Transforming Genocidal Relations Through Strategic Nonviolent Resistance: A Case Study of the Pro-Biafra Secessionist Social Movements

By

Uchenna Chester Azubuike

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba, Canada

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Peace and Conflict Studies

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2018 Uchenna C. Azubuike

All rights are reserved. No part of these pages, either text or image may be used for any purpose other than personal use with the author's acknowledgment. Reproduction, modification, storage in any retrieval or transmission system and in any form or means (electronic, mechanical, or otherwise) is strictly prohibited without prior written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My Doctor of Philosophy programme at the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice at the St. Paul's College of the University of Manitoba, Canada, is indebted to, and appreciative of, many persons and institutions. Firstly, my greatest vote of thanks is unto Almighty God for His grace and favour in seeing me through this Ph.D. programme. Also, I am highly thankful and will never lose sight of St. Paul's College and the Mauro Centre for great opportunities given to me during my scholarship. This include three sessions of Graduate Assistantship and the Peace and Conflict Studies Academic Awards. I equally appreciative of the several bursary awards and grants by St. Paul's College and its donors, the Faculty of Graduate Studies, and the Graduate Students Association of the University of Manitoba. Lastly on this note, I remain grateful for being honoured with the John Magrega Memorial Scholarship in the "Teaching the Ukrainian Famine Genocide (Holodomor) and the Ukrainian Canadian Internment", University of Manitoba.

In specific terms, I am eternally grateful to Dr. Jessica Senehi for her invaluable encouragement, excellent mentoring, long suffering and loving kindness. I do not think I would have been in the Ph.D. programme without her interest and unalloyed belief in my academic ability at a time I had almost lost hope of being admitted in the programme. It was Dr. Senehi's angelic mentoring that took this work to the finish line. The same measure of gratitude goes to Professors Sean Byrne and Orest Cap for their academic and scholarly insights, mentorship, patience and love. May the abiding love and blessings of the Almighty God be with you all. No appreciation will be enough for the three members of my Ph.D. Committee for their assistant and unflinching support to see me through this study. Also, my special thanks go to the External

Reviewer of this study, Dr. Chima Korieh of Department of History, Marquette University, United States, for his speedy review of and insight about my study.

Not left out are the staffers of Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice: Susan Ducharme, Annette Jones and Jason Brennan. I appreciate your levels of assistance and dedication to the successful running of the Centre. I thank all my colleagues and fellow students of the Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Manitoba. It was a great privilege to have meet and studied along with you all.

Perhaps, I must point out that without the sacrifice of my mother, Beatrice Ogbonnie Azubuike, I would have been a school dropout during the first year of my secondary school education. In the same way, my great Cousin and Brother, Pharm. Steve Nwachi Onya, was the one who 'converted' me from a quack chemist attendant to a university graduate. He was the one that single-handedly funded my studies and upkeep from my first year as an undergraduate till the end of my master's degree at the University of Ibadan and beyond. Bro. Steve, you are one in a million. In a very tearful but special way, I am using this opportunity to let Professor Fidelis Okechukwu Nyemutu Roberts know that my family will ever remain deeply appreciative of all that he did for me. I must say that my master's and Ph.D. programmes could not have taken off without your immeasurable and unfathomable gift of love and sacrifice. I will never forget him telling me that money will not be an impediment towards my master's degree course at the University of Ibadan. He was the miracle that settled my entire enrolment and tuition fees, and went on to pay my rents, and ensured that I never lacked. Yet, he is a man I hardly knew until fate drew me to him.

I will never demean the contributions and encouragements of members of my family – Christiana, my spouse for standing by me, my lovely children and playmates, Chibudom,

Toochukwu and little Uchenna (David). Climbing on my shoulders or sitting on my laps to 'help' me with typographic errors was worth it. I also thank my brother-in-law, Engineer Patrick Ottah Awoke and his wife (my only sister) Ekweteri (Peace), Christopher Ibeh Azubuike, for their unflinching solidarity and assistance. The same goes to Mrs. Kofo Akinrinlola, Pastor Dr. Ike Isinguzo, Dr. Uche Nwankwo, and my in-laws, Barrister Toochukwu Okogwu and Sister Azuka Ekuma, for their support and prayers.

I am also full of thanks to the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER), Ibadan, Nigeria. Working under the tutelage of Professor Roberts and with the support of Professor Olu Ajakaiye, NISER exposed me to the world of research and scholarly writing. I will not forget the assistance from the then members of the Political Development Unit, NISER, Professor Antonia T. Simbine, Professor Solomon Benjamin, Dr. Oladeji Abubakar, Dr. Nathaniel Danjibo, Dr. Akeem Tijani. I will not forget the helps from Dr. Oye Babatimenhin and Ms. Nancy Nelson-Twakor. I also thank Professor Eghosa E. Osaghae, the Vice Chancellor of Igbinedion University and supervisor of my first (abandoned) Ph.D. programme at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Along with Professors Rotimi Suberu, Adigun Agbaje, and Osisioma B. C. Nwolise and others too numerous to mention, I am grateful for your impartation of knowledge.

Lastly, I am grateful to Mr. Matthew Mbanaja for his great contributions in making this study a success. He was a great harvester of research worthy materials. Thank you, dear brother and friend. May God bless you all. Amen.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the following three persons. First, my Mother, Mrs. Beatrice Ogbonnie Azubuike. It was her who ensured that I finished my secondary school education. Also, I will remain grateful to Pharm. Steve Nwachi Onya. There was no way I could have had a university education, seven years after my secondary school education, had he gingered me to it, and bore the entire burden of ensuring that I never lacked anything as an undergraduate. You are my guardian angel. Then, Professor Fidelis O. Nyemutu Roberts. You believed in me more than I believed in myself. It was your inspiration, unrestrained financial support and mentoring that saw me through my master's degree programme and you remained my Jurgen Klopp all through my Ph.D. journey. God bless you all, always.

ABSTRACT

This study explored and explains reasons and outcomes of the deployment of strategic nonviolent resistance by the pro-Biafra secessionist social movements, as a weapon of war against, and towards the transformation of, the culture of genocidal relations in Nigeria. The idea about "Biafra" or today's pro-Biafra strategic nonviolent confrontation is intricately-tied to undying secessionist resistance aimed at ending more than fifty years of episodic genocidal killings, and covertly-scripted policy of cultural genocide, by the Nigerian state against indigenous peoples of Biafra. This study reports that pro-Biafra movements, despite losing over 5,000 members to the state's episodic genocidal attacks and extrajudicial abuses (between 1999 and 2018), remained steadfast in upholding nonviolent resistance as the best strategy towards actualizing their desired (Biafrexit) referendum towards a new Biafran state, and thereby save Indigenous Biafrans from another genocidal civil war. But while the Nigerian state resorted to "siege warfare" or its intensification of genocidal engagements against the Biafrans, this study discovered the nonviolent confrontation by pro-Biafra social movements gets stronger and more popular (with supports of and even secessionist agitations by some non-Biafran elites and groups). The study also discovered that "Biafra" since 2016 has become a metaphor for expressing/resisting the genocidal oppression against mainly Christian-dominant communities in other parts of Nigeria, and resistance against the Hausa-Fulani elite's grandstanding opposition to the "restructuring" of Nigeria. Lastly, study concludes that as Nigeria becomes one of the deadliest, most terrorism-threatened and most war threatened (almost) failed states in the world, it is only an immediate confederal-like restructuring, or a referendum for a multi-state framework that will pull it from an inevitable genocidal balkanization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

DEDICATION v

ABSTRACT vi

CHAPTER 1: PREFACE AND GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1

An Overview of the Chapters 5

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY 8

Introduction 8

Why Did Pro-Biafra Social Movements Come into Existence? 8

The Historical Context of Pro-Biafra Secessionism and Self-determination 26

Nigeria's Amalgamation of January 1, 1914 and Its Contradictions 27

A Colonial Nigeria Divided and Ruled at Its Seams 29

Background to the Pogroms and the Secession of and Genocide against Biafra 31

Failed Nonviolent Measures to De-escalate the Genocidal Tension in 1967 42

The Aburi Accord of January 1967 42

Biafra Secession, Biafran Civil War and the Genocide against the Igbos 44

The Biafran War and Its Genocidal Dimensions 48

Genocide Through Mass Starvation Policy 49

Genocidal Bombardments 50

Rape as a Weapon of War to Dehumanize Biafran Women 51

The Post-Civil War Era of Alleged Cultural Genocide 54

The State's Extrajudicial Mass Killings and Terrorism Since 1995 60

Conclusions 62

CHAPTER 3: THE THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF GENOCIDAL CONFLICTS, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY 65

Introduction 65

The Problem of Conceptualizing Social Phenomena 66

Theoretical Conceptualiation of Ethnic Identity, Ethnic and Genocidal Conflicts 70

Understanding Genocidal Ethnic Conflicts, and Failed State-Building 75

What is Genocide and How Does it Differ from Other Forms of Mass Murder? 86

The Building Blocks of Genocide 88

The Theoretical Conceptualizations of Genocide 94

Genocide as a One-Sided State-Led Mass Killings 99

The Causes of Ethnic Conflicts, Genocide, and State Failure in Africa 103

Conclusions 117

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CHANGE, NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE, ... 118
Introduction 118
Considering Social Change, Nonviolent Resistance and Social Movements 119
A Closer Look at Social Change, Violence, Nonviolence, and Nonviolent Resistance 123
Violence, Nonviolence, and Nonviolent Resistance 126
Social Change and Violent and Nonviolent Resistance 131
Violent Social Change and Violent Resistance 132
Theoretical Conceptualization of Nonviolent Social Change and Nonviolent Resistance 139
Contemporary Nonviolence and Nonviolent Action/Resistance 146
Principled Nonviolence and Nonviolent Resistance 149
Pragmatic or Strategic Nonviolent Resistance 155
Social Movements and the Communication Theory of Nonviolent Resistance 158
Techniques and Methods to Nonviolent Resistance by Social Movements 162
Considering the Effectiveness of Nonviolent Resistance 164
Conclusions 168

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY 169
Introduction 169
Qualitative Research, Critical Ethnography, and Multi-Method Qualitative Research 170
Doing Research Through Narrative Inquiry and Storytelling 175
Research Design and Study Location 176
Multi-Method Data Gathering 177
Open-Ended In-depth Interviews 177
Field Notes/Journals 178
Data Processing and Analysis 179
Locating the Researcher in the Study 180
Research Questions 182
Significance of the Study 183
Limitations of the Study 186
Conclusions 189

CHAPTER 6: BIAFRA'S NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS 190
Introduction 190
Historical Background of the MASSOB-led Pro Biafra Secessionist Social Movement 192
The Challenge of Nigerian Citizenship and Biafran Identity 196
Historical Factors/Background of the Pro-Biafra Secessionist Social Movements 204
Perceptions about the Emergence and Activities of pro-Biafra Social Movements 206
No Better Alternative to Nonviolent Resistance Towards Biafra's Secession 208
The Nonviolent Activities of MASSOB 209
The Colours and Flag of Biafra Civil Disobedience 213
The Splintering of the BHRI Pro-Biafra Social Movement 214
BILIE (Biafra Liberation in Exile) Human Rights Initiative (BHRI) 215
BHRI Nonviolent Resistance 219

Instruments of the BHRI Nonviolent Confrontation 222
The Tear in the Net: The Kanu-Led RBL Revolution 227
Radio Biafra London (RBL) and the New IPOB Social Movement 229
The Nnamdi Kanu-led IPOB Social Movement 230
The Radical Shift/Focus towards the Kanu-Led IPOB 230
Deconstructing the Divide-and-Conquer Relations within Biafra 235
IPOB's Offensive Cyber and Electromagnetic Wave Warfare Against the Nigerian State 237
Summary of Key Findings 239

CHAPTER 7: THE ROAD TO A RE-UNIFIED PRO-BIAFRA MOVEMENT 242
Introduction 242
Impact of the Deadly State Repression on pro-Biafra Social Movements 247
Early Period - Years of 2000 to 2007: Biafra Nationalism on the Rise 249
2008 to Mid-2013: The Period of Fractionalization and Factionalization of Pro-Biafra Social Movement 254
The 2013 to May/June 2015: Accusations and Dilemma 255
May 29, 2015 to the Present: Extreme Repression and Biafran Resistance on the Rise 258
October 15, 2015 Arrest of Kanu as a Key Turning Point 260
The 2015-2016 Mass Killings of IPOB and other Biafrans by the Nigerian State 261
The Table Turns Towards pro-Biafra Social Movement 264
The Internationalization of the Mass Killings, and the Biafra Protests 271
Kanu's Release from State Prison and The Latest Stage of pro-Biafra Resistance 274
The "Biafra at 50" Event in 2017 277
The 2017 Biafra Day Anniversary and the IPOB's Sit-At-Home Protest 279
The Final Call for A Biafra Referendum in Nigeria: The Kanu Factor 284
Kanu as a Phenomenon in Nonviolent Struggle 289
Summary of Key Findings 292
Conclusions 294

CHAPTER 8: OVERALL KEY FINDINGS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE 296
Introduction 296
Policy Implications and Contributions to Knowledge 296
Future Research 309
Final Words 310

References 312

MAP 1: 1662 MAP OF WESTERN COAST AFRICA 201
MAP 2: MAP OF BIAFRA BY THE PRO-BIAFRA SOCIAL MOVEMENTS 202

CHART 1: PERCENTAGE OF DAY IN POWER BY OLD ORIGINAL REGIONAL STRUCTURE, OCT 1960 TO MAY 2015 56

CHART 2: ONLINE POLL ON BIAFRA ON REFERENDUM AMONG NIGERIANS 285

CHAPTER 1: PREFACE AND GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"Biafra," in the contemporary history of Nigeria represents a survivalist determination of the peoples of geographically-contiguous eastern section of Nigeria, to end their genocidal extermination by other components through the instrumentality of the state. Executed through instrumentalities of targeted mass killings, genocides or genocidal exterminations constitute state crimes, known in the history of mankind, as the most horrific forms of total warfare (Jasminka, 2017). That is why as victims, the idea of "Biafra" or today's pro-Biafra strategic nonviolent confrontation is intricately-tied to the undying secessionist resistance against more than fifty years of episodic genocidal killings, and covertly-scripted policy of cultural genocide, by the Nigerian state against the indigenous peoples of Biafra. At the same time, the goal of the current the secessionist agitation by various nonviolent and unarmed pro-Biafra social movements is aimed at transforming, or ending the genocidal atrocities that began with the 1966 Pogroms, and culminated into the genocidal warfare against the peoples of Eastern Region by Nigerian state, under the control of Northern Nigeria military elite since July 1966 (Nwofe, 2017; Offodile, 2016; Omaka, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Achebe, 2013). The extent of recent state-led mass killings of members of pro-Biafra social movements and of other innocent Biafrans is part of the reason Nigeria was ranked fourth in the global index of state-led mass killing (EWP: 2017).

There is a need look at how state-led mass killings occur. Such political violence occurs where "state agents or other groups acting at their behest" kill at least 1,000 civilians within the same country in or less than a year period (EWP, 2017: 1). It is properly so-called state-led deadly violence because it "is carried out by uniformed troops, police, or other agents of state security or by other groups acting at the behest of government officials […] (or if there is)

evidence of government encouragement of violence, or coordination with state policies or military operations" (6). Relatedly, as exhaustively explained in the theoretical chapter of this study genocide occurs where a state directly or covertly engages in sustained mass killings of a targeted or marked ethno-national groups (Deng, 2012; Marshall et al., 2010; Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Levene, 2005; Harff, 2003; Lemkin, 1994). It was for this reason the mass killings and other dehumanizing atrocities by the Sudanese government and the Janjaweed militia against the people of Darfur was nothing, if not a genocide (Hagan & Kaiser, 2011:1). In Nigeria, since the inception of the Mohammadu Buhari Presidency in 2015, the intrigues around the state's refusal to halt the unending one-sided mass killings by Fulani herdsmen and Boko Haram as well as episodes of mass killings of unarmed nonviolent activists by state agents has created a popular opinion that state apparatchik was being used to prosecute a well-planned Fulani expansionist genocidal jihad (Adetayo, et al., 2018; Adisa, 2018; Odunsi, 2018; Yafugborhi, 2018)

The peculiar thing about pro-Biafra secessionist movements is their ideological conviction that nonviolent resistance against state-led genocidal strangulation since 1966 is what will eventually lead to a referendum for the multi-state breakup of Nigeria (Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Emekesri, 2012). Several studies that share this view posit that a "multi-state solution" is the best option capable of extricating Nigeria, especially the Biafra region, from the contagion of political hegemony, internal colonialism, cronyism and corruption, genocidal violence, and deadly zero-sum political space (Ebiem, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Emekesri, 2012; Onuoha, 2011). The present pro-Biafra nonviolent resistance is up against new frontiers of genocidal killings by the Islamic State-linked Boko Haram terrorists and Fulani herdsmen, and the engagement of the Nigerian state in genocide-like military

operations in parts of the Nigeria, especially the Biafra enclave that has been under military occupation, since President Buhari assumed power on May 29, 2015 (Akhaine, 2017).

From the foregoing, it is imperative to understand the immediate and remote backgrounds and context of the above state-led genocidal situations under which these pro-Biafra social movements operate. Consequently, this study's interest was focused on analyzing and providing answers to why and how pro-Biafra social movements, who are the first known secessionist nonviolent social movements in Africa, have never resorted to armed struggle or reprisals even at the height of unprovoked but provocative occupation, invasions and genocidal killings by the Nigerian state, and Fulani herdsmen inside the Biafra homeland.[1] The present push towards the re-establishment of the state of Biafra, fifty years after the first unsuccessful attempt, is sharpened by the collective memory of trauma and social existence of sustained cultural genocide (Okonta, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012c; Effiong, 2012; Korieh, 2012). While the first Biafra secession was a child of circumstance, midwifed by state-led genocidal killing of the Biafrans, the post-war agitation rests on reconstructed narratives and collective memories channeled towards reigniting what Freire (2014) called social consciousness, self-determination, and liberation of the Biafran people, subjected to post-war hegemonic genocidal oppression (Nwofe, 2017; Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Korieh, 2012).

Yet, just as pro-Biafra groups are adopting nonviolent resistance approaches in the push for their rights to self-determination and self-preservation, the people's fear is heightened that the spate of genocidal killings by the Nigerian state, Boko Haram, and Fulani herdsmen may trigger reprisal attacks by the Biafrans and the people of the Middle Belt region[2]. Cautiously optimistic,

[1] Evidences based video footages, special reports and eye-witness accounts of various state-led genocidal killings are cited in this study.

[2] The Middle Belt region has always been an important integral part of Northern Nigeria's 19 states. The region is made up of several ethnic minorities who are predominantly Christians and not part of Hausa-Fulani emirate

activists and supporters of pro-Biafra social movements are inspired or motivated by the remarkable positive social changes achieved through nonviolent resistance by similar vulnerable groups outside Africa in contemporary times (Ajaero & Mumuni, 2007). Thus, it is important to explore and explain what informs the choice of nonviolent action/resistance as a grand strategy by these social movements in their engagement with the Nigerian state.

It is not illogical to argue that the current Biafra secessionist social movements are spurred on by the successes of India's principled nonviolent anticolonial movement, the principled nonviolent American Civil Rights Movement, Czechoslovakia's Velvet pragmatic nonviolent Revolution movement, the Singing Revolution by the Baltic nations against the Soviet Union, the 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia, and the 2004 Ukraine's Orange Revolution of 2004 (Onyechere, 2017). Realistically, the preference of strategic or pragmatic nonviolent resistance to principled nonviolence is largely informed by the asymmetric power disadvantage of the people of Biafra—a reality evidenced by the genocidal crushing of the first Biafra secession in 1970 (Okonta, 2014; Korieh, 2012). Put differently, the genocidal defeat by the asymmetrically more powerful Nigerian forces is, largely, why the current pragmatic nonviolent agitation for Biafra is preferred over traditional violent revolutions pursued by many separatist groups in Africa (Okonta, 2014; Onyesoh, 2012; Ukaogo, 2009). A clog in the wheel of pro-Biafra nonviolent actions is the state's extrajudicial detentions and killings of nonviolent Biafra agitators (Nwofe, 2017; News Express, 2016; Ogundele, 2013; Republic Report, 2010; Owen, 2004; Denmark, 2005). So, this study set out to understand and analyze how pro-Biafra social movements could use the strategic nonviolent resistance and agitation approach to transform genocidal relations in Nigeria. More importantly, this study equally investigated the reasons why

system. The agriculturally-rich states of Plateau, Benue and Taraba have, in recent times, been subjected to genocidal suppression by the Fulani herdsmen and other Hausa-Fulani militants.

pro-Biafra social movements prefer nonviolent agitation over armed revolution in the face of the state's genocidal repression against them and the rest of the people of Biafra.

An Overview of the Chapters

This study is broken into 8 chapters. This preface and general introduction chapter is the first. It essentially outlines the contents or focus of the next 7 chapters.

Chapter 2 deals with the general introduction of the study, its purpose and outlook of the study. This chapter begins with a general introduction of background and statement of the problem of the study. In other words, the reader is acquainted with the Nigerian sociopolitical context under which the study is based. Therefore, this chapter opens with an understanding the *raison d'etre* of pro-Biafra social movements as well as a brief historical excursion into the social existence of genocidal strangulation faced by the people of Biafra. Relatedly, the chapter outlines the reasons why pro-Biafra social movements chose pragmatic and unarmed nonviolent resistance over armed rebellion, in their quest for Biafra self-determination, and the transformation of genocidal relations in Nigeria. Finally, this chapter dug into understanding the context and background leading to the emergence of pro-Biafra social movements, and the issues pertaining to the social movements during and after the fieldwork had been concluded. Finally, and essentially, the goal of Chapter 2 is to state some of the rarely reported past, and present genocidal situations faced by the Biafrans.

Chapter 3 is the first of the two chapters on the concepts, theories, and theoretical conceptualization of key concepts in this study. This chapter began by putting the reader on notice that the theoretical and conceptual aspects of the study are split into Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 essentially focuses on discussions on genocidal conflicts, and ethnic identity; culture,

and formation of cultural identities; failed state, mass killings, cultural cum physical genocide, and total wars. Several theories in the literature are used to tease out the philosophical cum existentialist foundations that explain relationships, differences and interlinkages between and among these concepts. Relatedly, these theories, invaluably, help us grasp the interlinking variables or commonalities inherent in societies that are mired in genocidal conflicts. In sum, the inherent standpoint in the theories and concepts discussed in this chapter, as the reader would see, is the fact that genocidal conflicts, and other emergent social challenges in Africa, and most third world states, are epochal outcomes of brutalizing genocidal colonization and coercively-superimposed statehoods on, hitherto, autochthonous and culturally-different indigenous pre-colonial societies, by Western imperialists (Clempson, 2012; Paki & Edoumiekumo, 2011; Wallenstein, 2011; Rupert, 2010; Chabal, 2009; Ferraro, 2008; Ake, 2003; Ekeh, 1983).

Chapter 4 deals with the second sets of concepts, theories and theoretical conceptualization of concepts. With a total emphasis positive or transformational social change this chapter is written in the language of peace and conflict or peace studies discipline. In this chapter, I relied on available literature to theoretically conceptualize the concepts of social change, nonviolent resistance, and social movements. Essentially, Chapter 4 informs us that social change is an unavoidable constant in social evolution and must surely take place either violently or nonviolently, and whether the change is positive or negative. Next is the discussion on the theoretical conceptualization, operationalization, and dissection of the differences in the meanings of violent and nonviolent resistance. Also, this chapter investigated the theoretical interlinkages between nonviolent resistance and social movements.

Chapter 5 is on the qualitative research methodology chosen for the study. Here, I stated the rationale for adopting not only adopting the qualitative research methodology, but also a

multi-method critical ethnographic framework, in-depth interviews designed to empower the respondents to narrate their stories based entirely on their experiences and perceptions around issues posed to them. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the challenges around the data gathering methods, data processing and analysis, and validity and ethical issues.

Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of the study findings. With the research questions in focus, I critically embarked on the restorying of the respondents' viewpoints. My main task was to beam brighter lights on the hidden forces of the nonviolent resistance by pro-Biafra social movements. The chapter begins by outlining the core issues that spurred the emergence of various pro-Biafra social movements. It also contains an analysis of the specific methods of nonviolent resistance by and challenges faced by pro-Biafra social movements. The chapter also touched on the genocidal interface between the social movements and the Nigerian state.

Chapter 7 centers on the forces of factionalization and fractionalization, dilemmas, decline, and a reunified pro-Biafra movement. It begins with an analysis of the remote issues that led to the 1999 emergence of the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and its nonviolent resistance, and the role of the Nigerian state. It explores the internal and intergroup crises and squabbles that caused the splintering of the groups up until the ultimate unification under the umbrella of the "Indigenous People of Biafra" (IPOB). A brief conclusion chapter wraps up the study. Some remarks about the study and their implications for peace and conflict studies research and conflict transformation are made. Lastly, the significance of the study findings and their implications for policy and future research were equally outlined.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

First and foremost, this chapter discusses the remote and immediate circumstances and sociopolitical forces propelling the nonviolent agitation by pro-Biafra social movements. Based on available academic literature and relevant news reports, editorial comments, and viewpoints in major newspapers in Nigeria, information outlets of the social movements, this chapter explains why and how the social movements anchor their beliefs on strategic nonviolent resistance as the best way to transform or end what they perceive as their peoples' genocidal strangulation. Also, this chapter takes a dive into the historical context and backgrounds that shape and sustain genocidal relations in Nigeria. The goal of the historical exploration is to acquaint the reader to understand the conditionalities of the genocidal relations and to come to terms with the plight of victimized and weakened geopolitical entities. It is also aimed at showcasing the geopolitical identity of the oppressors and why. Finally, this chapter relied on available literature and other sources of information to analyze the emergence of MASSOB in late 1999 as a social movement determined to wage strategic nonviolent resistance or agitation.

Why Did Pro-Biafra Social Movements Come into Existence?

The ongoing pro-Biafra secessionist nonviolent agitation that began in 1999 or 39 years after the genocidal defeat of the Biafra Republic, is pushed by and comprised of several social

movements. These social movements embraced deadly odds to nonviolently resist, and/or seek to transform the Nigerian state-led cultural genocide and genocidal strangulation of Indigenous Biafrans (Olu-Kayode, 2018; Offodile, 2016; Omaka, 2016; Onwuka, 2017; Ebiem, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a; 2012b; 2006; Okonta, 2012). Apart from MASSOB, other splinter groups covered in this study are the BILIE Human Rights Initiative (BHRI), Radio Biafra London (RBL), the Biafra Zionist Movement (BZM), and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Records show all pro-Biafra social movements have adopted different but related forms of nonviolent action which they believe is the best strategy to achieve the Biafrans rights to self-determination, and secession, and to extricate the Biafra territory from Nigeria's genocidal history and contested state-building (Ejiogu, 2013, Korieh, 2012).

Pro-Biafra social movements have two cardinal objectives. The first is their resolve to engage in organized nonviolent confrontation against the genocidal strangulation of their people. It is also their avowed relentless nonviolent civil disobedience against the state until their quest for a Biafra (Biafrexit) referendum is held. Thus, pro-Biafra social movements are only interested in a negotiated or a non-militarized unbundling of the present Nigerian state, which they believe will transform the unending genocidal relations in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, interethnic and geopolitical relations have been punctuated by episodes of genocidal violence, state-led mass killings, sociopolitical dehumanization, and subjugation of weakened/vulnerable groups. Nigeria's history shows that the peoples of the defunct Eastern Region, especially the Igbos have undoubtedly been victims of episodes of state-coordinated genocidal killings, ethnic cleansing (Nwofe, 2017; Offodile, 2016; Mayah, 2016a; 2016b; Ebiem, 2014). In what he characterized as "Igbo genocide" Chima Korieh notes that,

> Despite the evidence that there were meticulously planned and implemented political project of exterminating the Igbo ethnic group in Northern Nigeria before the war and in other parts of Nigeria during the war, the genocide has been mischaracterized as a civil war. In what can be called "an invisible genocide" the Igbo genocide was masked by the attempts by both federal Nigeria and major western nations to downplay the evidence of the genocide perpetrated against the Igbo ethnic group as well as its deeper roots in the pre-civil war period (Korieh, 2012: xi).

That is why this 'civil war' is a "forgotten genocide" that must be exposed (Uzoigwe, 2012).

Factually, the official statements and actions by Nigerian state officials during the Biafran War, and the country's post-war policies bear self-evident facts that showcase the various ways the Igbos and other Biafrans have remained core targets of cultural genocide (Venter, 2018b; Ohaneze, 1999; Tamuno & Ukpabi, eds., 1989; Keil, 1970:1-2)[3]. For the Biafrans, therefore, the Nigerian state never really ended the Biafran War in 1970 (Effiong, 2012). Many recent studies and reports have cited several historical and current circumstantial evidences to illustrate the various ways the Nigerian state (under the firm control of the victorious Northern and Western Nigeria elite) has been implementing a covertly well-planned genocidal suppression/repression of peoples of Eastern Nigeria origin or the Biafrans from 1966-2018 (Olufemi-Olukayode, 2018; Venter, 2018a; AI, 2016; Bergman, 2016; Omaka, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Heerten & Moses, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012b; 2012c). Moreover, deliberate state policies abound that show the intentionality of political exclusion and

[3] For the most detailed listing of the dimensions of the Nigerian state-led physical and cultural genocide against the Igbo and other Biafrans, read Ohaneze Ndigbo (1999). *The Violations of Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in the Federation of Nigeria (1966– 1999): A Call for Reparations and Restitutions, October, 1999.* Enugu: Being a Petition to the Human Rights Violations Investigation Committee by the Ohaneze Ndigbo.

emasculation, economic deprivation, and psychosocial intimidation often expressed through unguarded genocidal threats by the elites of the hegemonic zones, all of which sustain the existential vulnerability of ethnic Igbos and other Biafrans since the genocidal crushing of the Biafra Republic by 1970 (Venter, 2018a; Levey, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2012; McCullum, 2012; Onyesoh, 2012; Amadi, 2007).

Remarkably, the peoples of the Biafra[4] have been divested of over 90 percent of their multibillion-dollar oil and gas resources that makes Nigeria the sixth highest exporter of crude oil globally (Ikunga & Wilson, 2013; Ikeji, 2011; Ojo, 2010; Omotosho, 2010; Jinadu, et al., 2007)[5]. Since 1970, discriminatory state policies such as arbitrary state creations and revenue allocation ratios by various members of the North's ruling military elite such as the Land Use Act of 1978 and other dictatorial military decrees and constitutional frameworks that have plagued the Biafra region with undue systemic economic deprivation and concomitant oil-related pollution, a decaying infrastructure, and genocidal repression (Tregakis, 2010; Ibeanu, 2006).

Expectedly, the near consensus among Easterners (or "peoples of Biafra" or Biafrans[6]) is that they are victims of cultural genocide and internal colonialism due to their defeat in the genocidal Biafran War (Onwuka, 2017; Offodile, 2016; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a; Achebe, 2013). Before the introduction of Sharia Law in core Northern states, several Islamist uprisings had on different occasions found expression in unprovoked mass killings of thousands of Christian residents who are predominantly Igbo merchants and their families (Ebiem, 2014). Since the

[4] In present day Nigeria, the defunct Eastern Region has been split into South East Geopolitical Zone (comprising the majority ethnic Igbo and subdivided into five states) and South-South Geopolitical Zone (comprises five of the six Eastern minority states.

[5] According to these authors and available records, oil and gas earnings from the Biafra region, especially from the Niger delta areas account for about 95% of foreign exchange earnings, and 80% of budgetary allocations.

[6] The people of the Eastern Region or Eastern Nigeria had seceded from Nigeria in May 1967 under the name of the Republic of Biafra. In this study, the respondents see the people of the defunct Biafra Republic as Biafrans based on pre-colonial history and facts that referred to the Biafra or Biafara territory.

2000 introduction of Sharia Law into the justice systems of 12 of the 19 Northern states, Nigeria has been enmeshed in a seeming Islamist expansionist project that is covertly and carefully being implemented in stages by a top echelon of retired and serving civil-military cum religious Hausa-Fulani elite (Ebiem, 2014; Okpanachi, 2010, Suberu, 2005). The introduction of Sharia Law has also led to the subversion and erosion of the religious rights of northern Christians and southern residents, as seen in the eruption of deadly sectarian attacks against Christians by the Boko Haram terrorists and Fulani herdsmen (Adisa, 2018; Alachenu et al., 2018; Yusuf, 2007).

Between 2011 and early 2018, Boko Haram carried out several deadly invasions of schools and kidnapped young school girls, who are used for ransom or as sex slaves (Hassan, 2017; Allen, 2016; Sergie & Johnson, 2015; Ebiem, 2014; Elden, 2014)[7]. Boko Haram's main goal appears to be a pushback on Western education believed to contaminate Islam, and to exterminate all "infidels" or Christians who resist forced "Islamization" (Allen, 2016; Dambazau, 2015; Ebiem, 2014; Nwabughiogu, 2014; Okonta, 2012). By 2010, it was becoming clear some Northern Muslim elites were covertly supporting or secretly funding Boko Haram for their own regional political gains. For example, Mohammadu Buhari saw the initial efforts by the Nigerian military to fight the terror group as an attack on the north (Allen, 2016; Tukor, 2014; Point Blank News, 2014; Akowe, 2013), while the ex-Adamawa state governor, Murtala Nyako, saw the 2014 military offensive against the terrorists as an "ongoing full-fledged genocide on Northern Nigeria" (Tukur, 2014:1). It is baffling why Boko Haram gets the support of core Hausa-Fulani elite despite reports and claims linking it to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, which has carried extensive terror operations in the West African sub-region (Elden, 2014:121).

[7] In 2014 and 2018, Boko Haram abducted the Chibok and Dapchi School girls respectively, with the Nigerian state negotiating for prisoner swap and millions of USA dollars as ransom for the girls' release.

From 2015, after Mohammadu Buhari became Nigeria's president, the ferocity of genocidal killings was exacerbated by the expansion of the armed invasion of farmlands and communities in parts of Nigeria's Middle Belt and the South. Fulani herdsmen consistently and unrestrainedly engaged in brazen mass killings and wanton destruction of farmlands and homes of host Christian communities in the Middle Belt and Southern parts of Nigeria, with no arrests of perpetrators or real response or efforts to stop the mass killings by the Hausa-Fulani controlled-central government (ICG, 2017[8]; Nmoh, 2017; World Watch Monitor, 2017; Kaduna News Online, 2016; Mamah, 2016; Umoru, 2016[9]). As noted by Sylvester Akhaine,

> Nigeria faces a lot of security challenges, the most potent of them is the vicious killings being perpetrated by the so-called Fulani herdsmen, a terrorist gang rated as the fourth deadliest in the world by the Global Terrorism Index. This ought to be the pre-occupation of the Nigerian Army at this point of our historical annals. But rather, the same army and other security forces in the country have given unabashed partisan backing to the activities of the "herdsmen" (Akhaine, 2017:2).

In fact, Akhaine's remarks are spot-on. This is because by March 2018, the Buhari regime and the President Buhari himself, openly betrayed its support, protection, and defense of killer herdsmen while host Christian communities, whose people were killed, and their ancestral farmlands overran and seized by the herdsmen, were blamed for being responsible for their own deaths because they were farming on nonexistent "open grazing routes" (Olokor, 2017; Opejobi, 2017a). What is more: instead of backing Taraba, Ekiti, and Benue state governments, which passed anti-open grazing laws to protect their people from further one-sided mass killings by

[8] ICG reports that the Fulani Herdsmen have collectively killed, and targeted more Christians than the Boko Haram
[9] Governor El-Rufai of Kaduna State stated that his government has identified and paid some Fulani Herdsmen for them to stop killings (No arrests were made).

herdsmen; the Buhari regime chose to push a pro-herdsmen intent to create "cattle colonies"—a ploy to use state powers to confiscate Indigenous lands for open grazing (Ibekwe, 2018).

One might ask: in what ways have President Buhari, his security chiefs and military commanders supported, enabled, or spoke for the herdsmen. Answers abound. First, despite several news reports and video footages showing Fulani herdsmen brandishing sophisticated weapons like AK-47 and machine guns, President Buhari on April 11, 2018, told Reverend Justin Welby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the exacerbating mass killings were not by kinsmen but by 'foreigners'. Buhari stated the mass killings have been exacerbated by,

> the influx of gunmen from the Sahel region into different parts of the West African sub-region. These gunmen were trained and armed by Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. When he was killed, the gunmen escaped with their arms. We encountered some of them fighting with Boko Haram. Herdsmen that we used to know carried only sticks and maybe a cutlass to clear the way (Ogundipe, 2018:1).

Contradictorily, Moses Ochonu (2018) pointed out that a few months before time that,

> everywhere in the Middle Belt (Benue, Plateau, Southern Kaduna, Taraba, and Nasarawa), where the herdsmen militia had struck, the deserted villages are promptly taken over by herdsmen grazing their cattle. In fact, in some cases, the AK-47-totting militiamen stay around as if acting as protection for the herdsmen, to ward off attempts by residents to return to the land or by security forces to uproot them so that displaced survivors can return to their ancestral villages (1).

That is just one of the reasons some believe President Buhari was, unintentionally, defending his kinsmen due to false intelligence by Nigeria's security chiefs who are his kinsmen too,

On their parts, the heads of the security forces, including the police, have provided many flimsy reasons why they will not, and why they have refused to arrest officials of Fulani herdsmen who have repeatedly boasted that the mass killings will continue unless cattle colonies are created all over Nigeria (Odunsi, 2018a, 2018b). As stated by Reno Omokri, an ex-presidential spokesman, "I watched Buhari's Minister of Defence, Mansur Dan-Ali, justify the killings of Nigerians by Fulani herdsmen on the basis that grazing routes were blocked and the anti-grazing law. Is Mansur Dan-Ali the minister of defense for Nigeria or herdsmen? How can we solve the killer Fulani herdsmen problem?" (Olowolagba, 2018a:1). Relatedly, several Hausa-Fulani aides and officials of the Buhari-led Federal Governments have oftentimes echoed the position of the herdsmen spokesmen, that the reversal of anti-grazing laws passed some states would mark the beginning of the end of the mass killings (Abiola, 2018:1).

Findings in a special research report by the Chinua Achebe Centre for Leadership and Development (CACLD) on Fulani herdsmen killings did reveal the existence of syndicated connections among and involvement of top Fulani elite members in and out of government and the herdsmen in the ongoing genocidal killings. The report stated that

> Fulani herdsmen killers' major job description is just to kill. They do not own any cattle. Most of them are employed by the cattle owners […] to protect the cattle. The cattle are owned by more prominent Fulani leaders in the country— Emirs, Sultans, heads of parastatals, oil barons, Imams, Governors, Federal Reps, and Senators. These wealthy Nigerians increase their wealth astronomically through cattle rearing by using their not-well-off brothers from outside Nigeria to rear these cattle. Instead of investing in ranches and buying of grasses from the South, they chose the cheaper alternative of having their kinsmen […] to take these cattle from the north to south seasonally; using the entire

> Nigerian space as their "grass kingdom." These cattle, in turn, destroy farms in their path, rendering farmers economically bankrupt to further enrich the wealthy Fulani "remote herders." These are at the bottom of the Fulani Herdsmen ladder (Adisa, 2018:1-2).

More revealing is how Fulani herdsmen carry out genocidal attacks on farmers.

The CACLD report went on to describe how a typical Fulani herdsmen's attack is planned and executed. The CACLD report gathered from reliable informants that,

> When there is a disagreement between host communities, or between herdsmen and farmers, the Fulani herdsmen who accompany the cattle will locate the nearest Fulani settlement […] (to) narrate their story. The Fulani (Nigerian middlemen) cattle managers will notify their top Fulani Herdsmen, which in this case, include governors and other top Fulani bourgeois who own the cattle. A decision will be decided on whether there should be an attack or not on the said village or host community. If an attack is sanctioned, then modalities will be mapped out and a date will be chosen for the attack. Most times, Fulani herdsmen in the military and police are notified and everyone sends a representative. Neighboring settlements sends out representatives and arms cache are opened, and arms are distributed to the participants. During an attack […] Fulanis in the higher levels of the military will ensure all commands under them stand down, and the top Fulani police officers will do the same. The road is then clear for the Fulani herdsmen to carry out their attacks (Adisa, 2018:2).

Now, what is the implication of these statements especially as they indict the Buhari regime?

Without belaboring the obvious, Nigeria's political horizon is gloomy by the palpable fear of imminent armed civil war as some state governors, statesmen, and youths have also indicted the Buhari regime, and the Hausa-Fulani controlled security forces of using the

herdsmen to wage a Fulani expansionist jihad and land grabbing. Thus, they have charged their people to defend themselves against the herdsmen killings. Instructively, some Middle Belt's statesmen like Paul Unongo and Theophilus Y. Danjuma (a retired army Lieutenant General) and other Middle Belt veterans, who played yeoman roles in the 1966 Pogroms, the genocidal crushing of Biafra's secession and shaping of post-war cultural genocide policies against the Biafran people are spearheading open calls for self-defense since the FGN cannot defend them (Adetayo, et al., 2018; Odunsi, 2018; Yafugborhi, 2018). For instance, on March 24, 2018, Danjuma, Nigeria's former Army Chief-of-Staff (1976-1979) and recently a Defence Minister, accused the Buhari regime of supporting what he called a Fulani expansionist ethnic cleansing,

> We must resist it. We must stop it. Everyone one of us must rise up. Our Armed Forces are not neutral. They collude with the armed bandits to kill people […] The Armed Forces guide their movements; they cover them. If you are depending on the Armed Forces to stop the killings, you will all die one by one. This ethnic cleansing must stop in […] Nigeria, otherwise, Somalia will be a child's play. I ask every one of you to be alert and defend […] your territory and defend your state. Defend yourselves because you have no other place to go (Alechenu, et al., 2018:1).

Apparently, many elite from the south have thrown their weight behind Danjuma's call for self-defense, which they perceive to be a nonnegotiable human right, especially as President Buhari cannot stop the herdsmen's genocidal killings nor declare them as terrorists (Olowolagba, 2018b). Other Nigerians have also stated the impunity of the genocidal killings are due to President Buhari's premeditated protection of his personal and his kinsmen's cattle rearing interests with disregard for Nigeria's Federal Character Principle as contained in the 1999 Constitution, by ensuring that all but one of Nigeria's military and police chiefs, intelligence and paramilitary

agencies, and ministers of defense and of the interior were of Hausa-Fulani origin (Duru, 2018; Ibekwe, 2018; Odunsi, 2018a; Okoh, 2018; Opejobi, 2018).

The intensification of the deadly killings by the herdsmen has followed genocide-prone declarations by popular Hausa-Fulani youth groups under the auspices of AYO or the Arewa Youth Organization (perhaps with the tacit support of the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy and political elite). Reminiscent of the prelude to the 1966 Pogroms, the AYO had announced a 90-day notice order for mass eviction and issued genocide threats against Igbo Biafra residents in Northern Nigeria on June 2, 2017 (Anwar & Matthew, 2017; Vanguard, 2017; Mamah, et al., 2016). The threat was seen by Biafrans as a response to the rising popularity of pro-Biafra social movement, and a nuanced expression of interest by some parts of the Middle Belt to join a future Biafra state, all of which made the secession of Biafra seem more certain since the 2016 state mass killings of pro-Biafra agitators as we shall see later.

What is more, the totalizing effects of the unhindered genocidal killings and threats against the Biafrans and the peoples of the Middle Belt have crystallized a psyche of an imminent but more devastating physical genocide, reminiscent of the 1966 Pogroms by the state (Vanguard, 2017). This existential fear, especially as new threats follow similar historical antecedents (Offodile, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2012), is a reminder that "the fear of genocidal violence becomes a part of the cultural DNA of targeted suppressed groups who may have experienced or is experiencing sustained exterminatory violence" (Levene, 2013: xiii).

Therefore, impulsively propelled by the natural order of self-preservation, the peoples of Biafra have sprung up from the Biafran War aftershocks in search of lasting approaches towards ending or transforming this genocidal situation championed by the elite that control the centre. Initially, youths from the Niger Delta minorities took to armed insurgency to fight against

Nigeria's unjust system of clear-cut oil resource-related economic deprivation, and to press home their rights to self-determination, and secession (Ikunga & Wilson, 2013; Ikeji, 2011; Ojo, 2010; Omotosho, 2010; Ibaba, 2008). The youths embraced armed militancy as the best strategy open to them to checkmate/end their peoples' internal colonization and genocidal strangulation (Simbine, et al., 2008; Roberts & Azubuike, 2005; Roberts, 2004).

Conversely, the nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements, initially led by the MASSOB, emerged from the unsettled dust of the 1998 presidential primaries and 1999 elections. A former Vice President, Alex Ekwueme, an ethnic Igbo elite, unarguably, the most popular presidential candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) at the time, was "defeated" through an openly orchestrated conspiracy and vote rigging by non-Igbo politicians (Okonta, 2012; Offodile, 2012). The conspirators against Ekwueme at the PDP primaries assumed that an ethnic Igbo as Nigeria's president would be a backdoor to the Biafra secession. This much is seen in the open confession by ex-Vice President Atiku Abubakar, "I was among those who opposed it because I taught that Ekwueme, coming from the defunct Republic of Biafra, wanted to break up the country again" (Offodile, 2012:1). This anti-Igbo sentiment was so strong that the ruling junta hurriedly granted a state pardon to a jailed Olusegun Obasanjo, and spuriously made to become the PDP flag-bearer and eventually "elected" Nigeria's president. These elite, especially the civil war generals have continued to boast that no Igbo will be Nigeria's president in the next 250 years (Okonkwo, 2017; Anibueze, et al., 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Offodile, 2012).

It was this continuing anti-Igbo chauvinism and hate grandstanding that spurred Ralph Uwazuruike into galvanizing many ethnic Igbo youths towards a strategically-chosen nonviolent agitation for the self-determination, and secession of the people of Biafra, in 1999. There are many reasons for the coming of MASSOB and the new Biafra struggle. For Uwazuruike,

> MASSOB is defined as marginalization, or the result or cause of marginalization of Ndi Igbo [...] MASSOB can also be defined as the result of killings of Ndi Igbo in Nigeria [...] The main issue that led to the formation of MASSOB is the marginalization, discrimination, elimination, subjugation of Ndi Igbo in Nigeria (see Onuoha, 2013:24).

Uwazuruike's position coheres with the other pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements (Offodile, 2016; Achebe, 2013; Okonta, 2012; Emekesri, 2012).

Unlike the other ethnic self-determination groups like the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Eghesu Boys and the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), MASSOB is "the direct child of the elite pact that characterized Nigeria's founding elections in 1999 […] to maintain the prevailing (anti-Biafra) political and social order (Okonta, 2014: 359). Consequently, Ekwueme's ordeal in addition to the Biafrans' collective memory of the genocidal war, inadvertently, convinced the MASSOB that nonviolent confrontation was/is the best way towards actualizing the secession of Biafra, fundamental human rights, self-determination, and social justice (Okonta, 2014).

The pro-Biafra agitation in Nigeria today, is further justified by the stiff resistance by the predominantly Muslim cum hegemonic Hausa-Fulani elite. They (Hausa-Fulani elite) have, ab initio, opposed and have vetoed any form of change to the current political structure contained in the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, unilaterally written by one of them as military head of state. But the Yoruba and Biafrans, see a new constitution, agreed to by the ethnic nationalities of Nigeria, as the only way to avert a second genocidal warfare. For instance, what appeared as approximate core demands by the three Southern Nigeria's geopolitical zones, was articulated by the Yoruba at the 2014 National Conference (Akinsanmi, 2014). These include but are not restricted to (a) restructuring the current horizontally-lopsided and vertically-unitarist or quasi-federal structure; (b) inclusion of "Right to Secession Clause" as self-determination right of federating

components, (c) and a six-republican confederal structure, and (d) a new truly peoples-oriented constitution (Godwin, 2017; Odunsi, 2017a; Yusuf, 2017; Offodile, 2016).

From the foregoing positions for or against the restructuring of Nigeria and coupled with President Buhari's rejection of the 2014 National Conference, Nigeria may be sitting on a time bomb. In its grandstanding refusal to approve and begin the implementation of the 2014 National Conference's white paper, the Buhari Presidency and the Northern-controlled FGN have since May 29, 2015 stood against Southern elites' fight for the restructuring of the polity and its constitutional structures back to the pre-1966 status. Former Vice President Atiku Abubakar admitted the North's grandstanding against restructuring is because the current unitarist or quasi federal structure feeds the region's over-dependence on federal allocations generated from the South's oil and gas resources (Mamah, 2017; Thisday, 2017; Yusuf, 2017; Nwachukwu, 2017).

The subsequent opposition to the resolutions of the 2014 National Conference in May 2015, and subsequent vetoing of the "Restructuring Bill" at the Senate by Northern Nigeria senators in July of 2017, resulted to an equal and opposite response by many groups in Western and Eastern Nigeria. Southern Nigeria—and perhaps, the Middle Belt elites as well—perceive restructuring of the constitution, and the political structure as the minimum condition for their people's continued membership of a united Nigeria. Activists from Western Nigeria had warned in 2014 that if Northern Nigeria continued to reject the genuine restructuring of Nigeria, the Yoruba nation would be left with one of two inevitable options (i.e., peaceful balkanization of Nigeria or a violent unilateral secession into Oduduwa Republic[10] (Fani-Kayode, 2014; Fagbenle, 2014; Sogbesan, 2014). By July 29, 2017, several Yoruba self-determination groups under the aegis of YOLICOM or the Yoruba Liberation Command made a secessionist

[10]The Yoruba people see themselves as descendants of one ancestor called Oduduwa

declaration stating that their region was no longer interested in restructuring since its 25-year old demands had suffered an ironclad blockade by the North[11] (Godwin, 2017).

The "restructure or secede" advocacy by southern Nigerian groups has become not only a trump card to checkmate and end the "one Nigeria" mantra, but also the over sixty years of northern hegemonic intimidation of the South. The Yoruba and the Biafrans believe that it is through either of the two options that the lopsided and hegemonic federal structure can be reversed. In order words, those calling for restructuring also want a new constitution with the right-to secession-clause included to expunge or replace the offensive "indivisibility and indissolubility clause[12]" of the 1999 Constitution (Godwin, 2017; Opejobi, 2017b).

Another reason for the Southern demands is the quantum cross-border flow of small arms into Nigeria. Apart from several remarkable intercepts, Nigeria, accounts for the highest concentration and circulation of small arms and ammunition in the West African region (Dambazau, 2015; Hazen, 2007). In fact, a report in 2016 by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (U.N.R.E.C.) "raised alarm over the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nigeria with over 350 million or 70 percent of an estimated 500 million of such weapons circulating in West Africa domiciled in the country" (Odunsi, 2016:1). Boko Haram and herdsmen are known to source their arms and ammunition through well-established Islamist terror networks across Nigeria's porous land crossings to Niger and Chad

[11] YOLICOM believes the "The Yoruba have suddenly been exposed to unimaginable (threats of) violence: wiping off entire families through clubbing to death, kidnapping of women and adults, savage killings, kidnap of school children and rape of infants. The destruction of regional system of government has turned Nigeria into a unitary state dotted with savage vulture of corruption, ineptitude, inefficiency, moral degeneration, death, violence crimes and now violent religious extremism. YOLICOM totally rejects the idea of restructuring as proposed by the Nigerian state, and the political elite, as it is an attempt to restructure Nigeria on their own terms" (Adebisi & Taiwo-Oguntuase, 2017).

[12] Section 2 (1) of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution states "Nigeria is one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign state."

republics (Allen, 2016; Dambazau, 2015; Elden, 2014; McCoy, 2014; Point Blank News, 2014; Stewart & Wroughton, 2014).

What is the implication of this proliferation of small arms for Nigeria? Since 2013, the free flow of millions of illegal weapons to Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen and the carnage they execute with these weapons made both groups, respectively, become some of the deadliest terror groups in the world (Adisa, 2018; Allen, 2016; Buchanan, 2015; IEP, 2015). The "2015 Global Terrorism Index" ranked Boko Haram the "most deadly terrorist group in the world." This report said the intensification of terrorism by this group resulted in the "the largest increase in terrorist deaths ever recorded by any country, increasing by over 300 percent to 7512 fatalities" (IEP, 2015: 2). Oftentimes, it is unreported that Boko Haram has been spreading its personnel and arms southwards and are believed to be the major supplier of weapons to the killer herdsmen, and perhaps are also working in concert with them (Opejobi, 2018).

To revisit the issue of the complicity of Hausa-Fulani dominated security forces in the genocidal expansionism of the Fulani herdsmen: it would be an understatement to say that the inactions and pro-herdsmen inclination of Nigeria's current armed forces have contributed in heightening the orgy of mass killings and threats of genocidal violence (Adisa, 2018). It is instructive to note that it was the outstanding roles of the Nigerian armed forces in the Economic Community of West African Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG) that enabled West Africa to end the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and pockets of other deadly conflicts in the sub-region (Dambazau, 2015). That is why many wonder why a northern Nigeria–dominated military that carried out the genocidal defeat of the Biafran forces would become incapable of defeating members of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen.

One of the major adduced reasons revolves around the politicization and complicity of the military in Nigeria's politics (Dambazau, 2015). In fact, this President Buhari's interior minister, a retired army chief, had argued the politicization and polarization of the military along ethnoreligious fault-lines since 1999 weakens the army's operational response, thereby encouraging the international community to question its professionalism (4). But why is the Nigerian military ethnically polarized and politicized? The answer to this question is instructive because the command, control, and headcount of officers and men of the Nigerian military is lopsided in favour of the North. That is why it is believed that Nigeria's anti-terrorism efforts falter due to the primordial ties of Northern military personnel to their kinsmen in the Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen. In fact, there has always been the suspicion of Boko Haram's infiltration of the military since such an alarm was raised by the President Jonathan regime in 2012 (Mark, 2012). This charge is consistent with many political intrigues involving Hausa-Fulani officers of the security forces. The first is the confirmed complicity of Police Commissioner Zakari Biu in facilitating the jailbreak of Kabiru Sokoto, the mastermind of Boko Haram's Christmas Day bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church, Madala, Niger state (Omonobi & Muhammad, 2012). Then came the movie-like intrigues in early 2018 about the circumstances of the "successful and unhindered terroristic abduction" and the Buhari regime's "negotiation" towards the release of the Dapchi school girls. This is at a time the regime refused to halt intensified genocidal killings, sacking of indigenous land owners from their homes and farmsteads, by Fulani herdsmen, who would always go on to occupy 'conquered or annexed' communities with their families and cattle. Expectedly, this spurred some elder statesmen and serving governors to accuse the Buhari Presidency of not only enabling the carnage but supporting the terrorists who are their kinsmen (Alechenu, et al., 2018; Opejobi, 2018).

The foregoing is just a tip of the security challenges facing Nigeria, and which stimulate the push for self-determination by secessionist groups. A few questions need to be asked before delving into the analysis of how the strategic nonviolent resistance of pro-Biafra social movements may be a pragmatic strategy for the transformation of Nigeria's genocidal relations. Apart from nonviolence actions are there other better ways that could cause the severing of the umbilical cord sustaining the irreconcilable ethnoreligious differences, deep contradictions, internal colonialism, and faltering state-building structures that are congenitally-linked to the colonial amalgamation of disparate and culturally-distinct peoples of Nigeria? In the main, what factors lie behind the secessionist nonviolent struggles by MASSOB-initiated pro Biafra social movement? Considering the characteristic genocidal nature of most intergroup conflicts, and the hegemonic tendencies of the northern political elite, can Nigeria be transformed to ensure equal citizenship, equal justice, and equal opportunities for all citizens and groups? Can Nigeria overcome the several opinionated predictions of its immortality without genocidal consequence and/or can socio-economic repression of some groups end? How long can those at the receiving end of the genocidal killings endure before Nigeria explodes into full-blown genocidal warfare?

These questions are imperative because, apart from some annual global security reports discussed below, Sandia National Laboratories' Human Resilience Index (HRI) ranked Nigeria ninth among "countries that are projected to have a high risk of instability, conflict, or some other types of state failure by 2030 because of their poor human ecology and resilience" (NIC, 2012: 19). This is so much so as Nigeria occupies the fourth position among states with the highest cases of state-led mass killings in the world (EWP, 2017). To better underscore the centrality of the above questions, and, indeed, the entire study, there is a need to bring the context of Nigeria's chequered sociopolitical history into focus.

The self-determination, and secessionism of nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements is mostly, a product of Nigeria's bloodied existential intergroup relations and contested state-building, tied to the legacy of colonialism and its divide and rule policies. If anything, a "forensic analysis" of the soci**o**political forces that led to the secession of the short-lived Biafra Republic and the genocidal war will, also shed some light on why this conflict continued into the present era (Venter, 2018a; Offodile**,** 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a).

The Historical Context of Pro-Biafra Secessionism and Self-determination

According to Julie Norman[13] (2013) "collective memory mobilization involves the intentional recall of an event or experience, related to a past grievance, abuse, or violation of right, which might serve as a catalyst for new processes of activism" (160). Shared (memories of) history and unpleasant present realities constitute the lubricant propelling the wheels of past and present secessionist and self-determination social movements in recent history (Okonta. 2014; Deng, 2012; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a; 2007; Korieh, 2012; Zartman & Anstey, 2012). To this end, the convictions expressed in this study by the Biafrans themselves are inextricably linked to a confluence of recorded history of state-led genocide.

It is in this sense that history and collective memory mobilization are pivotal in understating the contentious politics of MASSOB and other pro-Biafra secessionist social movements since 1999. So, it is imperative to have a critical analysis of the sociohistorical context that crystalized the resurrection of Biafra secessionism. It is the argument of many

[13] In a study on the role of collective memory as a driving force in the first and second nonviolent Palestinian *Intifadas*, Julie Norman was able to establish the core instrumentality of collective memory mobilization by self-determination or statehood agitators, against oppression or structural violence.

scholars that the same poisonous sociopolitical forces, and state actions that led to the first Biafra secessionism are present today (Onwuka, 2017; Onumah, 2016; Bergman, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Emekesri, 2012; Amadi, 2007). Also, the makeup of the oppressed ethno-political groups, and the hegemonic oppressor groups then and now, are relatively similar (Effiong, 2012; Ukaegbu, 2012; Ukaego, 2012). Thus, the collective memories of the genocidal past and present existential threats faced by the ethnic Igbo and the Eastern minorities is behind the renewed Biafra agitation (Offodile, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Heerten & Moses, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Simpson, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; Emekesri, 2012; Korieh & Ezeonu, 2010).

Nigeria's Amalgamation of January 1, 1914 and Its Contradictions

The present economic dependency, rippling poverty, social insecurity, and genocidal conflicts in most contested African states is directly linked to the genocidal culture of the colonial empires (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011). Mark Levine (2013: xiii) argues that the international politics among European Powers was a product of a 600-year history of persistent accumulation and concentration of genocidal violence in Europe until the outbreak of the First World War. Consequently, it was within such a deadly culture of hegemonic domination that European colonizers executed the slavery and genocidal conquest of their colonies.

About Nigeria, there are, at least, two points to be made on the colonization of Nigeria. First, the use of force was one of the policies of the "British Imperial Mission" for extra-territorial expansion and economic exploitation. As John Carland (an authority on Nigeria's amalgamation history) stated, "the British Imperial Mission for Nigeria" was to use genocidal force to ensure that the "Colonial Empire" was ruled on sound lines to enable Britain's exploitation of the colonies for its economic development" (Carland, 1985: 90). This genocidal

system was part of social formations, law, and public order bequeathed to post-colonial Nigeria. That is why and how the culture of genocidal violence is an integral part of the politics of Nigeria and most Third World countries struggling volatile inter-ethnic relations (Ebiem, 2014).

The second point stems from the first. The 1914 Amalgamation of Nigeria was a cost-saving policy. One British governor-general was appointed to govern the two colonies, hitherto administered by two colonial governors. In fact, the strongest argument for Nigeria's amalgamation is found in Morel's 1911 book: titled "Nigeria: Its People and Its Problem,"

> The existence of two public policies side by side in a single territorial area, where internal peace is rapidly fusing the indigenous communities, divided by an imaginary line which does not even correspond to natural boundaries and exhibiting multiple differences of aim and method… in some cases, acutely antagonistic interests […] presents many obvious inconveniences and paves the way for future embarrassments of every kind. If these remarks can influence […] an early and serious examination of the problem by the Colonial Office, Amalgamation must come. All realize that (Morel, 2013: 209-210).

Morel hinged his amalgamation advocacy on the fact that Britain must avoid the economic "consequences of exceeding gravity" if the Colonial Office continued to bear the economic burden of administering the Northern Protectorate as a separate colony (Morel, 2013: 210).

Prior to 1914, the total grant-in-aid to Northern Nigeria was £250,000 sourced annually from the budget surpluses of the Southern Colony to offset this deficit (Barkan et al., 2001; Carland, 1985). But from 1914, Southern Nigeria was formally eviscerated of its surplus tax income, and then used to cover the administrative cost of the Northern Protectorate, and by so doing, ended Britain's grant-in aid to the north. Put differently, the South was saddled with

generating surplus revenues to be used to offset the North's perennial deficits, and thereby, free Britain from such economic liability (Carland, 1985: 56). As argued by James Coleman (1975),

> Britain did not consciously create an independent Nigerian nation when it established Nigerian boundaries; it developed a common administrative system, constructed a common transportation grid, introduced a common currency, a lingua franca, and an educational system and recruited a corps of Nigerian clerks and artisans who developed Pan-Nigerian perspectives and aspirations—all were simply a requisite for the administration of an arbitrary chunk of Africa for an overseas dependency (320).

