwa’s closest neighbors, Mbieri, sought refuge at Ogwa. This paper explores the historical experiences surrounding the refugee/returnee **phenomenon** and the specific ways in which Ogwa people responded to the crisis, the survival strategies, and problems of refugee adaptation. It examines the role played by relief agencies such as WCC (World Council of Churches), Caritas International, the Red Cross, WHO (World Health Organization), **including** the OAU (Organization of African Unity) and local institutions to stave off starvation and to counteract Nigeria’s blockade of material goods into Biafra. It argues that despite the relief materials provided by **humanitarian** agencies, certain mitigating factors such as demographic changes (loss of manpower, population increases), incompatible labor –specialization of the refugee and host populations, decline in long distance trade, the blockade, and the local eco-system which affected ‘agricultural’ output and practices, disrupted Ogwa’s ‘carrying capacity.’ This paper draws upon data contained in my 1995 Ph.D. thesis, Ogwa documents, and recent interviews.

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DEPLOYING CULTURAL METAPHORS: OGWA WOMEN’S ROLE IN THE NIGERIA BIAFRA WAR.

This paper analyses the role of Ogwa women within the ideological context of the Nigeria Biafra war, 1967-1970. Under the leadership of Imelda C. Ukaegbu, and other members of the “Dry-Pack Committee,” Ogwa women provided sacks of fruits, nuts, roasted seeds, ground seeds, dried leaves, plantain and banana chips, coconut candy, chin-chin and meat roll to Biafran soldiers at the war front. Ogwa women also ran the feeding centers, participated in the operation of the relief stores, catered to the refugees and assisted the men in the running of the “sick-bay” of wounded soldiers and victims of Kwashiorkor **disease**. They boosted the morale of soldiers by taking the lead in propoganda, and offered nutritional training programs and protection against enemy attacks. The objective of this paper is to investigate the ways in which Ogwa women deployed Igbo cultural metaphors in fighting the Nigeria Biafra war, using the symbolic and hermeneutic methods of anthropology. It seeks the ideological and philosophical **underpinnings** governing political action and seeks to uncover the sets of cultural patterns that transform metaphors from ‘linguistic modes of expression’ and ‘rhetorical devises’ to invoked, interpreted, re-interpreted medium that are concretized and mobilized for action. The study of ‘Ogwa women’s role’ was part of my Doctoral Dissertation research in the 1990s, and is found in a section of my 1995 Ph.D. thesis that deals with women’s role in conflict and conflict resolution during the Nigerian civil war. The data is based upon Ogwa documents compiled by Ishmael C. Ukaegbu and other leaders of the O.I.U (Ogwa Improvement Union) and Imelda Ukaegbu, during the war years. It includes data from recent interviews with Ogwa citizens.

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UNITED NATIONS (UN) MEDIATION IN THE NIGERIAN BIAFRA WAR: RESTORATION OR RESISTANCE?

The cause of the Nigeria Biafra war was to unite Nigeria, melding Eastern Nigeria with the rest of Nigeria together. Abubakar A. Atofarati (1992) suggested that “the Eastern Region declared itself an independent state which was regarded as an act of secession by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria.” Tensions erupted into a 30 month destructive clash. Additionally, the Biafran doctrine supposedly “stressed genocide on Igbo people” indicating it “effective in winning sympathy abroad for the secessionist movement”. The same source also indicated that “Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwu, the Eastern Region's military governor appealed for UN mediation as a prelude to peace negotiations.”

It seems that Ojukwu perhaps wished for international involvement in a reconstructionist process for Nigeria. As indicated, by the end of the war, “3 million Igbo refugees crowded into a 2,500-square-kilometer enclave, where prospects for the survival of the region was dim based on the shortages of food, medicine, clothing, and housing, the cities were in ruins; schools, hospitals, utilities, and transportation facilities were destroyed or inoperative.”

This paper thus, seeks to examine the role of the UN as a nonmilitary entity in supporting Nigeria to resolve the consequences of the war. What would have been the impact of the UN, if any; would full restoration have taken place in Nigeria at that time? Unification was the lesson learned from the war as per Abubakar A. Atofarati (1992), political unification, diplomatic unification, military unification and citizen unification. How was this unification achieved internally, could the UN have helped the unification process in Nigeria? In sum, the Igbo name *Azubike* means “the past is your strength.” Antecedents of the Biafra war indicate that it is Nigeria’s strength to remain united and be full partakers of the present world economy after this horrific event 40 years ago.

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REMEMBERING BIAFRA-A TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE PERSPECTIVE

On May 30, 1967, the former Eastern Nigeria seceded and declared its independence as the sovereign, Democratic Republic of Biafra. War begins between Biafra and Nigeria. In this essay, Ewa Unoke shares his personal journey as an ex-boy soldier with the Biafran Organization of Freedom Fighters- BOFF. The essay presents a different narrative about the African child-soldier who rises from the ruins of war to become a college professor and human rights activist. Professor Unoke is a living example that another life is possible for the child-soldier. His case shows that the child-soldier and the less-privileged youth can be SAVED, EDUCATED, and REINTEGRATED into society. But more importantly, the essay is a reflection on a post-conflict society- one of Africa's original civilizations, the Igbo people. What is the future of Igbo people today? Is Igbo autonomy possible? If so, what is the implication for Nigeria, Africa and the Global Community? Is there another possible form of autonomy for Ndigbo in Nigeria today? The essay is a radical re-evaluation of the Igbo question, forty

years after the end of the war in which the Easterners were defeated and re-assimilated into the Nigerian amalgam. Have the wounds of that war healed? Can the present kidnappings in Igboland be linked to the unfinished business of Igbo freedom? How are the vanquished dealing with their unpleasant past, victor's justice and epuration?

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A FORGOTTEN GENOCIDE: THE IGBO PEOPLE AND GENOCIDE STUDIES.

It used to be thought before 1966 that Britain did a masterly job of welding together some two hundred and fifty nationalities and sub-nationalities into a huge and complex nation-state called Nigeria, and held them together with an iron hand for about sixty years before being forced to transfer power to Nigerians in 1960. The implosion of the new nation on January 1960, the aftermath of colonial policies and the activities of its rulers that cascaded into the catastrophe of military dictatorship, was a demonstration that Britain's welding job was, in fact, an ingenious patch work that did not stand the test of time. By 1966 it had become clear that the Igbo people of Southeastern Nigeria had lost the power political game among the country's three major nationalities--the Hausa-Fulani of the North, the Igbo, and the Yoruba of the West--mainly because of the new alliance between the North and the West that left the East out on a limb. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Igbo-led military coup d'etat of January 15, 1966 resulted in the deaths of Ahmadu Bello, leader of the Northern Peoples Congress; the Prime Minister of the Nigerian federation (a northerner); six senior northern military officers; the Premier of the Western Region; the Federal Minister of Finance (a Mid-westerner); and no loss among major Igbo political leaders, the coup eventually came to be regarded by the Northern political and religious elite as an Igbo, and not as a national, enterprise. Their fears were apparently confirmed, in their view, when the military strong man who emerged following the eventual failure of the coup, an Igbo, abolished the federal structure of governance in favor of a unitary structure that the North for long had opposed, but with which the military were comfortable. For the North what happened was the actualization of what they believed was the grand Igbo design to rule Nigeria, driven as they saw it, by the Igbos' uncouth bumptiousness and an arrogant belief in their own exceptionalism. Consequently, in four successive genocides--the subject of this paper--terrifying in their barbarity and ferocity and intriguing in their periodicity--May 29, July 29, September 29, and October 29, 1966 respectively--over 30,000 Igbos lost their lives in appallingly brutal circumstances; and about two million, many mangled or maimed, retreated to the safety of the East, thus causing a horrendous refugee problem, the like of which the African continent had never witnessed. Western journalists and the Eastern Nigerian Government that recorded those events were in no doubt whatsoever that what happened to the Igbo people resident in Northern Nigeria between May and October 1966 was a planned genocidal act. It is surprising, therefore, given the evidence, that holocaust and genocide studies that have been coming out thick and fast have so far neglected the experience of Igbo people. Nor, indeed, have any serious attempts been made to debunk the corpus of available evidence. In the anthologies of holocausts, genocides, pogroms and ethnic-cleansings, too, the Igbo are not included. It is hoped that this paper may help to rekindle scholarly interest in a forgotten genocide.