Malcolm Fabiyi agrees, noting that "there is no question that the amalgamation of 1914 was intended to benefit the British. Its goal was solely to reduce colonial administration costs by consolidating the two civil service operations of the Northern and Southern protectorates into one (Fabiyi, 2014:1). The dynamics upon which colonies like Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya, and Sudan were formed and the exploitative relations between the British colonizer and the colonized are inextricably tied to the amalgam of present catastrophic realities in most contested post-colonial states in Africa and elsewhere (Akpeninor, 2013; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011; Carter et al., 2009; Osaghae, 2004). Now, what happened after the 1914 Amalgamation?

A Colonial Nigeria Divided and Ruled at Its Seams

Social relations among the elites of the predominant nationalities were poisoned too early because of the early manifestations of inbuilt colonial contradictions. Many scholars agree with Obafemi Awolowo (1947) who argued the amalgamation was initially a mere geographical expression that secured for the British influence over a contiguous territory of nations (Ebiem, 2014; Audu et al., 2013; Fafowora, 2013; Achebe, 2013; Sklar, 2004). This view stems from the

fact that Britain's original intention was never to make Nigeria a united peaceful country, rather the intent was more for Britain's mercantilist economic interest than anything else.

The congenital problems of the 1914 amalgamation of the people of present-day Nigeria began to manifest with the colonial policies of 1946 and beyond (Sklar, 2004). It was from the Derivation Principle, enshrined in the 1946 Arthur Richards Constitution, that Nigeria's current socio-economic and domination politics was initiated. In a new national revenue generation policy recommended in a 1946 Philipson Report, each of the regional governments (North, West, and East) was to statutorily get a 100 percent royalty from agricultural resources generated or derived from their respective regional jurisdictions (Imomotimi & Isaac, 2012; Akinola & Adesopo, 2011). This was like the Hick-Philipson (1951) and the Chick (1953) revenue allocation reports. Once accepted by all the regions, the 100 percent derivation principle created a healthy economic development completion among the regions as each region developed at their own pace and on chosen development input strategy (Imomotimi & Isaac, 2012). In retrospect, the greatest outcome of the derivation principle was the agricultural revolution that saw the Northern Region generating more resources from its agricultural resources than the other two regions. The Eastern Region was the least fortunate although it added rubber to its palm oil royalties (Schwartz, 1968).

The problem started in 1956 when crude petroleum was first discovered in Oloibiri in Eastern Region. In fact, it was the exploitative and economic opportunities derivable from world oil sales collectively that pushed the British to torpedo the 100 percent derivation principle (Audu, et al., 2013). The new 1956 revenue policy remains at the roots of Nigeria's conundrum of genocidal violence. Some scholars argue that Britain slashed the 100 percent derivation principle to 50 percent in 1956 when the untapped multi-billion dollar crude deposits was

discovered in Eastern Nigeria to favour Northern Nigeria, and "inadvertently," sow bitter political crisis that would derail the fast approaching pro-independence train set in motion in 1953 by the Eastern and Western political elite (Audu, et al., 2013; Siollun, 2009; Uche, 2008; Sagay, 2008; Roberts, 2005). Through a special commission headed by Jeremy Raisman and Roland Tress, the colonizers came up with a Distributable Pools Account (DPA) that contained a new sharing formula of 50 percent royalty to the region of origin, 20 percent to central government, and 30 percent to other regions according to their development needs and to ensure equity (Ebiem, 2014; Sagay, 2008; Uche, 2008; Edevbie, 2000).

Background to the Pogroms[14] and the Secession of and Genocide against Biafra

From Nigeria's 1960 independence date to January 15, 1966, Nigerians were treated to deadly multidimensional power sharing and economic crises (Uche, 2008). By 1962, regional elites unconscionably and incautiously engulfed their regions in crossfires of latently and overtly deadly ethnic hate statements, even in formal settings (Ebiem, 2014). The public statements during that era brought to bear the conviction that Nigeria was only useful for what the political elites can grab. Thus, the bitter politics of who owns what, and who holds state power to decide the sharing of Nigeria's oil wealth soon turned into an albatross that is at the roots of the contradictions in Nigeria's state-building (Edevbie, 2000). But why is crude oil a curse rather than a blessing to Nigeria? While the answers to this question cannot be exhaustively answered in this study, it should be noted that the genocidal war that broke out in 1967 and the violent sectarian upheavals and corresponding pogroms before the genocidal war are over-determinedly linked to the location of oil deposits in the internally-nonhomogeneous Eastern Region.

[14]Some scholars (a few cited in this study) use(d) such terms as African holocaust or genocide instead of Pogrom

In fact, the era, and role of military coups and military junta, which were a fallout of acerbic ethnocentric nature of politicking among the regional elites, are equally important towards grasping the dimensions of the contemporary Nigeria's history (Korieh, 2012). As already stated above, newly independent Nigeria was faced with a myriad of uncertainties, interregional mistrusts, sectarian violence and politics of disunity, nepotism, and deepening corruption by its first-generation political class (Achebe, 2013). Political upheavals erupted across the Nigerian landscape following the widespread electoral violence in the Western Region in 1962, due to accusations, controversies, and protests that resulted from the 1963 creation of the Mid-Western Region out of a much smaller Western Region, where a supersized Northern Region remained intact (Metz, 1991: 52). Also, the rejection of the 1962 and 1963 population censuses by demographers, and ruling political elites in the South, became a dress rehearsal towards the genocidal atrocities seen before, during, and after the Biafran War (Ebiem, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2012; Uche, 2008). The tension in the aftermath of the 1963 census was because the outcome of the census reaffirmed the numerical superiority of Northern Region over other regions. Thus, the North would have a permanent (veto) majority in Parliament, and a larger share of the redistributed national income (Achebe, 2013). That was why prior to the census, "the politicians stressed the connection between the census and representation on the one hand, and the amount of financial support for regional development on the other" (Metz, 1991:52). By the end of 1965, the outbreak of political turmoil and uncertainties in Nigeria had multi-dimensionally metastasized along ethno-regional lines. This, in turn, reined in irreconcilable ethnocultural cum regional differences resulting in an endangered state arising from the colonizers' predetermined system of "divide-and-rule policy" (to protect and safeguard its neo-colonial economic interests) to ensuring a steady dysfunctional rule of the divided

(Ebiem, 2014; Boating, 2008; Uche, 2008). Besides that, by the end of 1965, prebendalism, kleptocracy, and nepotism become the order of governance by the ruling class (Banjo, 1967). Expectedly, the masses and public opinion clamored for regime change of sorts (Nwadike, 2010:2; Ademoyega, 1981; Madiebo, 1980). It was to reverse this rudderless political milieu that the coup of January 15, 1966, was staged by a selection of "overzealous" young officers (Nwadike, 2010).

The disastrous January 1966 coup is instructive in understanding the nature of political relations in Nigeria then and now. As postulated by Victor Banjo,

> Any attempt to use the Nigerian Army for any military action within Nigeria would only have the effect of breaking the Army into its tribal components of which the Northern component would represent the lion's share. This Northern component […] under the control of the Northern feudalists would then be inevitably employed to impose on the rest of Nigeria the most repressive feudal domination (Banjo, 1967:1-2).

Banjo's statement in 1967 shows that actions and decisions of a political nature in volatile and centrifugal multicultural countries like Nigeria, usually towed ethno-religious trajectories. Before 1966, there was no indication that the Nigerian military was not a professional and disciplined institution bereft of the nuances of ethnic and/or religious bigotry (Ademoyega, 1981). While one can argue that the focus of the mutineers was hardly to "pass the ethnic inclusivity test," their focus was to stabilize the country on the path of "progress" with the killing of the top corrupt leaders (Ebiem, 2014; Nwadike, 2010; Ademoyega, 1981; Gbulie, 1981). It was this failure and insensitivity by the overzealous but patriotic mutineers to realize their ethno-regional makeup would lead to a sectionalized pogrom and genocidal civil war was their greatest mistake. If the mutineers had known that their ethnic backgrounds and actions would be viewed

through primordial lenses, maybe, they would have acted differently. It was this error of judgement that made the coupists not to realize their failure to balance the killings of "erring" Eastern politicians would set the Nigerian military to unleash months of ethnic cleansing against Easterners, mostly Igbos (Ebiem, 2014). The arrowheads of the July 29, 1966 went on a mission to revenge what they called the "Igbo Coup." In retrospect, Nigeria's course of history could have been different if the mutineers removed the "erring" politicians without shedding their blood as their aim was political stability.

But, was there an Igbo Coup? "Records of the Special Police Report on the official investigation into the coup of 15 January 1966" by Max Siollun (2009) addresses this age-old contentious question in the following ways. First, the putsch was led by a few officers, mostly majors in the Nigerian Army. Second, the mutineers (the majority were ethnic Igbo, a few were Yorubas from the Western Region, and at least one was a Northerner) claimed they were on a patriotic mission to save Nigeria from profligacy, political turmoil, and system wide corruption (Nwadike, 2010). Third, there were at least 13 casualties of top politicians and military officers from the Northern, Western, and Mid-Western Regions. One senior Igbo military officer, a quartermaster general, was killed. It was this outcome that made the Northerners to, initially, term the coup as a "Southern Coup" before they reversed it to Igbo Coup – a move made to garner the unwilling support of the Western Region (Nwadike, 2010: ix). The Igbo Coup label sank with the emergence of General Aguiyi Ironsi (an Igbo) as the head of state in January 1966, since he was the most senior military commander at the time. Ironsi only took over to avert a power vacuum.

July 1966 Revenge Coup and the 1966 Pogroms: Denials and Facts

The unfortunate assassination of key political figures of the Northern Region and the emergence of General Ironsi, as military head of state, did create the impression of an Igbo coup among Northerners, despite Ojukwu and Ironsi himself playing key roles in foiling the coup. By May 1966, the Igbo Coup theory triggered spontaneous sectarian violence, ethnic cleansing and internal displacement of mainly Igbos and others from the Eastern Region (Onyeso 2012; Amadi, 2007; Madiebo, 1981). "Marauding Northern youths armed with machetes, knives, and other instruments of death attacked unsuspecting (Eastern Nigeria) civilians" (Achebe, 2013:80-81). The first direct impact of the uncontrolled sectarian killings was the internal displacement of over a million Igbos and other Easterners, who fled the North (81). All through June of 1966, the Federal Military Government (FMG) headed by General Ironsi held several meetings with different delegations of Northern Region, to address the crisis and placate them. The Northern leaders made sundry demands. The most salient were the immediate court-martialing and punishment of the January 1966 coup leaders, and the discontinuation of any plan to investigate the underpinnings of the May 1966 massacre of Easterners (Madiebo, 1981:43).

Suddenly and sadly, what followed was the July 29, 1966 coup by Northerners in the Nigerian army. Although one of the reasons for the coup was Ironsi's failure to quickly punish the January 1966 coupists, the real reason was obvious. It is believed that the major objective of the July 1966 counter coup, was not only to overthrow General Ironsi but to unleash a revenge coup that would deal a decisive blow to the Igbos and their place in Nigeria's history (Ebiem, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Siollun, 2009; Amadi, 2007; Keil, 1970). As Banjo argued, it was "a mutiny in which the primary action was directed at the elimination of a particular ethnic group, and the supremacy of another ethnic group in Nigeria, and this had the effect of destroying the basis of mutual trust and confidence among the people of Nigeria (Banjo, 1967). The result was

the brutal assassination of General Ironsi, and his host, Adekunle Fajuyi, the Western Region military governor at Ibadan on July 29, 1966. Also, more than 500 senior military commanders and officers, thousands of subalterns and other security officers of Eastern Region origin, mostly Igbo, were killed in the barracks across Northern and Western Regions, while the lucky ones escaped on foot to the East to tell the stories (Achebe, 2013; Siollun, 2009; Madiebo, 1981).

Now, it is necessary to paint a vivid picture of the nature of pre-civil war genocidal atrocities against the Igbos and other Biafrans. Doing so will help us to understand the premeditated mindset with which the perpetrators carried out the Pogroms and the genocidal war, and how such genocidal atrocities have, in turn, made episodes of post-war mass killings a familiar road most traveled. Evidences of the mass killings, brutal decapitations and maiming, as well as, the rape of women and young girls, documented by local and foreign journalists alike, had been well circulated within Eastern Nigeria (Bird & Ottanelli, 2014; Korieh, 2012; Onyesoh, 2012; Okocha, 2006; Ohaneze, 1999). Reports of the atrocities were carefully concealed or presented to the rest of the country in ways to that made it easy to blame the victims for getting a deserved payback (Venter, 2018b; Omaka, 2016; Achebe, 2013; Keil, 1970). In fact, the deliberate denials, cover ups, and failure to prosecute the perpetrators of the genocidal atrocities visited upon the Igbos and other Easterners by succeeding regimes since July 1966, have only served the purpose of protecting the personal or ethnic interests of the perpetrators than doing anything else (Omaka, 2016; Ebiem, 2014). The danger, as Colin Legum argued, is that the,

> Nigerians have been sheltered from knowing the full magnitude of the disaster that has overtaken the Ibos[15] in the Northern Region. While the Hausas in each town and village know what happened in their localities, only the Igbos know the whole story… The

[15] For an inexplicable reason, Ibo is used by most non-Igbos to refer to the Igbos. So, I only used 'Ibo' where found in direct quotes.

> danger is that the truth will not be believed, and no lessons learnt, once the horror is over (Legum, 1966, cf. Omaka, 2016:34).

Sadly, nothing has changed from Legum's postulations as the state forbids public discussion of the July 1966 coup and the Pogroms (Akpan, 2014: xiii; Nwadike, 2010; Siollun, 2009:136).

There are at least two major reasons for the cover-ups of the genocidal impunity by the Nigerian state and the British government's role as a chief international collaborator. The first was a deliberate media offensive against local and unbiased international reporters who witnessed and reported the genocidal carnage as it progressed. As Walter Partington noted,

> Nigerian and British diplomats are playing down the full terror, apparently to prevent panic among Europeans and what Ibos are left, and to keep Nigeria from crumbling into anarchy if there is secession from the Nigerian Federation by the embittered Eastern Region. But from what I have been told on my journey by chartered plane […] flying and hitching a lift through this desolate land, the horror of the massacre at times seems to equal that of the Congo (Partington, 1966, cited in Omaka 2016:34).

Arguably, the involvement of Northern troops in the extermination of Easterners is the reason successive governments under Northern control have continued to downplay, deny, and conceal the magnitude of the genocidal annihilation of the Biafrans in the July to November pogroms.

As Partington and Legum pointed out, the denials and/or underplaying of the genocidal impunity of the Nigerian state between July and October 1966 inadvertently created a caveat for the consequential devastating genocidal civil war as we shall see later. Equally, a revisionist propagation of varying distortions and half-truths only created an impugning platform for the perpetrators to justify their actions, while blaming the vanquished victims, whose social existence was/is marked by state repression, marginalization, trauma, and dehumanization

(Ejiogu, 2013; Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2012). Finally, the denials of involvement of the Northern-led FMG in the ethnic cleansing of mainly the ethnic Igbos, and the cover up of its magnitude has remained a momentous lacuna ignored by aloof onlookers, bystanders, and revisionists who deny, doubt, and question the body of evidence of the gory events during the pogroms and the civil war, and decades after they occurred (Omaka, 2016; Okonta, 2014). Yet, because racialized social injustice and genocidal repression are open wounds, which can only be healed by truth and reconciliation, there is a need to put the records straight. Thus, it is imperative to outline the political circumstance that led to the Pogroms, the genocidal war and other state-led genocidal atrocities against the Igbo and the other Biafrans decades after the civil war.

The commencement of the indiscriminate mass killings of mainly ethnic Igbos and other Easterners in the North started spontaneously the moment the July 1966 counter-coup occurred. Perhaps because the Pogroms' perpetrators, whose political kinsmen still hold the reins of power to date, ensured the removal of history as a subject in Nigerian schools, historians in Nigeria are yet to provide justifiable reasons why a coup that should have remained a deadly business with the armed forces instantly turned into the ethnic cleansing against Easterners (Biafra) that were resident in Northern Nigeria and the Lagos axis (Korieh, 2012). What were the rationale and roles of officers and men of the Nigerian Armed Forces from the Northern Region in the 1966 Pogroms? Various reports and eyewitness accounts have shown how Nigerian troops, under a Northerner as a military head of state, instituted blockaded all exit routes to Eastern Region, and spearheaded months of free-for-all mass killing of more than 150,000 defenseless Easterners, (disemboweling of pregnant women and killing of infants/babies), unrestrained public rapes, and eventual internal displacement of about two million victims (Offodile, 2016; Omaka, 2016; Achebe, 2013; Okonta, 2012; Madiebo, 1980; Luckham, 1975; Nwankwo & Ifejika, 1970).

There is a need to reflectively investigate the nature and dimensions of those Nigerian troops' involvement in the Pogroms of their fellow innocent compatriots. Charles Keil, a visiting United States scholar, in an essay titled "The Price of the Nigerian Victory" narrated the benumbing and ignoble justifications by detachments of Nigerian troops of gory sights of several (decomposing) corpses of pogrom victims during "guided tours" with him. As he stated,

> The Pogrom […] in Makurdi (late September 1966) were foreshadowed by months of intensive anti-Ibo and anti-Eastern conversations among Tiv, Idoma, Hausa and other Northerners resident in Makurdi, and fitting a pattern replicated in city after city, the massacres were led by the Nigerian army. Before, during and after the slaughter, Col. Gowon could be heard over the radio issuing "guarantees of safety" to all Easterners, all citizens of Nigeria, but the intent of the soldiers, the only power that counts in Nigeria now or then, was painfully clear. After counting the disemboweled bodies along the Makurdi road, I was escorted back to the city by soldiers who apologized for the stench and explained politely that they were doing […] the world a great favor by eliminating Ibos (Keil, 1970:1-2).

Keil's eyewitness account in Makurdi coheres with that of Paul Okwara, an Igbo who would have been killed by soldiers in green shirts and trousers had he not feigned being a Ghanaian in company with his 'uncle' as the mass killing of Easterners was ongoing at the Kano Airport on October 1, 1966. As Okwara had narrated,

> I heard a shot behind me and I fell down and passed out [...]. Somebody emerged from under the big table on hearing me. It was Mr. Lekettey, a Ghanaian who apparently was hiding from the savage soldiers. He was my uncle and I, his nephew. This strategy worked wonderfully, and when the soldiers heard us out, they shouted in unison, "Why

> have you been hiding? We don't want to kill Ghanaians" [...]. These soldiers had some harsh things to say about Okpara and Ibos [...]. "All other Igbos must be destroyed." [...] They asked Mr. Lekettey and myself to get ready because they were going to show us how "we have dealt with Okpara's brothers and sisters. They took us to the Railway Station in an army Land Rover and there, we saw [...] over 700 men, women and children who had [...] been killed while they were waiting for a train to take them to our Region. A few of the children were still creeping over [...] to suck their dead mothers' breasts [...]. Next, we were taken round Sabon Gari. It was the same massacre of Ibos in Hotels where they had gone to relax because it was a public holiday. All the hotels were literally filled up with dead bodies. No tinge of compunction ever touched the conscience of these soldiers, who joined their civilian brothers to loot, pillage, and kill our kith and kin (Ohaneze, 1999:13-14).

Even so, these eyewitness accounts by Keil and Okwara's do not go far enough to explain the catastrophic extent of the open state-led genocidal cleansing in the Northern Nigeria in 19966.

Other related stories and studies have shown that the period May to October 1966 was the beginning of the complete dehumanization of Igbo and other Easterners (Venter, 2018a; Levey, 2014; Stevenson, 2014; Onuoha, 2013; Achebe, 2013; Emekesri, 2012; Korieh, 2012; Siollun, 2009; Ojiaku, 2007; Njoku, 1987; Nnoli, 1978; Kirk-Greene, 1975). Several thousands of trapped easterners, according to Onyesoh (2012:1) "were buried alive [...] young Igbo girls of the age of ten to twelve were forcefully removed from colleges in the North and sent to leper colonies for lepers to defile in retribution for earlier refusal to befriend or marry Northerners. Pregnant Igbo women were disembowelled, and the foetuses cut to pieces." Legum (1966, c.f.

Omaka, 2016:34), after his visit of a camp for IDPs at Enugu in October 1966, narrated that "men, women and children arrived with arms and legs broken, hands cut off, mouths split open."

Partington (1966) also reported that at the airports and train stations, the troops sorted out and killed the Igbo, while vultures and dogs devoured their corpses at street corners and nearby bushes. It is needless to say that by the time the violence reached its climax with the massacres of September 29, 1966, about 80,000 to 150,000 Igbo and other Biafrans were indiscriminately killed by the military (Levey, 2014:266; Achebe, 2013). Just like the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, the only 'crime' committed by the victims was their ethno-racial bloodlines. Keil alluded to this fact by stating that cross-sections of the Nigerian troops said the extermination of "the Igbo and their ilk" was the best way to solve the Nigerian problem (Keil, 1970:2).

Yet, a most disturbing aspect of the pogrom was the fact that the FMG feigned ignorance and/or innocence, and never arrested anyone in connection with the pre-war genocidal killings (Achebe, 2013:82)[16]. The Eastern Regional Government (ERG) saw the FGN's denials and inactions in the Pogroms as a political betrayal and an incontrovertible proof of its complicity in what McKeena (1969:670) called the pre-war Igbo genocide. The FMG's denials in the face of evidences by foreign reporters on the ground in Northern Nigeria and affidavits and traumatic stories by those who escaped the killings prompted the ERG to officially indict the FMG of complicity in the Pogroms (Emekesri, 2012; Korieh, 2012; Nwadike, 2010; Madiebo, 1981; Nwankwo & Ifejika, 1970). In fact, many genocide scholars have qualified those selective killings as the first of the episodes of genocide against the Biafrans (Omaka, 2016; Ebiem; 2014 Heerten & Moses, 2014; Levey, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2012; Onyesoh, 2012; Amadi,

[16] While the Northern soldiers killed Easterners on homophobic grounds, the central government, despite being by vengeful Northern soldiers, should have used state powers to arrest the killers and/or halt the killings. It never did.

2007; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2007; Okocha, 2006; Luckham, 1975). For Akpan (2013)[17] it was "the Eastern Nigeria holocaust" while McCullum (2012) called it "Africa's first genocide."

Failed Nonviolent Measures to De-escalate the Genocidal Tension in 1967

The unabated mass killings, alienation, and rejection of Easterners and acquiescence of the rest of Nigeria towards the state-backed Pogrom, invariably, meant that the Nigerian state failed in its responsibility to protect the citizens of Eastern Region. With this mindset, the ERG took diplomatic and nonviolent steps to protect its people. First, the ERG formally notified the world that the unhidden state-led genocidal killings, homophobia, and mutually-assured deaths awaiting and against the Igbos and other Easterners, realistically meant Nigerians could no longer coexist peacefully (Achebe, 2013; Nwankwo & Ifejika, 1970). The ERG, also, took concrete steps to end the killings and de-escalate the tensed and uncertain political milieu. It did so by ensuring the FMG allowed a safe exit of all trapped citizens (plus civil servants). The inter-regional swapping resulted to an estimated 1 to 1.5 million Internally-Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the East (McKeena 1969:670), apart from those that fled the May 1966 killings.

The Aburi Accord of January 1967

The January 1967 Aburi Accord and its underlying implications remains pivotal to some group agitations in Nigeria today (2018) and beyond. By December 1966, the tensed political climate had degenerated to such an extent that peaceful coexistence between the Eastern Region and the FMG and the other regions was unlikely. In fact, Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, Governor of Eastern Region and his officials boycotted all the council of state meetings in resistance to the FMG's mishandling of the humanitarian emergencies of the IDPs that fled the pogroms. The

[17] This book was First Published by Frank Cass, 1971 and republished in 2013

ERG also decided that it would cease to recognize or abide by the authority of the FMG. The FMG's response included a flurry of civil war threats against the East (Omaka, 2016), which in turn spurred instant popular calls for secession by Easterners (Achebe, 2013:89).

Momentarily, an inadvertent need to stem the tide of what became a rudderless drift to doom led to a last-minute peace summit agreed to by both the ERG and the FMG in the city of Aburi in Ghana. The meeting, which was held on January 4 and 5, 1967, was facilitated by the then-Ghanaian Head of state, and had in attendance all the four regional military governors and the Nigerian head of state with its officials (Forsyth, 2001). Aburi was chosen as a concession to the ERG's request for a neutral ground outside Nigeria to ensure the safety of its delegation and the credibility and impartiality of the summit (Achebe, 2013; Forsyth, 2001).

The resolutions of the talks resulted in a document of agreements called the "Aburi Accord" and was duly signed by all parties including the Nigerian head of state. In the Aburi Accord:

1. Members reaffirmed that negotiation was the best peaceful way of resolving the crisis.
2. Members agreed that the legislative and executive authority of the FMG should remain in the Supreme Military Council (SMC), to which any decision affecting the whole country shall be referred […] to military governors for their comment and concurrence.

Pertinently, the Accord was, initially, a unique nonviolent commitment by the regions and the Nigerian state to co-exist under a confederal arrangement (Enabuele & Bazuaye, 2014; Achuzia, 1986; Madiebo, 1981; Nwankwo & Ifejika, 1970). Had the Accord been implemented, there would have been a reduction of some powers of the FMG, like what occurs under all confederacies. In fact, under such a situation, "the South-Easterners, even under a unified Nigeria, would still have been the prevailing decision makers regarding the exploration and

exploitation of their natural resources and the utilization of the wealth that would accrue thereof" (Effiong, 2012:263). That was why the Easterners wanted the full implementation of the Accord.

Sadly, the jubilations and hope in the East that the Aburi Accord would lead to a confederal Nigeria soon evaporated into oblivion two months after. The ERG was contented that the FMG's hoped to come out of the Aburi meetings with Nigeria intact as a "confederation of the regions" (Achebe, 2013:86). But when it dawned on the FMG what the full implementation of a confederal political system would mean for the country, and especially the North, the Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, hesitantly reneged on the Aburi Accord he had willingly signed (Enabuele & Bazuaye, 2014). Simply put, while the ERG and Easterners believed in, and waited anxiously for the implementation of the confederal restructuring; the revisions, interpretations, and hawkish grandstanding by some powerful interests, inexplicably, led to the non-implementation of the duly signed peace accord (Ebiem, 2014:6-7; Enabuele & Bazuaye, 2014:225; Korieh, 2012). Questions need to be asked because there is no doubt that the implementation of the Aburi Accord would have served as a panacea to transforming or de-escalating the genocidal relations of that time, and their direct implications decades afterwards.

Biafra Secession, Biafran Civil War and the Genocide against the Igbos

The FMG's reneging on the peace accord had profound posterity implications for Nigeria. Bogged down by the burden of meeting the challenges of about two-million IDPs, and the refusal of the FMG to pay the salary arrears of displaced federal civil servants by March 1967, the ERG forewarned General Gowon's "repeated failure to act on issues pertaining to Nigerian sovereignty could lead to secession" (Achebe, 2013:86). In a swift reaction, Gowon enacted "Decree 8" of 1967, which called for the resurrection of the proposals for constitutional reform promulgated during the Aburi Accord" (Achebe, 2013). However, the Permanent

Secretaries of the FMG who, after reviewing the contents and implications of the Accord, disagreed with Gowon, averring that the FGM's powers would be eroded or nonexistent under a confederacy. In their estimation, the full implementation of the Aburi Accord would amount to the balkanization of Nigeria into four countries (Akpan, 2013; Achebe, 2013; Luckham, 1975).

The Accord's nonimplementation was a big blow to the ERG that hoped the accord would end the genocidal killing of its people and the North's hegemonic intimidation (Ebiem, 2014; Stevenson, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a). The East was unmoved in its intent to exit the Nigerian union. In fact, buoyed by the conviction that secession was the only viable option, the Eastern Nigeria Special Advisory Committee of Chiefs and Elders, representing all the twenty provinces of Eastern Nigeria, on May 27, 1967, mandated Lt. Col. Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu to "declare at the earliest practicable date the Eastern Region as a free, sovereign and independent state by name and title of the Republic of Biafra" (Odu, 2009:98). The same day, the FMG declared a state of emergency on the whole country, including Eastern Nigeria. Also, twelve states were created to replace the four regions. The Eastern Region was split into East Central (Igbo) Rivers and South-East states[18] (Uche, 2008:123).

While the creation of the twelve (12) states was a divide-and-disunite strategy said to address the agitation by Eastern minorities to end their domination by Igbos. The real motive was simply a pre-war strategy to derail and reduce the Biafra secession to the East Central State, the epicenter of the secessionism to a landlocked Igbo enclave (Omaka, 2016; Achebe, 2013; Nwankwo & Ihejirika, 1970). In fact, the ERG's authority was restricted to only the Igbo areas, whose oil deposits paled in comparison to the vast oil deposits in the minority Rivers and South-

[18] Some Igbo communities and towns with rich oil reserves were added to Rivers and South East states

East states (Achebe, 2013; Luckham, 1975). But in rejection of the FMG's fractionalization of Eastern Region, Ojukwu, on May 30, 1967, proclaimed the secession of Biafra as follows:

> Having mandated me to proclaim on your behalf, and in your name, that Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign independent Republic, Now, therefore, I, Lt. Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles, recited above, do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known as, and called Eastern Nigeria together with her continental shelf and territorial waters shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of "The Republic of Biafra" (Nkwocha, 2010:439-440; Ojukwu, 1969).

Thus, Biafra was a child of circumstance, midwifed by the complicity of the FMG and troops in the 1966 Pogroms against Easterners (Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2012; Siollun, 2009).

Biafra's unilateral secession was a circumstantial enforcement of basic human rights, liberties, and collective self-determination of a people whose collective survival was no longer guaranteed inside Nigeria (Simpson, 2014). By implication, the secession meant that since the Nigerian state shirked its responsibility to protect but exposed the Biafrans to genocidal impunity and dehumanization, it can no longer lay claim to the allegiance of victims (Achebe, 2013). The crisis worsened on July 6, 1967 with the declaration of war on and to 'immediately crush' the Biafran state, along with the imposition of many dire economic sanctions and embargoes, aimed at blockading and stifling the operations of the week old Biafran state. The FMG reasoned that the secession of Biafra would inadvertently lead to the secession of other nationalities to a point there would be nothing left to be referred to as Nigeria (Tamuno, 1989; Kirk-Greene, 1975; Luckham, 1975). At this point, one could argue that had the Aburi Accord been implemented, the resultant genocidal 30-month Nigeria- Biafra War would have been completely averted.

Were there other reasons for the Eastern Regional Assembly's hasty authorization of Biafra's unilateral secession, aside from the non-implementation of the Aburi Accord and the natural instinct of the Biafrans to self-preservation? It has discovered that the real reason for Biafra's untimely secession was prompted by intelligence reports and documented plans and threats by the Northern troops by Lt. Col. Hassan Katsina, the Northern Region's governor under whose watch the Pogroms were carried out, to invade Eastern Region. In fact, just like the polemic posturing that stifled the implementation of the Aburi Accord, there were leaks of statements and rumours of planned bloodshed top officials of the ERG, perhaps, without the knowledge of General Gowon. Such posturing occurred because of the shaky military discipline and the North's predominance and total control of the military (Luckham, 1975).

Second, ERG intelligence discovered that FMG's May 23, 1967, decision to allow the withdrawal of Northern troops from Western Nigeria was a deception to invade Eastern Nigeria to topple the ERG (Akpan, 2013; Achebe, 2013; Luckham, 1975: 321). Moreover, Ojukwu's threat to unilaterally enforce the Aburi Accord on May 30, 1967 had irked most Northern officers to the point that Lt. Col. Katsina himself made a statement that the army could crush the East in a few hours if Supreme Commander (Gowon) gave the order (Luckham, 1975:321). Thus, even if the ERG had not unilaterally enforced the Aburi Accord the Northern army, who were still spoiling for more mass killings, would still have invaded the Eastern Region. Conversely, the Biafran secession and the genocidal civil war would not have taken place if (1) the July 1966 coupists, who killed over 500 high ranking Igbo and other Eastern officers, had not used the instrumentality of state power to execute the 1966 Pogroms, (2) the FMG had declared a state of emergency to halt the ethnic cleansing, (3) General Gowon had ordered the arrest and

court-marshalling of troops who participated in the mass killing of the Easterners, and (4) the Aburi agreements were implemented as soon as the head of state returned to Nigeria.

The Biafran War and Its Genocidal Dimensions

Given the extent of the state-led carnage visited on the people of Eastern Nigeria from May 1966 onwards, the genocidal dimension of the civil war declared by Nigeria against the week-old Biafra Republic should not be unanticipated. On the day the Nigeria state officially declared war on it, the Biafran state was naively unprepared as it was yet to set up a standing army and/or acquire weapons for its defense. Consequently, given the role of the state in the Pogroms, it was not unexpected that the Biafran War would be a one-sided genocidal war. It is baffling and worth a thorough investigation why, given that genocide is always a "one-sided mass killing in which a state, or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group, and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator" (Jonassohn, 1992:24), why the world allow the genocidal killing of the Biafra genocide to continue in a full scale war for three years (Ohaneze, 1999). Given this circumstance, the international community should have known that Nigeria would wage an asymmetric genocidal war against an unprepared and densely populated Biafran territory that was less than a quarter of the Nigerian landscape (Schlesinger, 1983).

Sadly, in the war "to crush the Biafran secession," the Nigeria state fully leveraged international diplomacy, goodwill, and the full support of the Organization of African Unity, many African collaborators, the United Kingdom, and the USSR (Ebiem, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Emekesri, 2012; Korieh, 2012; Siollun, 2009; Tamuno, 1989; Kirk-Greene, 1975; Luckham, 1975). It was also a war in which, putting aside their ideological Cold War differences, Britain, and the USA ensured that they outdid the USSR in the sale and delivery of highly-sophisticated

war planes, such as MIG fighters, conventional weapons, and technical military assistance to Nigeria (Venter, 2018a; 2018b; Achebe, 2013:104). This happened because the West wanted to stop the USSR which had wanted to exploit the initial reluctance of Western bloc to arm Nigeria and, therefrom, establish its military presence (Achebe, 2013; Siollun, 2009).

Nigeria's imposition of land, air, and sea blockades and embargoes against Biafra as a grand strategy was instrumental for the weak defense and collapse of the Biafran Republic in less than three years. This grand strategy paved the way for several conventional and unconventional war strategies deployed by the Nigerian state to prosecute a genocidal warfare to crush Biafra's secession and resistance (Heerten & Moses, 2014; Levey, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012c; 2006; Korieh, 2012; McCullum, 2012; Onyesoh, 2012; Amadi, 2007).

Genocide Through Mass Starvation Policy

The total blockade of Biafra triggered genocidal starvation as a weapon of war (Ezeh, 2012). To this end, Nigeria's wartime information minister declared that "starvation is a legitimate weapon of war," which the FMG had every intention of using against the Biafrans (Kasuka, 2013:331). Also, then FMG vice chairman added that "All is fair in war, and starvation is one of the weapons of war. I don't see why we should feed our enemies fat in order for them to fight harder" (Kasuka, 2013:331). As a signpost of humanitarian emergency of epic proportions, millions of Igbo noncombatants—mostly women, children, and the weak faced deliberate mass starvation that claimed over a million lives (Venter, 2018a; 2018b; Offodile, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; McNeil, 2014; Achebe, 2013; Korieh, 2013; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a; Emekesri, 2012).

As the reality of the calamity raged on in the international media, there was no way of doubting that starvation was an unhidden policy and strategy of genocide against defenseless

women, children and the elderly (Jacobs, 1987 cited in Achebe, 2013:230). U.S. President Richard Nixon, in a Presidential Campaign noted that the efforts to relieve the Biafran people:

> have been thwarted by the desire of the central government of Nigeria to pursue total and unconditional victory and by the fear of the Ibo people that surrender means wholesale atrocities and genocide. But genocide is what is taking place right now – and starvation is the grim reaper. This is not the time to stand on ceremony, or to go through channels or to observe the diplomatic niceties. The destruction of an entire people is an immoral objective even in the most moral of wars. It can never be justified; it can never be condoned (Forsyth, 2001:177).

Finally, Brian McNeil (2014) reminds us that it was the grim extent of the genocidal starvation that prompted the formation of the "American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive" (ACKBA) to raise funds to send relief materials to famine victims of Biafra. The impact of Nigeria's genocide by starvation has remained an open wound in the minds of most Igbos to this date, just as other Nigerians to mock, trivialize, or justify the impact of the starvation policy.

Genocidal Bombardments

The FMG engaged in deliberate close-range aerial and land bombing of civilian targets. The overawed Biafrans, just like the missionaries, journalists, and the Red Cross, indicted the Nigerian forces of specifically targeting relief centres, civilian populations, and market places (Kasuka, 2013). The bombardments on defenseless Biafra noncombatants by the Nigerian forces was a crime of genocide against unarmed and defenseless Biafran IDPs, as depicted in Nigeria's wartime commander, Benjamin Adekunle's boastful *faux pas*:

> I want to see no Red Cross, no Caritas, and no World Council of Churches, no Pope, no missionary and no United Nations delegation. I want to prevent even one Igbo from having one piece to eat before their capitulation. We shoot at everything that moves and when our troops marched into the Igbo territory, we shoot at everything that do not move (Kasuka, 2013:322).

What is more, the total blockade of Biafra the Nigerian military to kill over million Igbos through the mass starvation and indiscriminate bombardment of civilians. It is within this context that the Biafran War was simply the severest aspect of the genocide that began in mid-1966.

Rape as a Weapon of War to Dehumanize Biafran Women

Many studies have concluded that rape is one of the most devastating psychological weapons and crimes of war (Wolfe, 2014; Baaz & Stern, 2009; Morris, 1996; U.N.I.C.E.F., 1996). **"**The view of women as sexual prey has always been present in military culture. Indeed, civilian women have been seen as sexual booty for conquering soldiers since the beginning of human history" (Benedict, 2008:2-3). Not surprisingly, therefore,

> Violence against women, especially rape, has added its own brand of shame to recent wars […] girls and women have been singled out for rape, imprisonment, torture, and execution. Rape, identified by psychologists as the most intrusive of traumatic events, has been documented in many armed conflicts including those in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Cyprus, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, and Uganda. Systematic rape is often used as a weapon of war in "ethnic cleansing" (U.N.I.C.E.F., 1996:1).

Like what is happening in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) civil war (Baaz & Stern, 2009) and what happened in Bosnia and Rwanda, evidence and victims' accounts showed that rape was a widespread war crime committed by Nigerian troops (Bird & Ottanelli, 2014).

In a cultural sense, rape and forced impregnation were ways the Nigerian army showcased its denigration of Igbo womanhood, and the psychological defeat, dehumanization, humiliation, and ridicule of the Igbo (Biafra) culture that treats rape as a sacrilegious taboo (Onyesoh, 2012; Okocha, 2006). In a rare study on Nigerian forces' use of rape as a weapon in the Biafran War, many women summoned the courage to give traumatizing accounts of how they were repeatedly raped at gunpoint before their families (Bird & Ottanelli, 2014). "Both male and female interviewees stated the widespread rape and forcible "marriages" to soldiers, while also vividly showing how shameful and difficult it was to acknowledge this at the time" (Bird & Ottanelli, 2014: 387). Relatedly, young mothers were raped along with, and/or, in the presence of their underage children (Bird & Ottanelli, 2014). Moreover, children conceived from rape and forced marriage have continued to suffer from identity crisis given that their biological fathers are unknown or are untraceable rapists in Afikpo and Nsukka (Ohaneze, 1999:22).

The memories of the crimes of war committed against them have remained like open cancerous wounds in the minds and social psyche of the Igbos (Ebiem, 2014; Korieh, 2012; Okocha, 2006; Ohaneze Ndigbo, 1999). To add salt to injury, the Nigerian state has continued to cover-up, downplay, and shield the extent of the occurrences of rape in Biafra from people in other parts of Nigeria. Evidential video clips, documentaries, and even fictional representations of the Pogrom and the civil war are censored or prohibited in Nigeria (Sahara Reporters, 2014; Bamidele, 2014; Mark, 2014). That is why there is a need to seek answers to why the teaching of the Nigerian state's perpetration of genocidal or exterminatory crimes against noncombatants

during the civil war are not allowed as part of civil education in Nigeria (Kasuka, 2013). The main reason for the denials and cover-ups of these unconventional war policies and atrocities such as rape, starvation, deliberate bombardment of civilian targets, mass execution of (civilian) prisoners of war, and extensive looting of conquered areas have been to shield the identities of the perpetrators, most of whom were/are among the most powerful political actors in Nigeria's governance (Venter, 2018a; Omaka, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Kasuka, 2013; Achebe, 2013).

In view of the foregoing, pro-Biafra activists and the Ohaneze Ndigbo, the apex Igbo elite body has at every forum indicted both the living and dead perpetrators of genocidal atrocities against Biafra, under the disguise of a war of national integration. The Ohaneze observed that

> Of more deadly concern to the average Biafran, especially the Igbo man, was the deep hatred of the Igbo race and the reckless abandon and total disregard for any restraints of war convention with which the Nigerian soldiers pursued the war. They showed so much disdain for life and property and destroyed everything in sight with so much glee that Ndi Igbo were confirmed in their worst fears that the war was nothing, but a continuation of Nigeria's genocidal pursuit that began in 1966 (Ohaneze, 1999:18).

Indeed, the international Committee on the Investigation of Crimes of Genocide, whose investigation included interviews with 1,082 people representing both sides of the conflict, through its investigator (Dr. Mensah of Ghana) concluded: "Finally, I am of the opinion that in many of the cases cited to me hatred of the Biafrans (mainly Igbos) and a wish to exterminate them was a foremost motivational factor" (Onwubiko, 2001:2-3). In sum, the only word that describes what the Nigerian state did to the Igbos in its pursuit of the "Final Solution" of the Igbo problem is genocide (Anele, 2017; Korieh, 2013, 2012).

The Post-Civil War Era of Alleged Cultural Genocide

Biafra's humiliating surrender on January 15, 1970 led the Nigerian state to end the war with a "No victor, no vanquished" declaration. This was followed by a 'Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Rehabilitation (3Rs) policy, which the FMG stated was towards rebuilding the utterly destroyed Igbo heartland, and to provide a general amnesty and rehabilitation of the Biafra people (Kasuka, 2013; Oyeleye, 2010). Sadly, the 3Rs later turned out to be a mere declarative statement made to curry international acclaim (Kasuka, 2013:332). The 3Rs soon became the channel by which the hegemonic ethnic groups in Nigeria began the post-war policies of cultural genocide against the peoples of Biafra (Achebe, 2013; Onuoha, 2013; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012b; 2012c; Effiong, 2012; Ohaneze, 1999). The war ended with the entire Igbo land destroyed except for a few schools and public buildings used as temporary shelters by the invading Nigerian forces. This means that the war reduced the East Central State (Igbo heartland) to the ground zero of their economic development. The level of destruction was such that Ukpabi Asika, the post-war administrator of East Central State arrived with a conservative estimate of £400 million that was needed for the reconstruction of war damages, in line with the FMG's 3Rs (Ohaneze, 1999:28). However, there was no serious intent by the FMG to embark on a policy of reconstruction, as it cited a dearth of funds, at a time when Nigeria enjoyed oil-boom petrodollars windfall (ibid).

According to Ohaneze (1999:25-32) "Nigeria's proclamation of a peace formula of 3Rs turned out in practice to be a smokescreen behind which she continued the war against the Igbos by other means." Apart from the continuation of mass killings in the first three months after the war (Okocha, 2006), the 3Rs was a strategy of disempowerment and strangulation in all areas of public endeavour (Ebiem, 2014; Emekesri, 2012:115; Onwubiko, 2001). In fact,

> Forty-two years after all the rehabilitation and reconstruction promised was never to be. A trip through Igbo land today is enough proof of an ongoing 'war' by other means. Today, Igbo that was a pillar of the land, one of the majority tribe has been deliberately reduced to sub-minority. It has the least number of states, local government areas and, consequently, the least share of the federal revenue allocation (Osuji, 2012:2).

In short, the 3Rs policy kick-started the hegemonic subjugation of the Igbo (Onwubiko, 2001).

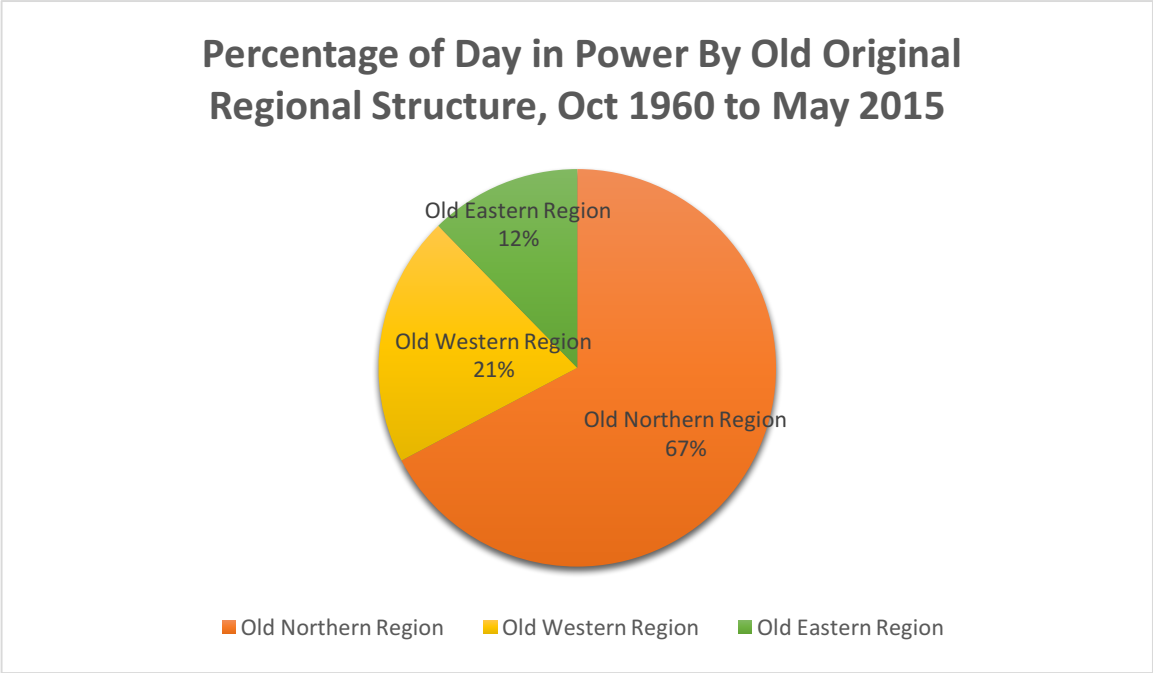
It is imperative to state the multidimensional ways the nonimplemention of the 3Rs, ironically, heralded the policies of the cultural genocide, internal colonization, and hegemonic strangulation of the vanquished Biafrans in the Biafran War in 1970. These include,

(1) The FMG created economic disarticulation policies against the Igbos. First, in 1970 the FMG introduced a currency liquidation policy. E Biafran depositor got back only twenty Nigerian pounds, while the federal government seized the rest of their huge bank deposits. Second, all monies in the Biafran currency were banned. Third, the FMG enacted the 1972 Indigenization Policy in which foreign-owned multi-billion-dollar companies were nationalized and sold to local investors. The timing of this policy made it impossible for the war-ravaged Biafrans (who received the twenty pounds treatment) to enjoy the policy's epochal benefits (Ohaneze, 1999). (2) The FMG also enacted the 'Abandoned Property Act of 1978', by which it authorized the seizure of the landed properties owned by the Igbos outside of the Igbo heartland. The intent was to cause hatred between the Igbos and their neighbors (Emekesri, 2012:119-129).

(3) The Biafrans allege political emasculation. The struggle for political power in multi-identity states is, perhaps, the major denominator in the analysis of genocidal conflicts, and ethno-national self-determination in most contested post-colonial states in Africa (Achebe, 2013; Deng, 2012; Carter, et al., 2009; Osaghae, 2004; Volkan, 1997; Nnoli, 1989). In states with deep

discriminatory ethnic cleavages, the monopolization of power by one or more group(s) have often created situation where, "some enjoy the rights of citizenship, while others are denied those rights, discriminated against, disposed and even persecuted" (Deng 2012: vii). In Nigeria, the 'serialized monopolization of power' has led to the emergence of Northern hegemony (Ojo & Fagbohun, 2014), and the economic and political disempowerment of Eastern Nigeria. A breakdown of the number of days each of the three regions have held federal power reveals that between October 1, 1960 and May 29, 2015, the old Northern Region has held power for 67.07 percent of the time, and the old Western Region for only 20.53 percent of the time. The old Eastern Region has only held executive power for about 12.4 percent of the time. Therefore, the Igbos consider their exclusion from the presidency as the clearest indicator of an existence of an unwritten agreement by the ruling elites to exclude Igbos from sensitive positions in post-war Nigeria (Okonta, 2012). See Figure 1below.

Chart 1: Percentage of Day in Power by Old Original Regional Structure, Oct 1960 to May 2015



Number of Chief Executives: **Northern Region**: 9; **Western Region:** 3; Eastern Region: 2.

Source: Compiled by Author

(4) Cases of intermittent postwar ethnic cleansing by Northern Mobs abound. Since 1970, the Biafrans have experienced different kinds of structural displacement of persons, as some state development policies forced them to migrate to other cities within Nigeria for survival (Ibeanu, 1999:161). This postwar forced migration has, on several occasions, led to the Easterners becoming unprotected victims of pogrom-like killings in parts of Northern Nigeria. It has been argued that even though the Easterners are not always directly the cause of the violent ethno-religious uprisings, the practice of designated encampments (Sabon Gari) for 'settlers' in/of the North, present special attractions for wanton unprovoked killing of Biafrans, often in the presence of state security forces (Emekesri, 2012; Onyesoh, 2012; Ibeanu, 1999, Ohaneze Ndigbo, 1999). A few of these 'unaccounted senseless massacres' in post-war Northern Nigeria include: (i) the Kano Riots, 1980, 1982, 2004 and 2006; (ii) Buluta, Maiduguri, 1982; (iii) the Yola Riot, 1984; (iv) the Gombe Riot of April 1985; (v) the Kaduna Crisis, 1987; (vi) the Zaru Crisis, 1988; (vii) the A.B.U. Zaria crisis, 1988; (viii) the Bauchi/Katsina States Islamist Riots, 1991, 1992; (vix) Zangon Kataf Ethno-religious Violence, 1992; (x) Miss World Islamic Riots across Northern Nigeria, 2002; and, (xi) Recurring Jos Clashes, 2001-2014 (HRW, 2013, 2003; Onyesoh, 2012; Krause, 2011; Ohaneze, 1999).

(5) Federal civil servants who were forced to flee the Pogroms suffered job loss and discrimination at the end of the Biafran War. Over 4000 returning top and intermediate federal civil servants from the East who had fled the pogroms and war were dismissed and replaced by less qualified bureaucrats from the victorious ethno-national groups. Following the enactment of Public Officer (Special Provisions) Decree No. 46 of 1970, "thousands of Igbo and other Eastern

Officers were denied reinstatement in the Armed Forces, Prisons and the Police" (Ohaneze, 1999:27). The state has also used 'silent but deliberate policies of exclusion' to deny the Easterners access or promotions into strategic political and military positions, thereby effectively excising them from the echelon of state policymaking and commanding heights of the economy (Okonta, 2014; Emekesri, 2012, Ohaneze, 1999).

(6) The Biafra people have also been massively excluded from national industrialization projects and programmes. With the early 1970 oil boom gains, "national planning priorities appeared to quicken the industrial development of the country, with the exception of core-Igbo areas, where the industrial infrastructure had been destroyed during the war" (Roberts & Azubuike, 2005:329). For example, whereas the East was ahead of other regions in industrial development before the war (Schwarz, 1968), the post-war era has seen the cancelling of such pre-approved war projects such as the proposed Onitsha Steel Plant; the once vibrant Metallurgical Training Institute at Onitsha was "totally ignored by government" (Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, 1997: xiii-xiv). Studies show that "the East satisfies the raw material, transportation, market, and other requirements for the successful establishment of iron and steel complex, and petrochemical industries, but artificial locations for them are located in the North and the West" (Ohaneze, 1999:44). This discriminatory and 'politically-motivated industrial policy' is such that out of 91 national industries and businesses, only 16 or a mere 17.7 percent were in the entire East with none in the five Igbo states (Roberts & Azubuike, 2005; Ohaneze Ndigbo, 1999).

(7) Relative deprivation and the decline of the Derivation Principle staked against the oil-rich Biafra region. Successive Northern-led military juntas effectively altered or destroyed the pre-war fiscal federalism template and economic foundations of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria. Hiding under a military dictatorship, the rulers unconstitutionally and unilaterality

created new state structures that among other anomalies, led to a quasi-federal structure that lopsidedly favours Northern Nigeria (Ohaneze, 1999). Thus, with the state powers allocating and disposing the oil resources at their whim, the northern military elite altered the pre-war federal structure to enable the exploitation of the Biafran oil revenue as spoils/booties of war (ibid).

Since 1970, the various regimes changed the derivation principle to, 0 percent in 1970, 20 percent in 1975, 1.5 percent in 1982, 1 percent in 1990, 3 percent in 1992 and 13 percent since 1999 (Akinola & Adesopo, 2014; Ojo, 2010). These distortions of pre-1970 fiscal federal statutes have translated to a quasi-, or unitary- federal system of nonviable 36 states (Ebiem, 2014). Meanwhile, the ever-ruling Northern cabals ensured that a lion's share of an estimated one trillion United States Dollars generated from petroleum resources between 1970 and 2014 went to the Northern Region given the region's undue advantage in the number of states and LGA structures, population size, need and even development as designed by juntas headed by juntas headed by northerners. This is even as a preponderant share of this amount disappeared through the primitive accumulation and reckless mismanagement by the civil-military elite headed by northerners (Ezekwesili et al., 2014). As a matter of fact, of the 36 states and 774 LGAs in Nigeria, 19 states and 445 LGAs are in the old Northern Nigeria, 17 states and 329 LGAs are shared by the two other old regions. The reality, though, is that the northern elite, more than the northern states and LGAs, have been "exclusively-dependent" on oil resources "exclusively-generated from the economically-deprived Southern Nigeria" for their existence (Iledare & Suberu, 2010). Ironically, Northern Nigeria has perpetually lagged the other two regions in all known development parameters to this day.

The State's Extrajudicial Mass Killings and Terrorism Since 1995

Since the civil war ended, the Biafra area has contended with Nigeria's repressive policing and dehumanization, resulting in several episodes of extrajudicial mass killings, illegal detentions and military occupations. Examples include but not limited to the Umuechem Massacre of 1993, the Nembe military occupation of 1994, the extrajudicial murder of the Ogoni 9 including Ken Saro-Wiwa, a popular environmental rights activist, in 1995, the 1999 Odi Genocide that claimed over 2483 lives, and countless deaths of armed militants resisting decades of oil-related political alienation, economic deprivation, environmental devastation and ecological degradation, mass poverty, incessant brutalization and traumatization, often, with the connivance of the multinational oil and gas companies (Larry & Ekundayo, 2017; RT International, 2017; Terminski, 2011; Obi & Rustad, 2011; Ibaba, 2008; Roberts & Azubuike, 2005; Roberts, 2004; Okonta & Douglas, 2003). These acts of state terrorism and genocide have attracted international attention. "It is well documented by the U.S. State Department and by respected human rights organizations that the Nigerian army personnel have, for many years, engaged in a pattern and practice of gross violations of human rights such as summary executions of prisoners, indiscriminate attacks against civilians, torture, forced disappearances and rape. Rarely have the perpetrators been prosecuted or punished" (Leahy, 2015:1).

Putting it together, it is within this sociopolitical context and background that the nonviolent pro-Biafra secessionist agitation can be understood. As stated earlier, the MASSOB emerged in 1999 with the intent of reversing this genocidal political context, and has, along with other pro-Biafra groups like the BHRI, RBL, and BZM engaged in acts of nonviolent resistance against the Nigerian state's provocative acts of structural violence and cultural genocide (Onwuka, 2017; Offodile, 2016; Okonta, 2012:23; Achebe, 2013; Onuoha, 2012:5; Owen, 2009).

Presently, the sustained pro-Biafra nonviolent resistance is largely a stimulant for the spiraling cross-regional resistance against the Hausa-Fulani genocidal expansionism (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2013; Nwakanma, 2012). As the same time, the pro-Biafra agitation has spurred on other ethnic nationalities to push for a referendum if their demand for a genuine restructuring of the political system is denied (Onuoha, 2013; Okonta, 2012; Enekwechi & Nkwocha, 2011).

Nigerian's alleged involvement in and/or failure to prevent/end ethnicized mass murder is a cataclysmic push towards a full-blown war whose total outcome may dwarf the genocides in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Cambodia, and other conflicts/wars in Africa. It is instructive to note that Nigeria has slipped from a 14th place ranking in the 2012 Failed State Index (FSI) (Haken, et al., 2012) to 13th place since 2015 (Meissner, et al., 2017). Olorunyomi (2017) argues Nigerians have every reason to worry as the FSI rankings show Nigeria has maintained steady decline, from 18th place in 2008 to 15th in 2009 following the rise in the Boko Haram terrorism and Farouk Abdulmutallab failed attempt to blow up a plane in the USA; 14th place from 2010 to 2012; and a further nosedive to 13th place from 2014 to 2017. The 13th place FSI ranking, between 2014 and 2017 is due to the worsening tripartite genocidal killings by the Nigerian state, Boko Haram, and Fulani herdsmen. Similarly, recent high casualty figures of state-led mass killings have pushed Nigeria to fourth place in the state-led mass killing index (EWP, 2017). Worse still, in the Global Terrorism Index 2018, (perhaps, given that Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen are the third and fourth deadliest terror groups in the world, respectively, and the indictment of Nigerian military of war crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court (ICC) (The Cable, 2018), and President Buhari's handling of terrorism, especially by herdsmen (his kinsmen), retained Nigeria as the world's third most terrorized state (IEP, 2018).

Perhaps, this combustive political environment is part of the reasons why Nigeria has also had over eight secessionist agitations with that of Biafra in 1967 resulting in genocidal war (Venter, 2018a, 2018b; Offodile, 2016). As stated above, quelling of Biafra's secession resulted in the extermination of about 3.5 million Biafran noncombatants (mostly Igbo children) through indiscriminate bombing and fatal starvation or what some have categorized as Africa's first and deadliest black-on-black genocide (Ekwe-Ekwe, 2014; 2013; Ejiogu, 2013; Achebe, 2013; McCullum, 2012; Korieh, 2012; Owen, 2009; Amadi, 2007; Madiebo, 2000). Similarly, Doyle (2010) argues that the Biafran War overtook the American Civil War as "history's most deadly war over secession" (6). It is in their resolve to avoid another genocidal war that informs the basis of the nonviolent struggle to end or transform their peoples' genocidal entrapment that pro-Biafra secessionist nonviolent agitation movement has emerged.

Conclusions

In Chapter 2, I have attempted to bring the reader to understand the social context and background upon which this whole study rested. The matters discussed or raised provides an insight to why pro-Biafra social movements have sustained a multi-layered strategic nonviolent warfare. In other words, this chapter explains the reasons why pro-Biafra social movements determinedly braced deadly odds have, in their quest to nonviolently pressurize the Nigerian state towards the end or transformation of more than 50 years of ongoing genocidal strangulation of Indigenous Biafrans. I began the chapter with the problematization of the Nigerian state (as presently constituted and ruled) as a system of state-led genocidal violence and hegemonic domination by the ruling Hausa-Fulani ethnic stock. The point was made that the trajectories of the genocidal conditions that necessitated and still sustain the current pro-Biafra secessionist

resistance and the quashed seceded Biafra Republic (1967-1970) are the same. The point of departure lies in the dimensions of recent genocidal killings which transcends the Biafra region that was marked out for an extermination with the acquiescence and efforts of three remaining regions. Christian-dominant Northern minority ethnic groups of Southern Kaduna, and the Middle Belt and parts of Yoruba ethnic group, have lost thousands of their people to unrelenting and unrestrained genocidal killings, and wanton destruction of indigenous communities and farmlands. This is significant to the extent that the bulk of the Nigerian troops who executed both the Pogroms and genocidal civil war against the people of Biafra were from these Christian-dominant areas. Put differently, the extent or reach of the current genocidal situation in Nigeria has taken different dimensions and has reached the Middle Belt region that fought against Biafra.

The consequence as indicated above is that while the past genocidal war experience informs the nonviolence of pro-Biafra social movements, the political currents from Nigeria's Middle Belt points to the possibility of an outbreak of armed resistance against the unending one-sided mass killing of people from that region. In fact, calls for armed self-defense against the one-sided mass killings by Fulani herdsmen and Boko Haram terrorists have been championed key perpetrators of the Pogroms and the genocidal war from the Middle Belt and the Yoruba ethnic groups, who have also indicted the President Buhari regime of complicity in the genocidal killings across the land. However, while the current genocidal killings by both Boko Haram terrorists and Fulani herdsmen are new, and likely to be short-lived, cultural genocide against the peoples of Biafra has been endemic, systemic, long-lasting and likely to worsen if no serious efforts are made to positively address the root causes of the conflict. Therefore, it is to acquaint the reader with the genocidal social existence faced by Indigenous Biafrans that this historical excursion into this current problem's colonial and post-colonial root causes was provided. In

other words, this genocidal social relation is both a product of genocidal colonial origin of post-colonial Nigeria. The contested statehood, and the structural deformities or malaise inherent or present in the Nigerian state system requires a surgical unbundling. But as the current polity seems to favour the Hausa-Fulani ethno-nationalities who have emerged hegemonic, other sections of Nigeria, especially the Biafra region are suffering from sustained economic deprivations, political emasculation, and intermittent state-led mass killings. The result is the hot-iron politics for and against the calls for the restructuring or breakup of Nigeria by the various geopolitical ethno-nationalities.

Lastly, the chapter made the case that given the genocidal situation threatening the collective survival of the Biafran peoples, the strategic nonviolent war by pro-Biafra social movements is the best strategy to challenge the oppressor. For the Biafrans, strategic nonviolent warfare is the best strategy by which the social movements wish to confront an asymmetrically more powerful Nigerian state under the command and control of the Hausa-Fulanis. Above all, the Biafra activists have also learnt from contemporary history that nonviolent warfare is the best instrument vulnerable groups can use to confront their asymmetrically more powerful oppressors to covet desired positive social change. The next two chapters relate to conceptual cum theoretical reviews of literature that will help us deepen our understanding of the dimensions, and nature of the genocidal conflicts in Nigeria and nonviolent resistance by the freedom fighting pro-Biafra secessionist social movements.

CHAPTER 3: THE THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF GENOCIDAL CONFLICTS, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the theoretical conceptualization of genocidal conflicts, and ethnic identity. It introduces the theoretical conceptualization of the concepts and theoretical pillars of this study. Chapter 3 begins by notifying the reader that the study's Literature Review is split into chapters 3 and 4. The focus of Chapter 3 is on the theoretical conceptualization of genocidal conflicts, dimensions of physical and cultural genocide, ethnic identity, culture and formation of cultural identities, failed state, and total wars. Here, the chapter problematizes the

difficulty of conceptualizing or defining social phenomena like genocide, cultural and physical genocide, mass killings, ethnicity, ethnic identity and conflicts. To unknot this, I eclectically drew on several theories in the literature to make the reader appreciate the interlinkages, or commonalities inherent in understanding of the nature of genocidal conflict and social relations. Also, this chapter notes that as far as African conflicts are concerned, genocidal conflicts are products of Africa's brutal colonization by Western imperialists.

The Problem of Conceptualizing Social Phenomena

It was Maria Cookson (2004) who stated that "conceptual clarity necessarily contributes to better normative analysis" (554). Yet the problem of conceptualizing social concepts to achieve conceptual clarity is one of the most daunting or challenging tasks academics face as they strive to understand, discuss, analyze, or explain social phenomena or realities. Attempts to operationalize or delimit social phenomena may become too restrictive or too broad and ambiguous if done properly. Oftentimes, scholars in the humanities and social sciences get bogged down by what Daniel Lev (2011) called "conceptual filters and obfuscation" as each try to define or explain some generic social concepts or phenomena. In fact, while scholars have ideas about concepts like justice, nonviolence, order, genocide, security, human rights, culture, just law, just war, crime, conflict, ethnic identity, nationalism, self-determination, and peace; efforts to define or operationalize them keep creating unending hypothetical debates.

Be that as it may, the challenges and ambiguities around conceptualizing social concepts need not surprise anyone as almost all the concepts used in explaining the forces, and factors of human relations or social existence are nothing, but social constructs, abstractions, unfinished products of philosophical reasoning, and perceptions of realities - all of which are amenable to,

or affected by the dynamics and forces of social changes and situational differences. For Social Constructivist Theorists, a social concept results from human constructs or perceptions of reality around a specific behavioural phenomenon. Social constructionism—that is, the social construction of reality— "is a theory of knowledge in sociology and communication theory that examines the development of jointly constructed understandings of the world that form the basis for shared assumptions about reality. The theory centers on the notions that human beings rationalize their experience by creating models of the social world and share and reify these models through language" (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009:892). Social constructivist theorists are of the view that it is through people's "conceptual maps" that they organize and assign meaning to events, using discourse to fashion the representation that creates meaning, and that power enters language to fix meaning (Hall, 1999 cited in Siu, 2009). It is for these reasons the meaning attributed to a phenomenon vary in operationalization by different societies or bodies of scholars. What is clear is that social phenomena are socially constructed from modes and outcomes of different human behaviours, which may have different interpretations and reactions by different societies. As creators and products of their social world, humans construct social reality through social interactions, based on their interpretations, and understandings of their voluntary or involuntary interactions (Siu, 2009; Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Also "concepts are mental representations that are implicated in many of our higher thought processes, including various forms of reasoning and inference, categorization, planning and decision making, and constructing and testing explanations" (Weiskopf, 2011:1).

As convincing as the reliance on the social construction of reality or constructivist theories may seem, its critics disagree to the extent that social concepts have hardly meant the same things to everyone always. Also, since the name and meaning we give to an object may be

peculiar to a specific social setting, Hjørland (2015) concludes that our "way of understanding the concept is not universal and may change over time" (123). Relatedly, Gwynn Nettler (1978:2-3) used the shifting meanings and understanding about crime (a kind of wrongdoing) and morality (what is right) to buttress the fact that the delimitation of what constitutes a crime/criminal behaviour or antisocial lifestyle is affected or redefined by shifting moralities, which vary from one society to another and at different times, even as notions of what constitutes a society is vague and equally subject to debate.

To an extent, Nettler is right. In contemporary times, the legalization of marijuana, gay and same sex marriage rights, and abortion (as women's rights) have meant that the prior criminal, deviant and immoral connotations, denotations, and conceptualization of these phenomena have given way to their reconstructions as moral social concepts and special rights of concerned interest groups. Even so they are still considered immoral or crimes with varying social revulsions and/or stiff penalties in many non-western societies. So, I agree that social concepts are nothing but constructs that may contain or convey varied (re)constructions by policymakers and scholars, and as such are dictated by social dynamics. That is why there are as many varying conceptualizations of each concept as there are scholars conceptualizing them. That is also why social concepts are eternally contested and/or subjected to unending debates and countering hypotheses among scholars (Glaser, 2002).

The foregoing observations are pertinent because mere conceptualizing and/or operationalizing concepts like genocide or genocidal conflicts, ethnicity, and identity groups, nonviolent resistance, self-determination, and other concepts used in this study may prove largely inadequate. This is so because concepts can only be understood based on sustained reasoning that may change over time. So, the notions and behavioural traits attached to a social

construct depends on the theoretical justifications or paradigmatic knowledge or notions of such concepts. The inadequacies of the conceptualization of concepts could be solved through what is known as the "theory-theory of concepts" or "the theoretical definition of concepts" (Weiskopf, 2011; Radcliff, 2006). Weiskopf (2011) informs us that Adam Morton (1980), the progenitor of the "theory-theory of concepts" believed that "our daily understanding of human psychology forms a kind of theory by which we try to predict and explain a particular behavior in terms of its causation by beliefs, intentions, emotions, traits of character, and so on" (1). The hallmark of this theory is that our conceptualization of behavioural traits is dynamic just as theories used to define them are non-static representations.

With the above explanation given, Weiskopf (2011) goes on to remind us of the two different prongs of the theory-theory of concepts. The first is the "**C**oncepts in Theories View," which tells us that concepts are constituents of theories. This implies that theories are themselves part of the bodies of beliefs, or other propositional representations that have concepts as their constituents. For example, Shoemaker et al. (2004) noted:

> Concepts are the building blocks of theories - the things being studied, compared, and related to one another. A concept is an abstraction that describes a portion of reality. It is a general name for specific instances of the phenomenon described (Shoemaker et al. 2004:15 cited in Hjørland, 2015:123).

What this means is that a concept, in name, goes a long way to assist us in developing theories about that social phenomena in question. Something is still missing.

By contrast, the second prong according to Weiskopf, is the 'Concepts as Theories View', i.e., concepts are themselves (derived from) theories. As Weiskopf went on to state,

> Concepts themselves are identified with miniature theories of a particular domain. For instance […] the concept electron would itself be made up of various theoretical postulates concerning electrons, their relationship to other particles, their causal propensities which explain phenomena in various domains of physics, and so on. Concepts are not terms in theories, they are themselves theories (123).

The most salient point above is the idea that social phenomena are unambiguous when seen through theoretical lenses or just as theoretical concepts. Thus, concepts like genocide, self-determination, nonviolence, positive or negative peace, justice, and democracy will make much more sense if meanings attached to them are done within theoretical frames. That theoretical concepts contain built-in theories implies also that they bear implicit inductions and deductive consequences that are part of the theory (Bogen, 2017). I believe that the contestation around the social construct of concepts is best salvaged when we conceptualize theoretically. Again, theoretical conceptualizations take care of time and space bound conceptual changes or variations, and paradigmatic shifts in the conceptualization of some phenomena based on new theories and/or changing social dynamics around them.

Theoretical Conceptualiation of Ethnic Identity, Ethnic and Genocidal Conflicts

Before delving into the theoretical conceptualization of the concepts discussed in this chapter there is a need to make a few clarifying remarks. First, constructive ethnic conflict is healthy for sociopolitical development, and cohesion (Bose, 2010). But destructive ethnic conflicts—resulting in what some scholars call ethnocide/ethnic cleansing and genocide—are forms of total wars of recorded history of mankind (Gurr, 2015; Byrne & Senehi, 2012). Also, it is difficult to distinguish incidents or the perpetration of ethnocide or deadly ethnic conflicts from genocide since they are most likely to occur concurrently, follow the same causative

pattern, and may be rooted where there exist groups with asymmetric or hegemonic advantages (Deng, 2012). A state commits genocide when it resorts to repression, torture, illegal incarceration and/or mass murder of marked groups, or ethno-racial-based opposition within that state, even where the state claims to do so in the national interest (Feierstein, 2014: viii). Furthermore, Feierstein went on to say that genocide occurred when,

> [t]he Nazis resorted to ruthless methods not only to stifle dissent but, more importantly, to reorganize German society into a "Volksgemeinschaft," or people's community […] It was no coincidence that … in 1976, the Argentine military described its own program of forced disappearances, torture, and murder as a "Process of National Reorganization" aimed at remodeling society along "Western and Christian" lines (1).

It is for these reasons that the mechanical meaning, conditions and causes of genocidal conflicts may not vary much from intractable deadly ethnic conflicts or ethnic cleansing (Staub, 2014:38).

The question now arises: What are the causes of ethnic conflicts and genocide, especially in a volatile and failing multiethnic state like Nigeria? How can we critically explore and analyze, conceptually and theoretically, the different frames to explaining and understanding these exterminatory or mass murder phenomena? To address these concerns, this study provides some exploratory answers to those conditions in social relations that may lead to mass murder or exterminatory policies used by a state, or an ethno-political group controlling the state against a section of its population or geo-ethnic entity.

Second, unlike modern total wars in which soldiers and civilians form the backbone of a war effort as well as the targets of military violence between or among states, genocide and ethnic cleansing, on the contrary, always result from premeditated and, at times, spontaneous, mass murder of unarmed civilians of targeted vulnerable ethnic group(s) or nationalities

(Feierstein, 2014; Förster & Gessler, 2005). In other words, while there may be semantic differences in their theoretical conceptualization and contextualization, ethnic cleansing, violent ethnic conflicts, and genocide can be "somewhat interpreted in similar ways, especially as both are examples of attempts by a politically dominant group, typically claiming to represent a majority of the people in a given political entity, to get rid of specific ethnic or racial groups viewed as enemies" (Chirot & McCauley, 2006:2).

The third point is that both violent ethnic conflicts (identity-delineated civil wars) and genocides are always by-products of extreme degeneration of the negative expressions and mobilization of ethnocultural differentiations of groups mired in ironclad dehumanizing coexistence (Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Förster & Gessler, 2005; Spencer & Wollman, 2002; Volkan, 1998). In view of these remarks, this study presents some clarifications from among different analyses of various concepts represented in the academic literature. That is why this study relied on eclectic theorizations and conceptualizations. For Cordell and Wolff (2010:2), "a proper analytical framework that draws on several theories is the most useful approach as it allows thorough and comprehensive case-by-case analysis that relies on a broad understanding of the nature and dynamics of ethnic conflict in general and leaves room for the specific contexts of individual cases. This allows us to understand the ways and means through which such conflict is generated and sustained, considering a variety of endogenous and exogenous factors."

Apart from the view that the 20th century marked the advent of the phenomenon of ethnicized politics, imperialistic expansionism and colonization, and the instrumental use of genocide as a state policy, various scholars have characterized the century as the "age of extremes" (Hobsbawm, 1995), a century of devastating ethnic conflicts (Gurr, 2015, 1993; Wolff, 2007), "the age of genocide" (Power, 2013; Staub, 2012); an era where the U.N. became a

bystander to preventable genocide (Adelman 2008, 1999), a century with the worst history of mass murders, total wars, and state-led genocide (Chirot & McCueley, 2006; Chikering and Förster, 2005; Levene, 2005; Weinberg, 2005; Gellateley & Kiernan, 2003). Just emerging from various strategies of genocidal colonialization used by Europe's imperial powers, post-colonial Africa has become a citadel of extreme ethnocentrism and intrastate, rather than interstate, conflagrations, which, at times, have resulted in genocide, mass killings, intractable fratricidal wars, and threats to international peace and security before and after the Cold War (Deng, 2012; Zartman & Antsey, 2012; Carter et al., 2009:1; Ter-Gabrielian, 1999).

Such breakdowns in the social existence of groups in the affected states and societies are a result of, and compounded by, the resurgence of and resistance against ethno-nationalism and/or self-determination quests by self-conscious groups within given sovereign states (Staub, 2012; Byrne & Irvin, 2000). This breakdown in social relations have also shaped the cleavages through which the resultant genocidal conflicts or ethnicized wars are executed, and used to sustain their intractability, irreconcilability or irresolvability, just as such deadly forms of conflicts also remain aspects of pathological causes and consequences (symptoms) of the failed or failing state-building projects of most contested states around the world (Staub, 2012; Bose, 2010; Carter et al., 2009:1; Wolff, 2007).

Unfortunately, genocidal conflicts (or genocide in its generic sense) and the political mass murder of groups (policide) are found to be more prevalent in failing or failed states in Africa since the end of the World War II (Gurr, 2015; Wolff, 2007:2-3, 16-17, 191; Gurr & Harff, 1994). By 2003, these protracted ethno-political conflicts had recurred more than 50 times with at least 22 million noncombatants as victims of internal and international wars elsewhere in the world since 1945 (Harff, 2003:57). But why would formerly colonized African states get so

fractured and immersed in intractable genocidal ethnic conflicts, and state collapse? It should be noted that the failure of state-building projects in ethnically-politicized or contested African states like Ethiopia and Sudan before the secession of Eritrea and South Sudan, respectively, Somalia, Nigeria, Chad, Rwanda, Burundi, Ivory Coast, and Congo DRC have accounted for high levels of genocidal catastrophes and humanitarian emergencies against endangered groups in various intractable conflicts (Messner, et al., 2010; Wolff, 2007; Harff, 2003). Thus, we need to critically analyze how and why genocide and ethnic conflicts continue to ravage most contested states, like Nigeria that recorded Africa's first (unrecognized) post-colonial black-on-black genocide in the 1960s (Achebe, 2013; McCullum, 2012).

Protracted ethnic conflicts and genocides in Africa are the causes, consequences, and symptoms of weak, failing, deformed, and malfunctioning states formed and superimposed on pre-existing autochthonous societies by European nationalists like Hitler and Stalin, whose regimes showcased almost similar trajectories of mass murder, genocide, and segregated nationalism against weakened minorities of contested European states (Feierstein, 2014; Zartman & Anstey, 2012; Lantin, 2006; ; Spencer & Wollman, 2002; Gellately & Kierman, 2003).

Clempson (2012) argues that problems of contested statehood, deadly conflicts, and genocides over the years in unstable post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa states have resulted from the indiscriminate imposition of artificially created borders and the mixing of different nations by the European colonizers. This is because just a few years after political independence, most of these artificially-created states have witnessed the emergence of hegemonic ethnic groups that tend to continue with a revised strategy of the colonial process using internal colonization to isolate weaker ethnic groups (Jeong, 2006). Let us note that these post-colonial hegemonic groups were created to oil the wheels of colonialism. Conflicts in post-colonial states may be

effects of the push/pull effects to either challenge or alter the status quo by or against the internal colonizers (Akpeninor, 2013; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011).

As Bose (2010:2) argues, contested territorial or power conflicts remain mostly intractable, difficult to resolve and (often turn) genocidal if "mobilized ethno-national groups claim or unyieldingly enforce (exclusive) sovereign power or control over the same territory." In addition, Marshall et al. (2010:2) listed four distinct types of "state failure events"—policides (political mass murders), ethnic wars, adverse regime changes, and genocides. Marshall et al. noted that "genocides and policides are the promotion and execution of policies by a state, or its agents that result in the deaths of a substantial portion of a group. Each of these could result from bad governance, group resistance to years of repressive hegemony, worsening poverty, relative deprivation, and state-imposed famine genocide" (Marshall et al., 2010: 4).

Understanding Genocidal Ethnic Conflicts, and Failed State-Building

Let us remind ourselves that conceptual theorization or the use of theories to explain concepts is one of the best ways to make sense out of or set distinctive parameters between or among abstract social concepts. It means conceptual clarifications and operationalization across time and space is best achieved through theoretical frames. At the same time, we run into the difficulties and ambiguities in our attempts to define social phenomena like ethnic conflicts, and political conflicts, genocides, and mass murders without, for instance, theoretically looking at the central role of cultural differences in explaining such social conflicts. That is why Kevin Avruch (2008) advised that "culture is a prerequisite for effective conflict analysis and resolution" (167).

How does one define or identify the existence of ethnicity and/or differentiated ethnocultural identities, and how do the same come to be recognized as such? Richards

(2011:212) posits that the wrong application of cultural peculiarities especially by scholars from multiethnic states, has often extended the war zones to the academic halls as cultural missiles counter each other. The way out is to follow many relevant approaches to the theoretical conceptualization of the concepts and how they are shaped by culture. Since this study is also focused on exploring and explaining the causes and transformation of violent ethnic conflicts and genocide in Nigeria, it is imperative to explore the intricate linkages between the concepts and incidences of genocide, ethnicity, and ethnocultural conflicts in failing multiethnic states. In extreme manifestations of civil war and genocide "ethnic riots that disfigure the social and political landscape, to the quotidian politics of ethnic allegiance, ethnicity has come to the forefront of the development discourse" (Kanbur et al., 2011:147).

It has been said that ethnic conflict and genocide result from the breakdown in the political and sociocultural relations in the state-building projects of most post-colonial and totalitarian states (Deng, 2012; Penetrante, 2012; Staub, 2012; Zartman & Antsey, 2012; Hauss, 2010; Miller, 2010; Carter et al., 2009; Bose, 2010; Conteh-Morgan, 2006; Osaghae, 2004). This does not mean that well known cases of genocide in Europe and those driven by Europe's quest for overseas territorial aggrandizement and scorched earth colonization did not assume such ethnic manifestations. If anything, ethnocentric and supremacist nationalism, and genocidal purifications were the mainstay of state policies in places like Nazi Germany, Austria, the Ottoman Empire, Mao's China and the former Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom long before deploying same to wipeout indigenous people of the Americas, Australia, Africa, and Asia. Thus, the theoretical conceptualization of ethnic conflict and genocide would make better sense if we begin with the definition of ethnicity, and what an ethnic group is (Feierstein, 2014; Chirot & McCauley, 2006:48; Gellateley & Kierman, 2003:22-26).

The first step in this direction is to explore and explain the role of cultural forces in the formation of ethnic groups and ethnicity. There is a need to look at the etymological origin of the word "ethnic" and link it to how cultures are created and used in ethnic identity formation. Ancient "Ethno-s" Hellenes, who are the contemporary Greeks, as far back as the 4th century AD, used the words ethno-s and "ethos" to define themselves and others. Ethno-s was used to define or describe a people who shared the same "ethos" (character, idiom, and behaviour) (Smith, 2009a, 2009b). In other words, ethno-s or ethnic Hellenes are a people who shared the same Hellenes (ethos) culture or way of life—in character, idiom, and behaviour (Ariston, 2015; Liddell, et al. 2012). Here, the plural phrase "ta ethne" which meant "foreign nation or people" or other cultures.

Based on the above etymological words, a distinct ethnic group is a marker of preconceived social and cultural distinctiveness of, by or between groups. This is different from race, which is used to differentiate and categorize groups of people based on such biological features as skin and eye colour, shape of nose, and height (Spencer & Wollman, 2005; Volkan, 1998). For example, Pilkington (2003:11) argued that while race and ethnicity involve social categorical differentiations, race boundaries follow physical markers while ethnic boundaries are normally drawn on the cultural markers. While they argue that differences in ethnic identity or ethnicity is socially-constructed, Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff (2016) are of the view that ethnicity is the root cause of ethnic conflicts. Contrarily, Marc Howard Ross joins Gurr (2015; 1993) and Samuel Huntington (1993) to state that conflicts in which ethnicity is a central defining dimension or rooted in cultural differences are prevalent in the contemporary post-Cold War world (Ross, 2007). Even so Cordell and Wolff (2016) agree with the trio of Ross, Gurr, and Huntington that those who perceive themselves to be an ethnic group, most of the time, do

share a common ancestry, or the belief that they share and have common memories they can relate their distinctiveness to. Similarly, De Vos (1975, cf. Volkan, 1998) defined an ethnic group as social groups who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others they interact with. Along with other scholars who agree with De Vos, the set of traditions includes a combination of common ancestry, place of origin, religious beliefs or practices, common language, and common history (Smith 2009a; Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Wolff, 2007).

Will connecting the concept of culture to what constitutes an ethno-s or ethnic group convey a different meaning? This question is pertinent as the Greek meaning of ethos as a distinct way of life of a people do not vary much from the literary idea of culture as a way of life. Michelle LeBaron (2003) noted cultures are "underground rivers that run through our lives and relationships, giving us messages that shape our perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of self and other" (1). For Schmid (1993), culture is "a symbolically mediated pattern of values or standards of appropriateness that permits the construction of a set of action-guiding, normative, conventional rules through which significant cultural objects are generated and used" (89). Also, culture is said to consist of the "derivatives of experience, organized, learned or created by individuals of a population, including those images and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves" (Schwartz, 1992:324).

What we see from the above is that culture and ethnic identity formations are both artificially-created by different groups who may have a strong feeling of commonalities. Both are formed when people, so differentiated from others, begin to interpret their worldviews based on ways others see and relate with them and vice versa. If anything, this is not enough for one to know how ethnicity and ethnic conflicts take root. Therefore, to fully address how ethnic groups

form and conflicts arise within the social relations of coexisting ethnic groups, it is important to look at the role of culture. Kevin Avruch (2010) notes that culture and conflict are interlinked through individual and group perceptions about what group one belongs to, and their worldview about others outside or separate from their own ascribed groups. Thus, "conflicts that occur across cultural differences is also occurring across cognitive and perceptual boundaries and is especially susceptible to problems of intercultural miscommunication and misunderstanding" (355). Barbara Bullen (2012) has also argued that "Whether a conflict exists at all is a cultural question," because "cultures are embedded in every conflict because conflicts arise in human relationships. Culture affects the ways we name, frame, blame, and attempt to tame conflicts" (429). Social conflicts occur because individuals and groups-as sociopolitical animals-always wear their cultural biases and eccentrics on their sleeves in intermixed social interactions.

By navigating through complex webs of cultures, individuals and groups encounter, cultural values, and norms that help to unconsciously and inadvertently, expose them to conflicts that are created by cultural differences. Moreover, within each culture there exist socially-created symbolic codes that are designed and used by the dominant groups (as custodians of a culture) to create acceptable behavioural traits, values, and norms in social interactions to safeguard or protect their long and short-term group whims and interests (Gurr, 2015; Akpeninor, 2013; Deng, 2012; Adelman, 2008; Jeong, 2006).

It is also within this framework that each culture adopts frames of what is right and wrong, sacred or profane, or refer to deities or supernatural mythologies that equally shape the different belief systems that may conflict with individuals or groups from other cultures (Ross, 2007). "One determinant of perception is culture, the socially inherited and learned ways of living possessed by individuals in view of their membership in social groups" (Avruch (2006:1).

Similarly, ethnic cultures are used to define sets of material objects that are uniquely utilized by a particular ethnic group so that ethnic goods became synonymous with the people who were members of that group, or who practiced that culture (Cayton & Williams, 2001).

A pertinent question at this juncture is: how does culture come to exist and what role does it play in interpersonal and intergroup relations? In seeking to address this question there is a need to remember that differences between or among cultures is responsible for the categorization of human collectives to the extent that they belong to, or are socialized into particular cultural backgrounds, norms, beliefs, and laws/rules of social behaviours. The livewire of cultural differentiation of groups is in the negative profiling and "othering" of people outside the contours of a particular culture. Othering people of different cultural societies as "out-groups" crystalizes the deprivation and subjugation of "out-groups" (Augsburger, 1992:17). Culture, as a social construct, provides the building block for the negative othering of differences in the forms of ethnocentric nationalism, religious bigotry, and racial and gender discriminations. It is also within cultural frames that dominant groups lay the foundations of structural violence, or social injustices within and among societies. As Waller puts it, with cultural frames we,

> rearrange our perceptions of people and events so that it seems everyone is getting what they deserve. Victims must be suffering because they have done "something," because they somehow are inferior or dangerous or evil, or because a higher cause is being served. The belief that the world is a just place leads us to accept the suffering of others more easily, even of people we ourselves have harmed (Waller, 2002:254).

The goal is for one group to alter the culture, and perceived identity of the other group to ensure they are negatively identified for easy dehumanization and punishment (Adelman, 2005). That explains why "ethnic conflicts are often accompanied by gross human rights violations such as

genocide and crimes against humanity, and by economic decline, state failure, environmental problems, and refugee flows" (Reuter, 2015:1). In the relationship between perception, culture, and conflict, Avruch reminds us that

> Conflict is competition by groups, or individuals over incompatible goals, scarce resources, or the sources of power needed to acquire them. This competition is also determined by individuals' perceptions of goals, resources, and power and such perceptions may differ greatly among individuals. Conflict that occurs across cultural boundaries thus is also occurring across cognitive and perceptual boundaries and is especially susceptible to problems of intercultural miscommunication and misunderstanding (Avruch, 2010:1).

Avruch's view coheres with that of Lewis Coser (1972), who explained the correlation between cultural differences and social conflict as "a struggle over values, status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rival. Conflict (understood in the above sense) means perceived divergence of interests, or a belief that parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously" (8).

Augsburger (1992) who holds a similar view pointed out that "conflicts arise from the competition between successful socially-created "sameness" and "otherness"; conflicts erupt as those belonging to one "same group" seeks to control the "other group" category (and reduce its otherness), subordinate "the other" (and exploit its otherness), destroy "the other" (and annihilate its otherness), and exclude "the other" (escape from the threat of otherness)" (16).The views elucidated above shows that reconcilable and irreconcilable social conflicts that erupt or exist in inter- and intra- group relations in the modern state systems, and the international arena revolve

around the politicization of perceptions of realities and misconceptions between or among social or nationalized systems of cultures.

What is the deducible understanding of ethnicity, and how does it lead to conflict of a violent type? How do ethnic conflicts translate into ethnic cleansing, ethnocide, genocide, or mass murder of people considered to be out groups? These questions are important because social conflicts are normal, inevitable, and organically important in helping humans to arrive at constructive bargaining, social justice and peace, win-win compromises, development, and cooperation in the historical and social evolution of some societies (Lederach, 2005). But social conflicts become a problem when weaponized in destructive intergroup or ethnic interactions. In other words, the weaponization and politicization of social cum ethnic conflicts is what leads to destructive ethnic conflicts and/or mass killing tendencies that occur between antagonistic ethnic groups, even though these phenomena only gained currency in the late 19th century (Reuter, 2015; Cordell & Wolff, 2016; Smith, 2009a; 2009b; Pilkington, 2003). For example, Phinney (2003) noted that "ethnic identity is a multidimensional and dynamic construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. From this perspective, one claims an identity through a web of common ancestry and shared culture, race, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin" (63)

If anything, the aforementioned scholars acquaint us with the fact that conflict, ethnicity, and culture are mutually interrelated and should be understood as such in social conflict analysis. Having said that it is important to define the theoretical and conceptual linkages between culture, and social conflict, which ranges from ethno-cultural and religious conflicts to ethnic cleansing (ethnocide) and genocide. Therefore, it is imperative to note that many scholars see culture and its end-products such as ethno-nationalism, ethnicity, and the crystallization of intergroup

differences as social constructs of powerful elites or oligarchic cabals within any given society (Gurr, 2015; LeBaron, 2015; Avruch, 2006; Wolff, 2007; Koenis & Saukkonen, 2005).

As noted above, the most violent ethnic conflicts or civil wars in failed or failing states have always resulted in genocide and other forms of mass killings. Scholars have argued that it is difficult to determine or distinguish between ethnic cleansing and genocide. Recent history shows that modern episodes of what is now known as ethnic cleansing since the 1990s Yugoslav wars, when the term was first used (Teitel, 1996:81), the pattern of mass murder attributed to it largely conforms with the United Nations definition of genocide, which is an attempt to destroy, "in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group" (Chirot & McCauley, 2006:11). This confusion may be because it is difficult for bystanders to "demystify" at what point an ethnic conflict assumes a genocidal dimension. In fact, using Naimark's historical accounts of genocide, Chirot and McCauley (2006) explained how 20th century Europe was marked by "catastrophes which may have begun as state-sponsored ethnic cleansing, quickly turned into mass killing by deliberate murder, abuse, famine and disease" (11). So, is there really any significant difference between ethnic cleansing, mass killing and genocide? This question is pertinent because where violent ethnic relations have existed over time, it is often the case that some groups are overpowered and (utterly) subjugated and systematically exterminated in the political, economic and social life of their society (Koos, 2016; Gurr, 2015; Akpeninor, 2013).

By focusing on the definition of the targeted victim group, and on the perpetrators' intent, Gellately and Kierman (2003:18) have offered three major ways of distinguishing between ethnic conflict and genocide. First, "ethnic conflict: may at times be no more than a clash of ethnic armed forces; it may not necessarily be genocidal or even target civilians. Second, ethnic conflict may simply mean a mass popular movement, with at least widespread acquiescence or

participation in the violence; genocides, like the Rwandan case, do not always require mass participation. Third, while genocide can be planned, decided, and ordered (at times, in secret) by few perpetrators, a civil war involving ethnically recruited armies may not target and engage in the mass killing of the enemy's civilians, while inflicting military casualties.

Benjamin Valentino (2010) agrees with Gellately and Kierman (2003) on the limitations of superficially defining concepts like genocide and ethnic conflict. He reported that "theoretical explanations which analyze the incidence of mass killings, and genocides solely based on such factors as deep cleavages between social groups, or as a result of the concentration of unchecked powers in undemocratic political systems" may be faulty after all. To this end, he believes that although the presence of ethnic cleavages may increase the risk that mass killing is not enough to trigger genocide or mass murder (Valentino, 2010:2). Augsburger (1992:47-55) has also pointed out that although ethnocultural diversity is a necessary condition for the eruption of violent conflicts between or among groups, there must be other social and situational variables that would serve to trigger the use of culture for the prosecution of violent (destructive) or cooperative (constructive) ethnic-based conflicts. To be sure, Valentino (2010) stated that many theories about the causes of genocide have faltered by downplaying the key role and interests of the political leadership in fanning the embers of violence and genocide. He recognized that society at large plays a smaller role in mass killing than is commonly assumed.

On the contrary, the impetus for mass killing usually originates from a relatively small group of powerful ethno-political or military leaders. "Sometimes, individual leaders like Hitler, Stalin, Mao, and the cabals loyal to them have been found to play decisive roles in proclaiming and determining the course of the slaughter" (Valentino, 2010:2). The main point in this argument is the fact that although genocides cannot take place without the participation of

substantial members of one human collective, it is unimaginable to have had the "Great Terror" (the Ukrainian Holodomor) without Stalin, the Holocaust without Hitler and the Cultural Revolution without Mao. In fact, Stalin did not shrink from but advocated genocide during the collectivization as a 'Final Political Solution' to the Ukrainian Question (Förster and Gessler, 2005:62). In sum, just as the Stalin-led communists destroyed learning, promoted ignorance and brought famine to the Ukraine, China's Holodomor seen in the "Great Leap Forward" Cultural Revolution resulted to the worst genocidal extermination in modern history (Becker, 1999). In fact, considering the underreporting of the figures, we now know that in Mao's China, "at least 45 million people were worked, starved, or beaten to death," just as massive displacement of victims was achieved with the total demolition of "up to one-third of all housing" also became "the greatest demolition of real estate in human history" (Dikötter, 2018:xi). Arguing that it is difficult to separate or define genocide during total wars or violent ethnic conflicts as was the case before and during the Second World War in the territories under the military control of the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Japan, Förster and Gessler (2005) argued that the genocides in question began as ethnic cleansing or "purification" of outsiders or enemy aliens.

In theory, ethnic cleansing may or may not necessarily lead to genocide and this is because ethnic cleansing involves the 'purification of a territory and not a population, a protected reservation within a state, or a free exit for the victims to escape are provided to the targeted ethnic groups. But the protection and a safe exit of the victims are precluded in genocide (Fein, 2001; Gellately and Kierman, 2003). Yet the experiences of the Nazi's ethnic cleansing of the Jews into the Concentration Camps, the Khmer Rouge's annihilation of the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia, and the Long Walk of the Armenians in Anatolia illustrate that ethnic cleansing is simply a euphemistic expression of disguised genocide or mass murder (Power, 2013; Gellately

and Kierman, 2005, 20). There is a blurred line in differentiating any significant difference between genocide, ethnic conflict, and ethnic cleansing.

What is Genocide and How Does it Differ from Other Forms of Mass Murder?

Although state crimes of (genocide-like) mass murders and total wars along ethnic-specified lines have endured for centuries, there was no law against genocide since it was a nonexistent legal concept until the tail end of the Second World War. In fact, it was in 1944 that Raphael Lemkin coined the term "genocide" from the two Greek words of "genos" (race) and "cide" (to kill), i.e., race murder. He used the term to refer to a kind of widespread mass murder or massacre of innocent people of a particular ethnic or national group (Power, 2013; Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Levene, 2005; Lemkin, 1994). Lemkin's view was shaped by the state-supervised political mass killing of over 1.5 million unarmed Armenians in Turkey (1915) during WWI and the extermination of diaspora Jews in Poland, Germany, and Austria during WWII (Power, 2013:43; Levene, 2005; Fleming, 2003; Tatz, 2003:18). His efforts paid off when, after succumbing to the Soviet Union's objection to the inclusion of the phrase of "politically-defined mass murders," the U.N. endorsed a compromised version of his conceptualization of genocide.

The U.N. defines genocide "as any of acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Power, 2013:57). More definitions in support of the U.N. conditionalities for genocide abound. For example, Fein (1993b:24) articulated that

genocide is “a sustained, purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim.” It can also be a situation when “a government or some group acts to eliminate a whole group of people whether by directly or indirectly killing or by creating conditions that lead to their death or inability to reproduce” (Staub, 2014:35).

Be that as it may, scholars and experts in international law have divergent views on genocide and mass killing, especially how to tell when one or the other may already be taking or has already taken place. For example, Tatz (2003) and Valentino (2010) reported that the U.N. categorization is too generic and ignores the often systemic and practical realities of various occurrences. In a paradoxical sense, Lang (2005:6) contends that given the evil nature of genocidal crimes, it is wrong for people, especially scholars, to include such other things as poverty, disease, and slavery as acts of genocide. Still, others argue that what is seen or denied as genocide may be a different kind of total war or extreme mass murder that may not follow the U.N.’s generic definition (Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Lang, 2005:6; Rummel, 1994). Some argue that since there is no one archetype of genocide, it is wrong to reduce it to only physical mass murder with the use of small arms or gassing as were the cases in the Holocaust or in Rwanda. Even so, recent evidence has shown that present day perpetrators have or can devise other clinical methods of committing mass murder (Eze, 2005; Kierman, 2003; Tatz, 2003).

Perhaps, the major reason for the dissentions against the U.N.’s definition of genocide dwelled on the fact that among other vexed issues, the apparent exclusion of political and non-ethnic groups in the definition created the caveat that enables perpetrators and state actors to deny or trivialize incidences and claims of genocide (Staub, 2012; Valentino, 2010). These

ambiguities surrounding the term "genocide" makes it one of the most controversial concepts in international law, among academics, and politicians. Therefore, defining and distinguishing genocide from ethnic conflicts should be more theoretical than conceptual. For Levene (2005), "a full-blown history of genocide cannot proceed without a degree of theoretically-inclined conceptualization" (10). To remove shreds of deliberately-contrived category confusion and unnecessary debate, we are reminded that: "Historical process is not only molded by specific political and economic conditions which will differ markedly from region to region, country to country, and continent to continent but by strata upon strata of cultural and social distinctiveness developed over time and space" (2005:8). So "leaning on a single archetype or to assumptions on one mechanically recurring script are bound to be misleading" (Fein, 1990:56).

The Building Blocks of Genocide

Making a case in agreement with Levene and Fein that genocide is more than physical mass murder, Tatz (2003) stated that once a genocidal intent is premeditated or hatched, "biologists, eugenicists, anthropologists, psychiatrists, and lawyers provide the building block, or engine parts, of the genocidal apparatus" (24-25) Further, Tatz (2003) theorized that there are eight steps of genocide as did Nazi Germany. He added the eighth to the first seven sequential steps of genocide he derived from Saul Friedländer (1977). The sequential steps are: (1) formulation of an idea, (2) exposition, (3) justification, (4) adoption, (5) legitimization, (6) implementation, (7) rationalization, and (8) denialism. Looking at the list, Tatz (2003) thinks that even though the intent to destroy is never in doubt, academics took part in the first three essentials and the seventh and eight steps as well.

Relatedly, Gregory H. Stanton (1998) adapted the “Eight Stages of Genocide” by R. J. Rummel (1994), albeit, with some variations to what is above. These are:

1. Classification: People are typed, categorized, and classified into different groups, such as whites, blacks, Asians; or into Christians and Jews; or into communists, leftists, rightists.
2. Symbolization: Different groups are given names, such as Chinese, Jews, Hindus, or Marxists. Particular clothes, (like a Turban), food eaten (like rice), physical characteristic (like long noses), or behavior (like inscrutable) may become ways of stereotyping the group's members. Classification and symbolization are common to all societies, and they make genocidal victims easily identified for an extermination.
3. Dehumanization: Members of the out-groups are dehumanized, as in calling them apes, monkeys, cockroaches, parasites, rats, vermin, and the like. Once this is done members of the out-group have been stripped of the moral in-group protection against an extermination.
4. Organization: Officials, sympathetic in-group leaders, and intellectuals organize to repress, murder out-group members, or entirely destroy the dehumanized group. Weapons are stacked or handed out; militia, security forces, or military are selected and trained; preliminary plans are made.
5. Polarization: Officials, extremists, propagandists, or demagogues undertake a systematic campaign to maximize the social, psychological, and moral distance between "us" and "them." Moderate intellectuals/leaders are silenced, intimidation, arrests, or assassination.
6. Preparation: All is ready for genocide and final step is to tag those to be killed. They may be forced to wear identifying clothing, symbols on their clothing, or be segregated in ghettos. Lists of those to be killed may be prepared or may be systematically deprived by

law and weapon roundups of any weapons. Potential resisters to genocide may be conscripted into the military, and segregated for subsequent execution, or simply jailed.

7. Genocide: The execution state is reached to attack and destroy those in the out-group.
8. Denial: Finally, the perpetrator's denial of their genocide. They destroy or hide the relevant official evidence, burn bodies, leave unmarked graves, or invent a reasonable rational for the killing, such as "they were in rebellion" "were killed during the civil war" or "were helpmates to our enemies," Moreover, the perpetrators may harass those who claim that genocide occurred. (Rummel, 1994).

There is Alvarez's theory on the "Techniques of Neutralization" that outlines how political and military elites of hegemonic group play important roles in justifying or legitimating genocide and providing the ideology to push ordinary or normal people to in clear conscience commit the most horrific crimes (Alvarez, 2001). Based on this he went on to harp that the elite frame to indoctrinate their people using socialization factors to extract their conformity and obedience to authority during and after genocide. He argued the "techniques of neutralization" involves the denial of responsibility; denial of injury; denial of the humanity of the victims, a condemnation of the condemners; an appeal to higher loyalties; and the definition of the situation in such a way that one has a choice but to exterminate the marked vulnerable group (Alvarez, 1997).

It is somewhat clear that the "genocide sequence," "genocide stages," and "techniques of neutralization" portrays the intent to destroy a marked group by perpetrators. But this is still arguable. Just as some scholars have argued against what the U.N. means by: (a) "the intent to destroy," and (b) the ethnicity or ethnic identity or status of genocide, there are still rooms for ambiguities, which allow for the denials and trivializations of genocide in legal interpretation (Serbyn, 2008:1; Harff, 2003:58). For example, it is ambiguous to separate the status or identity

of genocide victims from political mass murder as seen in the recent deadly repression of unarmed anti-government protesters in places like Libya, Yemen, and Syria. It is for this reason that Harff (2003) and Marshall et al., (2010) remind us that genocides, ethnocides, and policides do occur at the same time in most violent intrastate and ethnic conflicts. Similarly, the problem of the proof of intent or act of genocide has always remained covered up or disguised by propagandists' denials, thereby making discussions on each case ambiguously-contested by bystanders or onlookers, who often reduce it to mere academic exercise. Lamenting that the international community usually remains passive in the face of genocide (as they may feign being unsure it follows the U.N.'s definition), and even less obligated to act in the face of mass killings (as bystanders don't see far), Staub (2012) calls for proactive steps taken to prevent or stop whatever appears like genocide or mass killings, while categorization can take place later.

The foregoing shows it is problematic to determine what constitutes "intent" to carry out an act of genocide. In other words, what is the operational meaning of the "intent to destroy"? This question is important because it has become a lame word and a bad reason states and commentators/scholars in international law and politics rely on physicality and statistics of mass murder victims rather than on the intent to commit genocide. Ethnoreligious conflicts, and state-led mass killings, and genocides always begin with the intent to kill or the actual killing of a man or woman, not because of a crime he/she may have committed but because of who he/she is (Staub, 2012; Wolff, 2007). Genocides may already be taking place when groups face (disguised) political mass murders, segregation, repression, progressive poverty, and other forms of structural violence designed to destroy a group (Johanssen & Bjornson, 1998). Alluding to Ethiopia's genocide against the Oromos, Asafa Jalata (2016:238) agrees that the intent and planning of genocide may be difficult to obtain as such materials are either not written or secretly

destroyed; perpetrators do have elaborate means to hide the truth, controlling access to information, while carefully contrived lies/propaganda are unleashed to deceive and misinform. Further, most genocides, especially before 1948 were not exposed or reported because "there existed a sort of conspiracy of collective denial, whereby the disappearance of a people did not seem to require comment or even mention" (Johanssen & Bjornson, 1998:11).

While there is no doubt genocide is an intentional crime, Valentino (2004) has argued that making it a restrictive crime would always leave room for states and other perpetrators to do everything and anything to deny or rationalize it. Therefore, it should be seen within the prism of inclusivity as just one aspect of the extreme evil of intentional mass killing of people. He defined "mass killing" as "the intentional killing of a massive number of noncombatants. Victims of mass killing may be members of any kind of group (ethnic, political or religious) as long as they are noncombatants and as long as their deaths were caused intentionally" (10). In contrast, Valentino clarified that mass deaths caused by natural disasters, diseases epidemics or unintentional killing of civilians during a war may not qualify as mass killing or genocide. Yet mass killings as a result of, but not restricted to, intentional starvation, exposure, disease resulting from intentional confiscation, destruction, economic blockades, the direct aerial bombardment of enemy civilian targets during wars, forced marches, forced labour, and deportations "are considered intentional if perpetrators reasonably expected that implementing such policies would lead to large numbers of civilian deaths, even if the perpetrators did not set out to kill these victims per se" (Valentino, 2010: 10-11).

Thus, Valentino (2010) believes that mass killing is just as extreme a crime committed against humanity as genocide, and those found to have committed mass murder or genocide should face criminal charges for their crimes. Inherent in Valentino's argument is that the

restrictive UN's definition of genocide under international law would no longer be any platform for the perpetrators, and those who support them to hide under any guise to commit genocide or mass murder. This will also pull the rug from the feet of governments who feign inability to uncover and condemn present and past cases of genocidal or mass murder. In fact, all acts of ethnic cleansing, like the United States' ethnic cleansing of Native Americans, the repression of Blacks, the British extermination of the Australian Aborigines, the German ethnic cleansing of the Herero people as well as the ethnic cleansing of the Jews in Europe were acts of genocide and mass murder (Chirot & McCauley 2006:6, 10, 36, 68; Valentino, 2004:11). As noted by Shaw (2007), what distinguishes genocide from legitimate warfare is that the targeted enemies are groups and individuals of a civilian character. He noted that genocide is "a form of violent social conflict, or war between armed power organizations that aim to destroy civilian social groups, and those groups and other actors, who resist this destruction" (154). So, genocides occur during sectarian or state-led mass killings, and wars with the civilian populations or noncombatants accounting for about 95 percent of dead casualties (Wolff, 2007:14).

It is not always mutually-exclusive that genocides or mass murders occur only when noncombatants are targeted. This position stems from the definition of genocide by Charney (1994): "genocide in the generic sense means the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness of the victims" (74). What is clear is that genocide could be committed in asymmetric warfare in which the dominant military force attempts the annihilation of an entire ethnic group. Genocide could be committed even when enemy forces have laid down their arms in surrender or they are completely overpowered. During the Biafran war over three million noncombatants were killed by the Nigerian state, yet

weeks after the official surrender of Biafra, thousands of Biafran soldiers and civilians were gathered and summarily executed by the Nigerian troops (Achebe, 2013; Ohaneze, 1999).

The Theoretical Conceptualizations of Genocide

Genocide, according to Raphael Lemkin's original definition in 1944, means the

> [d]estruction of the foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objective here is the disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups (Lemkin et al., 2014: 79; see also Schaller & Zimmerer, 2009).

Lemkin's definition is more exhaustive than the definition adopted by the U.N. Specifically, he saw genocide as a crime that goes beyond the immediate physical extermination of groups. To this end, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. Rather, it is intended to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aimed at the destruction of essential (organic) foundations of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives are always to destroy the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. It "is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group" (Lemkin et al,.79).

From Lemkin's definition, we can deduce that genocide should not be seen strictly as the (open) or physical extermination of ethnic or national groups within or outside a state as seen in the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. Lemkin used the Ukrainian Genocide to show that physical and cultural dimensions of genocide could be occurring at the same time, or one after the other. This is clearly seen in the four building blocks of the Ukrainian Genocide. According to Lemkin,

> [T]he first blow is aimed at the intelligentsia, the national brain, so as to paralyze the rest of the body. In 1920, 1926 and again in 1930–1933, teachers, writers, artists, thinkers, political leaders, were liquidated, imprisoned or deported […]. At least 114 major poets, writers and artists, the most prominent cultural leaders of the nation, have met the same fate. It is conservatively estimated that at least 75% of the Ukrainian intellectuals and professional men in Western Ukraine, Carpatho–Ukraine and Bukovina have been brutally exterminated by the Russians (Serbyn, 2009: 126-127).

This goal of this aspect of the genocide was to destroy the leaders or "the Brain of the Ukraine".

The second building block was the liquidation of the Ukrainian churches, priests and hierarchy or the "Soul of the Ukraine." Lemkin stated that between 1926 and 1932, tens of thousands of the clergies including bishops, the laity, and leaders of Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian Greek Church were either shot dead, eternally disappeared, or sent to journeys of no return in Siberia concentration camps. Another reason for this attack was "Russification" of Ukrainian Churches. Hear Lemkin,

> [T]hat Russification was the only issue involved is demonstrated by the fact that before its liquidation, the Church was offered the opportunity to join the Russian Patriarch at Moscow, the Kremlin's political tool […] on 11 April 1945, a detachment of NKVD troops surrounded the St. George Cathedral in Lviv and arrested Metropolitan Slipyj, two

> bishops, two prelates and several priests […]. Students in the city's theological seminary were driven from the school, while their professors were told that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist, that its Metropolitan was arrested, and his place was to be taken by a Soviet-appointed bishop […]. At least seven bishops were arrested or were never heard from again […] Five hundred clergy who met to protest the action of the Soviets, were shot or arrested. For the crime of being Ukrainian, the Church itself was declared a society detrimental to the welfare of the Soviet state, its members were marked down in the Soviet police files as potential "enemies of the people" (Serbyn, 2009: 127).

Also, mass deportations or forced displacements combined with the deliberate separation or destruction of families completed this second building block of the genocide. In several instances, where fathers were sent to concentration camps in Siberia, mothers would be sent to make bricks in Turkestan, and children sent for "re-education" in Communist homes (127).

The third prong of the Soviet plan was the 'Collectivization' of Ukrainian farm produce, and the deliberate deadly starvation of large sections of the peasantry and commoners "who are the repository of the tradition, folklore and music, the national language and literature, the national spirit, of Ukraine" (Serbyn, 2009:127-28). As a result, millions among the Ukrainian population were starved to death under the guard of Soviet troops. This collectivization was an economic disarticulatory policy in which mass killing by starvation was the key intent. It was,

> [a]n economic policy connected with the collectivization of the wheat-lands, and the elimination of the kulaks, the independent farmers […]. As a Soviet politician Kosior declared in Izvestiia on 2 December 1933, 'Ukrainian nationalism is our chief danger', and it was to eliminate that nationalism, to establish the horrifying uniformity of the Soviet state that the Ukrainian peasantry was sacrificed. The method used in this part of

> the plan was not at all restricted to any particular group. All suffered - men, women and children […]. To add to this, thousands of acres of wheat were never harvested, and left to rot in the fields. The rest was sent to government granaries to be stored there until the authorities had decided how to allocate it. Much of this crop, so vital to the lives of the Ukrainian people, ended up as exports for the creation of credits abroad. In the face of famine on the farms, thousands abandoned the rural areas and moved into the towns to beg food…Villages of a thousand had a surviving population of a hundred; in others, half the populace was gone, and deaths in these towns ranged from 20 to 30 per day. Cannibalism became commonplace (Serbyn, 2009:127-128).

We see here that through the collectivization policy the Russians successfully implemented physical genocide that claimed the lives of millions of lives. Bullets were rarely used as the perpetrators knew mass starvation was a more economical way to genocidal annihilation.

> [f]ourth step was a process that whittled the Ukrainian population as a unit. This, consisted in the fragmentation of the Ukrainian people at once by the addition to the Ukraine of foreign peoples and by the dispersion of the Ukrainians throughout Eastern Europe. In this way, ethnic unity would be destroyed, and nationalities mixed. Between 1920 and 1939, the population of Ukraine changed from 80% Ukrainian to only 63%. In the face of famine and deportation, the Ukrainian population had declined absolutely from 23.2 million to 19.6 million, while the non-Ukrainian population had increased by 5.6 million (Serbyn, 2009:129).

The goal of this policy was fully accomplished as it indefinitely suspended the Ukraine's annual population growth rate of 800,000 people, considered to be highest in Europe at that time (129).

Drawing from Lemkin's description, a set of other definitions makes the case for "Cultural Genocide." Steven Katz (1994) noted that "genocide is the actualization of the intent, however successfully carried out, to murder in its totality any national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, social, gender or economic group, as these groups are defined by the perpetrator, by whatever means" (131). Adam Jones (2017) agrees with Yahuda Bauer that genocide is, "the planned destruction, since the mid-19th Century, of a racial, national, or ethnic group as such, by the following means: (a) selective mass murder of elites or parts of the population; (b) elimination of national (racial, ethnic) culture, and religious life with the intent of 'denationalization'; (c) enslavement, with the same intent; (d) destruction of national (racial, ethnic) economic life, with the same intent; (e) biological decimation through the kidnapping of children, or the prevention of normal family life, with the same intent" (24).

Theorizing about the restrictive nature of the U.N. Genocide Convention, Ter-Gebrelian (1999) argued for a case for cultural genocide ("White Genocide") as distinct from physical genocide. He avowed that cultural genocide always occurs silently and unnoticed because it takes place mostly during "peacetime." That is why it is rarely categorized or analyzed as genocide despite being more devastating and rampant than physical genocide. As Ter-Gebrelian argued, cultural genocide occurs through the deliberate coordinated strategies employed by hegemonic groups to ensure the total or substantial destruction of the essential foundations of the political and social institutions, cultural identity, language, religion, and the economic existence of weaker national groups, with the aim of annihilating the group themselves. Dovid Katz's seems to agree with Ter-Gebrelian. Katz (2009) sees genocide as the,

> [m]ass murder of as many people as possible on the basis of born national, ethnic, racial or religious identity as such; with intent to eliminate the targeted group entirely and

> internationally; without allowing the victims any option to change views, beliefs, or allegiances to save themselves; and with large-scale accomplished fulfilment of the goal. Genocide leaves in its wake an extinct or nearly extinct group within the territory under the control of the perpetrators (268).

Specifically, cultural genocide may be employed as a state policy before or after physical genocide. Its deployment is to ensure the complete obliteration of any ascriptive reference to a group as well as the surviving generations of marginalized victims.

A hegemonic group, or state can carry out cultural genocide through renaming of indigenous locations or monuments belonging to a weakened ethnic group. (An example is the 'Bight of Biafra', which was renamed 'Bight of Bonny', following the civil war defeat of the Biafra Republic in 1970 by the Nigerian state). As seen in the Russification policy against the Ukraine, cultural genocide may involve the imposition of the hegemonic group's language and culture on subjugated groups, and thereby, rewrite, alter or disarticulate their language and historical connections to their territory. Another aspect is forced migration of victims. Both Ibeanu (1999) and Mooney (2005) argued IDPs are a part (victims) of cultural genocide that do occur silently and even underreported during violent intrastate conflicts, and "peace times." This means that cultural genocide may occur silently and progressively to a point its victims begin to internalize their plight as given or self-inflicted (Freire, 2017).

Genocide as a One-Sided State-Led Mass Killings

Many scholars (Horowitz, 2017; Gurr, 2015; Katz, 2009) agree with Jonassohn (1992:24) that genocide is always a one-sided mass killings or ethnic cleansing (led) by a ruling elite or regime in conflict situations. In, "Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power," Irving Horowitz

(2017), who categorized the outcomes of the Biafran and Cambodian civil wars as "holocausts," termed genocide as, "the physical dismemberment and liquidation of people on large scales, an attempt by those who rule to achieve the total elimination of a subject people" (83) Also Barbara Harff (2003) said "Genocides and politicides are the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents—or, in the case of civil wars either of the contending authorities – that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group" (58). Relatedly, Bella, the mother of Emperor Nero, reminds us that state (mass murder against a targeted group) or genocide, if you like, is such that "once the state is determined to wipe out an ethnic or religious group, the police and the ordinary citizen become the accomplices and not guardians of human life" (Power, 2013:20).

The question at this point is: how does a genocidal state map out the group it goes on to exterminate or liquidate? Under what condition is genocide made possible? Wilkinson (1974) stated in his study on the White Supremacist apartheid against the predominantly Blacks of South Africa, state genocidal repression usually takes place within "zones of terror" "created for the purpose of suppressing, putting down, quelling, or restraining certain groups, individuals or forms of behavior deemed to be undesirable to the oppressor. The oppressor may be the state, its rulers or agents, or a faction" (40). A "zone of terror" could be a whole population or selected ethnic groups. As a necessary condition, genocides always take place where there is power asymmetry among such ethnic group configurations. As Dadrian (1975) argued, "genocide is the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and/or with preponderant access to the overall resources of power, to reduce by coercion or lethal violence the number of a minority group whose ultimate extermination is held desirable […] and whose respective vulnerability is a major factor" (201–202). In a nutshell, in all human history genocide has

always been possible and easily implementable because it is a legal crime always "planned, authorized and implemented by duly constituted authorities acting on behalf of a legitimate government (Alvarez, 1997:141).

Förster and Gessler (2005) see genocide as the extreme expression of total war by a hegemonic ethnic or ethnocultural group(s) over another in a coexisting state, or interstate political space. Once one group in an ethnically-dominated state succeeds in creating a zone of terror, the perpetration of silent or cultural genocide becomes easier, and most times, silently executed and, most times, concealed from those outside the borders of the state. The argument about when mass killings, or ethnocide becomes genocide should be discountenanced. The case has already been made that genocides take place during wars, periods of mass killings, ethnic conflicts, and during peacetimes, where they are unnoticeable, surreptitious, denied and covered-up, as the 20th century experience has shown (Jones, 2017; Staub, 2014; Power, 2013; Deng, 2012; Ratnavalle, 2009; Serbyn, 2009; 2008). We have already seen that the Ukrainian Holodomor of 1932-1933, being one of the worst 20th century genocides, saw the horrifying extermination of about ten million of, or at least 25 percent of the ethnic Ukrainian population, mainly by mass starvation or famine, torture and execution of the peasants, intelligentsia, clergy, and laity by detailed pro-Russian security agents (Yushchenko, n.d; Serbyn, 2008). Stalin's chosen genocidal weapon was state-supervised starvation designed to "solve ethnic problems." This method has been replicated by many ethno-political leaders including those of Nigeria. For example, Bose (2010) tells us that the genocide against minority Hindu Tamils by majority Buddhist Sinhalese in the early 1950s in Sri Lanka began with the denationalization or repatriation of settled Tamils back to Tamil Nadu in India, while their lands taken over and farmed on by resettled Sinhalese farmers. With a continued siege on the Tamils plus the land-

mining of their farms inside the northern and eastern territory occupied by the Tamils, the hegemonic Sinhala were able to cause a deadly famine which ultimately weakened the Tamil population and the genocidal defeat of the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka (Bose, 2010).

Without belabouring the obvious, famine or deadly mass starvation policies in zones of terror is nothing but one of the weapons of cultural and physical genocide by oppressor states. "Great famines" (i.e. famines that killed about 100000 or more persons), and "calamitous famines" (i.e., famines that killed about one million persons, like the Biafran case shows) are instruments of warfare by "imperial conquistadors and ideological fanatics" (Waal, 2018:6). Mostly executed in wars or poisoned ethnonational relations by asymmetrically powerful groups, we should be bothered that "at least one hundred million people have died in great and calamitous famines in the 140 years from 1870 to 2010 (5). In Africa, the Ethiopian Famine (1983-1985), the over one million starvation-related Biafran War deaths, the ongoing famines in the Horn of Africa (Waal, 2018; Schaack, 2016; Barber, 2011; Enekwechi & Nkwocha, 2011) remain cases where hegemonic regimes in Africa, elaborately, deployed fatal mass starvation as a weapon of extermination against those labeled as rebels. In fact, a one-time foreign minister of the Ethiopian government, Tibebu Bekele, boasted to a U.S. charge d'affaires that starvation or famine in rebel areas was a major war strategy against the secessionists (cf. Waal, 1997). In addition, Marcus (2003) articulated that while the part of South Korea that is close to the border with North Korea does not have famine, over two million out of its 24 million people have died of famine imposed by the North Korean state. Thus, the current global drive to stem the rippling famine in Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda would continue to be misplaced and flawed until the interveners and U.N. do the needful by treating famines in Africa as genocide crimes. For Waal (2018:6) who strongly argues that political leaders, not the weather, are the main adversary to

ending famines, the comity of nations, especially the U.N., must proactively define and regard famines as a variant of genocidal atrocities. Therefore, the proactive war on famine must begin with understanding that famines and other forms of genocide crimes begin with siege warfare, or wars waged without or before military battlefields (Creighton et al., 2018).

The Causes of Ethnic Conflicts, Genocide, and State Failure in Africa

At this point, the question that should be asked is when do ethnic cultures begin and how do ethnocultural differences lead to genocidal conflict? This question is pertinent because the coexistence of many ethnic groups, or the culturally distinguishable differences between groups have not always necessarily led to violent confrontations. Perhaps, it could be for this reason that Byrne and Irvin (2000) echoed the view by Horowitz (1985) that identifiable "ties of blood" even within highly multi-diversity states "do not lead, ineluctably, to rivers of blood." If bloodlines were yardsticks for drawing the lines of deadly conflicts, it is unimaginable how the world's seven billion human population would be living in separated walls constructed by differences in historical origins, cultures and languages, and would have placed humanity in an unending war of all against all (Fearon & Laitin, 2003:75, 82). Wolff (2007) argues that shared commonalities are not enough to explain ethnicity, ethnic group formation, and descent into ethnic or genocidal conflicts the world has witnessed since late 20th century. Commonalities cannot explain why despite speaking the same language, Croats, Serbs, and Muslims in former Yugoslavia allowed their ethnoreligious differences or sentiments to herd them down the path of genocide. Although they may play a significant role, structural factors like severe economic, ethnic, racial, national or religious divisions among or between social groups can hardly stand as

reliable triggers of mass killing as some of the bloodiest mass murders in history occurred in relatively homogenous societies (Wolff, 2007; Chirot & McCauley, 2006).

Instances of state failure and genocidal ethnic conflicts and/or policides are mutually reinforcing (Marshall et al., 2010). In most cases, state failure and genocidal conflicts occurs when a state is contested and fragmented along ethnic cleavages, and where a central government lacks both the capacity and legitimacy to effectively govern in the interest of all groups (Bose, 2010; Jeong, 2005). It is worth mentioning that state failure and genocidal conflicts basically follow the same trajectories that create and crystallize ethnic cleavages in multi-ethnic states. In line with the Primordialist view, ethnic identities are naturally fixed and objectively ingrained in pre-existing common kinship ties, historical origin, language, culture, and experience. In other words, it is natural that such primordial ties are what create exclusive "in-group" identities when a particular ethnic group relates or compares itself with other ethnic "out-groups" (Wolff, 2007: 33; Treanor, 1997). So, conflicts occur where ethnic groups are unavoidably interlocked in a competitively zero-sum economic, political, cultural and psychosocial (violent) struggles in a given state.

In contrast, Instrumentalist Theorists argue that ethnic identity formations and conflicts are created through such formations as socially-constructed and/or manipulated resource mechanisms through which the leading political elites, subjectively and sentimentally, conscientize and mobilize individuals from their immediate targeted catchment areas in pursuit of their concealed selfish and capricious socio-economic and political interests (Carter et al., 2009; Wolff, 2007). In the main, instrumentalist and constructivist theories of ethnicity, and ethnic identity formation appears to be a direct criticism of the Primordialist view. The main goal of ethnicity, according to the instrumentalists, is to repudiate that aspect of the primordial

theories of ethnic identity formation that attempts to use physical body variations to explain differences between people (Cayton & Williams, 2001). And, as a branch of cultural theory, the ethnic theory by the Instrumentalists aims to refute the claim that social conflicts were fixed due to inbuilt immutable physical differences. The strength of the ethnic theory lies in the fact that apart from the genocide against Native Americans, early European migrants of many conflictual religious and ethnocultural backgrounds, rose above their primordial differences to build a Pan-American culture devoid of Europe's ethnocultural differences. This is not to say that the ethnic theory did not have its weak spots, as Cayton and Williams (2001) reminds us that it failed to explain or solve the Black and White racial crisis in America, but rather highlighted them.

A middle ground view argues that even as pre-existing commonalities such as common language and blood ties do help in shaping ethnic identity formations, caution should be applied to static notions about ethnic identity and in explaining why self-conscious groups engage in conflicts. An ethnic group does not always remain as a "homogenous whole" as its dynamics are continuously constructed and transformed socially changing cleavages along class, ideology, historical experience and politics, arising from elite personality differences (Obi, 2001:13). Also, state competition with self-reliant ethnic group theorists posits that while human relations have mainly remained heterogeneous, groups with relative historical and psychosocial commonalities begin to mobilize themselves as self-reliant ethnic groups in many modern states (Ross, 2007; Ryan, 2007). This point brings out the causative relationship between this theoretical view and incidences of violent ethnic conflicts (Adam & Moodley, 1986:38).

Perhaps, a way out is to adopt the (multidimensional) Social Cubism analytical theory that calls for avoidance of reductionist theorization in the analysis of the social framework of ethno-territorial conflicts (Byrne & Carter, 1996). For example, Carter and Byrne (2000:41)

noted that "the social cubism perspective" offers a systematic incorporation of a complex interaction of material and psychological mechanisms by a six-sided facet that shape ethno-territorial conflicts. These are the psychological, political, economic, historical, demographic and religious factors or instrumentalities that combined with existent socially-created identities that shaped contrasted outcomes in the Quebec secessionist conflict in Canada and Northern Ireland—British ethno-territorial conflict. So, the causes of state failure and genocidal ethnic conflicts are multidimensional and go beyond their internally-defined boundaries.

Historically, the Elitism and Social Interactionist Theories, and the World Systems and Dependency Theories see asymmetrical social relations and violently-contested multiethnic post-colonial states as interlinked end-products of colonial elitism (San Juan Jr., 2005; Hart, 2002; Somerville, 2000). Baring minor disagreements, World Systems (Wallenstein, 2011) and Dependency Theorists like Hans Singer, Raul Presbisch, Gunder Frank, Paul Sweezy, Henrique Cardoso Herb Addo, Walden Bello, Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, Pablo G. Casanova, and African Dependency/Marxist theorists like Ibaba (2008), Osaghae, 2006,2004, Ake, 2003; Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001), and Ekeh (1983) agree the core-periphery structure of colonization, was/is sustained by the colonizers' genocidal suppression of the colonized through mediums of economic deprivation and disarticulation, political alienation through forced rule, structural violence, and mass killings. The implication of global elitism as captured by Wallerstein's World Systems Theory supports the viewpoint that the division of roles among elite states, geographical regions, and poor emergent states in a core-periphery model and its inevitable contradictions, is an important factor to consider when discussing reasons for the persistence of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa (Jalata, 2016; Clempson, 2012; Wallenstein, 2011; Rupert, 2010; Chabal 2009; Ferraro, 2008; IESS, 2008; Vernengo, 2004). This model explains how genocidal conflicts in the Global

South are inextricably-tied to epochal problems of colonial domination created by elitist states or regions, and their multinational corporations. This is how elitism has helped colonialism to thrive and define relations in post-colonial societies that emerged from the ashes of World War Two.

Anti-colonialism scholars hold diverse views on colonialism and its epochal impacts on the emergent colonial and colonized societies. For example, Paki and Edoumiekumo (2011:277) argue that the culture of colonialism is a deadly "unequal socio-cultural and political relationship" that sustains violent relations in most post-colonial states. The fact remains that ruling elites use structural and direct violence to subdue the voices of weakened groups, whose social existence are exclusively determined by asymmetrically more powerful groups in inter/intrastate relations (Clempson, 2012; Deng, 2012; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011; Chabal, 2009).

The forced intermixture of cultural societies into unitarist colonies and post-colonial states were never intended to knit harmonious political systems with cultural diversities. That explains why Deng (2012) seems to agree with Peter P. Ekeh (1983) that "discriminating cleavages" and colonial domination (that existed between the metropolitan colonizer and the colonized, and later, between hegemonic ethnic groups and vulnerable ethnic groups in post-colonial settings) cannot but lead to violent conflicts once these groups struggle for power. Thus, the major causes of state failure and genocidal conflicts in Africa and beyond have been multidimensionally-linked with colonialism and the subsisting colonial situation. This is the main thesis in "dependency theory," which analyzes the impacts of colonialism and colonization on post-colonial societies. "The dependency theory is when the colonizing states exploit their colonized regions to enhance their own development and accumulation of capital" (Kortright, 2003:2), all to the detriment of the exploited, and the colonized. For example, economic and political dependency results from the colonizers continuous vagrant exploitation and extraction of the economic resources (natural and

human) of the dependent and weak colonized societies to enhance their metropolitan development, while at the same time, systemically entrenching the disarticulation and/or destruction of the economic foundations of the colonized during and after colonialism (2).

Using the instrumentalities of cultural hierarchy and supremacy, "the colonialists (past and present) stunt and undo the past development" of the colonized to ensure the perpetuity of their domination and dependence, while blaming the "lack of development or modernization" by the colonized on their failure to compete with the colonial state (Memmi, 1965:56). Sadly, the colonization epoch and corruption have continued to define inter-group relations in post-colonial states. This is because the dependent relations have been replicated and appropriated to create stratified and asymmetric ethnic relations. Thus, "the colonial situation manufactures colonialists, just as it manufactures the colonized" in post-colonial systems (56). As Aime Cesaire (1955) argued, colonialism was "neither evangelism, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor to push back the frontiers of ignorance and tyranny, nor a project undertaken to the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law" (10-11). The colonizer's interest was not to promote peace nor the development, and sociopolitical harmony of the colonized, rather, the internal politics of the colonized was organized along emergent disproportionately-sized ethno-political units to ensure divisive coexistence among colonized groups. The post-colonial state was bound to be violently conflictual as the colonizers promoted an ethnic comprador elite through a divide-and-rule stratagem as exemplified by internal politics in places such as Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Kenya, India, Cyprus, and Nigeria. The result of "divide and depart" (Arthur, 2009) was the emergence of hegemonic ethnic groups like the Buddhist-Sinhalese majority in Sri Lanka (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011; Bose, 2010; Ratnavale, 2009), and the Hausa-Fulani hegemony in Nigeria and the Afrikaner minority in apartheid South Africa (Osaghae, 1998:3).

Outcomes of divide-and-rule systems in all colonial systems cannot but lead to the rule of the divided (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011) by ruling chauvinistic kleptocratic ethnic elites (Acemoglu et al., 2004). Recent history has pointed out that state failure or contested statehood, uneven development, and genocidal conflicts in weakly-constituted states in Africa and elsewhere are consequences of colonial practices (Acemoglu et al., 2004). Relatedly, deadly interstate conflicts remain inevitable where multi-ethnic post-colonial states have territorial boundaries that locate homogeneous cultural communities like the Oromos and Somalis in different states (Jalata, 2016; Abbink, 2003; Tuso 2002; Takere, 2000; Petras & Morley, 1984). It is such situations that explain Somalia's state failure and the genocidal conflicts in the Horn of Africa since the 1960s.

The other dimension of the World System cum Dependency Theory is the role of international cartels in economic disarticulation, through stoking and arming localized conflicts, in quests to grab the monocultural resources in failing states. In a paradoxical twist, the monocultural natural resources that form the economic mainstay of most failing states, are usually extracted from territories of marginalized and alienated geo-ethnic groups (Obi, 2001; Ibaba, 2008). For instance, in exposing how the international cartels contribute to and exacerbate genocidal conflicts in Africa, a Los Angeles Times (2009) editorial reminds the world that,

> [T]he deadliest conflict since the end of the Second World War in which more than 4.5 million people […] killed, and over 200,000 women raped rages far from Iraq and Afghanistan […] but in the Congo DRC, where murderous militants (and militant groups in power) are battling for the valuable minerals such as tin, tantalum, tungsten and gold, which are essential raw materials to the world-wide production of consumer electronics … like cell phones, video games, digital cameras, computers (15).

Similarly, the existence of oil resource-related genocidal strangulation against the Biafrans, the blood diamonds in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the unending Congo DRC civil war over the control of the supply chain of tantalum and tungsten needed for computer and electronics production are examples of genocidal ethnic conflicts in Africa that are tied to international cartels and multinational corporations from developed countries. It is through these organized networks of resource-seeking cartels, which are used by the West's MICs as conduits for the supply/flow chains of small and heavy arms used in many genocidal conflicts in Africa.

Specifically, African Dependency Theorists, who largely lean on the Marxist theory of the state, have multidimensionally linked genocidal ethnic conflicts in post-colonial Africa and elsewhere to the continuation of the colonial situation, decades after independence (Osaghae, 2006; Ekeh, 1983; 1975, Idowu, 1999a). These theorists see the post-colonial state in Africa as a congenitally-deformed superstructure designed, ab initio, to protect the interests of the colonizers and the newly-emergent hegemonic groups to the detriment of the often resource-blessed but weakened groups within them (Ibaba, 2008; Nagle et al., 2000; Idowu, 1999b; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2001). They argue that ethnic groups, ethnicity, and the post-colonial statehood and its defective structural and bureaucratic attributes (governments, justice system, prisons, bureaucracies, army, weapons of mass destruction, democratic practice, and authoritarianism) are all parts of the "emergent social formations" created by the colonizers to entrench colonialism, neo-imperialism and capitalism (Clempson, 2012; Spencer and Wollman, 2002; Cayton and Williams, 2001; Ekeh, 1983; 1975). Also, the wanton merging of culturally-different societies into post-colonial states is the progenitor of Africa's poisoned ethnic and genocidal conflicts (Imhonopi et al., 2013; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2001; Aluko, 1998; Osaghae, 2006,1993; Ekeh, 1983). Therefore, ethnic relations in most multi-diverse post-colonial states in Africa have been turbulent, chaotic,

and violent, and characterized by perpetual hostilities (Jalata, 2016; Imhonopi et al., 2013; Aluko, 1998). Thus, just as colonialism was achieved and sustained through the mass murder and genocide of colonized peoples, the forced intermixture of culturally-different societies into unitary capitalist colonies, and the emergence of hegemonic ethnic groups within new post-colonial states cannot but lead to mass killings, and genocidal conflicts once these groups struggle for power and relevance after their political independence (Ekeh, 1983).

Unpacking the nature of colonial and post-colonial existentialism, Ekeh (1983; 1975) stated that whereas all human societies have, from time to time, always had their (changing) cultural and religious beliefs, the (new) ethnic identities, and ethnic conflicts created through colonization, are part of the emergent social formations of the Westphalian state system that were imposed on groups of independent autochthonous pre-colonial societies. In fact, indigenous (pre-colonial) societies across the globe interacted peacefully, and with no intent to annex or dominate others (Ellingson, 2001; Ekeh, 1983). Thus, the aforementioned theory argues that colonialism and its bequeathed administrative structure are at the roots of genocidal ethnic conflicts in most post-independent states since the end of the Second World War. At the risk of over-emphasis, the structure of colonialism was such that the colonizers applied varying degrees of genocidal repression on the colonized in the forms of structural violence, economic deprivation and disarticulation, political alienation through forced rule, social injustice, and inequality (Imhonopi & Urim, 2013).

Dependency Theorists have also established the intersectionality of underdevelopment, state failure and genocidal ethnic conflicts in Africa. For them, state failure and genocidal conflicts are products of lingering structural deformities deliberately designed by colonial powers, now sustained in the cloak of the globalization of capitalism that is stoking local conflicts within weakly post-colonial

states elsewhere (Zeleza, 2005:34). Capitalism and recolonization through globalization (the latest stage of imperialism) and the roles of multinational institutions are part of the colonization epoch or ongoing "colonial situation" jointly blamed for the "unprecedented levels of poverty, state repression, state weakness/collapse, counter state mobilization, identity redefinitions, citizenship contestations, rising tension, violence, conflict and war" (Osaghae, 2004: iii). In turn, this has exacerbated the "push and pull factors" spurring the increase of "internally disadvantaged, marginalized and alienated persons" (iii). So, contemporary genocidal conflicts are a result of secessionist and self-determination opposition by marginalized self-conscious groups in those states, genocidally, appropriated as the political organ of hegemonic ethnic group, to cause the subjugation and internal colonization of vulnerable ethno-national groups (Jalata, 2016; Ekanola, 2004:35; Gans, 2003:171; Horowitz 1985).

Lastly, the end of the Cold War and the resultant epiphenomenon of globalization in contemporary times, has led to the opening of democratization spaces in hitherto autocratic states. This has created opportunities for suppressed groups to strongly resist internal colonization by the Super Powers during the several decades of the Cold War (Orenlitcher, 2003). This view unearths "the temporal coincidence between surges of democracy and (genocidal) secessionist movements in the former Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan. In many contested states, secessionist movements and deadly have resulted from situations where ethnic identities have become ideologized and where one or more groups perceive that their culture is not respected, or they have been suppressed by some other groups, or the state itself" (Keller, 2007:4). Most of the time during struggle among competing groups, opportunistic groups gain control of state powers and use it to subjugate and oppress those groups that lose out of the power game (Carter et al., 2009). Evidence from some ethnically-divided societies like Nigeria, the Indian sub-continent, Northern Ireland, and Congo DRC show

that the precipitants of ethno-national self-determination, and mass violence exist when sizeable ethnically-organized groups with different cultural traditions compete in the same state for more rights and recognition under unequal institutional conditions (Boss, 2008, Ryan, 2007; Wolff, 2007). It is the armed opposition against and/or pushbacks to sustain this colonial form of suppression that often lead to extreme counter-resistance and genocides.

The state failure hypothesis also explains the incidence of genocidal ethnic conflicts, and wars. It has been argued that while the presence of violent ethnic conflicts may not necessarily lead to state failure, it is the case that the varying degrees of anarchy and genocidal ethno-political conflicts are, more often than not, the major signposts of potentially failing or failed states (Clempson, 2012; Biswas, 2006:48). For instance, India's steady economic growth and political stability has not been affected by the genocidal conflicts against the Kashmir and Nagaland separatists and other minor conflicts (Biswas, 2006). This may be misleading. Even as there is no sign of civil unrest in the totalitarian North Korea state that is ranked 19th on the failed states index (FFP, 2012), two million out of a total population of 24 million were killed by mass starvation. So, state failure results where a state lacks the capacity to organize its affairs to attain successful state-building and integrative intergroup relations (Jeong, 2005:83).

I must re-emphasize that a state loses its legitimacy and internal sovereignty when it becomes a tool of hegemonic repression and power aggrandizement for dominant group(s). It is also when a polity is hampered by the institutional incapacitation when its territory, political authority and monopolistic use of force are contested by groups, and criminality, corruption and armed ethnic conflicts instituted into the governance of a country (Menkhaus, 2003). Thus, a failed/failing state results when a society's social structure and/or realpolitik falters and unable to overcome its socio-economic and political challenges. The presence of state failure indicators

demonstrates that social factors, whether exogenous or endogenous, culminating in violent intergroup relations and sustaining the conflagration of intractable genocidal conflicts or denationalization are concomitantly linked to the pathological causes of state failure.

Hypothetically, the concept and art of state-building, as opposed to state failure, implies the absence of the above-mentioned destructive indicators. Successful state-building results where conflicts arising within a state are leveraged to ensure integrative social stability, good governance, peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups, human rights and security, development, social equality, and orderliness that appeals to all. For example, Jeong (2005:83-84) listed some of what could be perceived of as the major conditionalities of state-building. The list includes the absence of militarized conflicts among groups, confidence-building and the lack of suspicion in intergroup relations, the non-suppression of minorities or their views by dominant groups, the participatory involvement of all groups in the decision-making processes of the state, the absence of hegemonic relations, the presence of social equality and equitable management of state resources and affairs, a democratically-elected government who enjoys the consent of the governed, and the ability of the state to maintain social cohesion through good governance.

The "New War Theory" developed by Mary Kaldor (2001, 2003; Kaldor & Vashee, **1**999) and refined by Dexter (2007) is another variant of the state failure hypothesis. Waged mostly for selfish and irrational economic gains, "new wars take place within the context of a failed state, or weak state" (1058). This theory argues that there is a radical paradigm shift in new wars since the end of the Cold War that are not conventional, traditional state-centric or "Clausewitzian" warfare (Kaldor, 2003). Apart from the indigenous actors in the failed or failing states, Kaldor (2003) maintains that the new war "involve an array of global actors—foreign

mercenaries and volunteers, diaspora supporters, neighbouring states, not to mention the humanitarian actors such as aid agencies, NGOs or reporters" (156). Further, she articulates:

> "New wars" tend to be concentrated in areas where the modern state is unraveling and where the distinctions between internal and external, public and private, no longer have the same meaning. Such areas are characterized by what are called frail or failing states, quasi or shadow states. These are states, formally recognized by the outside world with some of the trappings of statehood […] and) these are states where the monopoly of legitimate organized violence is eroding (148).

Agreeing with Kaldor on the links between new wars, and the surge in genocidal ethnic conflicts in failed states since the Cold War ended, Dexter (2007) added that:

> Violence is spurred by backward-looking identity politics of ethnicity or religion and supported by a decentralized and informal economy reliant on external factors and criminality. New wars involve a wide variety of actors like regular armies and breakaway units, militias, paramilitaries, child soldiers, criminals and terrorists. Significantly, the majority of deaths are not military but civilian." (1058).

Other striking features of new wars are ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and mass abuses of human rights are the most striking characterizations of the new wars. That is why Martin Shaw (2000) has argued that the extremism and genocidal outcomes of new wars involving powerful countries and their military mercenary and predatory networks are reminders that the new wars are responsible for the "deeply destructive, genocidal forms of violence which accompanied not only the break-ups of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union but also the fragmentation of many states, especially in Africa, since the end of the Cold War" (172).

The major criticism of the new war theory is that there is nothing new in the involvement of external powerful actors in fanning the embers of intrastate conflicts and capitalizing on the same to reach "lucrative arms deals" with both sides of a conflict divide. Some scholars have relied on ample historical examples to conclude that regardless of the disturbing new wars in unstable, corrupt, ethnically-divided and despotic states, nothing has changed (see Newman, 2004; Smith, 2003; Kalyvas, 2001). A good example of an "old war" which fits Kaldor's "new war" as the criticism goes is the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970 (de St Jorre, 1972, cf. Dexter, 2007:1059). Thus, there is a need to also explore other theories.

The other level of analysis is the theory that links the external causes of genocidal ethnic conflicts in relation to the changing dynamics of international geopolitics. John Agnew (2000) made the case that historical epochs and the changing dynamics of international geopolitics and ideologies have given rise to the creation and/or sharpening of the edges of ethnic differences and violent conflicts arising from them. During the Cold War, the need to contain the spread of the Soviet Union-led communist ideology forced Western democracies to support corrupt, repressive and visionless military and civilian dictatorships in post-colonial states. In many states in Africa, the West armed and aided corrupt military men like Mobutu Sese-Seko of Congo DRC, Gnasingbe Eyadéma of Togo, Siad Barre of Somalia, and Jean Bokassa of Central Africa Republic among others to topple democratically-elected regimes perceived to be pro-communist. In many genocidal wars (e.g., the Biafra and the Sri Lankan civil wars) the Western Powers heavily armed the hegemonic sides of the conflict (Achebe, 2013; Power, 2013; Bose, 2010). Additionally, genocidal conflicts largely benefit the Military Industrial Complexes (MICs) of the Global North as well as international arms dealers from the West and their local collaborators. The point being made here is that ethnic conflicts in weak and dependent contested post-colonial

states become genocidal following the quantum volume of weapons supplied by the MICs of the West. Again, the more the defense spending by ethnicized post-colonial states, the more profit goes to the war economies of industrialized states, and the deadlier the genocidal Global South states conflicts become. This is contrary to Kaldor's view that the old war is not new.

Conclusions

As stated in the beginning, this chapter is one of the two chapters on the conceptual and theoretical review of the key concepts that help explain the likely nature, dimensions, and root causes of genocidal conflicts. To be able to do this, the study had to undertake a rigorous evaluation of various theories to explain the nature of such key concepts as mass killings, genocide or genocidal conflicts/relations, cultural genocide, culture, ethnicity, ethnic identity formations, colonialism and contested and failed statehood. By exploring the intersectional or multidimensional interlinkages between the above-mentioned concepts, we can see that the problems or ambiguities of created by restrictive or reductionist cum propagandist notions about, say the concepts of mass killings, and genocide, are eliminated or drastically reduced.

I have relied on an eclectic, or a multidimensional theoretical approach to explain the key concepts to help deepen our understanding of social forces that act as triggers to past and present genocidal conflicts, and state failure in Nigeria, African, and Third World states. These approaches—conceptually and theoretically explaining the nature and root causes of ethnic conflicts and their genocidal dimensions—have touched base the in connections of the economic, psychosocial, political, military and cultural dimensions to analyze the subject matter. Thus, there is no single approach that can be used to exhaustively carry out a critical review of the incidence of ethnicized conflicts, and genocide in Nigeria, from 1966 until today. In other words,

the incidence of past and present genocide against Biafra can be proved with a combination of these genocide theories. We now know genocides takes several forms. Whether by mass killings, mass starvation, destruction of elites, the language, and culture of the oppressed; economic disarticulation or internal colonization the goal of the perpetrator is always to exterminate the physical and/or psychosocial existence of the targeted victims. Next is the discussion on the theoretical conceptualization of social change, nonviolent resistance, and social movements.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CHANGE, NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

The major issue this study is interested in is to make sense of why pro-Biafra social movements have sought and are seeking to achieve transformational cum positive social change through waging strategic nonviolent resistance against a genocidally-repressive state like Nigeria. Therefore, it is pertinent to strive to have clearer understanding of the key concepts like social change, nonviolent resistance and social movements. This is the focus of this chapter. Essentially, the major task is to explore the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of what

we mean by nonviolent resistance as a potent weapon of achieving positive social change in the face asymmetric conflicts or genocidal violence. Thus, the focus here is on the conceptual and theoretical analysis of the meanings and philosophical foundations of the highlighted concepts.

I began by looking at what we mean by social change. The literature tells us that social change is an unavoidable constant in social evolution and must surely take place whether violently or nonviolently, and whether the change is positive or negative. The chapter progressed to the philosophical or theoretical conceptualization of nonviolence as a concept that is not (theoretically) a direct antonym of violence. Next is theoretical exploration of several schools to conceptually and theoretically distinguish and decipher the relationships and points of departure among abstract concepts in the literature of nonviolence—pacifism, principled nonviolence and strategic/pragmatic nonviolence. Lastly, the chapter concluded with exploring the interlinkages between nonviolence/nonviolent resistance and social movements.

Considering Social Change, Nonviolent Resistance and Social Movements

There is no denying the truism that (social) change is the only permanent and inherently inevitable thing in life and the evolution of all human societies. The present international system - the institutions, processes, governance forms, structures, and composition of the modern state, on the one hand, the strategic geopolitical cum economic alliances, and differing ideologies among and within states, the web of congruence, and contradictions shaping their internal dynamics, are products of epochal social changes. So, any human society that is bereft of the inevitable forces of social relations is either nonexistent or is fundamentally dysfunctional. To this end, it is through the instrumentality of social change that human collectives, either

oppressed or at the margins of the social systems they find themselves in, reverse the course of their detrimental social existence.

Inherently, social change results because humans, through their impulsive and reflexive social interactions, are inclined to indulge in acts that may or may not serve the collective interests of all concerned humans at the same time (Kriesberg, 2015). The implication is that conflict of interests and (successful or failed) attempts to arrive at a common ground is what leads to changes in the social existence of those concerned (Laderach, 2005). Social conflicts, and social change are attributes of human beings, as social and political animals, to engage in constant search for a just, secure, and safe society that would guarantee their happiness and comfort (Jeong 2005). So, the pursuit of peace with social justice, though highly desirable, constitutes the nucleus of most, if not all, destructive (negative) or constructive (positive) conflicts (Kriesberg, 2015). So, while societies have pursued and attained just laws and just social order, states strive for peace with social justice, human security and happiness of all groups within and between societies (Byrne & Senehi, 2012). It is more often the case that such changes come through violent conflicts or revolutions. Sadly, the desirability, inevitability, and permanence of social change to achieve social justice in all human societies have, mostly, been pursued and/or attained through deadly, rather than peaceful means.

History shows that familiar path to revolutionary violence was/is considered the only way oppressed peoples in draconian situations could cause social change. That is why "bloodshed often seemed warranted, especially when justified by the widely held judgement that what was taken by violence can only be retrieved by violence" (King, 2008). While radical social change is necessary to end or transform situations of social injustices and violent repressions, Bondurant (1971:7) wondered why revolutionary activists readily turn to violence to achieve their ends as if

there is no other way out. These concerns are salient because most attempts at attaining social change through violent means have often resulted in far worse structural violence, or genocidal conflicts than the hitherto situations. If so why has the pursuit of nonviolent social change been either kept in abeyance, or quite frankly, neglected by social change movements?

As we ponder on the above questions, "the situation in places like Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Balkans, Kashmir, Liberia, Nagorno Karabak, Chechnya, Rwanda, Somalia, Northern Ireland, Sudan and Sri Lanka, to name a few, induce helplessness among advocates of nonviolence, and doubt in its supposedly universal potential for application" (Moolakkattu, 2009:34-35). Moreover, given that radical social changes through the industrial revolution, the French revolution, the American Revolution, the Russian and Chinese revolutions as well as through the processes of imperialism, slavery, colonialism, and decolonization, mostly resulted from militarized and structural violence to conquer or subdue others. That said, could the powers of nonviolence have achieved same results? Would it have been nonviolently possible to stop Napoleon Bonaparte's attempted conquest of Europe? Could nonviolence have stopped the social changes that brought about Fascism, Nazism and the Holocaust, and genocides of WWII? Would nonviolent action have prevented the First and Second World Wars?

Addressing these questions is pertinent to the extent that achieving "peace with social justice" is mostly desirable if achieved by nonviolent social processes. But that is the problem! As we will see later, those who believe(d), advocate(d) and practice(d) nonviolence inform us that the power or force of nonviolence, if properly harnessed, is as potent as, and even more valuable than that of violence (Moolakkattu, 2009; Cortright, 2006; Sharp, 2005; 2003). But while revolutionary violence has always been employed to bring about social change, are there verifiable evidences that nonviolence has been used to attain similar or better ends? Many

scholars are affirmative. Summy (1997) contends that nonviolent political action is not only a principled political method that ended the Cold War, but it is also a force for social change, and the transformation of various violent conflicts around the globe, championed by ordinary people. Also believing that nonviolence in an emergent mechanism for political change at the dawn of the 21st century, Satha-Anand (1998:2) argued that "the changing political landscape around the globe" reflects the "images nonviolent political actions of courageous faces of common people confronting violence with nonviolent actions."

Comparing the past with the present, Moolakkattu argues that although, the conflict map of the world reveals that nonviolence is still an unpopular political action, "it is an empirical fact that the number of unarmed insurrections is increasing in incidence even as violence persists, and they often arise as improvised responses to oppression and grievances" (Moolakkattu, 2009:34). This position is validated in a study titled, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict" by Stephan and Chenoweth (2008)[19]. This study found that of 323 nonviolent and violent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006, nonviolent resistance methods were more successful than violent methods and achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared to 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns. Gene Sharp, one of the most popular advocates of pragmatic nonviolent resistance presented a far more resounding verdict for the effective power of nonviolence. With about 23 varying expository case studies, Sharp's (2005) "Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential" stated the fact that nonviolent struggle has proven to be a formidable alternative praxis with immense capabilities to conquer or overpower systemic and endemic forms of structural and physical violence and even genocides (Sharp, 2005). His view is that if, and when properly applied

[19] Chenoweth, E.; Stephan, M. J. (2011) is an expanded version of the 2008 original study/publication

constructively, intelligently, wisely, painstakingly, and courageously – pragmatic nonviolent struggle is more powerful and potent than the use of, and reliance on (justifiable) violent resistance or revolutions to end or resist (cultural) genocide, hegemonized social repression, alienation and marginalization, and hydra-authoritarianism.

The key point above is the advice that oppressed groups should embrace nonviolent resistance as a more effective method to resist violence and genocidal repression. With the foregoing points in mind, it is imperative to critically look at the concepts of social change and nonviolence, or nonviolent resistance, and their inter-linkages. Specifically, I explore the conceptual, theoretical, and philosophical basis of these and related concepts that may arise in my efforts to address these and other questions.

A Closer Look at Social Change, Violence, Nonviolence, and Nonviolent Resistance

Scholars who write about social change and social conflict agree that violence and nonviolence are action-based concepts that are also more theoretical and practical (Byrne & Senehi, 2012). They also agree that the theory and practice of nonviolence stands out when distinguished from violence. Although doing so may be difficult, it is also a scholarly imperative to appreciate the fact that unless it is proven beyond reasonable doubt, what we know as nonviolence will turn out to be controversial, mysterious or both (Irwin & Faison, 2002). Even so "there is not much agreement among scholars about how "nonviolence" functions or even about what it refers to" (Roedel, 2008-2009:221). Kurlansky (2008:5) notes that nonviolence is a consciously marginalized concept among those who reject any radical or subtle change to pre-existing social systems and formations that favour them. This is because nonviolence, a rare paradoxical revolutionary idea, is a potent instrument of complete social change in any society,

as well as a threat to established (unjust) social order. Moreover, the near absence of proactive words to express nonviolence has been linked to the fear of the action word of nonviolence, not only by political establishments (who readily justify the use of violence against armed resistance), but it is also considered to be a dangerous idea to intellectual and cultural establishments, which upholds violence as a part of human nature (5). For example, Waal (2002:73) sees violence as ranging from militarized governance to wars that has crystallized into a political culture of militarism, and the instrumentality by which states, intrastate, and interstate formations pursue their political aims and ends. This also explains why radical social changes have often been achieved by destructive violence, or wars waged by revolutionaries (Bondurant, 1988; 1971).

Before it began to be acknowledged as an effective force in social change, nonviolence was considered a utopian or fanciful point of view by those who tended to reject one of society's key components (Kurlansky, 2008). Similarly, intellectual attacks against the gains made through nonviolent social change in the late 20th century came from Gamson (1990; 1984) who strongly argued that violent social movements are more likely to achieve their goals than nonviolent movements. This unfortunate situation is informed by the fact that the world operates through a culture of violent solutions, (where) "violence is viewed as a legitimate means of solving problems even if the problem itself is violence itself" (Elias, 1997:178). It is also for this reason the 20th century is seen as the bloodiest of all centuries due to the death and destruction caused by war as well as the invention, stockpiling, and deployment of weapons of mass destruction (Joseph et al., 2009: vii). In their book, "Are We There Yet: The Second World War and the Theory of Total War" Chickering and Foster (2005) argue that in search of how to resolve a spreading global menace, parties in conflict assembled over seventy million military personnel,

and unrestrainedly deployed newly-discovered air power, and a countless number of highly deadly industrialized military warfare technology. In the end, the World War II resulted in the killing of millions of soldiers and over 45 million civilians—a kind of total destruction—to solve a global political and ideological problem, with no real solution achieved in the end.

Partially, the situation above explains why the concept of nonviolence has not received the same amount of research and policy attention as violence and aggression (Martin, 2005; Mayton et al., 2002; Mayton, et al., 1996). Burgess and Burgess (1997; 1994) theorized that the world sees more violence because nonviolence is not given the chance to create peace with justice. Mayton et al. (2002) offer us another reason for the disadvantaged position of the study of nonviolence by scholars. They did so through a PsycLit search, which was aimed at measuring studies that related to violence and nonviolence between 1990 and 2001. They discovered that the terms of nonviolence, pacifism, and non-aggression, provided only 118 nonredundant references, whereas over 10,000 nonredundant references were available for the terms—"aggression and violence" (Mayton et al., 2002:344). Yet, despite these initial scholarly critiques, Stephan and Chenoweth (2008) amongst other scholars, rely on history to state that nonviolent resistance and action, "is a forceful alternative to political violence that can pose effective challenges to democratic and nondemocratic opponents, and at times can do so more effectively than violent resistance" (9). Also, Joseph et al. (2009) argue that "interspersed between the bloodiest moments of the last century are bright examples of social change and resistance to aggression and injustice brought about through nonviolent action" (vii).

Even so there is no consensus among scholars/theorists as to what nonviolence really means and what its nature is/ought to be. This lack of mutual misunderstanding, though benign, is simply due to the differences in opinions by major two major schools of thought on

nonviolence, namely, “Principled Nonviolence” and “Pragmatic or Strategic Nonviolence” (Byrne & Senehi, 2012; Roedel, 2008-2009; Chernus, 2004; Irwin & Faison, 2002; Bharadwaj, 1998). In his stout criticism of pragmatic nonviolence, Roedel (2008-2009) argues that pragmatic or “strategic” nonviolence “is on a continuum with violent techniques that people use to change the behavior of others, and it is subject to all the other mimetic pressures that violent conflict normally responds to” (223). What is clear from these statements is that the definition and operationalization of violence and nonviolence is not such an easy task. Hence, conceptualizing and taking a tour into the world of nonviolence would assist in appreciating what is meant by violent and nonviolent social change. It is only from this comparison that we could see that nonviolence is a far more result-oriented mechanism for achieving peaceful social change or peace with social justice in societies, hitherto, undergoing genocidal violence.

Violence, Nonviolence, and Nonviolent Resistance

If we are to play a game of antonyms, nonviolence would be matched with violence, yet nonviolence is not just the absence of violence (Burgess, 2006, Burgess & Burgess, 1994; Pelton, 1974). So, the first step towards the conceptual clarity of nonviolence should begin with understanding the etymological origin of the concept of violence (Steger, 2003:12). First, the term “violence” etymologically originated from the Latin word “violentia,” i.e., “vehemence,” a passionate and uncontrolled force (Bufacchi, 2009:14). The etymological word “volare” has varying meanings. For instance, while Stegar (2003) argued volare is a verb that connotes “force,” “injure,” “dishonour,” and “violate,” Bufacchi (2009) sees it is an “infringement.”

Perhaps, this dilemma, in part, explains why some definitions of the concept of violence mostly tend towards unravelling the inter-linkages between the excessive use of force with the

unavoidable and frequent violation of norms and rules, and the rights of others. What this shows is that definitions of violence by scholars have tended to be either too broad or too narrow and create ambiguities in the definition and operationalization of violence and nonviolence as well. That is why Bufacchi (2009) who looked at several definitions of violence, concluded that different scholars have approached the definition of violence through two major approaches. This is, even as, we have the Galtung (1996) theory of direct, cultural, and structural violence. These are the "Minimalist Conception of Violence" (MCV) and "Comprehensive Violence" (CV) theories. The MCV theory enables scholars to define violence in narrow and specific terms. As Bufacchi (2009) sees it, "defining violence in terms of excessive or destructive force has the important advantage of delineating clear boundaries around what constitutes an act of violence, avoiding, therefore, the tendency to use the term violence as synonymous for anything that is evil or morally wrong" (23). Conversely, defining violence through the CV approach stands against restrictive or reductionist definitions. So, the compressive definition of violence looks at both the act and intended effects of violence in more holistic ways.

With both MCV and CV approaches in mind, we should look at a few more definitions. Most MCV theorists define violence simply as acts of physical force with a violation or infringement of the rights of those at the receiving end (Bufacchi: 14). For example, Bond (1994) defined violence as "any physical force against another's body, against that person's will, and that is expected" (62). In contrast, Honderich (2003) sees it as, "the use of physical force that injures, damages, violates or destroys people or things" (15). Many other scholars follow the MCV approach to define violence as merely the excessive use of force (Magil, 2008, Starr, 2006:55; Geras, 1990:22; Coady, 1986). Specifically, Coady argues against "wide" definitions.

As already stated, those who favour the compressive conceptualization of violence criticizes the MCV approach by broadening the existential contexts and impacts of the excessive use of physical and nonphysical force. Perhaps, that is why Bufacchi (2009) said, "While acts of excessive physical force entail some form of violations, there are times when violation occurs without the need of any excessive physical force" (15). And as we will find out later, acts of pragmatic nonviolent resistance such as mass civil disobedience, noncooperation, sit-ins, and strikes are all acts capable of disrupting and violating the rules and social life of a given society, but which are neither injurious to anyone since the use of excessive physical force is not required. The second problem with the MCV definitions by Bond (1994) and Honderich (2003) is that if violence is simply the use of physical force against another's will, does it mean there is no violence committed given nonviolent protesters "willingness" to suffer or endure the violent crucifixion and/or death from their oppressors during their resistance against social injustice?

Since it has been stated that violence does have a psycho-physical element and impact on those at the receiving end (Burgess & Burgess, 1994), it is necessary to look at some theoretical definitions that follow the comprehensive approach. Bondurant (1988) articulated that violence is "the willful application of force in such a way that it is intentionally injurious (psycho-physically) to the person or group against whom it is applied" (9). Violence in this context is also theorized as deliberate acts or intentions that constitute the violation of the rights or the denial of the social justice of others. Salmi (1993) noted that "violence is any avoidable action that constitutes a violation of a human right, in its widest meaning, or which prevents the fulfilment of a basic human need" (17, cf. Bufacchi, 2009). Following this definition, Salmi went on to state that it is legitimate to categorize as social violence each time human beings are starved or undernourished because of political reasons. What this definition suggests is that violence is the

extreme use of physical and nonphysical force to inflict physical and psychological pains, to undermine or deny the human rights and dignity of others, whether as individuals or groups. In other words, violence is that act that ensures and leads to the subjugation and denial of the social justice and equal rights of/to others. Similarly, all acts by oppressed groups, or individuals and/or their sympathizers that mimic the acts of oppressors' violence is nothing, but violent resistance.

There is still a far more comprehensive definition of violence. According to Audi (1971), violence is "the physical attack upon, or the vigorous physical abuse of, or vigorous physical struggle against, a person, or animal, or the highly vigorous psychological abuse of, or the sharp, caustic psychological attack upon, a person or animal, or the highly vigorous, or incendiary, or malicious and vigorous, destruction or damaging of property or potential property" (59). Another good way to understand violence is through the operationalization of violent acts in contradistinction to acts of nonviolence. This is despite the views of Stegar (2003) and Pelton (1974) that see nonviolence as not being strictly the opposite of violence. "Nonviolence is acting in a manner that will not harm anyone even when striving to root out injustice in the world - i.e. Actions that do not do or allow injustice" (14-15). Stegar (2003) also noted that "nonviolence is a philosophical position and an associated set of political actions of those who refrain from the intentional infliction of physical and psychological injury on persons" (13). He further stated that instead of being the opposite or absence of what Galtung (1996) saw as physical and structural violence, nonviolent actions are a commitment to social change that would end all forms of violence without any form of violence on the aggressor. Sara Ruddick (2005) argues nonviolent activities are social actions that renounce and resist the strategies and weapons of violence. Therefore, nonviolent resistance "implies to resist, nonviolently, the violence of others, including their policies of bigotry, greed and exploitation" (161).

David Cortright (2006:1-2), a US Vietnam War veteran turned peace scholar, theorizes that the concept of nonviolence is both a social action and a philosophy of life—a radically different way of life (that is) more of a strategy than a tactic for achieving effective and lasting nonviolent social change, whether pursued as a pragmatic or philosophical choice. Little (1995, cf. Mayton et al., 2002:344) argued that nonviolence or nonviolent resistance is comprised of four major characteristics. These are: nonviolence is an intent lacking in violent action; a people's willingness to accept suffering rather than directly inflicting it on others; it consists of people's eagerness to achieve peace by voluntarily submitting to violence and deprivation without retaliating; and it is manifested by people's willingness to resist injustice without the use of violence, retaliation, or cooperation with evil. To sum it up, rather than being merely a technique for outwitting the enemy, nonviolence is a "just means of opposing the enemy in a way that holds open the possibility of the enemy's becoming just also" (Wink, 1998:97).

One major indefinable problem with the above argument is that these set of definitions fail to point out that nonviolence is equally an alternative force useful in waging confrontational wars or resistance against violence. This is the view of many scholars of nonviolent resistance and action. For instance, while writing on the strategies of post-military defense, Sharp stated that "nonviolent action is a means of combat, as is war. It involves the matching of forces and the waging of "battles," requires wise strategy and tactics and demands of its "soldiers courage, discipline, and sacrifice" (Sharp, 1973:9). Relatedly, Stephan and Chenoweth (2008) defined nonviolent resistance as "a civilian-based method used to wage conflicts through psychological, economic, and political means without the threat or use of violence" (9). Agreeing with Sharp that pragmatic nonviolent action is like waging a war that involves the readiness to take risks and bear suffering without retaliation, Irwin and Faison (2002) attempted a further clarification to

separate this method from such concepts as pacifism and principled nonviolence. Thus, nonviolent action includes civil disobedience like noncooperation, sit-ins, interventions, and demonstrations. Third, nonviolent action is theorized as a means of social struggle— "not simply any method of action that is not violent. Therefore, nonviolent action is "taking action that goes beyond normal institutionalized political methods (voting, lobbying, letter writings, verbal expressions) without injuring opponents" (Irwin & Faison (2002:2).

Social Change and Violent and Nonviolent Resistance

Theories of violent and nonviolent social change point to the fact that social conflict is essential, normal and inevitable, and has often created opportunities for each human society to build their desired social system because of their actions, inactions, and forms of social relations. Whether by violent or nonviolent revolutions, each race, nation, state, or global body, is driven by a natural survivalist or self-preservation instinct, and to constantly seek ways to change, deal with or resist existential challenges in every generation. However, it is quite unfortunate that social conflicts and the pursuit and attainment of desired social changes have been mostly been pursued through the instrumentalities of deadly and violent revolutions. Yet, the strong argument by scholars in this study point to the fact that seeking positive social change through nonviolent resistance actions is as effective as, and most times, a more positive way to conflict transformation and human development (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011, Kurlansky, 2008; Sharp, 2005; 1973; Irwin & Faison, 2002). Let us critically investigate the organic differences between nonviolent and violent social change and resistance.

Violent Social Change and Violent Resistance

Let us begin with violent social change theories. In his book, A History of Force: Exploring the Worldwide Movement against Habits of Coercion, Bloodshed and Mayhem, James Payne (2004) stated that the contemporary world system has essentially remained a product of violence, social injustices and genocide justified politically and religiously by (hegemonic) social systems in every continent and most states. Modern civilization is also said to be a "war-natured history" of the rise and fall of empires, "a chronicle of reigns, wars, battles, and military and political revolutions; […] a history of power to control and tame others" (Boulding, 2000:13). Thus, violence has always been elevated and valued as the most vital instrument of sociopolitical engagement and social development by all societies and social groups. Bufacchi (2009: 3) agrees with Hampshire (1999) and Barry (1995) about the ironical connectedness between political violence and social justice. This is to the extent that political violence is one method of resolving political conflict, while conflict resolution is a prerogative of social justice. That is why most subjugated groups have come to see the use of violence, to fight for just wars, just revolutions, or social justice means. What this means is that our world today is essentially a product of continuous political struggles and a culture of violence. In their volume, Revolutions and Revolutionaries: Participants' Perspectives on the Strategies of Seizing Power, Springer and Truzzi (1973) noted that the present world is a product of revolutions of all sorts, ranging from the American Revolution in 1776, to those that created radical social changes as in the French Revolutions of 1789-99, 1848, 1871, and 1968; England between 1640-60; the Socialist Soviet Revolution of 1917; Mexico 1910-40; to the Nazi rise to power in Germany; and both World Wars. This list does not in any way downplay liberation struggles by colonized revolutionaries seeking political changes towards political independence.

Perhaps, it is for this reason that Bufacchi (2004) stated that for us to understand the nature of and reasons behind those who take to violent social change we should follow an understanding of the impact of existential violent social relations—repression, social inequalities, and injustice—in which they find themselves. The most significant thing about the culture of violence is that it manifests in the use of deadly means to create both hegemonic and subordinate social forces within a system. As a result, (feelings of) bottled-up anger, powerlessness, frustration, and vulnerability suffered by subordinate groups facing social injustice often lead them to the conclusion that their survival and/or ability to end their subjugation can only come about when they employ the same instruments of violence that their perpetrators use against them (Young, 1990). Even so failed violent social change or violent resistance by subjugated groups have, most of the times, resulted in more devastating repression and injustices by hegemonic groups. From the foregoing, while pragmatic nonviolent resistance is a better way of confronting, reversing, or transforming relations of social violence and injustice, it is important to understand that violent and nonviolent resistance are both shaped by similar violent social relations trajectories. Thus, we would look at some of the theories of violent versus nonviolent resistance in human efforts to create social change.

The first theory of violent social change to be considered is the Realist School of power within international relations. The realist theory of power is credited to Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, and Niccolò Machiavelli, seen by many as the founder of modern realism. Machiavelli (1985), in his counsel to the Prince and those who wish to rule, that since human nature is essentially flawed, evil, wicked, and violent, wielding absolute and decisive power must not just be a means to an end but an end in itself, if new territories are to be acquired, and a stable social order maintained. Also, he called on rulers to pay attention to the "real world" of politics with its

unavoidable conflicts, wars, and conspiracies. To this end, each state must be equipped with a strong military force that is equally ready to deal decisively with dissenting citizens within and external aggressors. In a nutshell, Machiavelli's (1985) view is that morality should be divested from politics, while brute force or violence must be the language of political existentialism. Thus, political change must come about through violence.

Max Weber is another political philosopher whose realist view illuminated the sociopolitical realism of the 19th and the 20th centuries. According to Stegar (2003:37) Weber believed that modern society is a product of warfare and conquest, all for the survivalist struggle to control scarce economic resources. Due to this political struggle to carve out and ensure control in what Richard Ashley (1987) referred to as "Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space" or spaces for economic influence and survival, the modern states, and by extension, the international system, have come to represent systems of force and physical violence, seen to be normal and legitimate. As each state is a product and system of institutionalized violence, Weber argued that it is only through violence that power can be monopolized, civil wars waged, or ended, and states born and/or reborn (Stegar, 2003). What does this mean to a group that comes under the monopolized use of force by their state? Believers in violent social change or resistance would argue that since violence is normal, it is only by violence that they can attain a just society by resisting social injustices and violence unleashed upon them by the state.

The Marxist Theory of Social Change also justifies violent social change. Marxists argue that the state, and its institutions are created to exercise the monopolistic use of violence and coercion to legitimize, protect and sustain the parochial interests of the economically and politically dominant class in society to the detriment of the disarticulated masses, violently repressed, and economically exploited (Chernus, 2004; Ekeh, 1983). In classical Marxism, the

Bourgeoisie is the dominant economic and political class, while the peasantry or poor working class makes up the Proletariat. Fredrick Engels, associate and friend of Karl Marx defended Marxist's view on the historical role and meaning of the state, and its social institutions:

> The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without [...] it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggles, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state (Engels, 1973:177-178).

However, since the social relations under colonialism and neo-imperialism have more to do with race and ethnic domination than with Marx's industrial economic classes, neo-Marxist theorists have revised these classifications. While Bourgeoisie class is replaced by hegemonic colonizers or ethnonational groups, the Proletariat are still the subjugated groups (e.g., the colonized societies, vulnerable/weak ethnic groups) (Fanon, 2004; Memmi, 1965; Gramsci, 1957; 1971; Cesaire, 1955). What is important is that the nature of hegemonic social relations and the role of the state in both perspectives are the same.

To end the hegemonic social relations of the state, Marxists justified violent revolution as an emancipatory instrument of social change. In fact, the high point of Marxist theory is that since the state system is formed and sustained by violence, thereby making it antithetical to the freedom, economic development, and social wellbeing of the civil society and individuals, it is

only by violent revolution the oppressed can achieve emancipatory change and freedom (King, 2008; Chernus, 2004; Marx, 1977; Engels, 1973). Finally, Marxists also postulated the withering away of the capitalist state system, as the capitalist state contains the seeds of its own destruction, which will blossom into revolution led by the exploited masses, according to the iron laws of history (Chernus, 2004:61).

Furthermore, Marx had, inter alia, argued that since succumbing to oppression and exploitation are both psychological and existential problems, there is a need for the awakening and liberation of the mental consciousness of oppressed people in those societies that may not know that the state of poverty is man-made. That is why he argued that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but that their social existence determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1977 cited in Schellenberg, 1996: 82). By this statement, it is clear that the definition of human consciousness was critical to Marx, because this is how men/women disprove dogma and define their perception of what is real or not. Also, Marx noted that the oppressed masses should shake off false consciousness and awaken themselves to true consciousness towards their own liberation – attain real social change and social justice. He articulated that this would come about through violent revolution by the proletariats that would usher in a pro-proletariat dictatorship in a post-capitalist state "stateless society" or socialism and communism (Chernus, 2004; Marx, 1977; Gramsci, 1957).

Evaluating this theory, Springer and Marcello (1973) stated that although the Marxist Theory failed in Europe due to the success of capitalism, and the genocidal nature of the so-called communist states, the theory remains a model for social change by revolutionaries in most developing post-colonial states. But this statement is partially correct. The point needs to be made that while the proletariat revolution was successful, the leaders of the so-called communist

states that emerged after the revolutions visited totalitarian and genocidal repression against the same proletariat it came to liberate. It is instructive to state that Marx's theory began to crumble following the persecution of the anarchist elements that were part of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, as predicted by a Russian anarchist, Voline, when he met Leon Trotsky in New York in April 1917 (Adam, 2010:1). The persecution of the anarchists was over the centralization of state powers and the resultant multi-million genocidal deaths of vulnerable groups and ethno-nationalities in places like Ukraine, Belarus and, other parts of the defunct Soviet Union. It includes ongoing crises in North Korea, Myanmar, China, and Cuba. This is what destroyed the central argument of the Marxist's against the capitalist state.

Yet, to a large extent, the Marxists were right about the contagion of imperialism and state violence in all instances of colonialism and ongoing colonization in the Global South. Jeong (2006:186; 2000:33) and Gramsci (1971) agreed that the colonizer's hegemonic system was maintained by the legitimization of institutionalized mode of structural violence. Consequently, nonviolent resistance by subjugated groups get treated as treason, and oftentimes, visited with genocidal repression or detentions. Thus, violent revolution is seen by those who follow this radical theory, as the only way the oppressed could change the social structure and its system of social injustice, inequality, and domination (Schellenberg, 1996:82).

The support for violent social change was implicit in a solidarity speech by President Kennedy when he noted that "those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable" (Kennedy, 1962: 223). Even so Kennedy only made the statement as a warning to repressive Latin American states to emphasize the point that when peaceful change is denied, violent revolution becomes unavoidable. However, such an official statement only goes

to show that the U.S. operates or believes in the use of both legitimate and illegitimate violence to solve all problems, including those that are violent in nature (Elias, 1997:118-119).

In his advocacy for (mass) violence and social change, a theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr (1971:73) saw the threat of violence and the occasional outbreaks of real violence as elements of peaceful social change. This, for him, was a part of the instrumentalities of the international system and a state's effective democratic politics, and a factor underlying tacit, recognized, and omnipresent facts in domestic life. In support of violent resistance, he argued that the people's failure to engage in threatened or anti-state violence to checkmate the state's threat and monopoly over the use of violence, would inexorably lead to totalitarian repression of all activities and associations. Thus, "the actual outbreak or demonstration of violence must occur from time to time to give plausibility to its threatened outbreak, and thereby gain efficacy for the threat, an instrument of social and political change" (Niebuhr, 1971:74-75). But he also argued that for a state to be stable, it must not be found incapable of dealing with the threat of violence.

By and large, these theories of violent social change appear to show that violence is natural to humankind and it is useful in resolving social conflicts, in building peace, and in gaining people social justice. However, what is missing is the fact that violence and military force are not the only means through which societies can usher in social change. Thus, we should focus on how to change the present world system away from the political realism of concentric or rippling violent conflicts, genocides, mass killings, destruction of property, and rising poverty to that of positive peace and social equality to all groups within and among states.

Theoretical Conceptualization of Nonviolent Social Change and Nonviolent Resistance

It is important to note that although the concept of nonviolence is an umbrella concept covering such concepts as pacifism, nonviolent resistance or actions, the theories philosophical foundations, beliefs, and principles vary largely. That said, all nonviolence-related theories rests on the notion that it is counterproductive for oppressed groups to adopt and emulate their oppressors' violent methods in fighting for emancipatory social change. Second, nonviolent resistance and nonviolent actions are as effective as, and in some cases, more effective than the power of violence adopted by the state, and some freed\om human rights agitators. What remains is to delve into these theories that are in defense of principled nonviolence, or strategic nonviolent resistance and actions.

First, "Critical Mass Theory" (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011) also referred to as "loyalty shift theory" (Bock, 2012:75) was originally created by Francesco (2004). As Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) put it, "tolerance of government crackdowns may depend on whether the resistance campaign is nonviolent or violent" (14). The theory argues that a repressive regime's crackdown may backfire and shift the loyalty of that regime's support base, and increase anti-regime mobilization, when that regime violently cracks down on nonviolent resisters. The major point to discern here is that unlike violent resistance in which repressive regimes always have good reasons to justify their counter-violent crackdowns, it is likely that such crackdowns on nonviolent movements would backfire once public sympathy (local and international) are expressed in support of a nonviolent movement.

The second deducible point from Critical Mass Theory is that violent militants are often seen as destructive and dangerous extremists or maximalists, while sympathetic bystanders often see nonviolent resisters being less extreme, thereby enhancing their support by the public, and

helping to create some opportunity for concessions through constructive communication and bargaining (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011; Finnegan & Hackley, 2008; Abrahams, 2006; Martin & Varney, 2003). A weakness of this theory is that it seems to rely on the rational understanding of the repressive regime, and the sympathy of bystanders/onlookers for the mobilization of support. It does proffer answers to what will happen when a repressive regime decides to crush nonviolent resisters that stand in its ways. Second, what happens when a repressive regime cracks down on nonviolent resisters and uses intimidation strategies to deter the mobilization of sympathetic bystanders and onlookers, as was the case in the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre of nonviolent student protesters in China as well as the crushing of nonviolent pro-democracy and anti-state protesters in places like Iran, Russia, Bahrain, Syria, and Libya in recent times? Also, in large ethnically-divided states, it is unlikely that nonviolent resistance would draw the sympathy of onlookers and bystanders from the hegemonic groups. Most of the time, such sympathy is nonexistent as those not belonging to same ethno-national group or groups of those in the nonviolent social movements may be far removed from knowing what is going on, since situational information is either distorted or withheld from the public about the level of crackdowns. That said, CMT appears to support the many cases of resistance in Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt where key civil servants and geopolitical groupings shifted their support in favour of determined nonviolent protesters in 2011 and 2012.

Another theory is the "Transformational Theory of Nonviolent Resistance," derived from Ornella Pompeo Feracovi's (2000) review of one of the Aldo Capitini's writings. Capitini (an Italian philosopher who lived between 1899 and 1968) had theorized that once the way of violence is chosen, it leads to the inevitability of mad destruction, while the way of nonviolent resistance holds the key to positive transformation of all parties to a conflict. Nonviolent action

or resistance is valuable and beneficial to the person or group who practices it, just as it is to the person or group it is directed (Feracovi, 2000:118). As paradoxical as it sounds, nonviolent resistance is said to be the best weapon, of all times, that can destroy even the most militarized violence, transform deadly hate to love and build (positive) peace over peace with underlying social injustice. Stephan and Chenoweth (2008:10) also argue that even as many principled nonviolence proponents like Gandhi, Cesar Chavez, Thich Nat Hahn, and Martin Luther King Jr. had applied nonviolent resistance, the vast majority of nonviolent struggles did not follow principled nonviolence. Thus, the mechanisms and objectives of strategic nonviolent resistance should be distinguished from principled nonviolence that are drawn from religious and ethical injunctions against violence as they are a moral way of being in the world.

The political jiu jitsu theory of nonviolence resistance or what Irwin and Faison (2002) called the nonviolent theory of power is one that explains that the ultimate power of the state does not lie with the state itself, but with the people. Governments rule by the consent (i.e., power) of the people. The central argument of this theory is that power is not possessed by the state, but it is a dynamic social relation and depends on continuing obedience (6). There are at least three views on this theory. The first is in Aldo Capitini's work on nonviolence and how the masses can wield their power through nonviolent resistance. Objecting that the state, or government is the centre of ultimate power, Capitini held the view that "the idea that considers that power is the government of the state, and for that very reason, denies all value to a whole range of other forms of power in society, which are creative forces. That is why such ideas appear rather retrograde with respect to civilization; they encourage efforts to save institutionalized power at whatever cost, and often with cruelty or in a fraudulent manner" (Feracovi, 2000:118). Capitini observed that no state, or regime can stand against the will of the

people to, en masse, withdraw their popular support from the government through nonviolent resistance, no matter how long it takes.

The second model 'moral political jiu-jitsu theory', adapted from Gandhi's moral jiu-jitsu. Moolakkattu (2009:34) opined that "it is logical to argue that rulers depend on cooperation from the people and once that is refused they will come down like a pack of cards." Jiu-jitsu is an unconventional method of nonviolence that can be used to fight and throw a repressive ruler off balance. Thus, "with increasing repression, the number of nonviolent actionists increase as the severity of defiance increase. This leads to sufficient internal opposition among the opponent's usual supporters to reduce his capacity to deal with the defiance. The instrumental use of this method in politics results in political jiu-jitsu" (Moolakkattu: 34-35).

The third view is derived from Gene Sharp's Social Power Theory (SPT). He argued that it is due to the erroneous reasoning that real political power derives from violence, or the barrel of a gun that makes oppressed groups want to take to the same or even more extreme violence used by their oppressors. Sharp (2005:26) noted that the power of rulers is neither monolithic nor permanent. Rather, power capacities of the state, and other institutions of society are variable. To this end, he went on to say that the real power that lies in social power is always variable and based on: (i) the varying degree of power wielded by respective groups in society; (ii) the degree to which groups mobilize their power potential into effective power; (iii) and the degree to which the social, economic and political institutions of the state, and other powerful institutions are flexible and responsive to the will of the various sections of a polity; and, (iv) the degree of freedom in a political system does not flow from the rulers but the governed (Sharp, 2005:36). Two issues stand out here. First, it is the people's attitudes, behaviour, cooperation, and obedience that overdetermines the nature of power exercised by all rulers, including oppressors

and tyrants. Second, Sharp admonishes that the degree of liberty or tyranny in any state is largely reflective of the relative determination of a people to accept or resist enslavement.

The hallmark of SPT is that despite the appearances of power wielded by those in power in any society, ultimate power belongs to the people. This people's power theory teaches us that even the most dictatorial systems can easily be weakened when the people withdraw their obedience and cooperation. An oppressor is only powerful to oppress vulnerable groups due to their failure and lack of consciousness to nonviolently mobilize themselves to reverse the power equation in their favour (Sharp, 2005:28-39). This also means that if oppressed groups of people remain disciplined to nonviolently resist and fail to cooperate with an oppressive regime, such a regime will either submit to positive social change or collapse totally.

Next is the theory that sees nonviolence as asymmetric conflict. It has been noted that nonviolent resistance is a form of asymmetric warfare-a kind of alternative tactics or "substitute for traditional military means to achieve an operational objective" (Manea & Popovic, 2012). The kernel of asymmetric conflict is the view that in conflicts involving parties with military and economic power disparities, the weaker parties do tend to have certain advantages over the strong. As Ivan Arreguín-Toft (2001) stated, "Power asymmetry explains interest asymmetry: The greater the gap in relative power, the less resolute and hence more politically vulnerable strong actors are, and the more resolute and less politically vulnerable weak actors are" (93). So, strategy of nonviolent conflict is seen as the strongest weapon that empowers the weak to wage constructive conflict and strong resistance against the violence of the more militarily powerful and hegemonic party. By this way, nonviolent warfare is an "asymmetric warfare where one side doesn't have a military option—and strategically picks the battlefield with better chances to win, which is people's power or nonviolent struggle or defense" (Manea & Popovic, 2012:1). Bock

(2012), Dudouet (2011), and Ackerman and Kruegler (1994) also support this viewpoint. Being the "power of the powerless," nonviolent warfare affords disadvantaged and oppressed groups, the capacity to take greater control over their own lives (Dudouet, 2011:250).

In evaluating this theory, many scholars argue that violent resistance or militarized warfare could not have been as successful as the nonviolent Dakota Native Americans #NoDAPL social movement to stop or suspend the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (Wallace, 2017; Hastings, 2016), or for a group of unarmed Serbian students to militarily match the power of Milosevic's military and police. Also violent protests would have failed to effectively recorded the kind of landmark successes seen in the Arab Springs of 2011 and 2012; the people's power movement against Marcos in the Philippines, and other powerful strongmen like Pinochet in Chile and Assad, early in Syria; the Iranian Revolution of 1977-1979; the First Palestinian Intifada of 1987-1992; and the Orange Revolution in the Ukraine (Manea & Popovic, 2012; Bock, 2012; Dudouet, 2011; King, 2008; Irwin & Faison, 2002).

The aforementioned theories share a few major criticisms. Arguing that the nonviolent resistance by Martin Luther King Jr. is a strategy of the weak that have no other choice to confront their oppressors, Moses (1998) noted:

> Had King worked from a position of strength, we reason that he would not have needed nonviolence. Thus, we conclude that nonviolence is an inevitable confession of weakness. From this point of view, nonviolence is glorified victimology by means of which pathetic subjects embrace an endless spiral of abuse. The process of our reasoning has required us to affirm that strength finds its true measure in violence (253).

Also, Chernus (2004) believes that principled nonviolence is for the strong while pragmatic nonviolence is the nonviolence of the weak. In fact, "nonviolence of convenience or pragmatic

nonviolence is the nonviolence of the weak people or groups (who) may be circumstantially prompted to choose nonviolence over violence because they are too few and too poorly armed to win a victory militarily; afraid or squeamish to hurt others or to get hurt; tactically wants to get public sympathy for their cause by embarrassing or shaming their opponents; or lack the ability to mobilize others into joining them in a violent struggle" (ix). But Kurlansky (2008), who believes in the Gandhian and Janaist-Hindu principled nonviolence, dismisses the view that nonviolence is a political volition stemming from weakness. Rather, as he puts it, "nonviolence must never come from weakness but from strength, and only the strongest and most disciplined people can hope to achieve it. Those who are incapable of defending themselves without violence, those who lack the spiritual strength to match their adversary's physical brutality, either because of their own weakness or the brutality of the enemy, are obligated to use physical violence for defense" (Kurlansky, 2008:8). Gandhi held this same view. Through nonviolent resistance the weak finds a power more powerful than violence.

From these theories, nonviolent actions and resistance are strong strategies of waging conflict, a powerful force in the dynamics of social relations as well as the centre of gravity in the realpolitik of power determinism (Sharp, 2005, 1973; Helvey, 2004; Burrowes, 1996). If the world realizes that violence is not the strongest force in maintaining obedience, power, and loyalty of all in a society, the hidden and effective power of nonviolence, as a strategy of engaging and reversing the deadly contagion of violence, would helped societies achieve peace and social change without militarized confrontations. If and when nonviolent resistance becomes the new normal in waging conflict, aggression, and genocide would become less fashionable, and those who seek justice for all or want to solve human problems would find genocidal wars unfashionable, redundant and anachronistic in our modern era.

Contemporary Nonviolence and Nonviolent Action/Resistance

There are basically two major traditions of nonviolent resistance or action that is popular in the literature on nonviolence. The first tradition is "Principled Nonviolence" as popularized by Gandhi in India, Thich Nat Hahn in Vietnam, and Martin Luther King Jr. and Cesar Chavez in the U.S. In practice, the philosophy of principled nonviolence would translate into principled nonviolent resistance. The second tradition is known as "Strategic or Pragmatic Nonviolence." It becomes nonviolent action or nonviolent resistance when put into practice (Sharp, 2005). It is pertinent to note here that proponents of both traditions are mired in intellectual conflict over what form nonviolent resistance should take. For instance, Bharadwaj (1998:79), a critic of the pragmatic or strategic nonviolent resistance approach stated that "there appears to be irreconcilable differences between principled (Gandhian) nonviolence and strategic nonviolence." I now explore the reasons held by the proponents of these two traditions of nonviolence resistance later.

While practices and teachings about principled nonviolence predates the time of Christ and the modern age (King, 2008; Sharp, 2005:15) many scholars popularly associate it with Gandhi, before Martin Luther King popularized it in the Western world. In Christian pacifism, following the "New Testament's Golden Rule" and the last five of the "Ten Commandments" in the Bible, has been a millennia old teaching and practice philosophy on nonviolence, while Gandhi's nonviolence only started during the liberation struggle in India in 1930. Even so some have argued that Gandhi's nonviolence was copied from the "first mass or corporate form of nonviolent resistance" in which the Hungarians, led by Ferenc Deak, successfully used nonviolent resistance to overcome Austria's absolutist rule in the 1850s and 1860s (Csapody &

Weber, 2007:499). Also, Gandhi's idea of Satyagraha, came years after his journal article in 1907 had praised the "passive nonviolent resistance" of the Irish Sinn Fein movement that used hunger strikes, a traditional Celtic strategy of nonviolent resistance against British oppression (500). In fact, commenting about Irish nonviolent resistance in 1907, when he was still a youth and more than 30 years before the Satyagraha movement in India, Gandhi believed that "without any violent struggle taking place the British would ultimately be obliged, or might agree to grant home rule to Ireland, or would quit Ireland, and the Irish people would have to be an absolutely independent government" (500).

Before we discuss principled nonviolence, it is necessary to say a word or two about pacifism. "Pacifism refers to a system of norms, values, and beliefs that reflect opposition to war […]. A pacifist is a person who holds that war is wrong and, therefore, opposes the violence of war" (Stegar, 2003:3). But even as pacifism may be regarded as possessing the grains of principled nonviolence, it has been attacked as being in a world far removed from it and not in any way like pragmatic nonviolence. Critics are of the view that pacifism is not the same thing as nonviolence (Kurlansky, 2008:6; Roedel, 2008-2009:244; Bharadwaj, 1998). In fact, Kurlansky (2008:6) has offered us a clearer distinction between principled nonviolence and pacifism. He says that pacifism is a psychological condition shaped by the teachings of Jesus Christ that requests victims to turn the other cheek when slapped by another. Pacifism is, largely, part of the Anabaptist tradition of the Amish, Church of the Brethren, Hutterites, Mennonites, and Quakers. He further stated that pacifism is passive, harmless and easier to accept than nonviolence, which is active and dangerous. In addition, Girard (1987:214, cf. Roedel, op. cit.) stated that "principled mass nonviolent resistance is ubiquitous, destructive and mostly invisible." Still others perceive pacifism as "necessarily revolutionary" (Goodman, 1962, cf. Irwin & Faison, 2001:5). But

Prosch (1974), a scholar who traced nonviolent civil disobedience to Socrates "Plato's Apology," argued pacifism has an active force exemplified by Christ when he chased away the tax collectors and those who had turned the synagogue to a market place.

The relationship between principled nonviolent resistance and pacifism is highlighted in the two major forms of pacifism (Stegar, 2003; Thernstrom, 1971), which is drawn from difference in a praxis between orthodox (White) Christian principled pacifism and a new pragmatic pacifism. Principled pacifism relates to holding an unqualified or absolute commitment to nonviolence, since violence is considered wrong under any conceivable circumstances. It is for this reason that Niebuhr condemned the insensitivity of the White Christian pacifists towards slavery and racial segregation against African Americans and went on to say that "those who benefit from social injustice are less capable of understanding its real character than those who suffer from it" (Thernstrom, 1971:47). There is also "pragmatic-situational pacifism" that refers to explicit renunciation of the violence of war with qualified support for the use of milder forms of violence (Stegar, 2003). A. J. Muste, a pragmatic pacifist, along with James Lawson criticized the (faith/spirit-led) principled pacifists who were complacent and naïve towards slavery and racial discrimination in America and did nothing to fight such social evils (Thernstrom, 1971:46). Given the belief that "there is a quantitative difference between violence and other forms of social power, these new nonreligion-based pacifist movements in America, while condemning the use of physical violence, advocated that it was a democratic right of the oppressed Black communities to use varying degrees of political pressure and legal coercion as techniques of political struggle" (Thernstrom, 1971: 47). It is for this reason that pragmatic pacifism was also called "the new pacifism," the originator of the Negro student associations and Black Nationalist movements that later coalesced into the Civil

Rights movements (Pelton, 1974). Moreover, if it is true that "all religions discuss the power of nonviolence and the evil of violence" (Kurlansky, 2008:7), then pacifism is not on the same path of principled nonviolence. Thus, it is wrong to discount the contributions of such orthodox Christian Churches with pacifist ideologies like the Hutterities, Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, and Church of the Brethren (Roedel, 2008-2009; Chernus, 2004; Thernstrom, 1971).

Principled Nonviolence and Nonviolent Resistance

Principled nonviolence, like pacifism, stands on religious and ethically-based injunctions against violence (Stephan and Chenoweth, 2008:10). "Principled nonviolence is the unconditional embrace of nonviolence, on the basis of moral or religious commitment" (Roedel, 2008-2009:222). Gandhi himself was committed to nonviolence based on ethics and religious teachings of Janaist-Hindu (Kurlansky, 2008:7; Martin, 2005:249; Bondurant, 1977:19). Gandhi defined nonviolence and its deployment (resistance) as an "intensely active force" for a planned method of social change (Bondurant, 1977; Martin, 2005), a way of life that "arises out of one's relationship with God" and a "deep sense of the interconnectedness of all beings" (Roedel, 2008-2009:222). The major teaching of Gandhian nonviolence is that through "Satyagraha" (which he called "the truth force" or holding to the truth), an oppressed group, or person must be ready to endure pains in the hands of their oppressors. Doing so will put the tormentor to shame and generate public sympathy and support for onlookers. This act is referred to as moral and political jiu-jitsu, already discussed above. For example, Gregg (1966) stated that jiu-jitsu resulting from nonviolent resistance exposes the violence without hating the oppressor, rather, it upholds respect for the integrity of the oppressor, impressing onlookers and winning them over. Perhaps, the best demonstration of Gandhi's nonviolent resistance springs from the testimonial evidence

of Thomas Weber who reported the Gandhi-led Satyagraha Salt March in 1930. Weber discovered during the Salt March that "When Satyagrahis came forward to be beaten by lathi-wielding police, this apparently did not lead to a psychological transformation in the police. Some of them became angry at the lack of resistance by the protesters, redoubling their attacks. Weber says that the attacks triggered outrage by third parties around the world who were informed through eloquent news reports by journalist Webb Miller" (Martin, 2005:250).

Cortright (2006) has reviewed and demonstrated how Gandhi's nonviolent resistance combined the attributes of absolute and orthodox pacifism and pragmatic and action-filled pacifism. Gandhi was believed by Niebuhr (1960) to have recognized the necessity of some degree of physical coercion as "political realism qualified idealism." But Lois Fischer (1950, cf. Cortright, 2006:27) argued that based on Gandhi's outright disapproval of the armed response by the Jews, Czechs, and other subjugated peoples to the horrors of Hitlerism in Europe, unqualified rejection of the use of armed resistance against the Japanese army's occupation of Burma, which also threatened the invasion of India, made him an absolute pacifist. What is clear from the above is that Gandhi absolutely believed in nonretaliation at all times and in all circumstances against the perpetrators of (extreme) violent acts. That is why Cortright advised that people should follow the moral force of Gandhi's real politics to nonviolently seek to transform or change the conditions which make structural and physical violence attractive to perpetrators, rather than visiting physical harm on the perpetrators themselves (Cortright, 2006:3). He also said that personal suffering, as practiced by Gandhi, is a vital principle of nonviolent strategy while "social change requires a long-term commitment of continuous political pressure" (25).

Irwin and Faison (2001) noted that Gandhi's career marked a watershed in the development of nonviolent struggle that led to Indian independence and credited him with the

introduction of a "combination of tactics according to a strategic plan in a campaign of explicitly nonviolent action" (3). At the same time, "contemporary approaches to principled nonviolence have clarified the linkages between Gandhian theory and the integrative goals of conflict transformation, arguing that satyagraha provides a technique for conflict prosecution that simultaneously fights injustice, resolves disagreements and brings about mutually satisfactory solutions" (Dudouet, 2011:243). Be that as it may, the rise and practice of principled nonviolent resistance in the US demonstrated another way we can appreciate the efficacy of the power of nonviolence. A. J. Muste, Gregg, and Lawson led nonviolent social movements in the 19th and early 20th centuries decades before the more radical Martin Luther King-led Black Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which were a rejection of the insensitivity, passivity, and complacency of the orthodoxy of principled pacifism.

It was due to the bus service segregation and eventual arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress that the first black nonviolent social movement, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) came into existence as a platform for the African American community to launch a series of nonviolent actions. It was at this point that Martin Luther King (King) emerged as its president (Apsey, 2005:95). While King's principled nonviolent resistance was yet to be fully tested, he preached that unlike the White Citizens Council, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) that protested in support of social injustice, the MIA was to fight for justice. And before, embarking on its first nonviolent protest, King admonished that "in our protest there will be no cross burnings. No white person will be taken from his home by a hooded Negro mob and brutally murdered. There will be no threats and intimidation […] our method will be persuasion, not coercion […] we must hear the voice of Jesus echoing […] "Love your enemy and bless them that curse you" (King, 1958, cf. Apsey, 2005:96). However, just like Gandhi, King's initial

intention to see nonviolence as an instrument of persuasion was counter-productive and as passive as pacifism. That is why Cortright (2006) argues that "injustice cannot be willed away or removed solely through persuasion which most pacifists believe in. It must be resisted by every moral means available, which may require the use of nonviolent compulsion" (26). Therefore, Cortright aligns his view with Niebuhr's (1962) that nonviolent coercion, rather than pure pacifism or nonresistance, is necessary, inevitable and adequate in situations of social repression and institutionalized tyranny, where persuasion falls on the deaf ears of the oppressors.

As strings of nonviolent actions such as refusal of African Americans to resume the use of transit buses until their demands for equal treatment and justice in the community were met. The authorities and the White community carried out violent and repressive measures that led to the eventual arrest of African Americans, and the willingness of MIA members and other African Americans to volunteer for mass arrest and detention along with King. And just like Gandhi, King called for his members to be disciplined and not to succumb to the violence or retaliate against the white mob. In fact, at the height of the anger resulting from bombings and arrests against the MIA's nonviolent resistance, King reminded his members to emulate Gandhi and the Indian nonviolent resistance to freedom. He warned that blacks, "must meet violence with nonviolence […]. The tension is not with the white people and black people […] but between justice and injustice (and) we are out to defeat injustice and not the white persons who may be unjust" (King, 1958 cf. Cone, 2001:175). It was the news made by the successes of a series of nonviolent sit-ins/boycotts in Alabama that triggered the nonviolent sit-ins in "White-only" public places in North Carolina and the effort by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to spread the sit-in bus ride from Washington D.C. to Jackson, Mississippi (Apsey, 2005:898).

Another incident that reshaped the focus of King's nonviolent resistance was his imprisonment at a Birmingham jail where he eventually wrote the famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" in 1963 (King, 1964). Specifically, this letter was his criticism of the complacency of his fellow pacifist White clergy, who blamed and condemned the nonviolent resistance that he led. If anything, it was from here that King redefined the focus and strategy of a more action-based nonviolent resistance by the Black Civil Rights Movement, as necessitated by the groundswell of opposition from the church, violent attacks by the White community and the state authorities. King reiterated that it was the violent pushbacks against African Americans nonviolent resistance that spurred him to adopt strategic nonviolent resistance. So, even though Gandhi and King were linked with principled nonviolence, the social movements they led applied the strategies of pragmatic nonviolence.

On another level, King believed that as a matter of strategy by nonviolent civil rights movements, the purpose of nonviolent direct actions like sit-ins and marches are to force the oppressors to engage the civil rights movement in negotiations. King argued against the Alabama Christian Movement's call for negotiations, to avoid direct action. On the contrary, King stoutly believed that the oppressors would not enter negotiations unless they were pushed to do so by nonviolent direct actions. In fact, emphasizing the major strategic reason behind the need to engage in direct action before negotiations and not vice versa, King argued that "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension (acts of civil disobedience to break "unjust" laws, sit-in, and noncooperation, that a community, which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored" (King, 1964:3). Thus, in place of his opposition to the use of violent tension in agitations against injustice, He supported and justified the use of what he called "constructive

nonviolent tension" for a social movement's growth. Like Socrates who said that it was good for an individual to create tension of the mind as a way of freeing oneself from the bondage of half-truths and myths, King advocated for the institution of nonviolence resistance to create the kind of tension in society that would help men and women to rise up from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood (King, 1964).

It is unfortunate that King was assassinated based on his participatory involvement and leadership that matched mass action with nonviolent resistance. Even so his greatest legacy remains the fact that he sacrificially demonstrated that principled mass nonviolent resistance, if well harnessed, is the most powerful weapon against violent oppression and racial segregation. This is so because it was this principled path that eventually translated into the positive social changes that recognizes, guarantees, and protects the social justice and equality enjoyed by African Americans and all people of color in the U.S. today. Had King led African Americans to violent revolution, it is likely that the civil or social rights they enjoy today may have been pursued but never attained. It must be noted that while non-discrimination or racial equality is still a work in progress, it is commendable the U.S., a country with such a genocidal past against "dehumanized Negroes" could have the likes of Condoleezza Rice as Secretary of State, Susan Rice as the U.S.'s U.N. Permanent Representative, Collin Powell as Secretary of Defence and a two-term President Barack Obama. Such is the legacy of the effective power of nonviolence.

Be that as it may, a few comments would suffice here as an appraisal of the principled nonviolent resistance as led by Gandhi and King It is clear from these statements that even though Gandhi and King are linked with principled nonviolence, the social movements they led applied the strategies of pragmatic nonviolence. On the whole, apart from the Gandhi and King led principled nonviolence and perhaps, the Dalai Lama–led nonviolence in Tibet, it is difficult

to point to any nonviolent struggle that has not followed pragmatic or strategic nonviolent resistance, be it the people power movement in the Philippines that toppled Ferdinand Marcos, the Arab Springs protesters, the anti-globalization and Tea Party Occupy Movement elsewhere in the world. (Bock, 2012; King, 2008; Sharp, 2005). Thus, nonviolent resistance can only be effective and strong if pursued through pragmatic nonviolent resistance (Bond, 1994; Lackey, 1987). Even so it is extremely difficult to dismiss the watershed gains of nonviolence resistance of Gandhi and MLK. In fact, even before the world came to terms with the gains of the Civil Rights Movement, Hannah Arendt objected to linking of principled nonviolence to passivity. As she puts it, "to call this "passive resistance" is certainly an ironic idea; it is one of the most active and efficient ways of action ever devised, because it cannot be countered by fighting, where there may be defeat or victory, but only by mass slaughter in which even the victor is defeated, cheated of his prize since nobody can rule over dead men" (Arendt, 1958:200).

Pragmatic or Strategic Nonviolent Resistance

The first thing to say here is that given the context and definitional features, strategic nonviolent resistance is the same thing as pragmatic nonviolent resistance (Bharadwaj, 1998; Roedel, 2008-2009). The second is that "If Gandhi is the philosopher of nonviolence, Gene Sharp embodies the pragmatic, strategic, or technique-orientated approach to 'Nonviolent Resistance', which is why he is often nicknamed the Clausewitz of nonviolent struggle (Dudouet, 2011:243). That said, pragmatic nonviolent resistance theorists are a bunch of practitioners and scholars who argue that rather than pursue nonviolence actions on religious or ethical grounds, pragmatic or strategic nonviolent resistance should be seen as an alternative kind of political realism, an instrument of mass power struggle, a kind of conflict to overcome

terrorism and violence, and non-military defense (Sharp, 2005, 1973; Sharp and Jenkins, 2003; Ackerman & DuVall, 2000; Burrowes, 1996). In the main, pragmatic nonviolent resistance is a reaction to the internal contradictions, passivity, limitations, and failures of principled nonviolent resistance. Inter alia, proponents of principled nonviolence disagree with the proponents of "strategic nonviolent resistance" on the grounds of religious and ethical based injunctions against violence (Roedel, 2008-2009; Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008:10; Martin, 2005:249). This is despite the argument by Bharadwaj (1998) that principled nonviolence is antithetical to pragmatic or strategic nonviolence. Bharadwaj sees the former as political idealism, and the latter as political realism of nonviolence. He described pragmatic nonviolence as one of the "species of Moderate Machiavellianism" based on Jacques Maritian's differentiation of "Absolute and Moderate Machiavellianism." Bharadwaj (1998) explains:

> Absolute Machiavellianism not only destroys and annihilates Moderate Machiavellianism; it is, in turn, destroyed and annihilated by the poisonous robber morality of Machiavellianism. In the long run, it thus destroys itself by the principle of self-destruction that inheres in its evil kernel, but not without visiting death, destruction, and devastation on whatever it touches. In trying to outwit and counter Machiavellianism by its own weapons, one wittingly or unwittingly plays into its hands and contributes to strengthening and prolonging its deathly hold (81).

Moreover, Bharadwaj agrees with the view of Summy (1997) that since pragmatic nonviolence is not built on any moral or ethical ideologies, it is only a realist, pragmatic, and instrumentalist approach to politics and nonviolence. Roedel (2008-2009) argues that strategic nonviolence is non-sacrificial, while principled nonviolence is sacrificial. He also placed "strategic nonviolence on the continuum with the violent techniques that are used to change the behaviour of others, and

it is subject to all the other mimetic pressures that violent conflict responds to" (223). At this point, it is necessary to look at the praxis of strategic or pragmatic nonviolent resistance.

Advocates of strategic nonviolence resistance argue that is wrong to reduce acts of nonviolence to idealism. Rather, all acts of nonviolence should be seen as a potent alternative to violence, aggression and militarized power available to those facing existential oppression and subjugation. Seen as a practical strategy of modern warfare (Sharp, 2005) or as a form of strategic nonviolent defense, the most important thing is that oppressed people are free to use any nonviolent tactic that suits their purpose or works best for them to achieve social justice without oppressor(s) getting killed nor hurt (Dudouet, 2011; Burgess & Burgess, 1997; Burrowes, 1996). Practitioners of nonviolence are of the view that conflict is a relationship between two antagonists with irreconcilable interests, and the goal of those who take to nonviolent resistance is, "to defeat the opponent and if this entails any suffering (short of physical injury), to inflict that suffering on the opponent" (Burrowes, 1996:99). Again, most strategic nonviolent theorists believe that rather than seeking to eliminate conflicts, and convert the oppressors, nonviolent resistance would lead to the transformation of conflict and power relations through approaches that are not violent (Bufacchi, 2009; Burgess and Burgess, 1997, 1994; Bond, 1994).

King (2008) has stated that nonviolent revolution is a strategy of amassing the most powerful forces of nonviolent actions to wage a total conflict against, and defeat the forces of violence, totalitarianism, apartheid and any other form of segregation. So as a substitute for war and violence, "the defense of freedom must involve wielding power, confronting and engaging an invader's military might, and waging offensive combat" (Sharp, 1971:151). The other point of departure with principled nonviolence is that strategic nonviolence, or nonviolent direct action is active, not passive, and action-based and not inaction, and finally, a struggle, and a force, and a

different kind of war strategy that can win the war over violence (Sharp, 1973). So, nonviolent resistance should not be seen as an end in itself as principled nonviolence theorists posit, but as a means to an end. “The major advances in nonviolent resistance have not come from people who have approached nonviolence as an end in itself, but from persons who were passionately striving to free themselves from social injustice” (Dellinger, 1970, cf. Irwin & Faison, 2002:6).

Gandhi’s principled nonviolent resistance was a means to an end, as he, sometimes, as was the case in 1931, bargained away the crucial sacrifices and foreseeable gains of his ardent followers over meagre compromises that fell from the bargaining tables (Cortright, 2006:25). And just as nonviolence won and led to its independence, India soon suffered the successful armed secession of Pakistan. Again, apart from Gandhi’s assassination in 1948, the nuclear weapon race between India and Pakistan, incidences of terrorism and the genocidal repression of some national groups, can hardly pass as legacies of nonviolence in both countries. Sharp (2005) argues that strategic nonviolent resistance is not about making compromises that will sustain social injustices or detract from achieving the core interests of the oppressed. “Whether you're going to be taken over by a foreign aggressor, whether some of your people are going to be exterminated, whether you are going to accept a dictatorship, or they are going to prohibit your religion, whether they are going to violate your human rights and impose serious oppressions - those are not issues in which, morally and politically, you can compromise” (Sharp, 2003:16).

Social Movements and the Communication Theory of Nonviolent Resistance

In this theory chapter so far, the concept of social movement has only been mentioned in passing. This is deliberate. So far, my focus has mainly been on nonviolent resistance, which can only be carried out by social movements. But what does the concept social movement mean as

there are as many definitions of it everywhere (Karl-Dieter, 2009; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007). Each of the definitions are often based on the makeup of a movement or the protests it is involved in, according to each scholar's particular research interest (Staggenborg, 2016; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007). For example, sociological definitions focus on the collective and innovative behavior, extra-institutionality, networks, multi-centeredness, character and the shifting and fluid boundaries of movement membership, and the willingness of members to disrupt order a little or a lot (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2007; Gerlach & Hine 1970).

The activities of social movements are in the public domain and their activities are always political in nature. Thus, this study sees the definition and raison d'etre of social movements, including nonviolent ones, from the political standpoint. For instance, the contentious political definition of social movements sees the phenomena "as a sustained challenge to elites or the opponents by shifting coalitions of collective actors through a series of public campaigns, - points to the political nature of the social movements and their roles in putting issues on the public agenda and changing public policies" (Staggenborg, 2016:10). Also, Staggenborg (2016) articulates that they are just like every other kind of contentious politics or groups in conflict to seek to cause changes in public policies because "social movements consist of sustained campaigns directed at authorities, which use the social movements' repertoire of tactics and create public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment." Moreover, Tilly (2004) defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays, and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. In addition, Glasberg and Shannon (2011:149) noted that they are usually comprised of large, formal or informal groupings of individuals or organizations, which focus on specific political or social issues. With that in mind, some scholars see social movements as groups of ordinary people who "carry out, resist,

or undo a social change. They provide a way of social change from the bottom within nations" (149). Social movements are also people with a collective identity who are "involved in conflictual relations with identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks" (De la Porta & Diani, 2006:20). They are "organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites" (Glasberg & Shannon, 2011:149). They are a collective of determined individuals who have the intent to bring about a change in society.

The foregoing shows that before we can theorize about social change through nonviolent resistance, there must be a social movement of persons or groups that will champion it. For example, nonviolent social movements simply mean a collective of persons who adopt acts of nonviolent opposition to resist and change relations away from social repression or unwanted state policies to social justice. Strategies of operation mobilization, and communication are required for a social movement to be properly so called. Apart from networking and strategies/methods of protesting, communication, especially in contemporary times, is indispensable to the success of social movements. In other words, communication networks have become the soul of 21st century social movements. Credit is massively given to communication technology, mobile gadgets, the Internet and its emergent social networks to the revolutionary mobilization and messaging of the modern era (Castells, 2015). In fact, Obar et al. (2012) note that current research is exploring "how advocacy organizations linked to social movements in the USA and Canada use social media to facilitate civic engagement and collective action" (1). Examples of these civil actions include:

> The political uprisings in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt in 2011 saw rebels posting on Facebook and Twitter. In August 2011, officials in London called for Blackberry's

> instant messaging service to be shut down as rioters were allegedly using the service to coordinate strikes. After the 2010 midterm elections in the United States, Facebook reported that 74% of House candidates and 81% of Senatorial candidates with more Facebook fans than their opponents won their races. In February 2011, the Tea Party launched its own Facebook-esque social media site called the "Freedom Connector," which has already been used to mobilize more than one hundred thousand Americans during the current presidential race (Obar, et al., 2012:1).

This brings us to look at how communication and its current technological advances are pivotal to the successful operations of social movements' especially nonviolent communication (Naess, 2007; Rosenberg, 2005). Accordingly, "much of the research into social media's contributions to contemporary activism" in recent times, has taken political communication and activism beyond the attention and reach of the traditional mainstream media (Obar, 2014:212-213).

Many scholars agree that this theory is closely linked to Gandhi's theory of nonviolent communication. Moreover, scholars who adapt Sharp's (1973) outlined methods of pragmatic nonviolent actions like Martin and Varney (2003:213), and Finnegan and Hackley (2008) contend that nonviolent actions are acts of effective communication and vice versa. Theoretically, Martin and Varney (2003) argue that "communication is central to the effectiveness of nonviolent action: methods of protest and persuasion are essential means of communication, while methods of noncooperation and nonviolent intervention have crucial communicative dimensions" (213) To back up this inverse functionality, the authors went on to state that all methods of nonviolent protests and persuasion; noncooperation, strikes, and boycotts; methods of intervention such as sit-ins, fasts, petitions, and court actions "have powerful communication roles, to both opponents and third parties" (213).

Finnegan and Hackley (2008) lament that scholars in the field of communication arts, and peace and conflict studies, often, downplay the effectiveness of the other in the transformation of intractable violent conflicts. The way out is that as social movements communicate their decision and determination in their struggles for self-determination (in the Gandhi-led India anti-colonial struggles and Martin Luther King-led civil rights movement in the United States) experts or practitioners in state policy, political communication and diplomacy and third party interveners should take advantage of opportunities of that nonviolent resistance towards effective communication in the transformation of genocidal conflicts.

Techniques and Methods to Nonviolent Resistance by Social Movements

There are several ways to wage nonviolent resistance or nonviolent direct actions. It is up to a mass nonviolent movement to decide on which combination of actions that will strategically yield them the best results. So, we will outline some of the most popular ways of waging nonviolent resistance or struggle as found in the literature. Many scholars adopt Sharp's outline of nonviolent actions found to be more encompassing. Sharp, first identified three major methods or techniques of nonviolent direct action in his 1971 journal article, "The Technique of Nonviolent Action," which was later expanded in his 1973 three volume book publication. However, we will follow the outline presented in his recent the book, "Waging Nonviolent Struggle," where a total of 198 nonviolent methods were identified and grouped together under nonviolent noncooperation, nonviolent protests and persuasion, and nonviolent intervention.

The first method or technique is "nonviolent noncooperation." Here "resisters in a conflict either deliberately withdraw some form of existing cooperation with the opponent or the resisters refuse to initiate certain forms of new cooperation" (Sharp, 2005:54; 1971:154).

Specifically, political noncooperation is engaging in acts of civil disobedience, involving deliberate, open, and peaceful violation of particular laws, regulations, or instructions that are believed to be morally objectionable or unreasonable (Sharp, 1973, cf. Burrowes, 1996: 98). Economic noncooperation is aimed at stifling economic activities, while its social form is the refusal to carry on normal social relations with perceived oppressors (Sharp, 2005:55). "Noncooperation can effectively halt the normal functioning of a society, depending on the type of action employed and how widespread its use becomes" (Irwin & Faison, 2002:2). On the whole, methods of noncooperation include but are not restricted to various forms of strikes, sit-at-home, popular political, social and economic boycotts, withdrawal of allegiance, and civil disobedience (Sharp, 2005:54-55; 1971:154).

"Nonviolent Protests and Persuasion" is another method. This are those methods that are mainly symbolic acts of peaceful opposition or attempted persuasion—extending beyond verbal expressions of opinions but falling short of noncooperation (Sharp, 2005:51-54; 1971:154; Burrowes, 1996: 97; Scarritt, 1994). These includes elements of threats (Boulding, 1989), demonstrations, pilgrimages, picketing, humorous pranks, and issuing/distributing protest literatures, use of posters, renouncing honours, protest speeches/meetings, and paintings (Sharp, 1971, 2005). The third set of methods is "nonviolent intervention." This set of methods share some commonalities with the first two sets of methods but differs from them in that the opponent is directly challenged, while the resisters remain fearless and disciplined (Sharp, 1971:154-155). The methods include sit-ins, fasts, strikes, nonviolent obstructions, nonviolent invasion, parallel government, nonviolent occupation of public spaces and work sites, seeking mass imprisonment, politically motivated counterfeiting, and raids (Sharp, 2005:62-65). We can see from the above that nonviolent intervention is the most widely used method of nonviolent resistance in recent

times. Even so these methods are a collective of proven techniques, and strategies that encourage those fighting social injustices and repression "to be stubborn, to refuse to cooperate, to disobey, and to resist powerful opponents powerfully" but without resorting to any form of violence even when provoked or expedient (Sharp, 2005:14).

Considering the Effectiveness of Nonviolent Resistance

Given all that has been discussed so far, how can one determine the efficacy and effectiveness of nonviolent resistance? Must acts of nonviolence be successful to be considered effective for nonviolent resistance? "Is nonviolence effective only if it brings about complete revolution? Is it effective if it brings only minor social change? What if it brings about changes in particular to individuals, but not in society as a whole" (Burgess & Burgess, 1994:24)? A cursory look at the questions would reveal the fact that the term "effectiveness" is subjective and ambiguous when used in relation to nonviolent resistance. The first point to be made is whether the extent of success or failure of nonviolent resistance should be the yardstick for determining its effectiveness, and if so then how is the effectiveness of violent resistance determined? Arguing that similar criteria should be used to evaluate the effectiveness of both forms of struggles or resistance, Irwin and Faison (2002) stated that "nonviolent struggle does not guarantee any success more than violent struggle does." Even if nonviolent resistance fails to achieve its set objectives and goals, its effectiveness lies in the fact that lessons learned from the poor strategies of today would lead to better opportunities and strategies for success for future fighters. Yet, if we insist that the extent of success should be used as a yardstick for determining the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance, we reiterate the point made above that between 1900

and 2006, nonviolent resistance has been successful 53 percent of the time compared to the 26 percent success rate of violent resistance (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011).

Moreover, nonviolent resistance has recorded revolutionary successes in the places where years of violent struggles achieved nothing, but sorrow and more bloodshed. For example, Chenoweth (2017) has even adduced the decreasing success rate of nonviolent resistance by nonviolent movements from 2010 to 2016 as a sign of the effectiveness of the method. She articulated that the reason is not due to an increase in brutality against these movements. In fact,

> nonviolent resistance movements are actually much less frequently subjected to mass killings than violent resistance movements are (23% and 68% of nonviolent and violent campaigns respectively, 1955-2013), and this frequency has even declined over the last several years. However, more limited lethal violence is still a common response to resistance movements, including nonviolent ones, and its use has recently increased: 92% of nonviolent campaigns since 2007 experienced some form of lethal violence against them compared to 80% of nonviolent campaigns 1900-2006 (86-87).

To this end, what matters is not the success rate but the fact that nonviolent resistance is used in attempts to achieve, and in most cases in contemporary times surpass, the same goals as violent resistance. The effectiveness of nonviolent resistance lies in the fact that not much is gained when oppressed people engage in genocidal wars to save future generations.

It is always an open choice for social movements to opt for either violent or nonviolent resistance, no one would be in doubt that social movements who engage in nonviolent resistance are more likely to achieve their objectives, gain international appeal and even spur other oppressed groups to emulate and engage in tested and successful methods of nonviolent resistance. Chenoweth (2017) and Mayton et al. (2002) have argued that violent resistance and

deadly state repressions are losing their attractiveness since they have always led to more violence, all because nonviolent resistance is helping to prevent or reduce the re-escalation of violence, mass killings, and/or genocides in many conflicts.

Another way of looking at the question of effectiveness lies in evaluating the relationship between nonviolent resistance, and "the paradox of repression." This position argues that the deadly violence extrajudicially visited on nonviolent social movements by powerful oppressors, inadvertently, is an indicator of the effectiveness of nonviolence, regardless of the outcomes (Chenoweth, 2017; Stegar, 2003). Remarkably, "this paradox holds that in a conflict involving asymmetrical power relations—when the more powerful oppressor exercises violence to destroy its nonviolent challenger— violent repression ironically weakens the regime's authority and strengthens the nonviolent opposition" (Stegar, 2003:116). The implication of this fact is that the more a government uses violent repression against a nonviolent social movement, the more such a regime loses domestic and international support, while the opposition receives support, and at times, external support and foreign intervention. Cases that demonstrate this paradox of repression and the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance and its applicability in realpolitik include the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1989 (116), the people's power movement that overthrew Marcos in the Philippines in 1986, the youth led movements in Egypt, and Tunisia in 2011, and the #NODAPL Movement in the US among others.

In regard to power asymmetry between the oppressor, and the oppressed, cases show that methods of nonviolent resistance avail the oppressed to challenge the deadlier militarized forces of the oppressor (Wallace, 2017; Hastings, 2016; Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011). Thus, nonviolent resistance remains an effective way open to the oppressed in an asymmetric power relation to effectively wage a direct challenge against the oppressor, while transforming or

neutralizing the conflict dynamics and hitherto existing power relations (Chenoweth, 2017; Wallace, 2017; Hastings, 2016; Bock, 2012; King, 2008, Csapody & Weber, 2007; Sharp, 2005). As a substitute for war where only the more militarized forces can win, the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance is the fact that vulnerable nonviolent resistance movements can resoundingly and positively change their social existence where violent revolutions would have failed. As MLK said, "nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals. Both a practical and a moral answer to the Negro's cry for justice, nonviolent direct action proved that it could win victories without losing wars" (King Jr., 1964, cf. Stegar, 2003:85).

We can measure the effectiveness of nonviolence when appreciated over and above the age-old reliance on violent resistance as the only way to people's liberation (King, 2008, Burgess & Burgess, 1994). Acts of nonviolent standoff point to a better but hidden alternative to violence and bloodletting. It is the sense that nonviolence opens the door to the discussion and application of the hidden power of the oppressed. Thus, quests for social change, a desire to curb spiking military spending and threats of nuclear warfare, social justice and positive peace come faster with less human casualties and destruction of property when social movements dare to wage nonviolent rather than violent resistance (McGivern, 2016; Martin, 1980). The editors of Peace Science Digest, Hiller et al., (2017) said the ability of nonviolent resistance to prevent war and violence is a great way to showcase its effectiveness. Nonviolent resistance is capable of resisting military policies and practices by mobilizing mass demonstrations against war and military spending, or by moving soldiers to refuse participation in violence; second, it is capable of resisting multiple forms of so-called "structural violence," injustice related to unequal life chances for people from marginalized communities; and, third, it does all this without itself

adopting violence, providing an effective alternative to armed resistance strategies, which end up simply fueling cycles of violence and creating justifications for further repression (4). Sadly, it is the inability of oppressed groups to explore their lack of knowledge about the efficacy of organized nonviolent resistance against the oppressor that make such groups fight against social injustice and genocidal oppression through violent confrontation or revolution.

Finally, the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance can be seen from the fact that the method checkmates power hegemony or puts the oppressor in check. And in some cases where the desired social changes may not be completely achieved, nonviolent social movements' ground-breaking pressures have resulted in political and social reforms that set to reverse the pre-existing social order. In a nutshell, the empiricism of the rate of success cannot, and should not be the only yardstick of measuring the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance. This point has been emphasized in the above theories of nonviolent resistance used by social movements who display fearlessness and readiness to withstand the painful powers of the oppressor. The fearlessness of nonviolent social movements is amplified in their willingness to accept and endure any and all consequences of their nonviolent actions against the deadly power of the oppressor (Compassionate Action for Animals, 2008).

Conclusions

Chapter 4 of this study has focused on the theoretical conceptualization of social change, nonviolence, violent and nonviolent resistance, and social movements. Also, to overcome the pedestal differentiation or treatment of the concepts of violence and nonviolence as mere opposites, this literature discussed in this chapter has demonstrated the philosophical foundations and approaches to nonviolence is not the direct opposite of violence. Moving on, the chapter looked at the arguments for or against the different forms or philosophical underpinnings or

frameworks of pacifism, principled nonviolent resistance or actions, and strategic or pragmatic nonviolent resistance. With extant examples of eclectically-streamlined theorizations, the study distinguished between principled nonviolent resistance associated with the likes and King, and strategic nonviolent resistance popularized by Sharp and practiced by many social movements across the contemporary world. I also looked at social movements and their roles as vanguards of violent or nonviolent resistance and social change. Here, the chapter informed us that social change is an unavoidable constant desired by social movements in social evolution of various human societies, which must inevitably take place, whether violently or nonviolently, regardless of whether the change is positive or negative.

Pertinently, given that pro-Biafra social movements resolve to wage nonviolent warfare, this chapter looked at the instruments of nonviolent actions to determine their effectiveness in the transformation of genocidal conflict or volatile social relations. In order words, I looked at the instruments of strategic nonviolent resistance being adopted by the various social movements. The goal is to see whether pro-Biafra secessionist confrontation has enough nonviolent missiles to destroy or dismantle the forces of genocidal strangulation against the Biafrans.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter discusses research methodology and its appropriateness for this qualitative study. I followed the principles of critical ethnography and used a multi-method research methodology during the study's fieldwork. As a critical ethnographic study, my fieldwork was based on the perceptions and experiences of the members of pro-Biafra social movements, who all hailed from and scattered in the Biafra region or Eastern Nigeria, and in the diaspora. The social movements that were involved in the fieldwork included MASSOB, BHRI, and IPOB social

movements in Imo, Anambra, Rivers, Ebonyi, Abia, Enugu, Cross River, and Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, and Delta states of Nigeria. My roles in the study were as that I served as a participant observer and ensured that the narrative cum storytelling method was used in re-telling the respondents' stories or representing their worldviews. Second, this methodology chapter pertains to data gathering methods (in-depth-interviews, observation journaling, published and nonpublished materials, newspapers, and online materials), data processing, and analysis. Because the study is based on an ongoing genocidal conflict situation, I ensured constant interfacing of the methods of primary data gathering with the secondary data sources. The chapter concludes with research questions, and the significance of the study.

Qualitative Research, Critical Ethnography, and Multi-Method Qualitative Research

Given the volatile, and violent complexities of the Nigerian political terrain under which pro-Biafra social movements operated and continues to operate, and the fact that my fieldwork was going to be conducted there, the qualitative research methodology was chosen as the most strategically appropriate methodology to access the targeted population. Evidently, the multi-method qualitative research method is also suitable for Peace and Conflict Studies analysis (Druckman, 2005). So, I found it most suitable for the conduct of the fieldwork, and data analysis of the findings of this study. Multi-method qualitative research methodology "allows for the inclusion of many kinds of data collection and analysis techniques, as well as the diversity of theoretical and epistemological frameworks that are associated with qualitative research" (Guest et al., 2013:3). Qualitative research method is an approach that covers a wide spectrum of non-quantitative research methodologies. Why did I decide not to use the quantitative research methodology in this study?

Bogdan and Biklen (2011:2) argue that several research strategies in qualitative research share certain characteristics. Although data collected using a qualitative methodology is often termed "soft" (in contradistinction to the hard and quantifiable data in quantitative methodologies) such data are always "rich in description of people, places, and conversations, and not easily explained or analyzed by statistical procedure." Perhaps, the major argument that separates qualitative research from quantitative research is in the fact that a pure scientific method of experimentation or inquiry cannot and should not be applied to understand the often complex human behaviour since humanity "is at once physical, biological, and sociocultural beings" (Stringer, 2007:18).

My adoption of the qualitative research method is premised on the fact that the experimental quantitative method is ill-suited to examining the complex contexts of social issues like secession, state failure, genocidal conflicts, conflict transformation and peacebuilding. This is because the complexities surrounding "subtle social differences produced by gender, race, ethnicity, linguistic status, or class" (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004:7) make qualitative research the most viable and naturalistic method that enables the researcher to navigate through the twists and turns of social inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: xi). Apart from its invaluability in guiding the data gathering and interviewing processes, it "is a method of choice when the research question requires an understanding of the processes, events and relationships in the context of social and cultural situation" (Simkiss et al., 2013:196).

Before going into the specific aspects of this qualitative research, it is important to note that qualitative research techniques, designs, and methods are dynamic and varied, the most common data gathering may take mixed forms such as participant observation, non-participant observation, field notes, reflexive journals, qualitative interviewing, critical and reflexive

analysis of documents and materials, descriptive and interpretative analysis, and narrative, and storytelling (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research is also best suited for understanding and explaining how and why different social factors or contexts shape the dynamics in human behavior and existentialism (Stringer, 2007:18-19). Now, I will outline and briefly discuss the components of the multi-method research method used in the study.

Critical ethnographic research method was used in the study. This is suitable because the study's interest is "understanding the meanings people have constructed (i.e., how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world" (Merriam, 2009:13). Denzin & Lincoln (2005), also argues that qualitative research methodology (to the extent that data is gathered within natural contexts not designed by the researcher and analyzed through reflexive-interpretative or descriptive approach) enables a researcher with an in-depth grasp of human behaviour and the reasons behind the social context that shapes such behaviour.

Considering that pro-Biafra nonviolent secessionist agitation was ongoing during the entire time of the study, and in consideration of the fact that pro-Biafra social movements started facing repeated state mass killings, shortly after the fieldwork, the critical ethnographic method of inquiry and framework were used to elicit the viewpoints of the Biafran agitators. In addition, since the focus of the study was, specifically, centred on the strategic nonviolent resistance of social movements that represent oppressed and marginalized peoples in Biafra, the ethnographic research method, especially the critical ethnographic method was chosen as the best suited to review the respondents' ethnocultural cum political commonalities and perceptions.

John Creswell (2013) makes two remarks on the appropriateness and role of critical ethnography in studying oppressed subcultures. First, it "is suitable if the needs are to describe how a cultural group works and to explore their beliefs, language, behaviours, and issues faced

by the group, such as power, resistance, and dominance" (94). Second, critical ethnographic researchers are politically-minded scholars who are willing to "take a stand of opposition to inequality and domination" to "study issues of power, empowerment, inequality, inequity, dominance, repression, hegemony, and victimization" (94). Ethnographers, especially, critical ethnographers, should generate an "insider's point of view" or the emic perspective, rather than the "etic perspective" or a more distant point of view of outsiders or oppressors (Hoey, 2014).

As recommended by John Brewer, ethnographic research is required to use multiple data collection methods for the researcher to maximally capture the "social meanings and ordinary activities" of the respondents or informants in "naturally occurring settings" or area of the fieldwork (Brewer, 2000:10). It is in this sense that this study's fieldwork component was also a study of an oppressed group, or a subculture, in contradistinction with the dominant groups within the larger Nigerian society. Thus, this study adopted the ethnographic framework, narrative, and storytelling method to elicit information from members of the MASSOB, BHRI, and IPOB pro-Biafra social movements—in Imo, Anambra, Rivers, Ebonyi, Abia, Enugu, Cross River, Bayelsa, Ibom and Delta states of Nigeria, based on their perceptions and worldviews about the Nigerian state, vis a vis the genocidal conflict relations they wish to transform through strategic nonviolent resistance. These ten states make up the contested Biafra territory.

The question could be asked: why was the study based on the individual perceptions and experiences of members of the major pro-Biafra social movements inside the contested Biafra region of Nigeria only? There are two major reasons or explanations. The first is to take note of the distinctiveness between the responses and realities (stereotypes) between individual perceptions of members of a hegemonic group, and a minority group. Lisa Givens (2008: 606) states that "perception is a mode of apprehending reality and experience through the senses; thus,

enabling discernment of figure, form, language, behaviour, and action." Group perceptions emanates from the aggregated mass of various individual perceptions, which may vary from culture to culture. "Individual perception influences opinion, judgment, understanding of a situation or person, meaning of an experience, and how one responds to a situation" (606).

Our perceptions of the same object or social phenomena (say the existence of genocidal repression between the oppressor, and the oppressed) cannot but vary and are shaped by the background of the person including the social, educational, and career backgrounds. This is how the social construction of reality or the socialization process is made manifest (Berger & Luckman, 1991). At the same time, stereotyping, prejudices, ethnocentric hate and/or racial discrimination of out-groups by in-groups, are essentially products of socially-constructed reality that are based on perceptions, and peoples' lived experiences. For instance, perceptions and prejudices held by extremist ultra-White people about African Americans in white-dominant states in the US, vary considerably from those of African American people about themselves, even as perceptive labels of white and black skin colours are products of racial stereotypical profiling (Baldwin, 2017). Mindful of the foregoing, this study extracted its information from the perceptions and experiences of members of the MASSOB, BHRI and RBL pro-Biafra social movements. These pro-Biafra social movements are in the forefront of the nonviolent agitation to end decades of cultural and physical genocide against Biafrans in Nigeria. To this end, the perception, and experiences of members of pro-Biafra social movements will not vary much from the subjugated and genocidally-suppressed Biafra masses. I also believe the perceptions and prejudices of Biafrans by non-Biafrans, especially those from hegemonic ethnic groups, may not reflect, or acknowledge the plight, experiences, or perceptions of Biafrans in Nigeria.

Doing Research Through Narrative Inquiry and Storytelling

I used the in-depth interview approach of inquiry in a narrative or storytelling fashion that empowered the respondents to narrate their responses. Storytelling creates a strategic opportunity for individuals to tell others their own stories in their own words, based on their interpretations and perceptions, about what happened to them or others (Senehi, 2009; Ryan, 1995). Storytelling, when constructive, is a process that gives self-empowerment, inclusion, and flexibility, which places the storyteller in the "position of influence in the construction of social reality" and serves as "a cultural production involving a negotiation of meaning among storyteller, social context, story text, and audience" (Senehi, 2009; 2000). It also ensures resilience and co-creation of the identity of the oppressed (Denborough et al., 2006).

A constructive combination of the methods of narrative learning and storytelling is breaking new grounds in doing qualitative research in the social sciences, humanities and arts (Druckman, 2005). This helps scholars to understand the narrative reality of how people frame themselves and others in a social conflict; it is also a good "approach to teaching and practicing conflict analysis, and transformation, and peacebuilding (that) may be uniquely positioned to building capacity of students, practitioners, and teachers to learn how to (objectively) engage with the lived reality of conflict and transformation" (Kellett, 2011). This view is premised on the idea and reality that "conflict, conflict transformation and peacebuilding are inherently narrative enterprises," which empowers peace educators, researchers, practitioners, and students "to compassionately understand the narrative dynamics by which people create, express, maintain, and potentially transform oppositional differences of conflicts" (Kellet, 2011:311).

The narrative approach allows people to, not only, learn from the narration alone, but it also transforms the very act of narration itself (Gooson, et al., 2010). An attribute of the narrative

method and storytelling lies in the potentialities of objective re-storying (i.e., when scholars tell the exact stories of the storytellers). The best way to learn about people is by asking the persons themselves. Thus, the researcher must know that "asking people what they believe is open to them and what is closed is the practical application of reason by the researcher" (Given, 2008: 177). Restorying (Kellett, 2011; Senehi, 2000) gives voice to suppressed vulnerable groups, creates awareness, and media attention that helps expose and transform relations of social injustice, decolonize the manipulated or distorted colonial stories of colonizers and hegemonic oppressors, while giving emotional and mental support to the unheard or silenced psychosocial psyche of those traumatized by their social existence (Regan, 2010). That is why the pro-Biafra respondents were allowed to express their opinions in an in-depth interview setting.

Research Design and Study Location

The research design and study location were shaped by the focus of this study, namely, the pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements and their secessionist quest for an independent state of Biafra. That is why this case study relied on the extraction of the perceptions (viewpoints) and experiences, out of the interviewees stories, based on their social existence as marginalized Biafran peoples within the larger context of the Nigerian society. At the same time, four diasporic coordinators (two each from the RBL (IPOB) and the BHRI living in Britain and Spain) who hail from Akwa Ibom, Ebonyi, Imo and Anambra states were involved in this study through open-ended in-depth interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) conducted online through Facebook Messenger and Skype. They also helped in the online data gathering in their capacities as coordinators of their countries of residence in Europe. The selection of all interviewees, including the diasporic ones, were based on snowball sampling.

Multi-Method Data Gathering

Three major data gathering methods were used in this study. These are:

a) Primary data gathering: Qualitative in-depth interviews, and participant observation were used as part of the ethnographic research method. I also played the role of participant observer during the fieldwork in cities of the ten states that make up the Biafra region. In my field-notes I penned down all of my observations, such as verbal and nonverbal communication, collected pictures, symbols, and artefacts.

b) Relevant unpublished and published (official and unofficial) materials were also gathered. This included the trial bundle of a case for Biafran self-determination by the BHRI social movement against the Nigerian state, and several relevant books, and journals only circulated to members of these pro-Biafra agitators and sympathizers.

c) A wide range of secondary data were also sourced including relevant archival and published materials and reviews of web-based contents and publications.

Open-Ended In-depth Interviews

In all, I personally conducted one-on-one open ended in-depth interviews with 32 interviewees. Eighteen of the 32 interviews were on members of the RBL, who had metamorphosed to the IPOB (3 each from the states of Anambra, Abia, Imo and Enugu, one each from Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Delta, Rivers, and Cross River states. Nine BHRI members - one each from the 10 states inside the contested Biafra area) were interviewed. Lastly, only 5 MASSOB members were interviewed with one each from the states of Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Abia

and Anambra states[20]. In all, 28 were face-to-face with the interviewees, and 4 interviews were conducted via skype and Facebook with diaspora Biafrans (i.e., 4 coordinators representing the IPOB and the BHRI in Britain and Spain) who hail from Akwa Ibom, Ebonyi, Imo and Anambra states. In each question, interviewees were able to freely tell their stories, while I only asked clarifying questions where necessary. There was no trace of, or disguised intent towards leading questions. The 32 interviews, though not an equal representative sampling of the members of the MASSOB, BHRI, and IPOB pro-Biafra social movements, those selected were community leaders, academics, social commentators, elders, and leaders of and within the social movements. Also, only 7 women were interviewed, because the interviews were mostly held at dusk in the safe sanctuaries of the homes of the interviewees. After their daily jobs and career obligations were over, women in Nigeria tend to their families, and as such, it was difficult to organize interviews with them. All the interviewees were indigenous to the proposed Biafra state, and in the range of 18-60 years-of-age. The effect of the snowball sampling method, caused me to crisscross such towns and communities of Biafra as Aba, Enugu, Uyo, Port Harcourt, Okrika, Asaba, Calabar, Onitsha, Owerri, Mbaise, Ogoja, Yenogoa, Abakaliki and Awka.

Field Notes/Journals

Field notes was part of methods of the study, which aided my field observations and data gathering. During the fieldwork period, I took several notes based on my participant observations about things of interest, non-interview interactions with the people on the streets, buses, and restaurants. Also, my field notes were in connection with pictures or sights of symbolic resistance such as the displays of Biafran flags and colours on tall tree tops, hydro-electricity poles, private

[20] The MASSOB does not have large followership in the largely non-Igbo speaking areas of Biafra.

buildings or homes, and on the vehicles and costumes worn by members of the social movement members. Similarly, I took notes in line with my observations on the brutal treatment of Biafrans on the streets, in their or commuter vehicles by Nigerian security forces. Such notes were my reflexive interpretation of what is simply the military occupation and racialized policing of the Biafra region, based on the high number of military checkpoints, the manner of frisking and searching of vehicles and commuters on all roads in and out of Biafra. The denigrating anti-Biafra comments by the security officers, and the subdued and hapless demeanours, and frustration shown on the faces of the Biafran commuters, vehicle owners, and drivers were noted as well.

Data Processing and Analysis

After the interviews were completed, data analysis began with the transcription, and in a few cases, interpretation of the audiotaped interviews, and re-reviews of my field notes to ensure accuracy and completeness, in the description of all that were observed. Given the usefulness of continuous interaction of data collection and data analysis in qualitative research (Loftland & Loftland, 1984), I carried out the transcriptions once I got back to Canada. All the materials collected during the fieldwork were reviewed to find their linkages to the transcribed data. New developments after the fieldwork, involving or affecting the nonviolent agitation (especially the state's mass killings) in Nigeria, and reactions around the world, were closely monitored online and through feedbacks from three of my key informants. In the main, in line with the narrative – storytelling research method, data analysis followed the problem – solution restorying or narrative analysis. Incorporating the newer developments and news affecting the social movements, my restorying involved the processes of reading the transcript, analyzing the story as told by the respondents, to understand the lived experiences and then retelling the story (Ollerenshaw &

Creswell, 2002:332). This process involved (i) reading and rereading the transcript to get the sense of the data, and (ii) colour coding the transcript for the elements of plot structure (for easy extraction to their appropriate subject headings, (iii) graphically organizing the colour-coded transcript into elements or headings, and (iv) sequencing the elements (332). My field notes were also handy in the analysis of the findings.

Locating the Researcher in the Study

My position/role as the "Researcher" or what Mohammad et al., (2014) called "Research positionality" in this study is multidimensional. But before delving into this, it is important to say a word or two about my researcher positionality, given my several identities in this study. For Muhammad et al. (2014) and (Oetzel, 2009), identity, including the social identity or background connection to his/her study is a "complex and multi-layered, and is dynamically fluid and situational, even as the researcher's core characteristics are retained" (Oetzel, 2009, cf. Muhammed et al., 2014:3). This means that a social researcher is always marked by multiple identities punctuated by a researcher's ascribed characteristics like race/ethnicity, cultural background, skin color, gender, and by shifting achievable characteristic like education, job, and social position. A scholar becomes an outsider/insider if he/she is interested or involved in a study of, or on his/her community, or any other social group. For Deianira Ganga and Sam Scott (2006:1) "insider research" refers to "social interviews conducted between researchers and participants who share a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage." But in all, the literature on ethnographic (social) research advocate that insiders to an area (say ethnic or other social group) or issue (homophobia, sexism, racism) of study are better positioned than outsiders (Muhammad et al., 2014; Kerstetter, 2012; Herr & Anderson, 2005). Based on their

knowledge in community-based participatory research (CBPR), Muhammad et al., (2014) argue that "insiders might better understand and share community knowledge and beliefs, but also offer unique insight into the ways that CBPR enables them to forge a mutually reinforcing link between core identity and research practice as a way of life. Despite the expectation that insiders may then treat the knowledge shared with greater respect, this expectation can also come with the message of accountability" (8).

In view of the foregoing, I want to situate my research role and identities to this study. First, I was a critical ethnographer who was also an insider. This is to the extent that I am an ethnic Igbo, the largest ethnic group in Biafra. Although I am not a member of any of pro-Biafra groups, I share the same cultural identity and have, in one way or another, been affected the traumatic genocidal experience like most Biafrans. Just like all of members of pro-Biafra groups, I am a Nigerian, Biafran, and hails from Afikpo, a part of Igbo land that shares a common boundary, culture, and knowledge with about three of the many minority groups in Biafra land. To this end, the stories that were told or shared with me by the interview participants largely reflects the psychosocial background I grew up in. Thus, the stories (perceptions and experiences) shared by the interviewees mostly approximate my ethnocultural background, shared history, and personal experience. Moreover, I am fluent in the Igbo language and have internalized the Igbo culture, including moonlight stories about the Biafran War stories. It would have been difficult to dissociate myself from the horrific stories of how some of my close relatives were killed as noncombatants during the civil war as well as the genocidal killings of unarmed nonviolent protesters by the security forces, Fulani herdsmen, and as bomb victims in Northern Nigeria. Yet, despite these traumas, the study's analysis attained internal validity since the findings were purely based on the perceptions and experiences of the respondents.

Apart from insider identity to this study, I was also an outsider—a Ph.D. Candidate from the University of Manitoba, and a Canadian resident/citizen since 2008. The fact that I was, and still, far removed from Nigeria, also made or makes me far removed from the undiluted first-hand personal experience of contemporaneous events in Biafra land, in particular, and Nigeria, in general. Third, I was a participant observer of my people. Consequently, my leveraged understanding of the research terrain and genocidal experience, my socio-cultural identity and ability to communicate in native Igbo and Pidgin English, were assets which empowered me to grasp the verbal and nonverbal communication in my journal. As an "insider-outsider" in this study, I remained conscious of the ethical burden of ensuring objectivity and truthfulness to my Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, the Graduate Studies of and the University of Manitoba, and to the people whose voices I reproduced through and in this study.

Research Questions

The study's research questions are as follows:

1) What is the historical background of the pro-Biafra secessionist social movements?
2) Why do the pro-Biafra secessionist social movements engage in nonviolent resistance?
3) In what ways have the pro-Biafra secessionist social movements carried out their nonviolent resistance, and what were their outcomes?
4) What are some of the core idea(s), philosophy and belief(s) of the social movement?
5) Why chose secession, and are those involved in the pro-Biafra secessionist nonviolent resistance against the Nigerian state concerned about the consequences of their actions?
6) What are the political goals and visions of national identity for this social movement?

Significance of the Study

This proposed study is significant for theory building and praxis in regard to defining the positive transformation of genocidal conflicts in Nigeria and elsewhere. Specifically, the study aims to be a contribution to how to stem the orgy of genocidal conflicts in Nigeria. The respondents' stories shed more light on why the theoretical and practical application of nonviolent resistance by social movements should be embraced by violent social movements in Africa as the best approach towards overcoming and transforming genocidal relations. Keller (2007:2) identified the (first) Biafra drive for secessionism, as one of the "Three Great Secessionist Movements in Africa," and the attendant genocidal wars of separatism. This study was an attempt to switch the thinking caps of scholars who write about genocidal conflicts, policymakers, as well as the violent resisters and their hegemonic oppressors towards the incorporation of nonviolent actions and methods in the body politic of groups involved in genocidal relationships. In other words, this study is a contribution towards a paradigm shift in understanding peace and conflict related issues and genocidal conflict transformation in Africa. The literature discussed or mentioned in this study show that the (pro-Biafra) nonviolent resistance and conflict transformation strategies, share a common commitment to "social change and increased justice through peaceful means" (Lederach 1995:15). My argument is that there is a need to move away from merely analyzing genocidal events and terrorism and embrace constructive (nonviolent) conflict transformation and peacebuilding frameworks towards the mitigation of structural and physical violence directed by the state against ethno-political groups.

Until nonviolent conflict transformation and peacebuilding frameworks are introduced and taken seriously in the body politic in African societies, the African continent will continue to be the most conflict ridden region of the world, and may worsen beyond 45 percent of civil wars, and

genocidal ethnic conflicts (Bose, 2010; Wolff, 2007; Carter et al., 2009:1; Marshall et al., 2010:2; SIPRI, 2000, 2002; Scherer, 1997: 17). An x-ray of almost all the conflict resolution efforts to stem the tide of genocidal relations in Africa reveals the abysmal failure to address the grievances of ethnic groups, or minorities at risk (Gurr, 2015; MacGinty, 2015; Adebajo, 2002). This study agrees in the notion that genocidal conflicts in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa are avoidable, if the state, and non-state stakeholders, plus peace and conflict resolution practitioners, embrace the transformational and nonviolent means to achieve lasting peace with social justice.

A review of the contemporary Peace and Conflict Studies literature reveals that this approach is lacking in Africa (Miller, 2010). Only a few hardly successful efforts have been made by international peacekeepers, and the African Union (AU) to encourage combatants to engage in sustained nonviolent processes to multidimensionally address the germane issues that make almost every conflict in Africa genocidal (Jalata, 2016; Penetrante, 2012; Staub, 2012; Hauss, 2010; Miller, 2010; Conteh-Morgan, 2006). The argument has always been that the peaceful transformation of deadly conflicts has eluded Africa because most conflict transformation and peacebuilding frameworks are wrong therapies and/or anecdotes dished out by external neoliberal agents or scholars to therapeutically treat wrongly diagnosed causes of conflicts (MacGingty, 2015; 2013; Hauss, 2010). Genocidal conflicts begin and ends with addressing the congenital deformities that came with the colonial birth of states in Africa. As Carlo Koos (2016) argues, ethnic rebellions are mostly struggles to end political deprivation. This study believes that all issues relating to land grabbing, arbitrary use of state powers to appropriate the lands and mineral resources to favour hegemonic groups and ethnic ruling elites, and the genocidal suppression of ethno-national groups whose lands bear rich mineral resources, must be positively addressed. It is

only then that the eclipse of positive peace, genuine democracy, good governance and social justice could slowly pass through and beautify the political horizon across the continent.

Also various studies and reports indicated that even as these lines were written, pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements were the only known active and popular secessionist organization that was adopting nonviolent resistance, in words and deeds, towards ending decades of genocidal violence by the Nigerian state (Olufemi-Olukayode, 2018; Anele, 2017; Anwar & Matthew, 2017; Nwofe, 2017; Onumah, 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Korieh, 2012; Okonta, 2012). Thus, the determination of pro-Biafra agitators to resist a resort to armed resistance in the face of mass killing of their members, especially since August 2015, should be commended. As victims of genocidal killings, pro-Biafra nonviolent activists could have called, but restrained themselves from calling, for deadly reprisals in reaction to the genocidal killings of its members and other Biafrans, if not for their nonviolent disposition. Moreover, ending genocidal conflicts in Nigeria and, the rest of Africa is more cost saving than the deaths of international peacekeepers, and the economic resources expended on peace-keeping operations and refugee crisis intervention (Hauss, 2010). Constructive nonviolent negotiation should be built into the peace-keeping cum conflict resolution paradigm in Africa. Therefore, one of the contributions of this study is its ability to analyze how secessionist nonviolent resistance by pro-Biafra social movements has contributed to keeping Nigeria away from full blown genocidal warfare.

The resurgence of ethnic nationalism and the emergence of new states through secession have been on the increase since the end of the Cold War (Jalata, 2016; Gurr, 2015; Staub, 2012; Uyangoda, 2003; Collier & Hoeffer, 2002; Wallenstein & Sollenberg, 2000). During the Cold War (1945-1989), over 13 million people died in conflicts following the partition of Korea, Palestine, India, and Vietnam (Schaeffer, 1999). This statistic excludes similar situations in Africa where, as

Young (1965:82) argued, "The potential for splintering is highest and where the official diplomatic doctrine (of states) is most firmly set against secession." The fact is, self-determination and secessionist insurgencies by vulnerable ethno-national groups, and genocidal counter-insurgencies by existing states has reduced Africa to the most conflict-ridden region of the world, accounting for over 45 percent of civil wars, and violent ethnic conflicts (Cordell & Wolff, 2016; 2010; Jalata, 2016; Gurr, 2015; MacGinty, 2015; Byrne & Senehi, 2012; Deng, 2012; Donohue, 2012; Staub, 2012; Rothman, 2012; Zartman & Anstey, 2012; Garman, 2010). Also, studies show that Nigeria, with about 180 million people and more than 250 ethnic groups, has a record for being one of the most violent multi-ethnic states in Africa (Adisa, 2018; Adisa, 2018; Allen, 2016; Buchanan, 2015; IEP, 2015; Kazah-Troure, 1999). So just as seeking unravel the causes, nature and consequences of the genocidal conflict in Nigeria is important, learning about yawning opportunities to nonviolently transform such conflicts, is much more important. "Without such an understanding, it is difficult to imagine how it would be possible to negotiate, implement, and operate sustainable solutions within the context of any conflict (Cordell & Wolff, 2010:2).

Limitations of the Study

As already pointed out above, this study explored the experiences and perceptions of key informants involved of a representative sampling of members of the various pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements. In the conduct of the study therefore, there was no attempt made, even as it would have been necessary, to get the views or perceptions of people outside the Biafra region. At the same time, another factor which some readers may find troubling is the fact that I, the author, being of Biafran origin, may have portrayed views in a biased manner. Be that as it may, both problems were adequately addressed in this methodology section. My reporting

or representation of the findings were essentially based on the narration and stories as told by the respondents themselves. The study went a long way to balance, corroborate or disprove the views contained in the perceptive opinions of my respondents with views, reports, and opinions emanating from people, and political actors from outside of the Biafra area. In all, the study's findings reflected the reality at the time of concluding this study. The views expressed, and conclusions arrived at, remain evergreen in Nigeria's political space. So there is a congruity between the graphic or narrative presentation of facts or factual arguments with documented evidence in the study. In this sense, the study bears internal validity and objectivity.

I believe that a well-funded study may be necessary to re-evaluate my findings. In other words, one of the limitations of the study is that it lacked a national outlook and, therefore, did not obtain the perceptions and experiences of Nigerians of other ethnic nationalities. A larger study should also investigate, interrogate, and seek the opinions and perceptions of officials of the Nigerian state, including the security forces. I believe that such a study would rely on video and other documented evidence to guide in the gathering of data, data analysis, to revalidate or disprove contradictory stories, denials, and state coverups. Whether such a wider study is carried out, the fact remains that the nonviolent agitation of pro-Biafra social movements and the genocidal response by the Nigerian state are at the extremes of how a state, and opposition groups, including nonviolent resisters should interact or engage with each other.

Human Ethics Approval and Safety of Interview Participants

Before the commencement of the fieldwork component of this study, I applied for and got the approval of the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) of the University of Manitoba, Canada, to conduct this research. This approval certificate was issued after the JFREB

had reviewed and accepted the research sampling techniques, conduct of the field survey, and the handling of information, in line with the ethics of research involving human subjects. To this end, this study followed and complied with all the rules, regulations and other concerns of the Tri-Council Guidelines (2). So, the anonymity, confidentiality, and the safety of the human subjects during and after the field survey were properly protected. In other words, the real names and identifiable features, and locations of the interview participants were all masked in the entire study. Pseudonyms replaced real names of the interview participants. This means the real names or identities of all respondents, including the leaders and intellectuals, traditional rulers, and other members of the social movements were never revealed on the field or in the study. As I stated earlier, the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents were at no point breached but followed the JFREB policy stipulations. All interviews were secretly scheduled or arranged and conducted in the private homes of the respondents after their daily activities. Most times, members of the family of the interviewees were not privy to the interviews.

More importantly, in accordance with the confidentiality requirements and core principles of the human research ethics of the University of Manitoba REB and TCPS2 guidelines, none of the respondents was made to give out written or published confidential information that will be injurious to them, either by revealing their identity by name or deciphered by the information shared. At the same time, the informed consent of interview participants was sought and obtained with the signing of the informed consent letter or orally. Only 5 of the respondents gave their informed consent orally. Furthermore, all recorded interviews were saved, and password protected. USB devices were used to save all the interviews which were conducted with audio recorders. That means that no phones, iPad and other internet-ready or connected devices were used. On the four interviews that were conducted through

Facebook and Skype, I ensured that they were conducted when I had returned to Canada. I also allowed the interviews to be carried out in audio format only. These measures were taken to protect the interview participants from any and every form of victimization by the Nigerian state, or by anyone within or outside the various pro-Biafra social movements. My masking and coding the names of the interviewees, and identities of the interview locations, the interview participants were more comfortable to speak their minds, and in their provision of useful information that did not, in any way, endanger themselves or members of their social movements.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I provided the rationale for the qualitative research method as the preferred, or appropriate methodology of this study. In line with this and given the nature of this study as a perception study on a distinct that share common political experience and cultures, I chose the conduct the fieldwork within the framework of critical ethnographic research. The study was also based on the narrative cum storytelling framework that gave the interview participants to tell their stories as they deemed fit. Other aspects of this critical ethnographic qualitative research such as my roles as the principal investigator, participant observer, insider/outsider connections to the study, in-depth interview and sampling techniques, research questions, the limitations, and significance of the study were stated.

CHAPTER 6: BIAFRA'S NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

Chapter 6 presents the research findings on the narratives in regard to the experiences and perceptions of those involved in pro-Biafra social movements in Nigeria. In other words, this chapter reflects the perceptive viewpoints and responses of pro-Biafra social movement members, nonviolently, agitating for Biafra's right to self-determination and secession. We should recall that the design and method of the fieldwork inquiry took the form of critical ethnography, while the responses were in storytelling and narrative formats. Also, the analysis of findings in this section is a reflexive restorying of the sundry issues raised by the respondents, which revolved around the nonviolent resistance or agitation by pro-Biafra social movements. The analysis of findings also contains an intermixture of information gathered from secondary sources, in-depth interviews and my observations on issues arising or emanating from politics in Nigeria that may directly or indirectly relate to or corroborate the subject matter of this study.

As we go through this chapter, it will become clear that members of pro-Biafra social movements have in many ways established legitimate grounds to seek to transform what they see

as an ongoing cultural and physical genocide against the people of Biafra. This point is made because the analysis of findings objectively used recent or freshly published reports on current events to corroborate or gauge the perceptive responses of the respondents to the Nigerian world around them. Finally, this chapter beamed its light on each of pro-Biafra social movements to tease out where they agree or disagree, and the reasons for, and the outcomes of their splintering, and their chosen strategies nonviolent actions and the responses of the Nigerian state.

This chapter also explains, not only the reasons for the emergence and existence of the various pro-Biafra nonviolent movements, but also the reasons for their splintering and adoption of different nonviolent approaches. This is largely because MASSOB was the only known pro-Biafra movement until around 2009, until the emergence of splinter groups like BHRI which split into the BHRI and RBL factions of the IPOB by 2014 as well as the BZM, all with different command and operational structures. More importantly, this chapter explores the reasons behind the fragmentation and splintering of the nonviolent Biafra secessionist movement.

All the interview participants were drawn from the MASSOB, BHRI, and IPOB social movements. Majority of these interviews are ethnic Igbos and others from non-Igbo communities in Delta, Bayelsa, Cross River, Akwa Ibom, and Rivers states. At this point, it is pertinent to make a few remarks about the perception of reality in the study or analysis of intergroup relations. Citizens' perceptions and social behavior (body language) are shaped by the state's role in managing intergroup relations, especially in contested states with sociocultural or ethnic cleavages. In other words, citizens' perceptions and experiences are a function of the collective memories of experiential or existential realities faced by each group in their interaction with other identity groups within that state. Thus, the goal is to understand the dynamics in the

operations and politics of pro-Biafra freedom fighting or self-determination social movements (Norman, 2013; Ojukwu, 2013; Amadi, 2007).

The roles of a ruling chauvinistic civilian and military elite, whose nepotistic, visionless, kleptocratic, and catastrophic governance have continued to reinforce the combustive and divisive forces of ethnicity, religious fundamentalism and terrorism, and state genocidal repression and contested statehood (Okonta, 2014). Put differently, the perceptions and experiences of citizens and/or groups in Nigeria are shaped/created by the (interpersonal interpretations) of the contestations arising from the above stated disintegrative or divisive manifestations of federal-ethnic-state relations in the areas of sharing of power and economic resources, interregional relations, ethno-nationality in settler—indigene (mobile citizenship rights) relationships, national versus regional development policy concerns, and interreligious relations (Osimen et al., 2013:84). In the same vein, the political elite, who created these negative intergroup sentiments through the pigeonholing of citizens into catchment zones or ethno-political domains have leveraged the same for their capricious political interests. The foregoing statements are a prelude that explains the nature and expectations of the study as well as the fact that the collective memory, and other motivational and mobilizational forces of pro-Biafra secessionist social movements are shaped by the experiences and perceptions of the people involved in this study.

Historical Background of the MASSOB-led Pro Biafra Secessionist Social Movement

The first primary concern of this study was to gauge the people's perceptions about the historical background of the MASSOB-initiated secessionist social movement. This was kick-started with a simple non-leading question: What does good life and happiness mean to you?

This question received mixed reactions in terms of body language, voice tone, and content of responses. To most respondents, good life and happiness may be intrapersonal but driven by external social factors such as availability, or absence of electrical power, economic status, marriage and dependency issues, standard of living and level of education, and availability of jobs for oneself or one's children. While a few of the respondents believed they are happy and hopeful that social change will come, the majority displayed their disappointments with the Nigerian state, which they blamed for decades of catastrophic killings and governance.

In all, the general perception of the respondents, as articulated by Emeka, is that Nigeria "is a country where people live in denial"; where the sycophancy and complacency of the majority of the citizenry have enunciated a situation of "suffering but smiling" followership. As stated by respondent Uzoma, "good life and happiness are in abeyance in Nigeria." This, as she further argued, is because:

> Those who think they have a good life in Nigeria are not sincere. How can you have a good life where there is a near absence of power supply, where roads have become death traps, where violent kidnapping and armed robbery are on the rise, and where elected and appointed public officers have pillaged the commonwealth of their people and flaunt their stolen wealth with wanton braggadocio? There cannot be real happiness where more than 90% of the masses are like hostages who are suffering by smiling at gunpoint.

Thus, there was a near consensus that the real conditionalities of those elements that make someone feels like living a good life are not really in place.

To some of the respondents, good life and happiness means not living in fear of becoming a victim of such social vices as armed robbery, kidnapping, or mass death by the state, Boko Haram or Fulani herdsmen. In addition, the inadequacy or nonexistence of social amenities

that were available in the past such as hydroelectric power, pipe-borne water, quality education, good roads, affordable and sound healthcare, and cheap raw materials for housing, contribute to crumbling the local people's quality of life, social wellbeing, and happiness. Conversely, the respondents also reasoned that people who fool themselves of living good lives or who are happy, are the ruling cabals and top civil servants, whose primitive accumulation directly reflects the widening mass poverty, catastrophic livelihood and despair in Nigeria (Mike, 2018; Ajisafe, 2016; Yusuf et al., 2014; Joseph, 2006; Obasanjo, 2005).

The implication of the respondents' viewpoints is that happiness and the good life are lacking in their own lives and those in their immediate communities. This point is validated by empirical proof on the ground in stories shared and disillusionment I witnessed in the marketplace and churches. In fact, my reflexive observation showed that the nose-diving quality of life in most places in Nigeria is hampered by the failing Nigerian state. Everywhere one looks, the effluvia of decaying infrastructural facilities, blocked smelly streets and drainage systems, and refuse abound. While the electrical power supply is rationed across Nigeria, the situation is worse in Eastern Nigeria or the Biafra region. To prevent their businesses from grinding to a halt or having their homes exposed to extreme heat, companies and private residents depend on generators as alternative source of power. In the evenings, I noticed large crowds who gather for hours at the gas stations to purchase gas for their generators.

The existence of poor roads in the Biafra region is another indicator of the poor state of sectionalized neglect of Eastern Nigeria as a whole. For instance, the road networks in Owerri (Imo State), Onitsha and Nnewi (Anambra State), Port Harcourt (Rivers State), Aba (Abia state), the Enugu-Onitsha Expressway, the Calabar-Ogoja Road, and the Calabar-Aba Road were, and still, are the most pitiable township and inter-state roads on which commuters are forced to spend

hours on end in traffic gridlocks for distances ranging from 5 to 200 kilometers. Those travelling on these roads are made to suffer different kinds of indignation, hostility, dehumanization, extortions, unwarranted torture, and untimely deaths at the hands of Nigeria's security forces. This observation is based on the comments by some respondents who told me saddening stories of their ordeals as a result of the institutionalized criminal extortions and dehumanizing treatment of bus commuters and other motorists by the state's security forces. To verify this, I realized that on the about 70-kilometre Port Harcourt-Aba Highway, there were over 100 military (zigzagged one-lane) checkpoints and several armoured tanks mounted by state security troops, who brazenly harassed, searched, and extorted varying sums of money from motorists. Although worst in Eastern Nigeria, these criminal intimidation and extortions by the Nigerian Army, Police, Customs, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, Civil Defence, and Road Safety Corps, took place in other parts of Nigeria at lesser degrees. Thus, the seeming negative responses to the question of good life and happiness by the members of pro-Biafra social movement, was largely, a direct indictment of the state.

Human security, which creates a state of good life and happiness, as one of the attributes of a normal state, is discounted from the Nigerian state (Osaghae, 2006). Nigeria has been said to be wallowing in "delusions of progress," or failed state capacity, operationalized along the lines of human security and development obligations due to decades of "catastrophic governance" and prebendalism. Particularly associated with Nigeria's systemic clientelism and cronyism, Richard Joseph defined prebendalism as a "systemic conversion of public offices to serve the interests of office holders and their political clan, and ethnic communities" (Joseph, 2006:3). The direct outcome is "catastrophic governance," which Joseph says subsists in Nigeria because of "the elites' squandering of economic opportunities derived from the oil boom and decaying

infrastructure, and where the primitive accumulation and affluence of the ruling elite reflects the mass impoverishment of the masses, and the role of the political class only serves in making segregated ethno-regional development policies (Joseph, 2006:5).

The Challenge of Nigerian Citizenship and Biafran Identity

As already indicated in the context and theoretical chapters of this study, the perceptions and experiences of individual citizens, especially those belonging to the same identity groups in multi-ethnic or multiversity states like Nigeria, is one of the ways to capture how each self-conscious group sees itself in the context of their country's citizenship and existential realities. In most cases, each group's perception(s) of existential realities, not only enables such a self-conscious group to understand and explain its social existence in relation to others, but it, also brings to the fore, the challenges of cordial intergroup relations, lack of social cum political egalitarianism, and citizens' allegiance and/or loyalty to the state. On this note, I sought the perceptions of members of pro-Biafra secessionist movements about their Nigerian citizenship. Asking them this citizenship question was intended to help the scholar to ethnographically capture how citizens of a particular region or geopolitical group see themselves in relation to their coexistence with others in the same state. Also, this question tested the factors that shape their viewpoints, individual and/or collective loyalty, and allegiance to the Nigerian state.

The question "How would you characterize yourself in relation your citizenship of Nigeria?" did reveal a near uniformed response, not only about how they see themselves as citizens of Nigeria, but also provided insights into what shaped their individual and/or collective political behaviour. Fundamentally, almost all the respondents stated that since they have no other officially-recognized country, they see themselves as citizens of Nigeria, but would rather

identify with their Indigenous Biafran origin. Put differently, all the respondents described themselves as Indigenous Biafrans whose Nigerian citizenship are coercively-imposed by the federal government. The more ideological respondents stated that their Nigerian citizenship is transitory, in the sense that Easterners were not Nigerian citizens while the state of Biafra lasted between May 30, 1967 and January 14, 1970. For example, a respondent Ide stated that "After killing millions of our people in the genocidal war which Biafra lost, it was compulsory for all former Biafra citizens to unwillingly revert to Nigerian citizenship." The individual stories about their experiential pains, frustrations, and disappointments as (perceived) third class citizens since 1970, are instrumental in shaping their deep emotional attachment to Biafra nationalism. In other words, the Easterners, especially those involved in pro-Biafra social movements, consensually see themselves as Indigenous Biafran whose Nigerian citizenship is through force of arms.

Some respondents used the complexities and contradictions in the colonial and post-colonial history of Nigeria to explain how they characterize themselves as Nigerians. For instance, Naomi, a female leader in one of the social movements in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, stated that "by virtue of the forced amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914, I am forced to be a Nigerian citizen. But by Indigenous Biafran origin/identity, I am a Biafran." Similarly, a BHRI chieftain, Uba, who explored the transient nature of citizenship affiliation since the forced 1914 amalgamation stated that "I am a Nigeria citizen, but strongly believe that I am an indigene of Biafra. So, my citizenship is not the question as I can still become a citizen of US. But what matters most […] is that I am Biafran." Some respondents responded by simply displaying their 'Biafra Passports', —a move that seemed to drive their optimism towards an eventual seceded Biafran state. "Nothing will be as good as me travelling around with this Biafra passport" was how Obi described it.

Apart from the congruence in the indisputability of the respondents' characterization of themselves and other Biafrans as Nigerian citizens, what is of higher importance to them is their citizenship status in Nigeria. Implicitly, some of the respondents pointed out that there existed a disparate and stratified citizenship ascription to Nigerian groups based on religious and/or ethno-regional backgrounds. They questioned whether the Nigerian state treats every citizen equally, regardless of state of origin, ethno-political background, religious affiliation, economic class, educational, and political status. Some of them said that the post-war social existentialism has resulted in peoples of Eastern Nigeria being relegated from second to third class citizens. In Chike's view, "I want to live in a country where nobody can treat me as a second or third-class citizen. A place where nobody can "deport"[21] a citizen because of his state or ethnicity. Nigeria is a country were contracts or appointments are preferentially determined by one's state of origin or faith. I want to live in a nation where nobody will kill me or my relatives because of where we come from." Also, Atuma, a traditional ruler, who is also a member of MASSOB gave reasons why he was believed the people of Biafra were relegated to third class citizens. For him,

> The major reason every person belongs to a state […] is for that state to provide human security or wellbeing of all citizens. However, there are no industries, research and development institutions, development projects by the FGN in Imo state, and other Eastern states around us here. We are short-changed in strategic federal political appointments due to our third-class citizenship. That is why I am in the Biafra struggle.

It is these feelings of collective subjugation, or denial of equal citizenship rights that make the Biafrans believe they were at the lowest rung of an unwritten stratified citizenship in Nigeria.

[21] In July 2013, the Lagos State Government 'deported' 72 Igbo destitute at Onitsha in Anambra State, sparking sharp Igbo criticism on the constitutionality of 'deportation' a fellow compatriot. (See Vanguard, September 26, 2013, http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/09/deportation-igbos-fashola-tenders-unreserved-apology/).

Another remarkable factor is the attachment to the idea of an Indigenous Biafra identity. This can be attributed to the impact of the successful pro-Biafra conscientization and mass mobilization by the leaders of all pro-Biafra social movements. This was accomplished through the dissemination of pro-Biafra print and electronic (Internet-based) media, published and unpublished pamphlets, newspapers, books, and leaflets. There is the sense that the Biafrans, or peoples of the defunct Eastern Region, which comprises several self-conscious ethno-linguistic groups, are tied to the idealism and nomenclature of "Biafra" as a precursor to the crystallization of the hitherto outlawed 'Biafra identity'. The idea of the "Indigenous People of Biafra" (IPOB) was introduced by the more radical BHRI and Radio Biafra London (RBL), to awaken the critical consciousness of post-war generation of Biafrans of their inalienable Biafran Indigeneity cum heritage. This move, which coheres with Freire's pedagogic theory of conscientization by the oppressed, is one of the major arteries through which the "iconic representations" of the critical consciousness towards the Biafra liberation, has been successfully entrenched.

As argued by Gerald Doré (1999: 97), "Conscientization requires a recognition of the structural contradictions that one bears, whether as a result of social class, gender, ethnic group, age, sexual orientation, health, marital status, religion, or any other identity parameter in which oppression can grow." That is why and how the IPOB phenomenon represents the new ideology and face of the nonviolent secessionism since 2014. Put differently, the conscientization efforts and public education about the phenomenon of "IPOB" has helped pro-Biafra agitators achieve large scale individual and/or collective consciousness. Also, it t has led to the elimination of traces of the negatively-internalized post-war "culture of silence" as a result of the people's denial of their Biafra identity, feelings of defeat, and state-sponsored intergroup contestations, hate and acquiescence—propagated by Nigerian state agents. As remarked by Chief Nze, "the

full import of the ideology of the "Indigenous People of Biafra" is the most significant step taken to end the negatively internalized divisive intra-Biafra contestations and denials." Importantly, some respondents, also reasoned that the coinage of the "IPOB" was and will continue to be a crucial aspect of the self-determination efforts to challenge and legally reverse the Nigeria's delegitimization of Biafra, by expunging and renaming pre-colonial Biafra landmarks. Overall, the goal is to rewrite and relink the pre-colonial Biafra territory and landmarks in ways that no one is left in doubt that the ancestral homeland of the Biafrans stretches from the continental shelf of Atlantic Ocean from Delta State, to the immediate surrounding Igbo and from the Ogoja/Obudu hinterlands to Bakassi Peninsula boundaries with the Cameroons. As summed up by Steve, "the IPOB reference is a strong response to the historical cum legal challenges the nomenclature of Biafra faces under the Nigerian state, and the lack Biafra citizenship rights. That is why I am in the Biafra struggle."

Further, the advocacy for the respect, preservation and, protection of the inalienable rights and identity of the Indigenous peoples of Biafra, has been internationalized and boosted by the 2007 U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which Nigeria has signed and ratified in its present constitution. As stated by Mary, a legal practitioner, "agitation for Biafra secession cum self-determination is in accordance with Article 3, 4 and 5 and 8 of the above 2007 UN Charter (U.N., 2007:5)." That is why these agitators believe that a separate state for the Indigenous people of Biafra is central to the elimination of the fifty years of false consciousness and false identity imposed on the younger generation of Biafrans by the Nigerian state.

The pro-Biafra social movements, the hitherto, armed Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NPVF), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and the Asari Dokubo-led Great Commomwealth of Niger Delta (GCND), have also used the concept of IPOB

to redefine their shared pre-colonial and colonial heritage, in contradistinction to their peoples forced amalgamation into Nigeria. This had followed the new memorandum of understanding (MOUs) and meetings by the nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements, on one hand, and, hitherto, armed Niger Delta militant groups towards the "United States of Biafra." This reconstruction of the Biafra or IPOB identity, and its acceptance among the non-Igbo-speaking peoples of Eastern Nigeria began in 2004, is important to the pro-Biafra struggle. As articulated by Enang, "For fear of the Nigerian state's persecution and intimidation towards the mention of the name of Biafra since the end of the civil war in 1970, many non-Igbo ethnic groups and persons, especially in the Cross River State where I come from, were forced to deny or denounce their Biafran identity. But today, the IPOB has mobilized our peoples towards boldly reclaming and reasserting their inalenable Biafra indigeneship." In a nutshell, while the construction of the new Biafra identity is a work in progress, the members of pro-Biafra social movement have remained resolute that their Indigenous homeland remains the pre-amalgamation Biafra territory as outlined in various maps of pre-colonial Africa. One of these maps is the map of Western Coast Africa titled "Guinea," created in 1662 by Joan Blaeu, the chief cartographer for the Dutch East India Company (see Map 1 and Map 2 below).

Map 1: 1662 Map of Western Coast Africa



Source: Vorce (2011). (See also Emekesri, 2012:25).

Map 2: Map of Biafra by the Pro-Biafra Social Movements



Source: MASSOB and IRBL/POB

In addition, the core essence for the reawakening of the Biafra identity or consciouness is also a deliberate and well-articuated effort by pro-Biafra activist scholars to correct what is now referred to as "the distorted and contaminated history of Indigenous Biafra" by the Nigerian state since 1970. These activist scholars had to resort to republishing or citing verifiable pre-colonial history and maps to correct such historical distortions orchestrated by the Nigerian state. As argued by Chidiebere, "if there are Biafrans, the next important question is to ask is, what non-soveriegn territory within Nigeria constituted the pre-colonial Biafran territory historically?" Chidiebere's rhetorical question is answered by Chike, who said that "going by the pre-colonial map of the Biafra terrirory, all the peoples or ethnic groupings found within the former Eastern Region (now split into the South East and South-South zones) of Nigeria are Biafrans." And according to the IPOB, "the nation of Biafra consists of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo, and Rivers states as well as Igbanke in Edo State, Igala in Kogi State, and Idoma in Benue State" (Agbodo, 2016:1). Again, all the interviewees agreed that it was the divide-and-conquer strategy of the hegemonic ruling elite that made fervent efforts to reduce previous and the present Biafra secessionism to an Igbo project. Many of the respondents painted different pictures of how, shortly before and during the war, the Nigerian state deliberately ignored the fact that the second in command and Chief of General Staff of the Biafran Forces, Lt. Col. Philip Effiong, and about half of the principal officers of the Biafran state until 1970 were non-Igbo. Ekezie, one of the IPOB leaders, argued the herculian task of "uniting the Biafra house" due to the Nigerian state's divisive antics. As Ekezie further argued,

> "Towards the end of the civil war, Nigeria reduced Biafra to an Igbo project. But Biafra is a collective term for all the people found within and around east of the Niger, or former citizens of Biafra Republic… I want to inform you that it is not only Igbos that are

> Biafrans as we have other ethnic groups of related cultures. Biafra is locatable geographically and has been in existence on world map since 1662 or there about. It is more than 500 centuries older than Nigeria. Biafra existed before 1833, when Indigenous societies were shared among European powers in the Scramble for Africa."

One of the best examples in validation of the inclusivity claims about Biafra lies with the history of the Christian missions in Nigeria. For Example, the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria (2015):

> [w]as established in April 1846, when […] the Church of Scotland Mission […] arrived Calabar where they set up the first […] Church. In 1858, it was constituted as the "Presbytery of Biafra." This Presbytery of Biafra metamorphosed into the "The Presbyterian Synod of Biafra in 1921" […]. The Presbyterian Church of Biafra became the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Nigeria in 1952. By 16th June 1960 […] the Church changed its name to the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria (1).

This is why the precolonial history of Bafra is invaluably-useful to the pro-Biafra agitation.[22]

Historical Factors/Background of the Pro-Biafra Secessionist Social Movements

A consensual perception among pro-Biafra agitators is that the economic and sociopolitical relations among the ethno-regional groups have remained counterproductive since the inception of the Nigerian state. This was evidenced by the chorused repudiation of the state structural imbalance that benefits Northern Nigeria but unduly detrimental to the Eastern Region that lays the golden eggs of its oil and gas dependent economy. Another subsisting issue that has aided the stifling of the socio-economic development of Eastern Nigeria, is the deliberate maritime policies of the Nigeria. The respondents pointed out that under colonialism, the British

[22]Many of the respondents severally made references historical origin of the Presbyterian Church of Biafra and the 17th century map of the Biafra region (see also Emekesri, 2012:25).

strategically created and used the seaports in Onitsha, Uguta, Calabar, Onne, Warri, Oron, and Port Harcourt to ship oil palm and other agricultural produce from Oil (palm) Protectorate to England. But since the end of the civil war, the FGN has deliberately blocked the use of these seaports and airports inside Biafra for international trade and commerce. As a result, Igbos, known for their mercantilism and entrepreneurial acumen are forced to lose billions of dollars in transporting their imported goods to Biafra land from the Lagos Seaport yearly. As Obi puts it, "It is sad that despite the high population density of more than 70 million people, who live along the over five-hundred-kilometer seaward boundary to the Atlantic Ocean, the FGN has ensured that none of its five seaports is operational and thereby stymying our peoples unquenchable quest for Indigenous industrial development of Eastern Nigeria. Yet, over 70 percent of all import business are executed by the Igbo business people. Is this not a double standard?"

Further, the respondents believed the deliberate economic de-development policies of the state against the defunct Biafra territory has resulted in the post-war relative deprivation, brain drain, de-development and de-industrialization of Biafra and its people. Some lamented that Biafrans have remained the greatest supplier of highly skilled labour, which are usable or useful outside Eastern Nigeria. As Nze noted, "The Nigerian state's scorched earth policies against us, and which has made the Biafran region the world's biggest exporter of skilled labour. This is one of the ways the Biafra region is being "punished" as a vassal colony as a result of the 30-Month Civil War that Biafran lost." Put differently, it is due to the deliberate denial of employment opportunities that go hand-in-hand with the non-location and non-localization of nationalized industries, state agencies and parastatals, that skilled (Biafrans) Easterners are, invariably, forced to migrate to other parts of Nigeria, in search of job opportunities. An evaluation of these assertions points to the fact that the Biafra agitation is also a call to create a level playing field

and even development. There was also a general perception among the respondents that their rich petroleum and gas resources will continuously be plundered as booties from conquered territory, and its peoples continuously treated to the multidimensional forces of political exclusion and emasculation, state terrorism, economic strangulation, and internal colonization, until the present poisoned socio-economic and political relations among the ethno-regional groups are redressed.

Perceptions about the Emergence and Activities of pro-Biafra Social Movements

To begin with, all the respondents agreed that MASSOB, founded under the charismatic and endearing leadership of Ralph Uwazuruike, was the first social movement that rallied mainly Igbo youth towards the establishment of 'a new Biafra state'. In their various narratives, the new and present Biafra agitation began on September 13, 1999, after a series of consultations and meetings by Uwazuruike's closest associates and friends in Lagos state. For Igwe, a founding member of MASSOB, "the idea of nonviolent agitation copied by the recent "mushroom" pro-Biafra groups, is the brain child Uwazuruike, who took his time to learn and apply the Gandhi's nonviolence against the British, and Martin Luther King-led nonviolent civil disobedience."

As revealed by the MASSOB respondents, the clarion call for the secession of the Biafra homeland was, more or less, seen as a figment of the imagination of a day dreamer until the "Declaration for a new "New Biafran State" by Uwazuruike on May 22, 2000. The "New Biafra" declaration was incontrovertibly a direct response to the attendant "unprovoked and organized" mass killing of more than 5,000 Easterners, following what the MASSOB leader referred to as "the sudden introduction of the Islamic Sharia Law" by some Northern Nigerian state governors (Richardson, 2005:21; Eastern Pilot, 2001:2). In MASSOB's early day, the seized every media or public opportunity to call out and hold the Nigerian state accountable for failing in its

responsibility to protect Biafrans, who are overwhelmingly Christians, from the previous Islamic uprisings, and, in particular, the 2000 Sharia Law mass killings in Northern Nigeria, just as it did during the 1966 Pogroms (Eastern Pilot, 2001:2).

Many of the respondents noted that the humiliation of Ekwueme in 1998 and the Sharia Law related mass killing of Easterners in 2000, inadvertently, helped stimulate what Freire (2014) referred to as "critical consciousness" or "conscientization" of the people towards MASSOB's call to nonviolent resistance. Also, MASSOB became a choice for "freedom in a New Biafra, or continued slavery in Nigeria" (Freire, 2014). For example, Egwu, who lost five members of his family in the 2000 Sharia killings, articulated that "MASSOB was the only hope for survival after the rioters burnt down everything my family had laboured for. We thought MASSOB was going to embark on armed resistance, but our coordinator told us the Biafran State will be achieved without arms. Most of us did not take him seriously but he said that whether we fight with weapons or not, the enemies of our people will still find a way to continue killing us."

Most members, especially those who were in MASSOB between 1999 and 2001, were convinced that the civil war never ended as the victorious parties continued the war through other genocidal means. They contended that the genocidal subjugation of the People of Biafra was only going to get worse. Thus, they have nothing to lose by challenging the perpetrators through nonviolent agitation to create a new Biafra. Such phrases as "living dead people," "crushed and defeated people," and "helplessly weakened post-war generation of Biafrans" were used to approximate the agonizing social existence the people have had to navigate each day.

No Better Alternative to Nonviolent Resistance Towards Biafra's Secession

Why would a people decimated by a state-led 1966 pogrom, followed by a 30-month genocidal war that killed more than 3 million Biafra noncombatants, and post-war policies of cultural genocide restart its abandoned secessionist agitation, albeit nonviolently? Is the new Biafra secessionism a response to state repression and further national sociopolitical exclusion? To most of these nonviolent agitators, and in fact, to the majority of Biafrans, answers to such questions were not far-fetched. Almost all the respondents in this study were of the view that time was ripe for Biafra. They believed the "indivisibility and indissolubility argument of the Nigerian state" by the hegemonic North is unsustainable. "The failing state of the Nigerian state," according to Onyeze, "has brought the chicken home to roost, as many non-Biafrans now believe that the corporate unity of Nigeria is not sustainable, given the insurmountable and irreconcilable sociopolitical differences." This was trending view of most Nigerians in 2017 and part of 2018.

Still, there are at least three major perspectives that explain why the past and present genocidal vulnerability propelled rather than curb this new drive toward Biafra secessionism. First, pro-Biafra social movements and most other Biafrans vehemently disagree with other Nigerians that the dissolution of Nigeria would result in another genocidal warfare. Johnson articulated this viewpoint in the following manner,

> We know that the Yoruba and the Mid-Western regions of Nigeria are full of regrets for betraying the Biafra secession of 1967. This is what Olufemi Olukayode, a Yoruba and a former federal minister has been saying. We know that these people will not betray our nonviolent agitation for Biafra, given that they have already started the call for Oduduwa

Republic. Even so we will not listen to the excuses of any other group, as we have always taken up the most arduous destiny-changing aspects of Nigeria's politics.

Simply put, the quest for Biafra secessionism is designed to succeed regardless of the political calculations and/or permutations of other regional blocs in Nigeria.

The second reason for the interviewee's unflinching (diehard) resolve towards a renewed Biafra secessionism, albeit with possible genocidal consequences, stems from the fact that the worsening social existence of Biafrans since 1966 could best be reversed through constructive nonviolent confrontation, and communication with the Nigerian state. As Chika noted, "just as standing up to a bully is the best way to confront, and end bullying, those involved in the pro-Biafra agitation know nonviolent agitation is the best strategy to end decades of genocide or social injustice. For many of us, it is better to die fighting to stop injustice, and mass killing against our people, than to wait until it gets to your turn to be killed." Respondent Chidi said the social existence of the People of Biafra in Nigeria was just like a people living in a 'concentration camp'. She noted that pro-Biafra social movement is the outcry for help by a people who are already marked for death and kept in fortified concentration camps, hidden away from the eyes and ears of the outside world. That is why Obi said it, "it was more honourable to die fighting for the self-determination, social justice and human rights of oppressed Biafrans."

The Nonviolent Activities of MASSOB

It is important to note MASSOB suffered leadership problems that started around 2008. It was this leadership problem that led to MASSOB splintering into smaller pro-Biafra secessionist movements that adopted different ideas, or methods of nonviolent agitation. Before its splintering, MASSOB was the only known social movement in Nigeria that deployed several

forms of nonviolent action to protest for the nation's self-determination. The leadership organogram had at the helm its "Leader" and followed by national and diasporic directors of departments saddled with the smooth running of its activities.

Mass mobilization campaigns and the dissemination of information about its activities were under the director of information, which to an extent, remained of high strategic importance to the time this study was concluded and probably beyond. Through pamphlets and monographs, MASSOB communicated with its target audience with uncensored evidence, and reasons to support its nonviolent activities. The effective operations of MASSOB's directorate of information led to the creation of two (globally-accessible) internet radio stations—Voice of Biafra International, U.S. and Radio Biafra London, U.K. Also, MASSOB embarked on many nonviolent activities in and outside of Nigeria. It also embarked on many peaceful processions with Biafran flags and placards at various Nigerian embassies across the European Union, the US, India, Brazil, Australia, Malaysia, India, and Canada. The respondents pointed out many successful nonviolent demonstrations and "noncooperation" activities alike by MASSOB. Nonviolent demonstrations and rallies, often carried out on the orders of the movement's leaders include the symbolic blockade of major roads and streets, sit-ins at popular public places, awareness rallies, hoisting of the Biafran flags, and fundraising luncheons among others.

The above successful nonviolent actions often brought MASSOB's agitators in direct confrontation with security forces. The consequence of these protests in most instances where the violent clampdown of its members by security forces. As narrated by a zonal leader, Liam, "thousands of our members were killed by mass shootings while those detained without trial suffered extreme torture, dehumanization, and disappearance in the custody of the state." This prompted MASSOB to change its noncooperation and civil disobedience strategies.

From 2003 onward, MASSOB began to embark on collective noncooperation and civil disobedience actions. Each of the successfully-planned nonviolent "stay-at-home" orders paralyzed the operations of the state agencies, banks, and schools in major Biafran cities. Distinct from its nonviolent demonstrations, sit-ins, and picketing of market unions to shore up support, MASSOB's stay-at-home orders were devoid of any confrontation. This is because information about the date, duration, and form of a particular nonviolent action were always disseminated in advance through its operational channels of information dissemination.

On appointed days of sit-at-home protests, commuter vehicle operators and other artisans would willingly withdraw their services. And because the civil disobedience activities are always preplanned, the deployment of security forces to arrest protesters or those that may be seen to disrupt public peace never arose. This is highly significant because the Nigerian security forces, whose rule of engagement against anti-government protests often involve violent suppression, extrajudicial detentions, and mass killings had no clue of how to reverse or stop these nonviolent actions. The first implication for the success of the sit-at-home actions is that silent majority of the Biafran masses, are fully in support of the agitation by MASSOB. It is also pertinent to note that the success of the sit-at-home orders were frustrating to the security forces. As Ezeobi puts it, "Because our people complied with MASSOB's stay-at-home orders, the planned clampdowns by the police and the army and their armoured tanks at various places in Biafra land, were to no avail as they saw no one to arrest or kill."

In 2005, MASSOB successfully carried out the reintroduction and circulation of the Biafran pounds. To many MASSOB respondents, the Biafra Pound "reintroduction is the fifth phase" of the strategic nonviolent and noncooperation agenda, to reinvigorate its peoples' consciousness towards the "inevitable" actualization of the Biafra Republic. One of the

MASSOB zonal coordinators, Adrian, narrated that the circulation and acceptance of the Biafra currency as a medium of exchange in Eastern Nigeria and neighbouring West African countries[23] "points to the fact that the actualization of Biafra's statehood was no more a fantasy." In a more reflexive sense, the reintroduction of the Biafran currency was more of an economic than a nonviolent strategy. MASSOB believed that the reintroduction of the Biafran currency was an opportunity to access the "over US$1.2 trillion of the Biafran currency backed by gold standard (and its interest accruing since 1970), trapped in banks in Switzerland and Portugal" (Ajaero, 2005:15). MASSOB stated the money will be useful and needed by the new Biafra state.

In response, the Nigerian state, at first, dismissively and derisively saw the reintroduction of a currency (that was worth nothing since 1970) as a symbolic act of the rebels that was essentially "inconsequential" (Ajaero, 2005:16). However, when the news circulated about the accepted high exchange rate (N270 to one Biafran Pound) both within and outside of Nigeria, the Nigerian state was confused as to how it can enforce the "delegitimization" of a currency that it had already declared unofficial, unacceptable, and illegal in January 1970. Upon the realization that the reintroduced Biafra Pound was wholeheartedly accepted symbolically and emotively as part of the collective memory and identity of the Biafran people, the government unsuccessfully tried to use the mainstream and state media, and its security forces and secret service to intimidate or arrest anyone found in possession of the "illegal" currency. The government also tried to use the instrumentality of state sovereignty and membership of the regional Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to pressurize member states to criminalize the acceptance of the Biafran currency as an international legal tender. Both efforts were unsuccessful because transactions with the currency were carried out under the radar by pro-

[23] During this researcher's road travel to Ghana to pick up my Canada Resident Visa, I and other passengers witnessed the brazen trading with the Biafran currency at the bother crossings in Togo and Ghana On June 2, 2008.

Biafra elements within and outside of Nigeria. Symbolically, the reintroduction of the Biafra Pound achieved its civil disobedience objective.

The Colours and Flag of Biafra Civil Disobedience

Since 1970 and prior to the emergence of the MASSOB-led nonviolent pro-Biafra social movement in 1999, it was treasonable for anyone or any group inside Nigeria to possess, display or fly the flag of the defunct Biafra Republic (Tamuno, 1989; Gowon 1970). As part of its nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience by 2000, MASSOB flooded its rallies and the streets with the Red, Black, and Green with the embedded "Rising Sun" of the Biafran Flag. The display of Biafran flags resulted in wanton loss of lives. Many respondents narrated how the Nigerian security forces carried out extrajudicial killings, and detention of innocent people found in possession of or hoisting the flag or displaying caps, hats, and vests decorated and marked with the proscribed Biafran colours between early 2000 and late 2010. "The Biafra agitators," as Chike stated, "were ready to die in defense of all that Biafra stands for and the injustice against us where the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) and other bodies representing different ethno-regional groups in Nigeria have their own flags and colours."

However, since the BHRI legal suit against the FGN, pro-Biafra elements in Nigeria adorned the Biafra flags and colours and inside courtrooms, thereby making the flag the most popular symbol of Biafra resistance towards the nonviolent secession of Biafra. Deciphering the emotional connection shown by members of pro-Biafra social movements, the fearless display of the flag of Biafra in Nigeria is one of ways of reminding the Nigerian state about the inevitability of a Biafran state. This is to the extent that MASSOB members, and other members of the IPOB that participated in this study emphasized the fact that the "flag war" was aimed at colloquially

repainting the land and hearts of their peoples with the Red, Black, and Green colours of Biafra. For example, Obi who is a zonal coordinator noted that "we are not afraid to display our flag which all Biafrans owe allegiance to. If you look outside you'd see that my operational vehicle is painted in Biafra colours and inscriptions. I have been arrested many times because of this but I still drive my car." I noticed that the Biafra flags were more visible than the Nigerian flags within Biafra because, while a few Nigerian flags fly on government facilities and public buildings, Biafra flags are indiscriminately and haphazardly hung on trees, utility poles and masts, and in other public places. I took several pictures of these flags haphazardly hung on trees even in nearby bushes. Also, abundant evidence exists on YouTube, Facebook, and online literature about the open display of the Biafra colours on canopies, hats, handbags, T-shirts, pants, and footwear.

The Splintering of the BHRI Pro-Biafra Social Movement

This subsection explores the splintering of the BHRI pro-Biafra social movement. From the respondents multidimensional narratives as well as literature obtained from the field research and social media outlets, it was evident that pro-Biafra social movements had, and continued to have its fair share of internal rumblings, leadership crisis, pecuniary-related accusations, and suspicions of disloyalty and sabotage, all of which have contributed to the duplicity of roles, intra group conflict, and dilemmas for the continuance of their nonviolent resistance. Thus, it is pertinent to briefly discuss the splintering of MASSOB into smaller units. The anonymous view was that the agitation for Biafra's self-determination, and separate statehood is the single denominator for the emergence of all pro-Biafra movements. Yet, many respondents expressed regrets that their struggle was hampered by leadership problems. Many expressed their frustration and anger that as a result of leadership squabbles, there has arisen accusations of

corruption, dictatorial tendencies, self-aggrandizement and the inexplicable display of sudden wealth from donations by individuals towards the actualization of the core objectives and programmes of the movement, and the kidnapping of vocal critics within the movement, and the complicity and romance of the MASSOB leadership with the politicians and state officials opposed to the Biafran struggle.

More fundamentally, many of the respondents stated that by 2009 there were a lot of problems and bottlenecks that jointly hampered the realization of MASSOB's strategic objectives. For example, Ebenezer, one of the zonal leaders of a splinter groups, alleged that "By 2010, our planned nonviolent activities actions were no longer effective, just as such exposed many of our people to their untimely deaths at the hands of the Nigerian state. The rumour was rife that Uwazuruike had been meeting with state agents at night and shouting Biafra in the daytime." This explains why MASSOB or the Biafra self-determination movement splintered into MASSOB, BZM, BHRI, RBL and lately, a united IPOB front. These were the major reasons for the cracks that led to the splintering of the MASSOB social movement.

BILIE (Biafra Liberation in Exile) Human Rights Initiative (BHRI)

The BHRI was formally launched in Owerri, Imo State on November 29th, 2011. Then, the BHRI publicly declared that the body will use relevant sections of Nigeria's constitution and international law and international conventions to enforce the right to self-determination, secession, and other human rights on behalf of the people of Biafra. The alleged redundancy and ineffective strategies of MASSOB by 2010 was the key reason for the emergence of BHRI. Before coming on board, BHRI studied how to avoid the failures of the ten-year nonviolent agitation by MASSOB, and it came up with better alternatives to fast track the realization of

Biafra's self-determination, and fight for freedom. During the first step, the BHRI registered itself with the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) as a human rights advocacy entity entitled to run under the ambit and operations of the Nigerian constitution and international law and jurisprudence. As Donald, one of its officials stated, "The BHRI was formed after high-powered consultations and meetings by some pro-Biafra activists and legal practitioners." It came about as an "Organization for the cultural, social and economic development of the Biafran people, to nurture the needs of the Biafran people, to advocate for self-determination, and independence of Biafra by legal methods and to bring the awareness of the situation in Biafra to the United Nations and the entire world" (Madu, 2011:1).

Many BHRI interviewees said it was the dictatorial and compromised tendencies[24] of MASSOB's leader that led to the emergence of BHRI. As a counterpoint to MASSOB, the BHRI believed that the best nonviolent strategy towards achieving Biafra's liberation would be by the instrumentalities of the international legal system and human rights conventions. In the words of Uzonna, a member of BHRI, "from inception we decided the fight for the Biafra self-determination, and statehood would be most effective if we confrontationally-challenge the state through its legal system, relevant sections of its constitution and the international laws/conventions it is signatory to."

When the BHRI was launched in 2011, its leaders were convinced that the strategies and programmes of MASSOB's nonviolent resistance were inadequate and ineffective and had resulted in avoidable mass killings. For example, Obi was of the opinion that "it was in our determination to avoid and stop the state's mass killings of nonviolent Biafra agitators that

[24] It is important to note such unverified accusations or allegations such as these are rife against the leadership of most of the pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements.

informed our decision to find ways and means to decriminalize of the name of Biafra. We have taken our fight to the U.N. as well"

Many of the BHRI's officials provided online links and documents to show that the BHRI was recognized and granted by the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Special Consultative Status as a U.N.-recognized human rights advocacy group. The BHRI has also taken full advantage of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a tool to force Nigeria to end the criminal and outlawed status of the name of "Biafra," upon which the federal state justifies its extrajudicial measures against pro-Biafra resistance. That is why the BHRI came up with the idea of the 'indigeneity' and cultures of the people of Biafra. One of the scribes of the BHRI, George emphasized this point noting that "because those who lived under the pre-colonial territory known as "Biafra" or "Biafara" even before 1900 were direct ancestors of the currents inhabitants of the present homeland of Biafra, gave the BHRI the opportunity to rebrand our agitation for self-determination as a legal constitutional exercise towards the enforcement and restoration of the identity and rights of the peoples of Biafra as pre-existing "Indigenous Peoples" in accordance with the Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1990, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007." That was also why the BHRI legal team midwifed the birth of the name "Indigenous Peoples of Biafra" (IPOB). The concept of IPOB was a legal nomenclature that was not only to situate pro-Biafra self-determination struggle as a right within international law but as a justifier of the irreducibility and immutability of the name, culture, and identity of the descendants of Indigenous pre-colonial Biafra. The ingenuity of this historical conceptualization and identification, according to the interpretative narratives of many of the BHRI respondents, created a legal antecedent that made it prejudicial for the Nigerian state

(agents) to criminalize, suppress, arrest or kill anyone engaged with any legal activity because of, or in the name of the IPOB or Biafra.

To overcome the oligarchic structure of MASSOB that alienated it from the general Eastern Nigeria public, the BHRI ensured a strong grassroots foundation and outreach to many of the Biafran war veterans, and vibrant elite and intelligentsia. BHRI has a membership, donors, and admirers that run into the millions both inside and outside of Nigeria. BHRI did dilute its roles under the machinery of the "Customary Government of the IPOB." Although the BHRI is now seen as the legal department of the IPOB, I discovered that it is also the coordinating or pivoting arm of the IPOB. The Supreme Council of Elders (SCE) is the highest decision-making organ of the IPOB social movement. The SCE is composed of highly respected frontline elite members, mainly retired Biafra army veterans and jurists. Also, it serves as the highest advisory and administrative authority of the movement. Below the SCE, is the 'National Executive Council' (NEC). This is the organ that executes the day-to-day activities and endorses programmes assigned by the SCE. The NEC is made up departments and department heads. For instance, the BHRI is the legal department of the IPOB that is made up of a team of highly-versed constitutional law scholars. It was the SCE that gave the legal department the power of attorney to legally "protect and defend the rights and social justice of the IPOB" or any other pro-Biafra movement within Nigeria, and in the diaspora.

The Media Department of the IPOB is saddled with the sole responsibility of the day-to-day dissemination of information, enlightenment, and the mobilization of Biafrans inside and outside of Nigeria. During the initial stage, the BHRI and the Radio Biafra London (RBL) existed under the auspice of the IPOB social movement, with the latter handling the online media, and fundraising issues. Then, Kanu, a dual citizen of Nigeria and Britain, a vibrant and

radical critic, and articulate social mobilizer, headed the RBL/Media Department as its director under the IPOB social movement. In 2013, however, the majority of IPOB respondents stated to me that the director of RBL and a few dissidents broke away from the IPOB social movement to form a new organization titled "Radio Biafra London" as a separate pro-Biafra movement. I revisit this issue later. After the RBL broke away from the BHRI, the Biafra Voice International (BVI) was also created to run its online radio that broadcasts worldwide through the Internet and via radio wavelengths inside Nigeria. Other departments were those of as youth development, security, and women's mobilization.

BHRI Nonviolent Resistance

The alter ego of the BHRI, just like the other pro-Biafra social movements, is to nonviolently transform the intergenerational genocidal strangulation of the peoples of Biafra. In plain language, the BHRI does not believe in the attainment of desired positive social change or social justice through violent resistance or armed struggle. Yet in an ironic twist of fate, the BHRI distinguishes itself from MASSOB and other Biafran social movements through its belief that the people of Biafra's' right to self-determination, and extrication from the social existence of genocidal strangulation by creating a free state can be best achieved via the instrumentalities of legal and social justice frameworks guaranteed in the Nigerian constitution and in international laws and conventions. Tom is its president. He articulated that its struggle,

> Is aimed at invoking the spirits and letters of the Nigerian and international laws towards reversing ongoing genocidal suppression of the Indigenous people of Biafra by the Nigerian state. The BHRI is legally championing the fight against genocidal oppression, deprivation, and other forms of abuses against Biafrans. Through the Nigerian court

> system at the moment, the IPOB has brought a suit against the Nigerian state, and its relevant institutions and we are fighting for the restoration of the history, identity, and the rights to self-determination of Indigenous Biafrans.

The BHRI believe this legal battle is the best nonviolent means of ending the oppressive human rights abuses suffered by the Biafran people.

At this juncture, it is imperative to critically appraise the circumstance that necessitated their resolve to fight through the use of a nonviolent legal method as the best way to end the Nigerian state's spate of cultural genocide against the Biafrans. Most of the respondents stated that the nonviolent actions by MASSOB and other nonviolent movements stagnate and imperil Biafra's agitation. This is hinged on their conviction that MASSOB's nonviolent actions (hoisting of flags, street protests, sit-at-home orders, temporary blockade/closure of roads, markets, and government buildings in Biafra) have given the Nigerian state flimsy reasons to categorize such actions as serious threats to order and security, and as such, justify its disproportionately extrajudicial measures against the agitators and the entire Biafra populace. In other words, the BHRI saw other forms of nonviolent actions in a repressive African state like Nigeria controlled by Northern ethnic chauvinists and a hegemonic elite, as being counterproductive, to the extent that the Biafran people are further exposed to collective repression. The chances of constructive engagement with the state in negotiations and/or judicial processes were blocked.

It was against the backdrop of its founders' rejection of MASSOB's nonviolence that the BHRI embarked on nonviolent legal confrontation with the FGN. Under this framework, the BHRI was able to invoke relevant sections of the Nigerian Constitution, the charters, and conventions of the AU and the UN on the responsibilities of states to protect and preserve the

inalienable rights of Indigenous peoples within their domains. As argued by one of the BHRI counsels Bernard, "the adoption of the procedural judicial framework cannot only be seen as nonviolent resistance but much more as the direct nonviolent confrontation of the Biafran people that has not only followed the law to resist social injustice but also created the avenue for constructive engagement (confrontation) with the Nigerian state." Instructively, the legal process has given both the claimant, and the respondent the opportunity to nonviolently present/defend their positions, and to ultimately arrive at ways to transform and end the problem. As noted by an IPOB elder Imani, "People of Biafra, always, are peaceful and law-abiding. That is why we resolved to fight the Biafra cause through the Nigerian judicial system. We anticipate that when we are denied justice in the Nigerian justice system, we would exhaustively exploit the instrumentalities of international law, by taking our case to the I.C.C. where we know the inalienable rights of the Biafran people would be restored."

My observations, the respondents' views and the contents of some relevant documents and online sources point to the fact that the takeoff and sustenance of the legal method of the BHRI nonviolent resistance have followed the success of carefully-planned groundwork and strategizations. In fact, my findings show that the conceptualization of the People of Biafra as Indigenous peoples, (the idea of the IPOB) and the issues of litigation before the court were all part of this strategy. For instance, Mr. Eze narrated how the idea of the SCE, later became an indispensable instrument of pro-Biafra litigation. In his words, "When it became clear that BHRI, as a registered entity, lacked the locus standi to sue the Nigerian state independently, the idea of the IPOB and the Retired Justice Eze Ozobu-led SCE was contrived." With this innovation, the Justice Eze Obobu-led eleven-member SCE, acting on its behalf and as the representatives of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), in accordance with Nigerian

Customary Law, gave the power of attorney to a team of the BHRI's legal councils on September 13, 2012.[25]

Also, it is important to explore the relevance of the BHRI legal method of nonviolent confrontation compared to MASSOB's methods. The legal method was seen by the BHRI as the best approach to constructive nonviolent confrontation that would help them use the abundance of irreducible historical truth, facts, logic and law, to actualize the self-determination to the oppressed people of Biafra. That BHRI has the belief that the courts have the powers to summon both an alleged oppressor, and those oppressed to come before the law as equals to discuss how peace, order, social justice, and equality can be served to all concerned.

Instruments of the BHRI Nonviolent Confrontation

By far the most handily-referenced instrument of the BHRI's legal method of nonviolent confrontation is the "Trial Bundle" of Suit Number FHC/OW/CS/102/2012, which was later revised under Suit Number FHC/OW/CS/192/2013 in the Federal High Court, Owerri. The trial bundle is a 196-page document that contains the originating summons, pre-colonial to post-colonial grounds of litigation, historical evidence and documents, and a multidimensional compilation of events, issues and subject matter as well as quotes, press releases, and state policies believed to be indispensable towards the fight for the restoration and preservation of the dignity and identity, and the rights to self-determination of the people of Biafra. Moreover, most of the respondents and the leaders belonging to the IPOB that participated in the study boldly

[25] See, pages 55 and 56 of the IPOB Trial Bundle of Suit No FHC/OW/CS/192/2013. Also see http://BILIEforbiafra.org/about-us/).

stated that through the courts and the full application of international law the rights to the self-determination of the People of Biafra would be most successfully and nonviolently achieved.

As indicated in the IPOB "Trial Bundle," the most fundamental issue for determination before the court upon which all aspects of the pro-Biafra agitation rests centres on the (decriminalization) of the name and identity of Biafra within the Nigerian state. This is to the extent that not only was the name of Biafra prohibited and outlawed in Nigeria since the Biafran state was defeated in 1970, thousands of pro-Biafra agitators were violently and extra-legally detained and/or secretly killed over allegations linking them to the name of Biafra. This strategy is aimed at placing on hold the extrajudicial arrests, subsequent mass killings, and denigrating mass burial of pro-Biafra agitators until other matters in the IPOB litigation are resolved.

The first two issues for determination in the originating summons in the Suit Number FHC/OW/CS/192/2013 trial bundle are:

(a) Whether, the Indigenous People of Biafra who are the remnants that were not consumed in the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 have a right to self-determination pursuant to Articles 19-25 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act, Cap 10, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990.

(b) Whether, the Claimants who identify themselves as Biafrans having an Indigenous identity are committing any offence by doing so contrary to any provisions of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria or contrary to any provisions of the Criminal Code. In addition, it is important to determine whether it is a crime under national and international law to mention the name of BIAFRA or for the remnants of the IPOB who were not consumed by the war to maintain their Indigenous identity as Biafrans with their native emblems and symbols as they now do even though they are

> Nigerians by citizenship and nationality laws. And if the answer is in the negative, whether the Defendants are justified to arrest, shoot, and kill the claimants for identifying themselves as Biafrans by Indigenous identity contrary to the rights of Indigenous peoples as in (the Articles cited above).

A critical evaluation of the above 'issues for determination' is important and highly significant.

The admittance of both of these issues by the trial court did translate into the most successful way the Nigerian state has been put on notice to suspend all forms of repression against those involved in pro-Biafra social movement. Second, the Nigerian state was put on notice that it would be held accountable should anyone be punished over the Biafra agitation or for claiming the Biafra identity. I personally saw a large assemblage of some traditional rulers, women and men, old and young, lay people, politicians, and lawyers many of whom custom-made Biafra shirts, hats, fez caps, and flags on the floor and in the premises of the Federal High Court, Owerri, Imo State, in the presence of policemen.

The second set of concerns on the issues for determination in the trial bundle seeks to address and perhaps invoke the inalienable rights of the People of Biafra to self-determination, and independence from Nigeria. Again, the speeches, claims and confrontational rhetoric of all pro-Biafra social movements revolve around this same question. For instance, Issue 3 asks,

> Whether by the interpretation of Section 2 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, it is a crime for the Claimants and or the people of other ethnic nationalities held together in Nigeria against their will to exercise their right to self-determination by seeking independence under the law as guaranteed by Articles 19-25 Cap 10 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990 and the UN Resolution 61/295 of 2007 known as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

If the response to Issue 3 is in the affirmative, then issues 4 and 5 are set as indictments.

This is in the sense that Issues 4 and 5 are set to critique the basis for, and the relevance of the forced colonial amalgamation of genocide-prone statehood of Nigeria against the wishes and consent of the constituents, and ethnic nationalities involved. IPOB sought to discover,

> Whether it is lawful under the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, and under Articles 19-25 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act, Cap 10, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990 for the Defendants to hold the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria together by force against their will… in a forced marriage akin to slavery, contrary to their human and people's rights of self-determination as there is no provision in the Nigerian or international law that makes it a crime for a people to seek freedom by the rule of law (Issue 4).
>
> Whether the amalgamation of the peoples of the south and north by the British Government to form one country called Nigeria was with the consent and agreement of the Indigenous peoples of the lands; and if the answer is in the negative, whether the Order-in-Council 1910-1913 made by the British Government to create Nigeria in 1914 was null and void ab initio for lacking legitimacy as it could not form the basis of the Nigerian Constitution, thereby rendering the amalgamation invalid (Issue 5).

There is no doubt that by raising these two issues the IPOB sought to legally notify the Nigerian state of people of Biafra's intention to secede. In line with such an objective, the IPOB has constantly invoked relevant sections of the Nigerian Constitution and international law to support Biafra's rights of self-determination, and secession by vulnerable self-conscious indigenous groups, whose collective survival is threatened by state repression and/or internal colonization.

Before the BHRI lawsuit, all Biafran people and their affiliated nonviolent social movements were muscled into submission whenever they made attempts to hold the Nigerian state, and its well-known war commanders accountable for the genocidal killing of about three million Biafran noncombatants. However, the IPOB lawsuit ensured that the IPOB claimants, who are requesting the Nigerian federal state to recognize the Biafra genocide are also inviting the court to hold the defendants in contravention of "International Humanitarian Law and the Laws of War known as the Geneva Convention of 1949" that Nigeria ratified on June 20th, 1961. The IPOB posed the following question to the government in Issue 7:

> Whether the Defendants were justified to violate the "International Humanitarian Law and the Laws of War known as the Geneva Convention of 1949" (to which the Defendants acceded and ratified on 20th June 1961) by bombing Biafran civilians, killing Biafran civilians and using starvation to kill the children, women and the elderly of the civilian population of the IPOB in the war of 1967-1970 to win the war.

By implication, this IPOB lawsuit marked the first time the Nigerian state was indicted of genocide crimes against Biafran noncombatants during the civil war in a Nigerian court. Moreover, many of the respondents expressed that although they do not have any hope of getting justice in Nigeria, their hope for justice lies with the institution and instrumentality of the ICC as an unbiased arbiter that would affirm the IPOB's allegation of continued cultural genocide against the people of Biafra. To this end, IPOB activists believe that the sundry exhibits and circumstantial evidences at its disposal, and the fact that the Nigerian state has as recently as 2012 and 2014 continued to censor or ban works of art and/or video clips that depicts fictional or

real accounts of the 1966 Pogroms and the genocidal aspects of the Biafran War [26]. Based on this optimism, the IPOB felt that it could convince the world court that the people of Biafra would continue to face the existential threat of imminent state-led genocidal annihilation, unless and until, Biafra's right to self-determination is recognized and protected through a referendum for independence that would be monitored by the international community. Consequently, members of BHRI are convinved that the instrumentality of the legal methods is the best approach to achieving Biafra's self-determination, and freedom from genocidal strangulation by Nigeria.

The Tear in the Net: The Kanu-Led RBL Revolution

Notwithstanding the many achievements and comfortable grassroots supporters that greeted the BHRI/RBL group, the romance between the RBL director and the rest of executive directors, SCE and legal team was short lived. There seem to be a near consensus in the narratives of the RBL respondents as to why Kanu along with a few others spearheaded a revolt that resulted in its severing of ties with the BHRI/RBL alliance. They articulated that the first fundamental reason stemmed from the alleged double standards of some SCE members, and the blurred involvement of the BHRI leadership in the Nigerian political process from early 2013. It was stated that Kanu even called out some of the elders known to be openly hobnobbing and/or flirting with mainstream politicians and governors from Biafra's territory, whose actions and collaborations with the Nigerian state were at variance with or have sabotaged Biafra's agitation. Kanu then labeled these IPOB elders as sellouts and greedy individuals who would sabotage the Biafran protests at the slightest financial inducement.

[26] For depicting the genocide, forlorn hope, and disappointment of the Biafran War) Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's 2007 best seller novel titled *Half of the Yellow Sun*, and its 2014 adapted movie, with the same title, are banned in libraries, book and video stores and TV screens all over Nigeria, but readily available outside Nigeria.

There were clear indications that the BHRI leadership aligned itself with certain politicians and political parties ahead of the 2014 General Elections in Nigeria. As Obi stated, "Kanu resisted the divided loyalty and support for both presidential candidates of the two major political parties by the IPOB elders, and leadership. It was an insult to our collective intelligence for these elders to support the same Northerners we are dying to separate Biafra from." Moreover, there were claims and counter accusations of corruption. Kanu and other RBL leaders had engaged in a frenzied campaign of calumny, accusing the leadership of both MASSOB and BHRI of appropriating the Biafra resistance campaign for capricious financial benefits and mutually exclusive political interests in the Nigerian political system. Kanu was miffed that apart from the double standards of the BHRI leadership, and some elders that many Biafrans have also lost confidence in the BHRI social movement. As Uzor puts it, "I agree with Kanu that the Biafra agitation would ultimately be compromised by those in its fold that were still participating in Nigerian politics. You cannot jointly serve God and mammon… You cannot say one Nigeria in the morning and Biafra at night."

Third, one of the RBL coordinators stated that Kanu had investigated the BHRI's activities and concluded that its leadership should not be taken seriously. This conviction hinges on the fact that the drive to achieve self-determination, and social justice for the People of Biafra cannot be achieved through the "Nigeria's judicial system that is heavily-laden with premeditated anti-Biafra sentiments, corrupt and ethnically-inclined judges." To this end, Kanu rallied the people to understand that "the ongoing court proceedings instituted against the Nigerian state would amount to an effort in futility and nullity." As noted by Mrs. Onyinye, "Nigerians know every judge in Nigeria has a price, just as we know that justice is bought or sold to the highest bidders. It is also forlorn to expect judgement from a northern judge and going

by the charade and mockery the Nigerian state has reduced the litigation to, as evidenced by its representations and presentations in the court." These were some of the key reasons that the RBL decided to break away from MASSOB.

Radio Biafra London (RBL) and the New IPOB Social Movement

The popularity and wide household audience of RBL could not have been possible without the unhindered availability of, and accessibility of local people to undiluted and fact-based information dissemination as well as propaganda transmitted through video/audio reports and open phone-in participation by Biafrans. Initially, Nnamdi Kanu believed that the RBL would serve as an unhindered online platform that informs and enables its people to lend their voices and resources towards holding the Nigerian state formally accountable and culpable for the past and for the ongoing repression of the Biafran people through the judicial process. Its social media sources stated that the RBL was only to broadcast live daily from one location in London.

However, by mid-2013, the alliance between RBL and BHRI fell apart and ultimately, resulted in the emergence of the former as a new stand-alone pro-Biafra movement. The new leader (fondly called 'The Director') of the RBL, Kanu and a few friends, disagreed and severed ties with the BHRI's leadership because of internal politics and the handling of the Biafra agitation. The RBL believes that the elimination of the people's false consciousness is the fastest way to the self-determination, and independence of Biafra. Its leadership is confident that with self-evident historical and contemporary political truth and trends displayed on its websites and Facebook pages, its people would be massively emancipated from post-war false-socialization and divide-and-conquer relations among Biafrans.

The Nnamdi Kanu-led IPOB Social Movement

The advent of the RBL as a new pro-Biafra social movement had a clear message to both the oppressed People of Biafra and the oppressive and hegemonic ethno-national groupings controlling the politics of Nigeria. The central philosophy of the Kanu-led IPOB social movement rests on the conviction that the nonviolent agitation as hitherto pursued by the other pro-Biafra social movements were inherently designed to ultimately put Biafra's drive for self-determination, and secession in perpetual abeyance. That was why Kanu advocated for a more radicalized confrontational engagement as a more effective strategy. Kano believed that the power of information obtained through intelligence is a far more potent weapon needed to unsettle and expose the perpetrators of the Biafra genocide.

Nnamdi Kanu, also believed in the power of propaganda, and the use of veiled threats against the Nigerian state. Kanu, in every broadcast told his listeners that there is no nonviolent secessionist struggle that can achieve its dreams if it is devoid of the latent or manifest element of (unseen) force or violence. Kanu believes in nonviolent radicalism, which reminds the oppressor of the possibility of a violent option. That is why Kanu insisted that while the RBL remains nonviolent in its actions, it knows that the "threat of" violence is the only language the oppressors understands/yields to. This was why Chike said Kanu wanted to "incorporate the unpredictable resort to self-defense or war-ready social revolution should the ongoing state terrorism and mass killings succeeds in making our nonviolent agitation inoperable."

The Radical Shift/Focus towards the Kanu-Led IPOB

The Kanu-led IPOB social movement does not stray from the strategic nonviolent strategy adopted for the Biafra secessionism and self-determination. Uniquely, however, its

nonviolence could be said to be more "radicalized" and intellectually aggressive towards Biafra-wide unification. RBL also waged virtual warfare that was ideologically-offensive to counter or expose existent historical revisionism, concocted reality, and pervasive superimposed identities by the post-war Nigerian state. Kanu believes that winning the battle against the genocidal opposition requires protest marches and open-air awareness-creation rallies at and solidarity demonstrations with such secessionist movements like those of Catalonia and Scotland[27], a strong social media-based messaging that challenges Nigeria's establishment elites of corruption, genocide, nepotism and other atrocities.

Prior to the arrest of Kanu in October 2016, the IPOB activities in Nigeria were reduced internet broadcasts, social media mass mobilization and secret meetings of its members at various locations in the country. On messaging, Kanu often told his people that he was in possession of a treasure throve of classified information, containing "the truth" that was capable of destroying the Nigerian state and setting Biafrans free forever. One of the traditional rulers who participated in this study agrees with Kanu that Nigeria is political jungle where criminally minded cabals have maintained a stranglehold on power through a chauvinistic Hausa-Fulani hegemony. The consequence is four decades of continued conflict and the undisguised internal colonization, of the peoples of oil-rich Biafra since 1970.

If, as early as February 2014 Nigerians were to embark on a journey back to the future, the chain of events and political outcomes in Nigeria since that time has made many people across Nigeria see Kanu as a keeper of truth, freedom, justice and postulated reality. This is so because by mid-2013 and early 2014, Kanu had consistently ran discourses in which he claimed

[27] The internet has several of pictures and videos of IPOB or Biafra protest rallies around the world. See https://www.google.ca/search?q=Biafra+catalania+rally&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjBitPnt6TbAhXNJDQIHaGGDToQ7AkIdw&biw=1366&bih=501

to be in possession of "the truth" that will upturn the Hausa-Fulani hegemony and dismantle the "warped" Nigerian configuration and set the People of Biafra free. As indicated by one interviewee, an opinionated pro-Biafra university professor, Kanu's attacks and political analysis of Biafra's predicament is nothing, but 'the impeccable political truth of the Nigerian-Biafra situation'. Proof of this point could be seen from one of the repeat broadcasts of Kanu's postulation on February 6, 2014 as the political situation in Northern Nigeria became deadlier, and due to threats of bloodshed by northern elite prior to the 2015 presidential elections that:

> As they campaign vigorously for elections, you would think, they are coming to grow the economy, enthrone justice, breed unity and tolerance, love for one another. No, they are coming to enthrone Hausa-Fulani supremacy, to reposition the security agencies by replacing all competent hands with their mediocre kinsmen in furtherance of their domination [...]. The Fulani herdsmen will be armed and encouraged to slaughter us with impunity, and their masters will protect them. They are coming to ensure that my people are enslaved forever.

Sadly, the situation in Nigeria since May 29, 2015 turned worse than what Kanu had predicted.

As indicated by countless Facebook comments on March 2017, the popular view was that from June 2015 to April 2018, President Buhari was, unprecedentedly, running the most nepotistic, bigoted, mediocre, visionless, repressive, and deadly civilian government. The Biafra region been excluded in all spheres of political and economic governance by the central government that has embarked on several mass killings of People of Biafra and, at the same time, this government has refused to halt the mass killings of thousands of rural people by the deadly Fulani herdsmen. Chike pointed out the following in his story,

> Since 2016, our people and those of the Christian dominant Middle Belt region and Southern Kaduna, have been under genocidal siege by these herdsmen. It has gotten so bad that even when intelligence is given of an impending or ongoing attack, the security forces look the other way until such attacks are over. And when you add this to the fact that in Nigeria, the herdsmen are the only ones that move freely with Ak-47 riffles without arrests, our people are disarmed. Consider why unarmed IPOB members who have remained nonviolent have constantly suffered severe mass killings at the hands of the Nigerian state when they gather for prayers in open fields or holding meetings or march on the streets. That is why we believe in the Biafra or death message.

Recall that I had stated in the context section that by early 2018 some state governors and elder statesmen from the Middle Belt and Biafran region have equally indicted the government, and the security forces under the Buhari government for complicity in the worsening herdsmen killings to ethnically cleanse the Tiv and other ethnic groups in the middle-belt region.

Perhaps, Kanu's radically-different resistance ideology could have been informed by the foregoing observations, and/or the lessons learned, or his need to carve a niche for himself as a radicalized, charismatic, and fearless leader and new face of the Biafra secessionist struggle. It is also based on the fact that Kanu and other IPOB leaders are totally and unequivocally against bystanders and whimsical Biafra political representatives and intelligentsia. In fact, one of the respondents, Arthur, narrated to me that they (IPOB members) were urged to unleash intellectually-sound and fact-based attacks and criticisms against the entire Biafra political class and intelligentsia who chase imaginary shadows while their homesteads continue to face sustained genocidal annihilation by hegemonic Northern Nigeria and their southern collaborators. In the IPOB attacks against the Ohaneze Ndigbo, Kanu and his group berated this

elite group's belief and pursuit of the restructuring of the geopolitical basis of the Nigerian state. Kanu said that the Ohaneze pursuit of political restructuring is counterproductive, impracticable, and a colossal waste of time since it knows that Northern Nigeria's hegemonic cabal would never (willingly) tinker with altering the status quo that safeguards their policy of internal colonization and the cultural ethnocide of the Biafrans. Some of the respondents who were directly or indirectly involved in the politics of restructuring before now were quick to point out the moribund 1999 Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission (HRVIC) report popularly called the "Oputa Panel Report" and the "2014 National Conference," which were two unimplemented reports that sought to buttress the North's recalcitrance against positive social change. Chief Ekekenta noted that Kanu's rejection of restructuring is based on the fact that:

> Biafra agitation is not about the call to restructure Nigeria … as many wise and eminent citizens have voiced, but this agitation is a genuine and urgent call to liberate the former Eastern region from systemic marginalization, suffocating economic exploitation and political oppression against them by the Hausa-Fulani caliphate, Yoruba oligarchy and Igbo sellouts, saboteurs, and puppets. Therefore, the agitation for the Biafra nation is a sincere call for separation—to free the Christian nation of Biafra from Islamic Nigeria.

It is for this reason the IPOB does not believe a federal and inclusive Nigeria would ever be fully realized. It notes that calls for "Restructuring" will suffer the same fate as the Aburi Accord.

The displeasure of the IPOB with the Biafra political class is a major issue for Kanu and the IPOB. The warning about the contamination and negative politicization of the Biafran agitation remained rife and consistent. Kanu believes it is Biafra elite's disinterestedness in the Biafra struggle that emboldens the Nigerian state to commit more mass killings of unarmed agitators. Moreover, some of these IPOB members stated that the weakest link in the struggle,

oftentimes, come from the pronouncements made by state governors, legislators, and appointees from the Biafra enclave, who always urged the security forces to use deadly force against unarmed pro-Biafra protesters. Many cited instances where some politicians and security officers of Biafran origin had infiltrated or planted moles in pro-Biafra social movements and have leaked the vital information to the state's intelligence services. In view of these allegations Kanu informed his audience that the real fight begins with confronting the political class to desist from sabotaging or jeopardizing the Biafran struggle for their own capricious ends. In this study, the IPOB respondents stated that as directed in their zonal meetings, opportunistic politicians are being warned through strong worded texts messages and through live IPOB broadcasts. For example, Bassey reported that "We will treat them as "war-time traitors" if they continue to kill the Biafra spirit with their opportunistic pro-government politics." In addition, Chike was of the opinion that "we in the IPOB have the mobile numbers of these politicians and we have from time to time sent strongly-worded messages to those of them messing up our fight or invariably, siding with the state to commit mass killings against fellow Biafrans." Onyeze also warned that sending out strong (deterrent) messages fit for saboteurs or fifth columnists will be considered against any Biafra elite that fails to heed IPOB's open and covert warnings.

Deconstructing the Divide-and-Conquer Relations within Biafra

Kanu tinkered with the idea that Biafra's secessionist aspiration may be futile if there is no ideological repositioning towards the emancipation of the people from the vestiges of the divide-and-conquer entrapment, and Biafrans false consciousness and the elites anti-Biafra revisionism or false narratives. This strategy was hatched as part of the (1967-1970) wartime propaganda, especially by comprador state agents. Such lies, and false narratives of state-

imposed identity formation were promoted by compromised comprador state agents. This process also included divisive state policies such as the seizure of some Igbo-speaking communities' oil wells or lands and ceding these resources to other non-Igbo majority states who have remained deliberate policies, hitherto, designed to sustain deadly intergroup, and intragroup hate and divisiveness. As stated by Offor, one of the two traditional rulers in this study, "this divide-and-rule has created hate in, and weakened every one of us, and has impoverished us, enabled the environmental degradation and massive pollution that have remained the worst silent killer of our people, while the Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba, who have no oil deposits are freely looting our oil proceeds unchallenged." Moreover, Bassey (an Oron man), said that the reason people from his locality love and trust Kanu's daily admonition is that "People of Biafra of all backgrounds must unite and speak with one voice, […] mend the nets of separation that have bifurcated us and hindered our ability to fight to free ourselves from this apartheid."

The IPOB social movement has, unprecedentedly, been able to factually demystify, expose, and reverse the divisive intangible and destructive social structure and formations within the contested Biafra territory. Kanu's messages have also centred on deconstructing the false narratives and divisive intents behind the expungement of the name of the Bight of Biafra (a pre-colonial (pre-Nigeria) landmark) and renaming the 'Bight of Bonny'. Some of the respondents who held this view surmised that since Biafra derives its name from the Bight of Biafra, the so-called 'Bight of Bonny' would be committed to a tombstone, as a mark of the end of genocidal subjugation of Biafrans. In the words of Abang, "the Biafran State will be restored. A Bight of Biafra monument would be erected as a symbol of freedom and to remind our people that there was never a "Bight of Bonny" in the genuine history of Biafra. We will do away with all divide-and-rule appellations and other instruments of internal colonization."

Also, through the instrumentality of RBL broadcasts, Kanu and others within the movement were able to strategically run an all-inclusive radio outreach programme in all the different native dialects represented within the defunct Biafra state. To achieve this objective, speakers, and broadcasters whose native languages were non-Igbo were given ample airtime to reach-out to and entertain phone-ins in their respective native tongues, in relation to pro-Biafra unification message. As noted by non-Igbo respondents like Ekong, Bassey, Preye and Godson, it was now commonplace that the Biafra emancipatory message was preached in the respective mother-tongues of Igbo, Efik, Ijaw, Ibibio, Mbembe, Yakurr, Ejagam, Bekwara, Boki, and Isoko. As Asuquo also related to me, many of the IPOB zonal and regional coordinators are non-Igbo, and in their daily phone-in updates, they are allowed to address their own people in their native languages. This is what has made the Biafra minority groups believe strongly in Biafra and has translated into a groundswell of support for the IPOB as the only body capable of uniting the peoples towards working for Biafra re-unification.

IPOB's Offensive Cyber and Electromagnetic Wave Warfare Against the Nigerian State

The respondents also told stories about the instrumentalities of the IPOB nonviolent confrontation and core viewpoints about the Nigerian state. It is pertinent to reiterate that prior to the advent of the breakaway IPOB, all channels of electronic media were only accessible through the internet (internet radio and social media). For Biafrans in the diaspora these internet radios provided fast information programmes in regard to the types of nonviolent protests and demonstrations taking place in Nigeria. Huge financial donations were needed to pay for the radio service, and other logistical needs to inspire the resistance came from these radios. It is important to add that MASSOB and later on, other splinter factions took advantage of internet

radio to broadcast their propaganda messages. Be that as it may, pro-Biafra internet radios were only available to the internet savvy, politically-articulate and deeply-involved persons who could access the online broadcasts daily.

Kanu believed that the recourse to widening the critical consciousness of the Biafran masses and grassroots mobilization could be more effective and far-reaching if the Biafra message is freely-accessible through every transistor radio in and beyond Nigeria. Yet efforts to reach this goal are faced with the fundamental challenge of operating against the law and control of the state. This is because radio and television rights or authorization is required for all public and private media outfits in Nigeria. Media regulations and censorship of television and radio activities as well as the government's issue of operational authorization or rights are under a central authority monopoly, the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). NBC is considered to be an enemy of the state, and of the Kanu-led IPOB and other pro-Biafra secessionist social movements, whose raison d'être is antagonistic to the Nigerian state. Consequently, the Kanu-led IPOB could not be granted operational rights and licenses by the federal government.

By mid-2013, Kanu and his RBL crew had their eyes set on an information technology-mass conscientization and mobilization that were needed to take Biafrans standoff to a desired critical consciousness and radicalized nonviolent civil disobedience. They see virtual (internet and radio) technology-driven communication as an effective means of mass conscientization and mobilization of the unreached silent majority of Biafrans. Once achieved, intellectually-militant or radicalized nonviolent activists were what were needed if the Biafra agitation was to be taken seriously. Thus, waging this nonviolent war through cyber and electromagnetic systems was as critical as recruiting people to execute the civil disobedience on the ground. Agala noted that as part of this radicalized civil disobedience, "the IPOB moved to take the gospel of Biafra into the

homes of our people through their radio and phone devices." Agala boasted that Kanu was so successful that although the Nigerian state had "the powers at its disposal to jam, confiscate, and destroy the instruments of illegal broadcasting, RBL radio become a nightmare for the state as it was unable jam IPOB radio and drive it off the air." The fact remains that the RBL handlers were knowledgeable about radio transmission operations that was why they electromagnetically-broke into the Nigerian airspace to broadcast to Biafrans.

The counter offensive of the Nigerian government was total and decisive. However, it was ineffective and unable to jam the RBL broadcasts out of Nigerian airspace. A first stopgap measure by the Nigerian authorities was to tell Nigerians that pro-Biafra broadcasts were coming from 'enemies of the Nigerian state'. It also ran several commentaries and deployed a kind of wartime propaganda to label the broadcasts as an instrument of disunity that is advertently deceiving and luring youth into treasonable crimes to hate others. It also called on Nigerians to be wary of the "violence and hate" messages that were simmering the war against "One Nigeria." By June 15, 2016, Nigerian state agents, working with some Biafra insiders, traced and bought the Israeli-based satellite company, Satlink, which had a contract with RBL. The Nigerian government equally bought powerful transmitters with it temporarily jammed the straight-to-air FM transmission of the station in Biafra land (Biafra Times, 2016). The highpoint of the state's counter offensive was the arrest and illegal detention of Kanu on October 15, 2015.

Summary of Key Findings

The analysis of the historicity of Nigeria's politics of state-building shows the genocidal experiences of the peoples of Eastern Nigeria, before and after the Biafran War, is the most significant watershed in the country's chequered political evolution. This study affirms that collective memory of past trauma, (for the Biafrans, it is the uncommon shared memory of

genocidal experiences), is one of the most significant instrumentalities of mass mobilization by freedom fighting social movements. Proofs in pro-Biafra activists are not far-fetched. First, between July 29, 1966 and November over 300 senior police and military officers and about 80,000 to 150,000 peoples of Biafrans (most of them ethnic Igbos) were killed in intermittent pogroms led by the military of the current ruling elite who seized power on July 29, 1966. Second, the people of Biafra lost over 3 million noncombatants (out of which about a million Igbo children were deliberately starved to death) in Africa's first most horrendous genocidal civil wars waged by the FMG. It was a not just a war to crush the Biafran State secession by the Nigerian state, but a war whose planners did not hide their genocidal intent to annihilate the Igbos and as many other Biafrans as possible. Third, the Biafrans, especially the Igbo, have been subjected to covertly scripted treatments that reflect an ongoing post-war cultural genocide, also punctuated by episodes of state-led mass killings. Thus, just as the defunct state of Biafra (May 1967 to January 14, 1970) was a child of genocidal midwifed by the genocidal inclinations of the current ruling (Hausa-Fulani) elite, I believe the current nonviolent secessionist battle by pro-Biafra social movements is a move to ensure that the future of Biafrans and other Nigerians are not designed by further state atrocities.

The foregoing statements are conclusions arrived at as the major reason for the sustained strategic nonviolent confrontation and noncooperation by pro-Biafra social movements since 1999 and now. This study has also shown that pro-Biafra social movements have in many ways established legitimate grounds that spur them to brace all odds as they nonviolently fight against but also seek to transform the ongoing cultural and physical genocide against the people of Biafra. This point is made because the analysis of findings objectively used recent or freshly published reports on current events to corroborate or gauge the perceptive responses of the

respondents to the Nigerian world around them. The study's findings show that the historical experiences of the Biafrans explains why they see themselves as a people whose third-class citizenship and genocidal social existence can only end when they actualize the dream Biafran state, or in a confederal-restructured Nigeria as agreed in the original agreements of the 1967 Aburi Accord. These foregoing comments approximate the most common statements or worldviews expressed by all the respondents, and in fact, the silent majority of the Biafra masses.

Finally, this chapter beamed its light on each of pro-Biafra social movements to tease out where they agree or disagree, and the reasons for, and outcomes of their splintering, and chosen strategies of nonviolent actions and the responses of the Nigerian state. The failures or weakness in the leadership contests and the chosen method of strategic nonviolent action were the mitigating factors in the factionalization and fractionalization of pro-Biafra social movements started by MASSOB in 1999. We also learnt that while the legal nonviolent method adopted by the BHRI and MASSOB's organized street demonstrations were weakened or frustrated by the Nigerian state, and group leaders venturing into Nigeria's partisan politics, the Kanu-led IPOB ran the most effective nonviolent resistance, which frustrated the Nigerian state into adopting more genocidal repression. Despite their differences, the study shows that all pro-Biafran groups share equal emotional attachment to and are united by the Biafran colors, anthem and other symbols. All over the world and in Nigeria, the Biafran colours of Red, Black, and Green with an embossed Rising Sun, is one of the most non-state flags/colours of resistance in the world. This chapter transits to the second findings chapter by telling us how the critical consciousness and radicalized nonviolent methods introduced by Nnamdi Kanu led to (1) the first-time popular participation of non-Igbo Biafrans into Biafra nonviolent warfare; (2) the eventual state-led genocidal killings of thousands of pro-Biafra activists and sympathizers; and (3) how the

extrajudicial abuses of the Nigerian state against Kanu and his group led to the reunification of the Biafra social movements.

77

CHAPTER 7: THE ROAD TO A RE-UNIFIED PRO-BIAFRA MOVEMENT

Introduction

Chapter 7 is an analysis of how the internal contradictions and conflicts among pro-Biafra social movements and political currents, especially the genocidal repression of the Nigerian state, contributed to the emergence of reunified pro-Biafra movement under the IPOB. The chapter started with an analysis of the factors or forces responsible for the seeming internal contradictions, factionalization and fractionalization, dilemmas, and reasons for the splintering of the MASSOB into smaller pro-Biafra social movements. After that the chapter moved on to look

at the factors that prompted these pro-Biafra groups to coalesce into intergroup solidarities under the leadership or auspices of the Kanu-led IPOB. This discourse results from the narratives of the interviewees, my close observations, the content of published materials, and responses to state repression by pro-Biafra groups. It also explains how pro-Biafra social movements have responded to the resumption of state genocidal repression by the Nigerian federal government. Finally, the chapter explains how, and why the resumption of deadly state repression has led to the coalition of various factions into stronger intergroup solidarities, still resolute about the use of nonviolent confrontation to achieve their goals of a unified and free Biafra.

Before delving into details, it is important to adopt a theoretical prism as a guide to explore these issues, which are parts of the major findings of this study. In other words, what is responsible for, and how do we explain the presence of factions or splinter groups in pro-Biafra secessionist movement? Social movements pass through certain stages, which, over time, are direct outcomes of the circumstances of internal and/or external sociopolitical forces (Christiansen, 2016; Kamal, 2016; Davenport, 2015). In two separate studies—"How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa" (Davenport 2015), and Jonathan Christiansen's (2016) analysis of De la Porta and Diani (2006) "Four Stages of Social Movements," we learn about the likely stages of existence of social movements, from the period of their emergence to the point at which they fragment and disappear, and the social forces behind these stages. Ahsan Kamal (2016) reviewed Davenport's study and observed that Davenport looked into the social and political forces that led to the demobilization of the "Republic of North Africa" (RNA), a secessionist African-American nationalist organization founded in Detroit in 1968 that sought to secede from the US.

As a result, Davenport (2015:303) discovered that while state repression may not eliminate social movements directly, the outcomes of state actions do internally-disrupt the individual and organizational dynamics of the movements. Thus, it is likely as in the case of the RNA that the external forces of state repression do lead to the demobilization of the groups, obviously due to the failure of the social movement to tactically adjust and adapt to its environment resulting in internal factions and the loss of trust among its membership (Kamal, 2016). Davenport (2015) informs us that the internal forces of demobilization such as factionalism, exhaustion, loss of commitment, departing membership, and organizational rigidity are most likely if they are affected by external forces such as the lack of funds and state repression. Even so the history of social movements is not without the interactions of external and internal forces of demobilization.

In refining Blumer's (1969) work on the four stages in the lifecycles of social movements (social ferment, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization), De la Porta and Diani (2006:150) came up with their own "Four Stages of Social Movements" (Christiansen, 2016). These four stages are "Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratization, and Decline." From the "Emergence Stage," a social movement grows with little or no formation around a particular issue of social justice. From there such a group evolves into a formidably organized yet informal social entity that can engage the state in extra-institutional conflict. At the "Coalescence Stage," a social movement assumes a life of its own. It is also at stage that a social movement can cause demonstrations, social unrests, and sit-ins with the easy mobilization of its collective identity group. In stating the revolutionary processes of a social movement at the coalescence stage, Christiansen (2016) surmised Rex D. Hopper's (1950:273) viewpoints that among other things: (a) social discontent and unrests by social movements are "no longer covert, endemic, and

esoteric; (but) becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric;" (b) their actions are "no longer uncoordinated and individual but tend to become focalized and collective;" and (c) more importantly, "at this stage mass demonstrations may occur to display the social movement's power and to make clear demands" (3).

At the "Bureaucratization Stage" which is the third stage, social movements become more popular, organized sophisticatedly while their activities are strategically planned and executed by those comrades or staff with specialized knowledge (Christiansen, 2016). In fact, charismatic leaders who may have championed the formation and mobilization of the people into a social movement may be relegated to executive positions, while the operations are switched to more competent comrades. As a result, it is instructive to note that those social movements which fail to bureaucratize adequately and/or fail to sustain or kindle the emotional excitement of its followers may end up fizzling out. Also, this may easily be prone to internal discontentment, and mistrust due mainly to external manipulation of the leadership (Davenport, 2015:43-57).

The last stage of the social movement cycle is referred to as the "decline or "institutionalization" phase (De la Porta & Diani, 2006). The decline stage, which does not necessarily mean the failure of social movements may result from any or a combination of these four elements: (a) Repression, a social movement can disappear through the repressive deployment of a state's military might that is used to undermine, weaken, control or destroy its activities and eliminate its members; (b) Co-option – a social movement can fall apart if its highly charismatic leadership or central authority joins the state authority, or is induced with pecuniary benefits to abandon or scale down the vibrancy of the movement's activism; (c) Success – a social movement may outlive its relevance once its purpose of existence is achieved; and (d) Failure—the rapid expansion of a social movement is always a good thing. However, the

inability to manage its rapid expansion or its organizational strain could be its Achilles Heel that would it to what Miller (1999 cf. Christiansen, 2016:4) called 'fractionalization and encapsulation', and ultimately, weakening and demise. 'Encapsulation', resulting from factionalism within a social movement, "could result from situations or processes wherein a cadre of activists become too rigid in their ways and become isolated from the broader movement because of nuances or disagreements in the ideology, operational strategies even though these activists may still share the similar goals" (Christiansen, 2016:4).

The foregoing discuss is important and critical in, vis-à-vis**,** determining or evaluating the outcomes of the core challenges facing pro-Biafra social movements today. This study's findings illustrate that pro-Biafra social movements may have passed through almost the four stages of the life span of social movements, yet the outcome appears to be remarkably different from what the theories suggest. Put differently, in applying the theories of "How Social Movements Die" within the 'Four Stages of Social Movements" to pro-Biafra social movements, this study discovered that even as pro-Biafra social movements may have passed or still passing through some of the theories' stated dynamics or, the Biafra agitation can hardly be said to be dying or dead. Rather, my findings as stated below indicate that the deadly state repression and other extraneous political forces have made pro-Biafra social movements more relevant, stronger, and vibrant. In fact, the continuation of state mass killings, and the illegal detention of the IPOB members, and the unprecedented nepotistic and hegemonic rule of the Buhari regime have inadvertently made pro-Biafra nonviolent protest gain the support of some Middle Belt and Yoruba elite groups, who now agree that the only alternative to the breakup of Nigeria into smaller independent states is the fundamental restructuring of the country in accordance with the

pre-1966 constitution. More importantly, it has also made the factional IPOB groups coalesce into one strong and united IPOB nonviolent social movement.

Impact of the Deadly State Repression on pro-Biafra Social Movements

The evaluation of the internal contradictions within the organizational and strategic pursuit of the movements reveals the signs of some of movements wearied by the brutalizing state repression and mass killings, and ultimately, splintering into rival pro-Biafra factions and leaders. One of the principal leaders of the reunified IPOB pro-Biafra social movement narrated that the Biafra agitation has passed through three major political eras with different outcomes. The new pro-Biafra agitation is bound since 1970 by strong emotions for Biafra as the best way to die fighting against the central government's cultural genocide against Biafrans. According to Benson, "since we knew Biafrans are potentially marked for a gradual genocidal annihilation it was better to die resisting the social oppression than to be consumed by it without fighting." It is this mindset that spurred Biafrans to rally and grow the membership of MASSOB under the initial charismatic leadership of Uwazuruike until 2008. The first signs of MASSOB's weakness, and eventual factionalization set the scene for the second stage. Many have attributed the major reasons for the demise of MASSOB as due to Uwazuruike's opportunism in which he appropriated MASSOB's platform to curry favor from politicians. Also, many noted that this crisis of confidence was due to MASSOB's foray into politics in 2003, and the reduction of the repression of pro-Biafra elements between 2007 and 2014. This era witnessed Nigeria's Presidents Umaru Yar Adua and Goodluck Jonathan regimes. Both regimes bought into the idea of deploying a covert carrot-and-stick approach to assuage armed militancy in the oil-producing areas of the Biafra enclave (Simbine et al., 2008:50-51). The third and present stage is where the

Biafra movement continued to grow stronger under a united front. This point being made is that just as the Buhari began to engage in intermittent mass killing of nonviolent agitators, extralegal detentions, and the discriminatory arrests of some factional leaders of pro-Biafra social movements, from June 2015 to 2018. However, social media sources and comments by IPOB respondents do proffer other narratives that help explain these developments.

In fact, the state's latest orgy of targeted mass killing of nonviolent pro-Biafra agitators, extrajudicial detentions of Biafrans, the denial of the initial bails granted by the federal high courts to Kanu and others, and the absolutist erosion of democratic norms and values since June 2015 have culminated in cross-sectional calls for the fundamental restructuring or renegotiation of membership of Nigeria. Contrary to Davenport's and Christianson's theories, pro-Biafra social movements enjoy the support of hitherto antagonistic non-Biafran academics, social activists, leading oppositional elites, and social media bloggers. This is despite the accusations that the state may have covertly compromised some Biafran nonviolent protest leaders. This scenario has in many ways created palpable internal contradictions in regard to strategies; accusations or suspicions of corruption, sabotage, and capriciousness against some leaders of pro-Biafra social movements. It is these concerns that led to fractionalization and the emergence of political dilemmas in Biafra's agitation over the years.

The incipient divisive and hegemonic tendencies of the Buhari regime since June 2015 has led to an array of stymying or stifling economic fiscal policies, unprovoked mass killings of unarmed Biafra agitators, and the persecution of the opposition in Southern Nigeria. These injustices made pro-Biafra social movement the cornerstone or a popular rallying point of various non-Biafra politicians and commentators opposed to the disturbing spectre of tyranny

and Hausa-Fulani hegemony. Thus, it is imperative to now discuss the stages that pro-Biafra social movements have passed through since 2000.

Early Period - Years of 2000 to 2007: Biafra Nationalism on the Rise

Almost all the respondents pointed to the fact that MASSOB reawakened the peoples' post-civil war consciousness towards working for Biafra self-determination. Almost all the respondents agreed that it would have been impossible or unthinkable to openly agitate for a free Biafra until Uwazuruike fearlessly made the sudden but popular declaration to announce the birth of MASSOB as a nonviolent pro-Biafra secessionist social movement. In the words of a scribes of one of pro-Biafra factions, Mike, "all Biafrans must respect and honour Uwazuruike for championing the Biafra agitation when it mattered most. I am saying so because, it was unthinkable that any sane person would fearlessly and publicly agitate for Biafra's self-determination, and secession just thirty years after the genocidal massacre of over 3 million Biafrans." My research respondents and, indeed, all Biafrans unanimously hold this view. Also, many agree that Uwazuruike 's leadership and mentoring of the virtues of noncooperation and total civil disobedience against the state as demonstrated in the nonviolent movements by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. was critical because any opposition against the government's continued post-war genocidal repression of Biafrans as well as the pervasive deprivation of their basic human needs would have been through armed resistance. In particular, Onyeze stated that "it was through MASSOB that our people saw the hope that Biafra can be achieved without going to war. Our leadership then ensured that the message of nonviolent resistance was understood and believed in by our people. Uwazuruike with his appointed lieutenants, in those days told the people that Biafra cannot be achieved through another civil

war. We were told it is more powerful and successful to engage the oppressor in nonviolent resistance even if doing so will cost innocent lives."

The narrative on the emergence of MASSOB as the first and only pro-Biafra movement until 2007 is important in many respects. First, the belief in Biafra's self-determination, and secessionism was synonymous with MASSOB and its founder. The founder was the only realistic rallying point to other radically-minded persons who silently desired resistance but did not know how to go about it or were afraid they may not get the desired support, especially, from the political class. Uwazuruike relentlessly and resiliently vocalized the Biafran resistance, even in the face of several arrests and tortuous incarcerations. As some of his followers (including some interviewees) believed, Uwazuruike (initially) stayed true to the Biafra liberation struggle and was believed to be ready to die for it. Many people in the Biafra region believed Uwazuruike 's boldness, fearlessness, and message that first swelled initial mass support around him, and enhanced the popularity enjoyed by the MASSOB social movement.

The 2001-2007 extra-judicial response by the Nigerian state was the second factor that provided the popular support and massive followership enjoyed by MASSOB. During this period, the Nigerian state decisively laid siege to the hotbed of pro-Biafra agitation. In its ruthless and decisive effort to root out those propagating the outlawed Biafra idea, former President Obasanjo ordered the mass arrest and detention, and in many cases, extrajudicial killing of anyone associated with MASSOB. Such measures were understood by many as the open continuation of genocidal war, since Obasanjo, an active player in the genocidal war, mocked the nonviolent protest as a dangerous game by youth too young to understand the catastrophic defeat of the Biafrans in the 1967-1970 civil war.

Paradoxically but not unexpectedly, the deadly repression of the Biafran agitators by the Nigerian security forces inversely led to the swelling of MASSOB's popularity all over Eastern Nigeria. Uwazuruike made propagandist gains out of the state's repression by popularizing the widely held belief that the Biafran war was being prosecuted by Nigeria through other means. As Udeh pointed out, "the MASSOB leader constantly told us that the killing of unarmed people protesting social injustice only showed that the Nigerian state is ready to annihilate Biafrans." The surge to MASSOB due to its use of nonviolence was, also spurred on by the hate comments and support by other Nigerians for the state's extrajudicial killings, and detention of several MASSOB elements in early 2001 and 2003. The vitriolic sentiments in support of the killing of nonviolent MASSOB members was interpreted as a reaffirmation that Biafrans were still not wanted in Nigeria. A direct outcome was that millions of Biafrans embraced the Biafra nonviolent resistance movement, a move that could be interpreted as a vote of confidence in MASSOB, and a repudiation of the Nigerian state's deadly repression of unarmed nonviolent freedom fighters. Another take away was that MASSOB's nonviolent resistance brought the Biafra question back to the mainstream of Nigeria's politics.

The interplay between mobile connectivity and the internet played a key role in the successful mass mobilization of the people by MASSOB and the sudden widespread popularity and charisma of its leader. The internet, in particular, played a central role in spreading the knowledge of MASSOB's nonviolent resistance to make it acceptable to the people. Some of the respondents stated that save for the unprecedented internet speedy transmission of both recorded video and audio information on mobile phones in real time as they break over Internet, the Nigerian government would have summarily silenced the Biafra agitation by the mass killing of the MASSOB nonviolent protesters. Two officials of one of pro-Biafra social media outlets

noted that up until the 2001 extension of the mobile telephone to the public, information about the extent of the genocidal repression of MASSOB was scanty, unknown, underreported or masked by the pro-state mainstream media. However, since 2001, the internet and mobile phones, and their boundless reach, on many occasions, exposed the overzealousness and excesses of Nigerian state agents against Biafran activists. In fact, many concerned citizens and pro-Biafra reporters, captured and transmitted on the web with their phone devices, undiluted footages of unprovoked extralegal mass killings, and arrests of the nonviolent protesters.

A major miscalculation by the Obasanjo administration towards extinguishing the Biafra flame, inadvertently, became a gift to the Biafra nonviolent protests played out in September 2004. In 2003, Uwazuruike had railroaded the MASSOB into partisan politics (i. e., MASSOB adopted the All Progressive Grand Alliance Party (APGA), one of Nigeria's new political parties as a 'Biafran party'). Uwazuruike had, unbeknown to many of his followers, joined forces with Chief Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the former Biafran head of state, and founding father of the APGA. Thus, the APGA bore the label of the only political party that would spearhead the Biafran cause. If anything, the APGA-MASSOB alliance and Ojukwu's support for the MASSOB leader was seen by the people of Eastern Nigeria as a morale booster and endorsement of the former Biafran state leader, to the new Biafra nonviolent resistance.

The excessive response of the FGN to Ojukwu's support for MASSOB resulted in an epiphenomenal development in September 2004 that also served as a wake-up call to the hitherto Biafra elite bystanders. Ojukwu had rejected both a verbal invitation and later, a one-way flight ticket to the headquarters of the State Security Service (SSS) in Abuja, over his support for MASSOB's actions. Considering that within the same period, Asari Dokubo, the militant leader of the NPVF, was invited to meet with the SSS on a presidential jet, many Igbo reasoned and

protested that a one way economy ticket to a man of Ojukwu's calibre (a symbol of Igbo nationalism and former Biafra head of state) was, in fact, a deliberate decision reached to humiliate the entire ethnic Igbo. In fact, the SSS invitation turned out a total miscalculation to the extent that it led to a groundswell of open support for, and unending solidarity visits to Ojukwu by a cross section of Igbo politicians, community organizations, and civil society and human rights groups. The Igbo elite and groups played into MASSOB's new pro-Biafra playbook as many vowed to checkmate the intent of the state to utterly and psychosocially humiliate the Igbo.

Emboldened by the calibre of the solidarity visit of his people, Ojukwu reiterated his support for MASSOB's nonviolent resistance,

> If they said that I support Biafra: how can't I? I declared it! How can't I? I ruled it for so many years. It is not hidden. That I support MASSOB, why not? It is an opinion. And you said to us this is a democratic government.… If it is by so doing that I have committed treason, then it is irresponsible for (the government) not to arrest me. If anybody has committed treason, arrest him… (Iheanacho, 2004:3).

The Igbo Biafra elite's opinion was that "a one-way economy air-ticket for the former military governor of Eastern Nigeria, a former colonel of the Nigerian army, a former general of the Biafran Armed Forces, a former teacher of the Nigerian president in the armed forces academy and an ex-president of the defunct Republic of Biafra; how much more insulting can the Obasanjo administration get?" (3). It was from this point onwards that some Eastern politicians began to covertly associate with the MASSOB leader.

2008 to Mid-2013: The Period of Fractionalization and Factionalization of Pro-Biafra Social Movement

The leader's shepherding of MASSOB into the murky waters of electoral politics was expectedly more of a bust than a boost to the Biafran agenda. This was notwithstanding its roles in the electoral victory of the APGA in Anambra and Imo states. In the long run, the MASSOB leader's subtle association with PDP and the APGA politicians seemed to undermine his initial firebrand pro-Biafra stand. For example, Udeh noted that "neither the Biafrans nor MASSOB gained anything from the electoral victories of the APGA governors Peter Obi and Willie Obiano of Anambra state and Rochas Okorocha of Imo state. All that is clear is that Uwazuruike suddenly become a rich man at the expense of the Biafran struggle." Similarly, those in the IPOB, according to Nonso were disappointed that "apart from the APGA reneging on its initial pro-Biafra stance, we in the struggle are taken aback by how Uwazuruike unconscionably compromised his rising fame with filthy lucre." Others believed he was compromised during one of his several short illegal incarcerations where he may have been turned after his family was threatened, or he was bought by anti-Biafra politicians. The bottom line is that his members lost trust in him as they accused him of being a double agent of the state.

In regard to MASSOB as a body, many of my respondents were perturbed by reports that the social movement was collecting 'security or 'vigilante' levies on the business owners whose freedom it was supposed to be fighting for. Whatever the case, the near consensus view was that the Biafra secessionist movement suffered from debilitating internal rumblings that quickly metastasized into leadership tussles and finally, into the splintering of MASSOB into smaller factions. Those who could not dispense their fighting spirit inside MASSOB left to form new groups such as BZM and the BHRI/RBL coalition. By late 2008, the remnant of MASSOB

continued with its nonviolent disruptions, holding sit-ins, public processions and rallies across Eastern Nigeria.

What was the impact of the fractionalization of the MASSOB-led social movement on pro-Biafra movement? The fractionalization of pro-Biafran groups should have led to the weakening of the social movement in general. Yet the reverse was the case. Although there was great disunity among the groups the intervening forces of the state use of deadly repression, mass killings, and displacement of hundreds of thousands of Biafrans, who were forced to flee the Boko Haram terror killings, assisted the nonviolent protesters, and other Biafrans to stay the course of their quest for Biafra's secession. As narrated by some of the respondents, the bitter politics and leadership tussles within the ranks of pro-Biafra movement members would have capsized and sank the Biafran secessionist ship had it not been for the collateral impact of the mass killings carried out by the state mainly against the people of Biafra. Thus, it was the avalanche of these deadly outcomes against the people of Biafra that helped in kindling the active involvement of millions of more Biafran people into these social movements.

The 2013 to May/June 2015: Accusations and Dilemma

Pro-Biafra social movement could be said to be at its weakest point from mid-2014 to June 2015 because of the acerbic crescendo of discordant tunes from within the rank and file of the various factions. This prevailing circumstance was said to be directly or indirectly linked to the political currents prior to the 2015 General Elections. Some interviewees argued that there was a dilemma in regard to the roles pro-Biafra agitators would play, either in support of, or in resistance to the 2015 election's political realignments. This dilemma stemmed from the rare inclusion and appointment of Igbo Biafra persons into the top echelon of the Nigerian state

governance. Moreover, there were high expectations that the peoples of Biafra would deliver block votes to the PDP presidential candidate who was a fellow Biafran.

The implication of the above seismic shift in the national political landscape created fundamental differences in opinions among the various pro-Biafra agitators, on whether to encourage the people of Biafra to participate in, or to mobilize against the elections. The leaders were also divided on which subversive nonviolent action would effectively scuttle or disrupt the electoral process. Nnamdi Kanu, along and other hardcore radicals, argued it was treacherous, a political suicide, and betrayal of the Biafra secessionist fight for any pro-Biafra nonviolent protester, and by extension, all Biafrans, to participate in the Nigerian electoral process. As far as Kanu was concerned, it was sacrilegious and hypocritical to serve God (Biafra) and mammon (Nigeria) at the same time.

Moreover, given their coveted membership of the Ohaneze Ndigbo – a top echelon of the Igbo elite - prominent members of the BHRI's SCE were caught between the Biafra agitation and the partisan political currents of the time. The leader of MASSOB was also caught up in this dilemma because he was accused of betraying his initial position of non-involvement in the political process of Nigeria. Thus, the seeming double standards of both the BHRI and MASSOB's leaders widened the cracks, mutual suspicion, and bickering within the Biafra social movement. Most of the respondents alleged that these leaders were cornered or compromised by the major political office contenders at both the national and local levels. Some narrated how the MASSOB leader suddenly transformed himself from a man of meagre means into an overnight bourgeoisie, with all ostentatious display of affluence at his disposal.

In addition, many of my respondents, who were buoyed by the sharp criticisms and accusations by Kanu, complained that the open support for the presidential candidate of the then

ruling PDP, by the Ohaneze, was a clog in the wheel of pro-Biafra agitation. Still, the diehard groups such as the IPOB and the Uchenna Madu-led faction of MASSOB worked strenuously to galvanize the people to work against the holding of elections inside the entire Biafra region. Another debilitating factor, according to my respondents were the roles of some state governors who were accused of working with the state security forces to arrest and detain pro-Biafra members in the guise of maintaining public order. As noted by Benjy, one of the zonal coordinators of MASSOB, "we were frustrated and at a loss that our state governors invited and directed soldiers to disrupt our peaceful meetings. Such clampdowns led to several disappearances and deaths." By far, the most common example given by my respondents was the role played by the Anambra state government in covering up for the government's dehumanizing behavior at the Ezu River where the floating decomposed corpses of 27 MASSOB members were found and were identified to have been initially illegally detained by the police in the state.

The foregoing situation prevailed until the commencement of the Buhari regime on the May 29, 2015. By implication, these developments created doubts in the minds of the Biafran people, as many thought the nonviolent strategy would not achieve the Biafra self-determination. Even so an avalanche of counter accusations created a perception that most, if not all, of the leadership of pro-Biafra social movement were inexorably active in the struggle for their own narrow pecuniary interests. Interestingly, it was around this time that the RBL, which was hitherto, not comfortable with the BHRI's gradual and uneventful legal process severed ties with the latter. A few months later, the heightening of the divisions and acrimony within MASSOB led to the emergence of a new Uchenna Madu-led faction, which expelled the founder and erstwhile leader of MASSOB from the organization. The impact of his expulsion was the near collapse of pro-Biafra nonviolent resistance.

May 29, 2015 to the Present: Extreme Repression and Biafran Resistance on the Rise

The feeling was real and mutual that the new Buhari Presidency was going to be detrimental to the people of Biafra. This had followed the new president's statement in 2015 that the section of the country that gave him 5 percent of their votes should not be expected to be treated or favoured like those who delivered 97 percent of their votes to him. The groundswell of opposition, political war drums, and threats of bloodshed by Buhari as a presidential candidate of the major opposition, the All Peoples Congress (APC) as well as by the prominent northern elite was a hint of a future of negative uncertainties. For instance, before he went on to win the election, President Buhari of the then APC opposition, threatened that 'monkeys and baboons will soak in blood' if he lost the elections. Easterners interpreted this threat as a call for another pogrom against Biafrans given the peoples visible rejection of his candidacy. The former vice president had also stated that if the North did not win the elections, the alternative was going to be a violent revolution. Consequently, the reality of these threats partly explains the Easterners opinions that the series of mass killings of southern Christians by Boko Haram was directly linked to the threat to make Nigeria ungovernable until power returned to the north.

After winning the presidential election, Buhari moved quickly and swiftly to unleash a three-pronged attack on the people of Biafra. The first wave of attack was in the totalizing political exclusion or emasculation of the Eastern region or the Biafra enclave. Buhari came up with a 'northernization policy' in which about 80 percent of strategic political and civil service appointments and promotions including within the armed forces were his cronies from the North. Again, a devised stratagem of elimination by substitution resulted in the compulsory early retirements of Easterners and their replacements by northern cronies. There was rife

discontentment among the Biafran people in relation to the government's suspension of all ongoing federal developmental projects prior to May 29, 2015. In fact, while over 75 percent of new and ongoing developmental projects were in Northern Nigeria, the Buhari regime ensured the total exclusion of the five core Igbo states. As a result, many Nigerians see Buhari as the most nepotistic president in Nigeria's chequered history (Obamiyi, 2017; Onyike, 2015). Finally, in June 2015 the state came up with the flimsy reason of checkmating violent subversive activities on oil installations to place the entire Eastern Nigeria under deadly military occupation, although, the Igbo region was the most peaceful part of Nigeria. The subsisting military occupation has led to brutal oppression of Biafrans, and the mass killings of over 2000 IPOB and other pro-Biafra supporters (Mayah, 2017a). Decrying the genocidal killings and military occupations in the Biafra, Sylvester Akhaine stated that:

> Against the background of the ongoing agitation for self-determination […] the statement of the Nigerian army and its effectuation amount to an occupation of South-eastern Nigeria, the land of the Igbo people. It is a clear demonstration of the fact that an ethnic cabal that largely controls the security apparatuses of the country sees the rest of country as a conquered territory and logically the people as subjects. […]. The sheer deployment of troops in peacetime to a region of the country begins the violation of their rights as citizens of Nigeria and creates a state of siege and unmeasured psychological trauma. The clash in Abia state commences the trail of violation. In civilized climes, security operations in peace time are underlined by collateral functions and sophisticated intelligence collecting (Akhaine, 2017: 2).

But why the military occupation of Igbo land Igbo land— known to be the most peaceful or politically stable part of Nigeria? The answer lies in the fact that President Buhari implied that

the Biafra region, especially the Igbo, which only gave him a five percent of their votes should not expect him to be fair to them. The reason springs from the fact this recent military occupation and the attendant genocidal killings are subsumed under what the Nigerian military has repeatedly referred to as military exercises in line with its "rules of engagement" against the Biafran. So, the military occupation and resultant dehumanization, and genocidal repression of the IPOB and other Igbos since June 2015, undoubtedly, shows the premeditated mindset of President Buhari and his military commanders, to single out Igbo land as "zone of terror" to execute what Creighton et al., (2018) and Schaak (2016) referred to as a "siege warfare".

October 15, 2015 Arrest of Kanu as a Key Turning Point

It could be said that the October 15, 2015 arrest and detention of IPOB leader, Kanu, in Lagos Nigeria and the subsequent deadlier state mass killings of unarmed IPOB protesters marked a turning point in the Biafra nonviolent secessionism movement. By October 19, 2015, the court granted Kanu's application for bail, which the Director of State Security (DSS) refused to comply with. The DSS also refused the court order to produce Kanu in court. He was also denied access to medical or legal assistance until November 23, 2015 (Obetta, 2015; Iroegbu, 2015). To sustain his grandstanding against the court orders, the DSS discontinued its case at the lower court while it secretly arraigned Kanu at a Federal High Court. On December17, 2015, the high court judge ordered Kanu's immediate unconditional release stating that "there was no basis for the applicant to remain in custody since there is currently no charge pending against him" (Nnochiri, 2015:1). Kanu was not released from prison because the orchestrated disobedience of the court orders was a direct mandate from President Buhari (Tukur, 2015).

Kanu's arrest, torture, and breaches of his legal rights by the DSS recorded an equal and opposite reaction from Biafran agitators. First, the factional leaders of all pro-Biafra social movements proceeded to a meeting where they agreed to adopt a common front to work towards Kanu's release and ultimately, the nonviolent movement toward Biafra's secession. And, as it became obvious that the Nigerian state was doubling down against the courts ordering Kanu's release, the IPOB and other Biafrans embarked on nonviolent protests across Biafra and even in Abuja, the Nigerian capital. On November 12, and 23, 2015, 'the Free Kanu' rallies were simultaneously held in major Biafran cities, and in Abuja. The counter-reaction of the state forces from that moment was the resort to extra-judicial deadly force against all pro-Biafra nonviolent gatherings or demonstrations (Mayah, 2016a).

The 2015-2016 Mass Killings of IPOB and other Biafrans by the Nigerian State

The Nigerian security forces under the instructions of President Buhari began the mass killing of members of pro-Biafra social movements in August 2015, with the extrajudicial murder of about 300 persons in Onitsha, Owerri, Aba, Enugu Asaba, and Umuahia. Second, soldiers killed over one hundred persons among those holding solidarity rallies and jubilation gatherings across Eastern Nigeria over the initial unconditional bail granted by the federal government to Kanu on December 17, 2015. Again, on February 9, 2016, soldiers "stormed the premises of the National High School in Aba and opened fire at members of the IPOB who were holding a prayer/meeting. The security forces shot and killed 22 IPOB members and critically injured over 30" (News Express, 2016).

These mass killings attracted global attention with calls for UN intervention to stop the violence. For example, an Amnesty International's (AI) August 2016 report was released in

which it indicted the Nigerian government of crimes of mass murder of pro-Biafra members whose protests and rallies were orderly and peaceful (AI, 2016). AI went to say report that:

> Of 87 videos, 122 photographs and 146 eye witness testimonies relating to demonstrations and other gatherings between August 2015 and August 2016 consistently shows that the military fired live ammunition with little or no warning to disperse crowds. It also finds evidence of mass extrajudicial executions by security forces, including at least 60 people shot dead in the space of two days in connection with events to mark Biafra Remembrance Day […]. This reckless and trigger-happy approach to crowd control has caused at least 150 deaths and we fear the actual total might be far higher […] or unknown, partly due to the fact that the Nigerian Army took away corpses, and the injured (1).

This report drew global attention to the state mass killings with widespread reporting and follow-up interviews by mainstream media such as the Al-Jazeera, CNN, BBC, VOA, and DW.

Within Nigeria, the report received mixed reactions from many private citizens, civil society and human rights organizations like the Campaign for Democracy (CD), Intersociety, and the IPOB. First, AI was praised for informing the global community of the recent serial mass murder of nonviolent pro-Biafra protesters by the Nigerian state. Still, many disagreed with the AI on its scant reporting of the casualty figures by tendering video footages to prove that the casualty figures were far higher and exceeded the AI figures. The IPOB claimed that between August 2015 and August 2016 its, "records and statistics gathered from different parts of Biafra […] indicated that over 2000 members were killed, 750 were missing, we have not seen their dead bodies and [...] are still searching for them, we also have 567 members undergoing medical treatment in different hospitals" (Obi, et al., 2016:1). The CD agrees that "at least 2,000

Igbo youths had been killed by the Nigerian Army under the guise of Rule-of-Engagement" within 12 months (Inyang, 2017).

Although the under-reporting of casualty figures does not make any significant difference in the incidence of genocide or mass killings, the cover-ups and/or denials of their occurrence by perpetrators always remain a daunting challenge in genocide studies (Staub, 2014; Bose, 2010). Despite the undisputable video footages and eyewitness accounts of the mass killings, and the use of military trucks to confiscate the corpses, and the injured pro-Biafra victims and passers-by, the Nigerian Army denied its involvement in the killings (Oyediran, 2017). In fact, the confiscation of corpses, and the secret mass burials exposes the predetermination of the army to cover-up its crime, obstruct justice, and further dehumanize the victims' families by denying them proper burials. The daytime confiscation of corpses and the invasion of hospitals to kidnap the injured, and the dead served the military's purpose to downplay or deny such mass killings.

Two special reports on the mass killings of May 29, and 30, 2016, in June 2016, shed light on how the state's cover-up operations are a major reason for the underreporting of the mass killings figures. The first report, on June 6, was on several eyewitness accounts and videos (Mayah, 2016a), while a whistleblower's account came in the second report, on June 13 (Mayah, 2016b). The whistleblower, (a state agent) revealed that between May 29, and 30, 2016, over 120 IPOB members, countless number of passers-by, and some people in their homes and shops in Onitsha were killed, while over 600 arrested and/or were unaccounted for (Mayah, 2016b). He went on to say that in Asaba, Delta state, over 29 Biafrans were also killed, and hundreds injured and/or arrested. One of the most chilling aspects of the report was that more than half of the corpses including the victims of the dawn killings inside a Catholic church and most of the

injured were carted away in several military trucks and were buried in groups of tens in 15 mass graves in the Yahweh church cemetery inside the Onitsha army barracks (Mayah, 2016b).

The events of May 2016 proved the fact that the confiscation, or stealing of copses, and the eventual secret mass burial of victims of state genocidal killings, are parts of the Nigerian military's rules of engagement. The main goal is to tamper with, or hide, the evidence of its genocidal crimes to deny them, or conceal their magnitude. This much is captured by one Enekwe, a wrongfully arrested non-IPOB member,

> I was arrested and thrown inside a military truck […]. They (troops) picked up […] corpses and threw them like logs of wood into the same truck I was sitting inside. The soldiers moved from that street to another, arresting people and throwing them inside the same truck and killing others and picking up their bodies. They were acting like hunters on a hunting expedition. When we got to the barracks, I saw heaps of bodies on the ground. Those still breathing were dumped together with the dead. Another military vehicle brought in a new set of corpses. Later in the evening, all the corpses were taken in the direction of a nursery and primary school inside the barracks. I never saw anything again because we were taken into a cell (Mayah, 2016:2).

Enekwe's accounts is like outcomes in Aba, Abia state, where the Nigerian military were also being linked to secret mass burials of blindfolded and cuffed pro-Biafra protesters at dumpsites, and inside military barracks (News Express, 2016).

The Table Turns Towards pro-Biafra Social Movement

The denial of the AI's mass killing claims by the head of the Nigerian military coupled with the celebrated extrajudicial and tortuous incarceration of Kanu, inadvertently, resulted in a

groundswell of anti-government sentiments and sympathy towards pro-Biafra protesters by non-Biafrans. While the state's denials can be seen as a consistent propaganda strategy, the AI's report resulted in emboldening the hitherto silenced Nigerian civil society, human rights groups, and some independent media to better inform, educate and share their evidence-based findings. Also, the Nigerian army's denials and veiled threats to "deal with" those accusing it of mass murder swelled the ranks of the opposition, resulting in plethora of anti-state editorials.

In a press statement by Colonel Sagir Musa that seemed like a self-indictment in the mass killings of unarmed pro-Biafra groups, the Nigerian army threatened that it was aware of the:

> Unjustified, invidious and over flogged accusation, this time, by the Campaign for Democracy (CD) of Mass Killings of Igbo Youths by the Nigerian army […]. In the statement, the CD claimed that "No fewer than 2000 Igbo youths had been killed by the Nigerian Army under the guise of Rules of Engagement." Recall that recent publications by the AI also indicted Nigerian security forces in the killing of no fewer than 150 peaceful pro-Biafra protesters, […] and "Biafra: We Lost 2000 members, not 150 says MASSOB, IPOB" in the South Eastern part of Nigeria. These storylines are referring to the encounter between the Nigerian army and MASSOB/IPOB protesters between August 2015 and August 2016. All these have been severally and thoroughly refuted in many media platforms by the Nigerian Army and it is the same position that this rejoinder has soundly adopted (The Nigerian Army, 2017:1).

The polemic disparities between the verifiable video footages, and eyewitness evidence and narratives, and the army's blank denials to such state crimes irked many Nigerians. The widespread coverage of the mass killings, and the disco of mass graves of IPOB members and hundreds of other missing persons prompted a widespread scathing condemnation and calls to

appoint a special independent panel that will include nongovernmental human rights bodies, and the IPOB to investigate the state's mass killings against a nonviolent social movement. These anti-government voices included the political elite of Biafra descent, the Ekiti State governor, former federal ministers, and senior citizens from the Yoruba nation.

Moreover, the efforts by the Nigerian military to mislead the public into labelling the IPOB and MASSOB as violent groups failed remarkably. The "International Society for Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law" (Intersociety), which planned to bring Nigeria to account for its extrajudicial mass murder of unarmed protesters sent two letters of indictment to army authorities. Intersociety stated that an undercover video coverage of the National High School Aba Army Massacre of the 9th of February 2016 extensively exposed how soldiers of the 144 Battalion stormed the premises with police and navy personnel, cordoned off the surrendered the IPOB members. As Intersociety noted:

> The soldiers of the 144 Battalion in Ukwa West LGA of Abia State, joined by personnel of the Abia State Police Command and the Finance and Logistics Command of the Nigerian Navy in Owerre-Nta in Abia State had on 9th of February 2016 stormed the National High School in Aba and opened fire on members of the IPOB who gathered in their hundreds for the purpose of holding a prayer meeting. The security forces shot and killed 22 IPOB members and critically injured over 30. The IPOB members had gathered in the school on account of a suggestion made to them by the Abia State Police Command and other security heads during their previous meetings to restrict their processions, rallies, or protests to public places other than streets and roads so as not to attract the attention and violent reactions of the FGN (News Express, 2016:1).

What is clear from the above is that while the police command reached an agreement with the IPOB to hold prayers away from streets and roads, the resultant mass killing was a counter order from Nigerian army headquarters to eliminate the IPOB members.

Intersociety also released another report on February 13, 2016, where it showed evidence of the remains of 13 IPOB members dumped in a pit,

> Some scavengers reported to one of the Aba unit coordinators of the IPOB that they saw some dead bodies in a barrow pit located along Aba Port Harcourt Road. On receiving the report … the IPOB members moved to the area (and) saw 13 dead bodies battered and shrank with decimating chemical substances [...]. They were laid face down with their eyes tied and covered. Eight of them were dumped together, while another three were dumped separately; likewise, the remaining two. Shockingly, eight of the gruesomely murdered corpses have their hands tied individually behind their backs with Biafran flags. The "Biafran flags" used in tying them were carefully cut into lengths and ropes made out of them, and they were used in tying them separately. The flags were parts of items […] seized and taken away by soldiers at the scene of the bloody shooting [...]. All the 13 […] dumped IPOB members have their hands tied behind their backs and their bodies were lacerated with gunshot holes. The chemical substances poured on them shrank […] them […] all for the purposes of erasing traces of easy identifications (News Express, 2016:1-2).

This report also stated that some pathologists and cottage medical experts consulted "disclosed that the chemical substances used by the soldiers of 144 Battalion must have contained a mixture of raw acid and embalmment chemical substances for the purpose of making the corpses shrink and remain odourless" (2).

The key Igbo elite group, the Ohaneze Ndigbo, just like other civil society and political associations in the South found its voice against the army's denials and cover-ups as part of an ongoing state-led genocide against Igbos and other Biafrans since 1966. As stated by Dr. Joe Nwaorgu, the Ohaneze Ndigbo Secretary General,

> It is not the army that will tell us how many they killed. It is the boys that will tell us how many of their members were killed. We have always condemned extrajudicial killings; I was blunt in my condemnation of the episode. I called it continued bloodletting; the act stands condemned totally. You can't shoot at defenceless citizens, you didn't give them any warning, and you…fire live bullets. No prior announcement for dispersal, no teargas, just the straight use of live bullets. That is wrong. (Obi et al., 2016:1).

The Ohaneze Ndigbo now supporting the IPOB seized every given opportunity to link all the cases of mass killing of nonviolent Biafra protesters to the worsening post-war genocide carried out by the federal state against the Igbo and minorities of the defunct Biafra state. This was the reason the Ohaneze Ndigbo asked the Nigerian army to recuse itself from investigating the mass killings of IPOB and MASSOB members, since the army cannot be a judge in a case it was on trial for (Okutu, 2017). The Ohaneze reminded the Nigerian state that Biafran nonviolent protests is legitimate and cannot be silenced through the barrel of a gun (1).

Another significant factor that drew international awareness and an unprecedented elite-led opposition to the situation in Biafra was the illegal and tortuous detention of Kanu. The celebrated and highly-circulated video coverage of all the court day ordeals meted out to Kanu as well as his bold courtroom body language and "resistance in chains" amidst a scary mix of armed state agents and IPOB members and sympathizers, were photo-ops that sold Biafra's self-determination, and secessionism efforts to millions of people around the world. The mass killing

of IPOB members and the man-handling and intimidation by security agents of a man whose only crime is calling for Biafran self-determination was seen by many as a major crime. More significantly, Kanu's bra to speak up for the oppressed Biafrans endeared him to many who were, hitherto, nonchalant about Biafra's secessionism efforts.

Moreover, the President's vow to over-rule and disregard all court orders to release Kanu (Tukur, 2016), and the nonchalance of Buhari government's inaction towards the mass killings of Biafrans didn't go down well with the public. In addition, the wanton destruction of farmlands across the Middle Belt and Southern parts of Nigeria by Fulani herdsmen, and the constant midnight invasion and persecution of federal Judges from the South as well as the "northernization" of southern governance structures, and the FG's intimidation of some Southern governors went a long way to sway public opinion in favour of Kanu and the Biafra agitation. A cross section of Nigerians then believed the more the state continued to disobey court orders to free Kanu, the more Kanu would rise in popularity. Popular opinion also suggested that the greatest political miscalculation of the state was arresting Kanu, a hitherto, obscure and largely unknown personality to make him the most popular hero in Nigeria until 2017 (Obi, 2017; Ogunje, 2017). For Charles Soludo, a former Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) governor, the continued detention of Kanu would most assuredly escalate Biafran resistance beyond the control of the state. According to him:

> Nigeria brought the Biafran issue from the periphery into the mainstream discussions. Kanu threw a bait and Nigeria took it. Today, it is the most popular political phrase, and he will end up as a hero or a martyr but to his credit he has forced Nigeria and the world to discuss Biafra. I believe that keeping him there doesn't do Nigeria any good. I believe this young man should be released and released by yesterday […]. I don't want to make

> any predictions but […] the detention of Kanu no matter how long will not stop the agitation of Biafra […] I never heard of him before the case and you now realize globally it […] has become mainstream (Obi, 2016:1-2)[28].

Also, Ayo Fayose, the first serving governor or non-Biafran to attend a court proceeding in solidarity with a "treasonable felony detainee," said it was the illegitimate actions of the state that catapulted Kanu into becoming a national hero. He argued that his solidarity with Kanu was a way of sensitizing the voiceless masses to resist situations whereby "court orders, rulings and judgments are disregarded by the government" (Ogunje, 2017:1). Fayose recognized that the state should allow for nonviolent protests because, "anywhere in the world, agitation is normal. In the UK, there is Northern Ireland agitation and the UK itself is agitating in Europe" (1).

The Biafra secessionist protest movement assumed a higher level of popularity because of the unprecedented calibre of solidarity visits to Kanu in prison, a situation that deeply made the Nigerian state more unpopular. The first visitor to his jail cell was the UK government, who consistently visited him and provided consular assistance to Kanu, due to British citizen (Akinkuotu, 2016). Yet the calibre of the personalities embarking on prison solidarity visits changed by February 2017. This was after the court had ruled that the IPOB was a legal body in Nigeria. Ironically, the state's impunity deepened as it coerced the court to admit to an unprecedented secret trial using secret witnesses against Kanu (Onochie & Nzeagwu, 2017).

The first hint that the Igbo intelligentsia and elite had mobilized to challenge the Nigerian state for the continued illegal and tortuous incarceration of Kanu was at the South East Economic and Security Summit on December 21, 2016. Nigeria's Deputy Senate President, Ike

[28] Charles Soludo's Review of "The Politics of Biafra and the Future of Nigeria by Chudi Offodile (2016) https://www.facebook.com/ifeanyichukwu.ogbonna/videos/1355706477859741/.0

Ekweremadu, warned that there will be no peace in Nigeria with the continued illegal detention of the IPOB leader and the segregated mass killings, and the dehumanizing treatment of Igbos and other Biafrans (Adonu, 2016). This resolve to resist the state's deadly repression resulted from several consultations among the Biafra intelligentsia and some of its elite. Their boldest move yet was sending in February 2017 an eight-man representative team of Biafra's intelligentsia (Nzuko Umunna) led by Charles Soludo and a former presidential aspirant, Pat Utomi, to pay a solidarity visit to Kanu in prison. The delegation reiterated that it may internationalize the crisis by engaging all global stakeholders, including the ICC, if the illegal and humiliating detention and unprecedented secret trial of Kanu were not immediately halted, and if the state fails to allow for an independent investigation into the mass killing of IPOB members (Point Blank News, 2017:1).

The Internationalization of the Mass Killings, and the Biafra Protests

By 2017, the diaspora wing of the IPOB could be said to have translated their protests into a popular global movement. In several capitals around the world pro-Biafra protesters, who are always spotted in Biafran colours and flags, repeatedly embarked on peaceful protests wherein they addressed onlookers about the political situation in Biafra land. A good example of these protests was in the UK when on March 2, 2016, the Nigerian state was aware Angela Rayner, a Labour Party Member of Parliament (MP) representing Ashton-under-Lyne joined and addressed a pro-Biafran demonstration outside the UK Parliament. In 2015, Rayner had supported the debate introduced by Ms. Harman, the MP for Camberwell and Peckham, on the Biafra self-determination question and Kanu's illegal detention as part of the House of Commons' International Human Rights Day (Naijaant.com, 2016:1).

Serious global attention began to focus on pro-Biafra nonviolent protest, which coincided with the internationalization of the mass killing of nonviolent protesters in August 2015, and Kanu's illegal detention two months later. In a new age where remote events are transmitted around the globe in real time, the Buhari government appeared unprepared for the extent that Biafra's protesters would showcase the mass killings of nonviolent/unarmed protesters to hurt its image. It was not as if the state did not know that pro-Biafra strategists as well as the media wings of the various factions were using the internet to convey anti-government propaganda. However, the Nigerian state was oblivious hidden cameras were planted everywhere to record and transmit live videos of state killings as they occurred. For example, Onyema narrated, in part, that:

> We know the easiest way to get the attention of the governments in the Western world is through peaceful demonstrations with clear messages, picture evidence or projected videos on the important streets. We know that the media is a strong aspect of Western democracy and is not toyed with by the governments as in Africa. We know the power of freelance journalists and online news bloggers with a massive followership and readership. We also know that state torture or mass killings videos or pictures, just like those of the ISIS and other terror organizations, go viral worldwide in minutes.

Thus, pro-Biafra agitators in the diaspora took full advantage of the internet to disseminate news of every mass killings by the Nigerian state. Nzube, one of the EU states coordinators of the IPOB movement stated that "we are highly organized, committed and maintain a formidable network all over Europe. With our connections, we can disseminate information to the world in a matter of minutes or a few hours as the state massacres our fellow Biafrans."

Pro-Biafra nonviolent protesters have made available a number of unedited graphic videos of the mass murders and secret mass graves of their members by the Nigerian military on the internet. This was instrumental in drawing more international attention to the plight of Biafrans and concerns for their welfare especially as many mainstream media houses and human rights groups began to disseminate verified independent reports about the killings, and the impunity of the government against court rulings. Al-Jazeera, for instance, was the first to, invariably, indict President Buhari in an interview where he bluntly refused to either watch the video evidence or answer questions in regard to the May 2016 mass killings (Ndibe, 2016). By late March and April of 2017, media networks in the US, UK, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the Republic of Ireland started running more commentaries on the travails of the Biafran nonviolent protesters. In the Vatican, Pope Francis, in an Angelus Prayer on February 28, 2016 greeted a Biafran contingent by name as they waved their flags (Gaffey, 2016), apparently, acknowledging their pains over the early February mass killings of their compatriots.

The Nigerian state became irked that its security forces may be indicted under international law in the US, EU, and the ICC over the mass killings of unarmed and nonviolent pro-Biafra protesters (Point Blank News, 2017; Onochie & Nzeagwu, 2017; Adonu, 2016). This was the case as, by June 2017, a Civil Action No. 1:17-cv-01033, was opened up against the state in a lawsuit titled John Doe, et al. vs. Tukur Yusuf Buratai et al., assigned to Judge Ellen S. Huvelle, by President William Jefferson Clinton (Sobechi et al., 2017). Accordingly,

> US District Court for the District of Columbia has granted leave to 10 Biafran plaintiffs to sue Nigeria's Chief of Army Staff, General Tukur Yusuf Buratai, and 13 others for complicity in the 2016 torture and extra-judicial killings under colour of Nigerian law to retaliate for peaceful Biafran protests against ethnic or religious oppression. Brought

> under the Torture Victims Protection Act and Alien Tort Claims Act Complaint, the plaintiffs are seeking millions of dollars in damages to compensate for their grievous losses and suffering (1).

Concerns by non-Biafrans were and are still rife that the image of Nigerian state would be dented and weakened as the Biafra agitators may have a good case that may work in favour of their self-determination strategy. For example, Pastor Aji, had the following to say.

> The real damage is in denting and presenting the Nigerian state as aggressors against the Biafran people. This, in turn, will win sympathy for Biafrans and give them the much-needed international support that is pivotal to their struggle. Have you asked yourself why the US suspended the sale of fighter aircrafts which, by the way, has already been approved by the Trump administration? It is because of cases like this. IPOB laid a trap for the Nigerian state, and unfortunately… cheer leaders in the Nigerian government cheer-led them into stepping on the trap. So, what you've now got is that the IPOB is unarguably the biggest freedom fighting movement in Africa (Nairaland, 2017:1).

Kanu's Release from State Prison and The Latest Stage of pro-Biafra Resistance

The groundswell of condemnation and opposition to the state's extrajudicial killings, and detentions, and disobedience of three court orders for Kanu's release, undeniably, deepened the infamy of the then two-year old regime that made it the most unpopular regime since 1970. Apparently to save face, the state complied with the fourth bail that eventually led to Kanu's release from state prison on April 28, 2017 (Tsa, 2017). Also, Kanu's release is significant to nonviolent Biafra secessionist agitation. His release remains the most popular, celebrated, and significant non-state event and the greatest boost to the nonviolent Biafra agitation.

Every stage of his homecoming was celebrated in solidarity with the Biafra resistance. For instance, the massive presence and active involvement of the Biafra elite in fulfilling and signing Kanu's bail bond was, by far, the clearest message that they were in tacit support of the IPOB agitation for Biafran self-determination, and the right to secede from the federal state. The expectation of the state, and antagonists to Biafran agitation was that his IPOB members would only take Kanu home. Rather, a former deputy governor, many serving Senators and members of the Federal House of Representatives, a few former ministers, a number of top retired civil servants, clergymen, Kanu's relations, and thousands of supporters besieged the court building to accord Kanu a heroic honour as the new genuine leader of the Biafra self-determination movement. Moreover, the incumbent Deputy Senate President of Nigeria mobilized a heroic assemblage of the crème-de-la-crème of Biafra's elite in and out of government within 24 hours to fulfil Kanu's unprecedented stringent bail conditions (Olaleye, 2017).

To a great extent, May 2017 is important to pro-Biafra social movement. If anything, this month struck a bright silver lining that made the reasons and philosophy behind the Biafran nonviolent secessionist agitation shine like a Lone Star in Nigeria. Kanu's homecoming into the Biafra heartland and to his people and close family members was like a triumphant celebration of the success of Biafra self-determination, which made the people's total emancipation no longer a forlorn expectation or dream. In a country where people were shot to death for displaying anything that bears the Biafran colours or paraphernalia, and in situations where state security agents executed mass killings against those involved in pro-Biafra processions or rallies, it seemed like the Biafra protesters had recorded a major milestone in their nonviolent demonstrations as hundreds of thousands of people, all dressed in customized Biafran attires, flooded major highways and streets in endless jubilations. As one Facebook commentator stated,

"Today marks the final few steps to our independence statehood of Biafra, as our people travelled from far and near with their Biafran flags proudly waved without gunshots or army intimidation. In addition, Kanu's home suddenly became a Mecca of a sort as different contingents of Biafrans from the non-Igbo speaking communities came on solidarity visits and with messages of their people's strong support for the freedom and nonviolent secession of Biafra. The celebrations took place in every Biafran city."

The second outcome is the series of visitations and consultations between Kanu and the Biafra intelligentsia, mostly of the Igbo extraction. For example, Kanu met with Nigeria's former Vice President (1999-1983), Alex Ekwueme, and Ben Nwabueze, one of Nigeria's foremost constitutional experts and Chair of the Igbo Leaders of Thought (ILT). While the meetings were shrouded in secrecy, their significance highlights that Kanu galvanized the youth around a costly nonviolent Biafra struggle that elderly Biafrans had shied away from. However, it provided the ILT the chance to open their vistas. Many like Nwabueze reasoned the Biafran nonviolent protests was long overdue and justified, just as he stated that the only acceptable alternative to Biafra secession is the restructuring of Nigeria into a real confederal state in theory, and practice.

Nwabueze has highlighted a few lessons and advantages of the nonviolent agitation for the freedom of Biafra despite the unjustifiable and illegal deadly force used by the Nigerian state against nonviolent peaceful protesters.

> First, it teaches the values and virtues of dialogue as a strategy in governance and leadership. Kanu and other people agitating for justice and equitable treatment should have been engaged in dialogue, and their complaints listened to, with a view to possible amelioration. Second, Kanu's case teaches that repression is seldom the right response to complaints and agitations for amelioration in the conditions of things in the society. If

> anything, it forces them underground. In this case, the long imprisonment of Kanu and his mates for demanding self-determination has caused the spirit of the agitation to come to live in countless numbers of people [...]. It is a mistake to think of self-determination for which Nnamdi and others are agitating as meaning secession [...]. By the government's wrong approach to the agitation, the agitation has been turned into something threatening our corporate existence. The third lesson to learn from Kanu's case is directed to him and the other agitators. It is this - self-determination is or should be a graduated process. It should begin with regional autonomy. The country should be restructured into six of more or less self-governing zones or regions, with the powers of the central government drastically reduced, to minimize the fierce contest for its control (Uzodinma, 2017b:1).

Dr. Alex Ekwueme and other Biafra elder statesmen spoke in the light when Kanu visited them.

The "Biafra at 50" Event in 2017

Although not directly linked to Kanu's release, The Biafra at 50 Event is centrally-tied to the persistence of pro-Biafra nonviolent movement's agitation. It was organized collaboratively by the Yar' Adua Memorial Centre, the Ford Foundation and the Open Society initiative of West Africa. This event was unprecedented as it was the first time the Nigerian state allowed a national event to discuss Biafra on a state facility anywhere in Nigeria. Why did the government permit the event to occur? Biafra was an outlawed and treasonable word or subject matter as decreed by the Nigerian state in 1970 (Gowon, 1970). Over the years, especially since the inception of the current quest for a free Biafra, countless number of pro-Biafra elements were casualties of state mass killings. The only reason for the mass killings is to maintain the 1970

state decree that expunged all references to "Biafra" from national history, social consciousness or public discourse that also equated the mention of Biafra as a call to war that made it a treasonable offense and a crime.

During "The Biafra at 50" Event in Abuja, the discourse on the 50 years of the Biafra declaration became a popular national event. It was a historic event that included a large representation of the Biafra intelligentsia who gave strong pro-Biafra speeches before a host of most of the former heads of state, ILT, the political elite, and foreign diplomats. It was remarkable that 47 years after the name of "Biafra" was heralded as a deadly crime, Nigeria's acting president, Yemi Osinbajo, gave a speech that recognized the relevance and challenges of the Biafra phenomenon to Nigeria's future (Osinbajo, 2017). To many Nigerians, it was a U-turn political moment for the state, and non-Biafrans, as many speakers lamented that the current Biafra nonviolent protest was a clear indication that the Nigerian state, and its people failed to positively address the deep-rooted issues that led to the declaration of Biafra in May 1967.

Specifically, the Biafra at 50 events was another platform for many to reiterate their positions that it is only a restructured Nigeria that will take the federal state back from the brink of a complete breakup. This is the position championed by the Biafra agitation for secession and self-determination. Ayo Adebanjo, of the Afenifere, a Yoruba elite organization, argued that the Nigerian state cannot continue to force different identity groups to coexist together against their wishes, just as ignoring the calls for a restructuring of the polity is the major reason for the unending genocidal relations among ethno-political groups in Nigeria (Opejobi, 2017c:1). Also, while Adebanjo argued that the Biafra phenomenon has become a metaphor for agitation by oppressed people for justice equity and fairness, Chudi Offodile in The Politics of Biafra and the Future of the Nigerian State (2016) went on to say that "in a world of technology-inspired

globalization" it is impossible to hold an unwilling people hostage in any country without negative consequences. In addition, Olu-Kayode, a strong advocate of the right to groups' self-determination, argues that The Biafra at 50 Event should afford the federal state the opportunity to begin the process of genuine reconciliation and to provide a state apology to the Igbo and other Biafrans for its violent behavior to them. According to him:

> If you want peace and reconciliation…celebrate or remember Biafra at 50 and…want to honour the memory of those that lost their lives during the struggle for Biafra […] the first thing…to do is to get the Nigerian state, and authorities to give an unconditional apology for the atrocities committed against the Igbo during before and after the civil war. Second, you must reach out to those […] agitating for Biafra today with love and genuine affection… compassion, respect, and sensitivity. You do not kill them in the streets, lock up their leaders and attempt to kill their dream of emancipation from subjugation and servitude and at the same time, claim you want and believe in reconciliation. Either you love or fight them and reject their attempt to […] freely exercise their right of self-determination. This charade of killing them and pretending to love them all at the same time sickens me. It dishonours the memory of all those who fought for and believed in the ideal of Biafra (Odunsi, 2017a:1).

The 2017 Biafra Day Anniversary and the IPOB's Sit-At-Home Protest

A key question to reflect on is why are the Biafra agitators' adamant in their quest for secession despite the genocidal war consequences that ended the 1967 state of Biafra? The answers all exist in the rivers of blood of thousands of unarmed and nonviolent Biafra secessionist agitators between 1999 and 2016. Be that as it may, the yearly per capita deaths of

Biafrans tripled between August 2015 and August 2016. During the 2016 Biafra Day anniversary alone, the IPOB claimed it lost over 1000 of its member (Mayah, 2016a, 2016b). Be that as it may, the release of Kanu from illegal detention upped the tension and palpable fear of the government towards the IPOB and its defiant Biafra mantra. In fact, while he was still in prison, Kanu had issued on May 30, 2017 a sit-at-home order to all IPOB members and Biafrans around the world and especially in Biafra land in honour of the over 3 million martyrs of the Biafran quest for protest for self-determination, and independence from the federal state's genocidal oppression and subjugation (Daily Post, 2017).

While it is easier to give such an order, many were apprehensive that May 30, 2017 would attract more mass killings. Again, the effectiveness of a nonviolent sit-at-home order lies in the complete compliance of the people to whom it is directed at. The penchant of the state to resort to mass killing of unarmed and nonviolently organized protest rallies was also a serious fear factor that enveloped the Biafra territory. Thus, the sit-at-home order was a decision taken to avoid a repeat of the 2016 mass killings of innocent Biafrans (Uzodinma, 2017a).

The IPOB's sit-at-home order was an act of nonviolent civil disobedience that later became the strongest nonviolent tactic, deployed to weaken the Nigerian state. The IPOB had shared its intention to use this nonviolent action many days before May 30th on many social media networks, online press releases, on television, and in leaflets all over the world. Moreover, the local print media ran several editorials that largely supported and justified the sit-at-home act of civil disobedience as the least confrontational, even as they warned both the state, and the IPOB to refrain from resorting to deadly force against the opposition. Second, various human rights organizations, including the AI, as well as foreign media organizations, had indicated their

interest in monitoring the entire peaceful process (Inyang, 2017; AI, 2016; Umeagbalasi, 2016). At the same time, Olu Adegboruwa, a human rights activist said,

> Sit at home is a form of peaceful disobedience recognized worldwide and employed as peaceful protest. It is meant to express dissatisfaction, in a peaceful manner. Under and by virtue of section 38 of (Nigeria's 1999) Constitution, every citizen has the freedom of movement, which includes freedom not to move. As government, and the police cannot restrain movement, they cannot also compel movement. A citizen of Nigeria has the absolute right to decide to move or not to move and this cannot amount to a crime under any law, to warrant the threat by the police (Odunsi, 2017b: 1).

Many human rights legal advocates in Nigeria voiced this opinion in the same manner. Third, there were warnings by many Biafra elite members and youth associations to the Nigerian state to exercise restraint, as the protest would be invisible. The Ohanaeze Ndigbo Youth Council (OYC) urged all Biafrans to comply with the IPOB/MASSOB order, and it warned that

> We shall not take lightly the spilling of the blood of any Igbo man today because these are nonviolent agitators and their agitation is protected under every known law. As a Senior Advocate of Nigeria, the Acting President is much aware of the constitutional rights of these agitators and should, therefore, not allow himself to be used…to suppress lawful expression of opinion. He should, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria call all security agencies to order to ensure that they do not engage in mass murder. We have had enough of this mindless killing of our people and we are not going to take it again this time (Uzodinma, 2017a:1).

These concerns were not out of place, but they were timely and justified because prior to the May 30, 2017, the entire Eastern Nigeria and especially the five core Igbo states and Rivers State had witnessed a deliberate show of the state's military force and intimidation of the locals.

The extent of the militarization of Eastern Nigerian was such that a few days prior to the protest the army had its helicopter gunship hovering around Kanu's home, just as armoured tanks were deployed there as well. Moreover, the security forces warned of its readiness to clampdown on protesters found disturbing the public peace (Uzodinma, 2017a:1). In view of the palpable tension and uncertainties created by the military's intimidating patrols, IPOB/MASSOB urged the people of Biafra to stay at home, and schools' shutdown, to avoid students being caught up in the eventuality of shootings. In fact, while some state governments asked people not to heed the IPOB order, it was most certain that schools and markets would be closed on the day of protest.

May 30, 2017, the D-Day of the sit-at-home campaign turned out to be a resounding success as there was a near total compliance by the people of Biafra. Many reports and pictures posted and monitored on Facebook showed deserted major highway and streets. There was no form of commercial activity as markets were shut down, and commuter vehicle operators were absent from the roads, schools, banks and private businesses that were closed. Civil servants most of whom depend on commuter vehicles were unable to head to work. In a nutshell, apart from the local and foreign journalists, observers from the human rights community and state officials, most parts of Biafra land witnessed a total lockdown and strike. Perhaps, it is possible that the intimidating postures, patrols and incessant noise of hovering military helicopters as well as the IPOB leadership's wisdom to avoid the mass killings of 2016, and instead show Biafran solidarity may be the combining factors that helped make the stay-at-home strike a huge success for the IPOB's nonviolent resistance (Onwuka, 2017).

The IPOB praised the people over the success of the sit-at-home strike issued by Kanu while he was still in prison, and stated that

> In line with this remarkable sit at home, I congratulate the people […] for sending a clear and unmistakable message to the whole world that this Biafra self-determination effort driven by IPOB is uncompromising. Those in the diaspora who poured themselves into the streets in… more than 98 countries of the world to honour/remember our fallen heroes and heroines who paid the ultimate price during the genocidal war against our people in 1967-1970, I appreciate your enormous work because IPOB has made it possible in less than 4 years, for every president and head of state around the world to know about Biafra. With near total compliance to this sit-at-home order…it has proven …that Biafra restoration is a priority to all. It demonstrates that the unique formula adopted by IPOB to restore Biafra is working (Opejobi, 2017b: 1-2).

The huge success of the IPOB stay-at-home strike was that its impact reverberated for a long time. The fact that no single person was injured or arrested would be an understatement. It was euphemistically a key victory against the powerful Nigerian state.

For days without end, Kanu, Biafra, and the IPOB had become the most talked about topics by Nigerians of different ethnicities, political classes, and other social affiliations. For example, Chukwudi noted that "the only ones that have not given a speech, a statement or granted an interview, either for or against these inseparable topics, is either dead or sick." All the ethno-political organizations, political parties, churches, and mosques were caught up in the fray of the Biafra debate. Kanu played host to several frontline Biafra elite members, while his family home become a Mecca of sorts, with local and foreign journalists on hand ready to record the next main event. The social media was replete with videos of solidarity visits of hundreds of

thousands of IPOB members and supporters from many several Biafra towns. Kanu exploited every opportunity to put Biafra's secessionism on the front burner of national discourse. He was like a colossus, the cynosure of all eyes, an elephant that sucks the entire oxygen out of the room. "Kanu has become hugely popular among the Igbo. Undoubtedly, he is the most popular Igbo man today" (Azuka, 2017:1).

The Final Call for A Biafra Referendum in Nigeria: The Kanu Factor

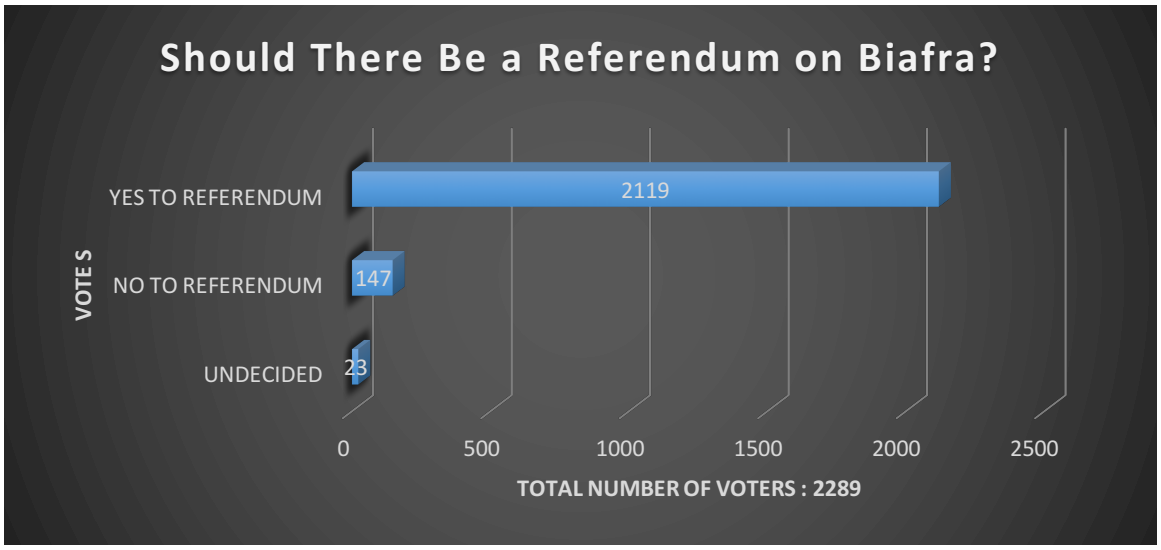
The now reunited Kanu-led IPOB/MASSOB social movement increased the call for a Biafra referendum to an unprecedented level not seen since 2016. Kanu, as far back as 2013, encouraged Biafrans to mount moral pressure on the UK government, to disamalgamate Nigeria through Biafrexit. He repeatedly preached through his daily broadcasts that as a failed British contraption, Nigeria is a centre of excellence for genocide, mass killings, internal colonization, and total deprivations of the Indigenous Biafrans, whose lands account for over 90 percent of national wealth. That was why Kanu rallied the IPOB to pressurize the UK, to ensure Nigeria conducts a Biafrexit Referendum for Biafrans, just as the UK allowed the Scotland Referendum; conducted the Brexit Referendum that redefined its relationship with the EU.

Many respondents said to me that the failed contraption called Nigeria, expired on January 1, 2014 because it marked its centennial anniversary of the forced 1914 amalgamation of the area by the British. As stated by Respondent Obi: "The IPOB's call for a Biafra Referendum is an uncommon call on Britain and the EU to shed their political pretenses towards the genocidal state of Nigeria. While pro-Biafra groups had insisted on a referendum to be the last stage and ultimate goal towards Biafra's nonviolent secession, the examples of the 2014 Scotland Referendum, the 2016 Brexit Referendum, in which the majority in the U.K. voted to quit the

EU, was an instant morale booster for Biafrexit" As Maria said, "Biafrexit is long overdue given the gory mass killings by Boko Haram and the ongoing genocide by the Fulani herdsmen against the Christian-dominant Middle Belt and Southern Nigeria. The manner of unchecked mass killings and beheadings, as seen on videos by Boko Haram and herdsmen make Biafrans agree with Kanu that Nigeria is a game reserve for the Hausa-Fulani militias to kill Christians at will, with the tacit support of the current Northern-dominated government and military."

To the Lower Niger Congress (2016), Biafra means a safe refuge from the killing fields of Nigeria and an emboldened assertion of self-determination to a greater percentage of the country's citizens. In an online poll, "Should There Be a Referendum on Biafra?" by The Cable, set to test the calls for Biafrexit, 93 percent of Nigerian voters (see Chart 1) said "YES," while only 6 percent voted "NO," and about 1 percent were "Undecided" (Weekly Post NG, 2016). This referendum call comes from citizens who are fed up with the deadly realities of murder on the street every day. For example, West (2017) opines that the rejection of the constant clamour for the restructuring of the Nigerian state has now made those hitherto antagonistic to the Biafra agitation to shout that "We are now all Biafrans" because they also "want an exit from the current almost failed state status of Nigeria" (2). In fact, a Pan-Yoruba group called the Apapo Oodua Koya (AOKOYA), while calling on the U.N. to help Nigeria organize a referendum charged that "The U.N. should not wait to pick the carcass of warring factions in Nigeria. It should act now and sponsor a referendum on ethnic self-determination to ensure the peaceful disintegration of Nigeria" (Apapo Oodua Koya, 2012:1).

Chart 2: Online Poll on Biafra on Referendum among Nigerians



Source: Author: Adapted from Weekly Post NG (2016).

The present calls for a national referendum for secession is a sequel to the Nigerian state's stonewalling against the fervent demands of the people for the genuine restructuring of the country into a real confederation of states. Just as the state appeared to be bowing to the clarion calls to restructure the country, new and worrisome political currents began to emerge within the country. First, the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF), a northern Nigeria youth group was seemingly frustrated that the security forces were unable to stymy the IPOB's nonviolent May 30, sit-at-home protest that was effortlessly successful in shutting down Biafra land and thereby becoming an instant news leader around the world. It felt offended that the state allowed the IPOB get away with the sit-at-home action that it felt was against northern Nigeria's interests and, brought the Biafra agitators closer to realizing their secession. That was why the AYCF, apparently with the tacit support of the ACF leaders, issued a 90-day quit notice, expiring on October 1, 2017 to all Igbo resident in Northern Nigeria. Most Nigerians, especially the Yoruba and the Middle Belt axis of the North, stated that the AYCF quit notice was reminiscent of similar threats by northerners prior to the 1966 pogrom against the easterners. They pledged

their allegiance with the Igbo if such a violent threat was implemented by the AYCF (Anwar & Matthew, 2017). But rather than backing down, especially when the state warned the AYCF that its threat was treasonable and a likely precursor to ethnic violence, it chose to write the Nigerian acting president about the need to immediately initiate processes for the peaceful ejection of all Igbos from Nigeria to enable them to create their Biafran state (1).

Elated by the quit threat, and the unwillingness of the state to arrest the AYCF members, Kanu and the IPOB, pointedly cajoled the Nigerian state for its transparent double standards in dealing with reactionary elements in the country. In order words, while it always used deadly force against nonviolent pro-Biafra protesters, the same Nigerian state was begging the AYCF to drop its threat to use of force to push the Biafrans out of Northern Nigeria. The AYCF's quit notice, if properly understood, was a call to apply a violent parting gift to the seceding Biafrans. It was also a call to a possible bloody ending of the Nigerian state as many groups assured the northern-dominated military that it will secede with the Biafrans, if the AYCF executed its threat (Akinkuotu, 2017; Agande, 2017).

Sensing the AYCF may be giving the IPOB the Biafra secession on a platter but still threading with caution, Kanu notified the country and especially the Biafra political elite that no election would take place in Biafra land in 2017 or in 2019 until a date for Biafrexit is announced (Egwu, 2017). And as a master of symbolistic media messaging, Kanu granted a series of interviews to local and foreign journalists to deepen international attention to Biafra's call for a peaceful referendum, and to highlight the AYCF's genocidal anti-Igbo eviction order.

The implication of these latest developments is that Nigeria appears to be on a fast drive to perdition. Moreover, the Nigerian state has engaged is exploring the best political rather than military option to dampen the glittering horizon of a possible Biafra secession. It has initiated

consultations with the Biafran elite and with northern parts of Nigeria and has muted its readiness to embark on restructuring of the federal state to appease the peoples of southern Nigeria. The federal state has since waged a warlike propaganda in which it has equated the nonviolent calls for Biafra's self-determination, and a date for a Biafra referendum as unconstitutional and treasonable demands that are contrary to the indissolubility and indivisibility of the Nigerian state. The federal state has been making veiled threats in which it reminds the IPOB of how similar secessionist action by the Biafrans from 1967-1970 led to the death of over 3 million Biafrans.

While the present government has a duty to do everything to ensure the unity of Nigeria, it seems to be losing the argument of why Nigeria should remain indivisible and indissoluble. This is because more and more Nigerians are joining and supporting Biafra secessionism. Many have queried why Nigeria would have the right to group self-determination in its constitution but deny the Biafrans the same rights. Other questions emerge as to why the state is always quick to unleash its military on nonviolent agitators in the South but look the other way when genocidal threats or actions are taken by violent groups, or the military in the North. The fervency of calls for Biafrexit in 2016 and since Nnamdi's release from detention are tied partly to the angst of many Nigerians, especially the Biafrans, over the May 2016 mass killings of the unarmed pro-Biafra nonviolent protesters, and the divisive exercise of state powers by President Buhari against Biafrans. For example, Nwakanma noted the following in 2016,

> The IPOB/MASSOB and the Niger Delta Avengers are now raising the question of a "Biafrexit" – the call for a referendum on Biafra to constitutionally determine whether Biafra should be allowed to exit Nigeria as a separate nation. The separatist movement has been gathering momentum since 1999, and has been recently fueled by President

> Buhari's adversarial, isolationist, discriminatory, and conquistadorial domestic policies. It does now seem that the greatest threat to the continued survival of Nigeria is the president of Nigeria himself who seems bent on pursuing a narrow revanchist agenda, as well as the use of coercion to stop the secessionist movement, which has grown as a counterforce to his revanchism (Nwakanma, 2016:1).

It is in view of the foregoing that the IPOB sees its struggle as the best thing that has happened to those against the orgies of state-led genocidal deaths in present day Nigeria. As stated by Emma Powerful, the IPOB spokesperson,

> In an era where armed Fulani men, emboldened by the acquiescence of the Northern ruling class and complacency of the Presidency, unleash murderous mayhem on unsuspecting civilian populations, we must spare a thought for IPOB agitators brutally slaughtered for demanding to be accorded their constitutionally guaranteed rights. Ironically what IPOB is agitating for – freedom for all, is the only approach that can solve the Fulani conundrum… IPOB remains today, at the forefront of the new revolutionary change sweeping across the land. Things can no longer be the same because all the injustices that gave birth to our agitation for an independent Biafran state are now being felt by all those that once stood in opposition to the ideology of our prophet and leader, Nnamdi Kanu. As genocide looms in Nigeria today, IPOB restates the call for a referendum to enable ordinary people decide their destiny (Ndujihe, 2018:1-2).

Kanu as a Phenomenon in Nonviolent Struggle

Kanu is, unarguably, the single most talked about, most popular, and most controversial personality in Nigeria. His nonviolence has checked off all the boxes of successful and effective

nonviolent peaceful protest. By extension, the nonviolent agitation by pro-Biafra social movements has succeeded in preventing the people from resorting to armed resistance, despite the extremely provocative state repression and mass killing of over 2,000 of his IPOB members. By June 2017, after the successful sit-at-home strike and demonstration that brought support from the entire Biafra enclave, the Nigerian state, and its conservative elites are beginning to take the Kanu led IPOB/MASSOB social movement much more seriously. The IPOB social movement's call for a Biafra referendum became the hottest news in Nigeria in June 2017. Ruben Abati (2017) an ex-presidential spokesperson, believes that the Buhari regime made an incalculable error of judgement with Kanu's arrest, detention, and court trial. As a result, the state has weakened itself making Kanu a powerful, popular, and untouchable revolutionary hero and a living martyr among the Igbo. He dared the state, shutdown the country, and unilaterally called for a referendum to secede from the federal state. Kanu is teaching Nigeria that "the brazen use of force and intimidation to deal with certain situations could create really bad unintended consequences" (Abati, 2017:1).

Abati's misses the point that the entire group of pro-Biafra agitators have proved that pragmatic nonviolent resistance is always effective and powerful enough to neutralize an oppressor's asymmetric power advantage if the protesters stay focused on the principles and rules of nonviolence. Agha Egwu (2017) articulated that the powerlessness of the state to stop Kanu and IPOB/MASSOB's nonviolent protests has also opened the door for a discussion of the national question. While Abati feigned ignorance of the fact that Kanu has not called for war rather he is using the ordered steps of nonviolent struggle, Egwu extolled Kanu for his mastery of the best use of nonviolent civil disobedience against the Nigerian state, and anti-Biafra elements. He further argues that Kanu unearthed the centre of gravity of Nigeria's weak structure

due to his mastery of disruptive media publicity that is the most modern channel of expressing Biafran nonviolent resistance. In addition, Kanu is aware of the strategic importance of online social networks and internet radio, "Kanu is a master of disruptive civil disobedience and that is why he has targeted Nigerian elections beginning with the Anambra elections. It is a high stakes game in which he is pitching his popularity against the entrenched Igbo ruling class and the Nigerian state" (Agha Egwu, 2017).

It should not be lost that as present realities in Nigeria show the nature and dimensions of state violence the Biafran people have experienced since 1970 would have attracted violent resistance to change the situation if it were not for the choice to use nonviolence instead. Yet the preference for nonviolent agitation and the calls for a referendum on Biafra's secession from Nigeria has prevented another possible full-scale state genocide of Biafrans. In fact, at the height of the mass killings by the Nigerian state in May 29, 2016, and the provocative and illegal actions by the chauvinistically-inclined Buhari presidency, the various nonviolent social movements vowed to hold on firmly to the reins of nonviolence, and noncooperation while heightening their demand for a referendum. Their ability to stay focused and not fall prey to the state's trap to lure them into violent resistance to justify its deadlier military retaliatory actions not only avoided war it opened up the political space for non-Biafrans to add their voices towards a restructuring of the federal state. The Biafrans' strategic nonviolent resistance and their ability to communicate to the world the ugly natures of the FGNs genocidal response to constructive and unarmed resistance led to the development of newer frontiers of secessionist agitation, besides, Biafra's drive toward secession.

Finally, the Biafrans took advantage of the social media, and the internet to tell their own stories by creating and sharing instant messages through Facebook (Live), YouTube uploads,

twitter and Instagram. This is liberating for a people whose stories were hitherto told by hateful reporters and state-owned information outlets. In the academia, the Biafrans especially the Igbo, have taken up the gauntlet to challenge the status quo justifications of the post-war cultural genocide, and to articulate the long history of the Biafran nation.

Summary of Key Findings

The key findings of this chapter are self-evident. First, this study shows that in addition to the roles of collective memory of (past) genocidal experiences of the peoples of Biafra, the genocidal role of the Nigerian state has been instrumental to the massive Biafra-wide support to the nonviolent calls by the Kanu-led IPOB movement for referendum on Biafra secession.

Second, the findings of this study, vis-à-vis, in relation to the theories of how social movements die and the four stages of social movements, is faulted by the experiences of pro-Biafra social movements. This is in the sense that rather than dying or getting weakened by extreme state repression against them as these theories suggest, pro-Biafra movements were seen to get stronger with the state's raising of its ante of genocidal killings, and extrajudicial incarcerations of their leaders. However, I state that this strange faulting of the theories could be as a result of the popularity and sympathies enjoyed by the social movements as a result of the intervening factors of genocidal situations occurring concurrently elsewhere in Nigeria. Lastly, this study shows that the more a state engages in the genocidal killing of its citizens, especially nonviolent agitators, the more the state pushes the entire country towards genocidal breakup.

Third, another finding that supports why the pro-Biafra social movements are successful in overcoming or frustrating the military powers of the Nigerian state, paradoxically, lies in the propensity of pro-Biafra social movements to factionalize. The point here is that the Biafra

nonviolent activism would have long been "killed" or weakened if the MASSOB was the only movement. Again, the Biafra activism would have been stymied by the deliberate intent of the Nigerian state to endlessly frustrate the legal method adopted by the BHRI. Instructively, with having these several social movements, whose modus operandi of nonviolent actions and end goals are the same, the Nigerian state was constantly thrown off balance as it could not successfully checkmate the groups at the same time.

Fourth, the fervency of the strategic nonviolent stance of pro-Biafra social movements, their calls for referendum and the successes of its sit-at-home and other nonviolent actions has further validated the fact that nonviolent resistance, if properly planned and executed, is more potent strategy than naked military force in waging wars against genocidal conflict situations by asymmetrically-more powerful hegemons.

Fifth, the consistency of pro-Biafra activists and their ability to internationalize their activism along with self-evident proofs of ongoing genocidal killings by state troops did help in pushing the Biafra agitation to the front burner Nigeria's politics, just as it made headlines in countries across the world. That is why even when the Buhari regime categorized the IPOB a "terrorist organization" the group continues to openly enjoy comfortable spaces and audience on the pages of mainstream media, the social media, and capitols of several Western and Asian countries. This is the testament which has prompted many Western states to tell the Nigerian state the IPOB is one of the most popular nonviolent groups in the world.

Sixth, another finding of this study is that Kanu's critical consciousness and radical nonviolent messaging towards the IPOB mobilization would not have been successful without the social media, and the Internet. Throughout this study it is clear that where it was possible to the state to use the physical presence to check or arrest the physical gathering of the social

movements, the messaging and mass mobilization through internet radios and other social media platforms like YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Skype took the Biafra agitation beyond the reach and control of the state. Thus, this study has further validated the fact that the internet and the social media are pivotal in the revolutionalization of popular nonviolent resistance in recent times. It was clear groups like AI and other human rights bodies or advocates heavily relied on the avalanche of verifiable information and video footage of the state's genocidal operations against unarmed pro-Biafra social movements that were on the web, to carry out further on the spot assessment of the state's atrocious abuses. It was based on their findings the AI officially indicted Nigeria of genocidal killings of the unarmed and nonviolent activists. The internet and the social media are key instruments that has immensely helped nonviolent resistance movements in their struggles; by empowering oppressed groups in their nonviolent struggles, the internet and the social media have become real partners for peace and conflict studies (Hiller et al., 2017; Wallace, 2017; Hastings, 2016; Castells, 2015; Obar, et al., 2012).

Conclusions

This chapter to the extent of its key findings points to the fact that pro-Biafra social movement has not been extinguished by the brutal naked power of the Nigerian state. Rather than get weakened by genocidal repression pro-Biafra nationalism is unlikely to die or yield to asymmetric powers of the oppressors. To this end, we could see that the Biafra activists have outsmarted the state. The groups have also proven that nonviolent resistance, if properly handled by social movements, is lifesaving but more potent weapon of waging warfare against asymmetrically powerful oppressors. I must reemphasize that the best way out of the inherent deformities of the Nigerian state structure and combustible intergroup relations is not by the

mass killings of groups who nonviolently resist and seek the positive remedying of the problems. Rather, the state, and all ethno-national groups that make up Nigeria and are affected by the faltering of the Nigerian state need to and should engage in taking advantage of nonviolent frameworks to positively address the problems stoking the genocidal inclinations among the peoples of Nigeria. To this end, the call for a referendum or restructuring, rather than being seen as drumbeats for war should be looked at as messianic roadmaps for durable peace, social justice and development for all concerned. Lastly, this study shows that the more a state engages in the genocidal killing of its citizens, especially nonviolent agitators, the more the state pushes the entire country towards genocidal balkanization.

CHAPTER 8: OVERALL KEY FINDINGS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

Introduction

The issues covered in this study are still ongoing and open to many possible outcomes in the months and years ahead. What is certain is that Nigeria, although, precariously on a rudderless drift to its own perdition, has not imploded into full blown genocidal warfare. In fact, just as genocidal killings especially by the Fulani herdsmen and the Nigerian security forces became daily news in parts of Nigeria in 2017 and 2018, pro-Biafra struggle now led by the IPOB, offers all peace-loving Nigerians one of the best nonviolent options towards the transformation of current conflict. By way of concluding this study and in view of the focus of, issues covered and findings/outcomes of the study so far, this last chapter reflects on the possible policy implications, the study's contribution to research and development in the field of peace and conflict studies. Above all, this chapter looks at how the findings of this study could be leveraged towards, not only, the eventual nonviolent transformation of the genocidal relations staked against the Biafrans but other oppressed ethno-national groups in Nigeria or elsewhere in the world could learn from the example of pro-Biafra social movements. Lastly, this chapter looks at the possibilities or areas of future research, that would serve as a follow-up or matters arising or not (adequately) covered in and by this study.

Policy Implications and Contributions to Knowledge

First, it is not by a happenstance that the root causes and dimensions of violent ethnic relations such as a power asymmetry and socio-economic conflict whether between geopolitical zones, ethnic nationalities, civilian and military elites, and educational standings always reveal the existence of deep disparities between and among identity-based ethno-political groups in

Nigeria. Universally, protracted ethno-political conflicts, all forms of racial segregation, uneven development, mass murder, genocide, contested statehood, and interregional tensions are associated with unequal or bifurcated public space or citizenship rights (Adisa, 2018; Jalata, 2016; Gurr, 2015; MacGinty, 2015; Byrne & Senehi, 2012; Deng, 2012; Donohue, 2012; Staub, 2012; Rothman, 2012; Zartman & Anstey, 2012; Garman, 2010; Carter et al., 2009).

It is clear from this study that the above listed violent situations are present in, aptly captures, and defines the nature of the relations between the state and the geopolitical regions in Nigeria, on the one hand, and among the geopolitical ethnic nationalities, on the other. It is trite but true that all the social ills that led to the genocidal balkanization of the former Yugoslavia currently exist in Nigeria too. Hegemonic groups (through their chauvinistic and nepotistic elite) immerse Nigeria in political uncertainties, irreconcilable differences, genocide-prone intergroup interactions, and political oppression. As of early 2018, the Middle Belt and Biafra regions and some parts of Yorubaland have been under intensified genocidal siege by Fulani herdsmen while the North Eastern states of Nigeria are suffering from the carnage and school girls' abductions by the Boko Haram terror group. The politicization of the genocidal killings by both of these Hausa-Fulani terror groups, especially the herdsmen, has created doubts that the Buhari government is serious in stopping the killings by the terror groups. In fact, Nigeria's political horizon is gloomy resulting in the people's palpable fear of imminent armed civil war as some Middle Belt state governments alongside some elder statesmen, who indicted the Buhari regime, and the Hausa-Fulani controlled security forces of using the herdsmen to wage an expansionist jihad and criminal land grabbing, have called on their people to defend themselves against the killer Fulani herdsmen. This seems more like a prelude to armed conflict especially as the Buhari regime sees self-defense as a criminal offence.

In more ways than one and with evidence from my interviews as well as from secondary data sources, the indictment of the Nigerian state in aiding and entrenching a genocidal culture within the polity is largely an existential reality rather than a mere perception of affected groups. If anything, while perceptions may fail the test of truth and fact due to reasonable doubts, pictures and live video footages of the carnage of ongoing humanitarian emergencies and state-led genocidal killings in Nigeria, are self-evident and fault-proof. In fact, the indictment of the Nigerian state in the genocidal strangulation, economic disempowerment, political alienation and exclusion of the Indigenous Biafran people have now convinced many non-Biafrans that recent events are evidence of the fact that Nigerian citizenship does not necessarily command equal value, dignity, and respect to every Nigerian nationwide (Olu-Kayode, 2018, 2014; Ebiem, 2014; Oyeyemi, 2014, Adujie, 2010). What all of these boils down to is that all is not well with Nigeria as it begins to falter on many fronts.

To this end, the study agrees with the view that the nonviolent confrontation by pro-Biafra social movements against the trending genocidal social existence faced by the peoples of Indigenous Biafra, has also become a present day metaphor that explains the genocidal challenge faced by some sections of the country that hitherto, participated in the genocidal killings against the people of Biafra before, during and years after the war. Thus, I reiterate that a "forensic analysis" of the soci**o**political forces that led to the secession of the short-lived Biafra Republic and the genocidal Biafran War are not only still present today but have assumed worsening dimensions that overreach and threaten to annihilate other groups outside (Offodile**,** 2016; Ebiem, 2014; Okonta, 2014; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2012a). This Biafra as metaphor is captured in Chido Onumah's (2016) book "We Are All Biafrans: A Participant Observer's Intervention in a Country Sleepwalking to Disaster." According to Onumah, other sections of Nigeria currently

under the state-led genocidal siege are now like ‘Biafrans’. They have become Biafrans due to the ethnocentric, opportunistic and nepotistic intents of Nigeria's indolent and reactionary ruling civilian-military elite and their allies, or scoundrels posing as statesmen, and conservative ideologues, religious bigots and ethnic chauvinists posing as patriots (Onumah, 2016). The only way to avert or transform the genocidal character of the Biafra metaphor is to head-on tackle the root causes of Nigeria’s endemic genocidal relations.

Fortunately, however, the forces of social endurance and their clarion calls to create a new Nigeria that is restructured away from the hegemonic rulers that condone its present genocidal culture have been rekindled by the nonviolent agitation championed by and associated with the nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements. This is notwithstanding the fact that pro-Biafra groups are more interested in the nonviolent secession of Biafra than in the restructuring of the polity (given the Northern Nigeria elite’s vehement opposition to and vetoing of the Restructuring Bill). My study has shown that the nonviolent pro-Biafra secessionist agitators see a binding referendum as the only panacea to address the plethora of issues that sustain the cultural genocide and internal colonialism that is used against them.

We have seen in this study that pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements have used their nonviolent resistance to successfully expose the unravelling psychological, sociopolitical and economic dimensions of the state’s cultural genocide that is embedded in the apparatchik of the state since 1970. They have internationalized their nonviolent struggle, and the world is more aware of their plight than if they had engaged in armed resistance. Their nonviolence has contributed to spur citizens from other regions within Nigeria to openly use various platforms to lend their voices to either the quest for secession and fundamental political restructuring to reflect the state’s pre-1966 federalism. This is instructive because those regions and their

political elements calling for either secession or restructuring are equally not interested in the outbreak of another civil war.

Members of pro-Biafra nonviolent movements who participated in this study believe that Nigeria cannot survive another genocidal war. This seeming unanimous view, as seen in their responses and public statements, is hinged on the belief that the oppressed people of Biafra are "waging a strategic nonviolent war" to end the status quo cultural ethnocide and perpetual slavery of the Biafran people. The central goal of the entire pro-Biafra social movements has never deviated from their sustained nonviolent activities, which they believe will lead to a referendum on Biafra. Despite the documented evidence of incidents of mass killings of civilians, corpse confiscations, extrajudicial detentions, secret mass burials, and other dehumanizing treatment of the members of pro-Biafra social movements by the Nigerian military there is no record of retaliatory killing or armed violence by the social movements.

The Nigerian state should be aware that the fastest route to anarchy and genocidal warfare lies when a state: (1) engages in a genocidal suppression of nonviolent resisters or opposition; (2) following the dictates of a hegemonic ruler sides with its own dominant ethnic group, or ethno-national groups to internally colonize or victimize other weaker minority groups; and (3) sides with or arms militia groups, or terrorists. Similarly, the Nigerian state's proscription, and labeling of the nonviolent Kanu-led IPOB as a terrorist organization, even when there is no evidence of violent acts or murders associated with the group, while the Fulani Herdsmen, who are on a daily killing spree that resulted in over 3000 deaths since 2015, are not perceived to be terrorists, only goes to validate the government's complicity charge in relentless high scale mass killings.

The current Buhari government needs to answer questions now about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, the fourth deadliest terror group in 2015 (Adisa, 2018; Buchanan, 2015) who have killed over 2000 farmers and displaced over 1.5 million Indigenes peoples of the Middle Belt and Biafra in the first 3 months of 2018. Perhaps, an open area of future study to find out why the Nigerian state has not declared the Fulani herdsmen as a terror group. Imperatively, the global community, and peace scholars interested in African conflicts, need to probe why the Nigerian state labeled IPOB, a world renown nonviolent social movement, 'a terrorist group', while Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen, who are globally-ranked 3rd and 4th deadliest terrorist groups, respectively, due to their unrelenting high-scale mass killings, are protected and granted unconditional amnesty. Whose purpose, or in whose interest is the Buhari regime serving by its unconventional conduct? In fact, the Nigerian state should know that its responsibility to protect is not meant for terrorists, and criminal elements, but for the defenseless citizens, irrespective of education, religion, creed, and class, gender, and ethno-regional affiliations. It does appear that a Janjaweed militia scenario is at play under the Buhari regime. One of the indicators of a failed state is that it not only fails in its responsibility to protect lives and to provide security, but it is also engaged in taking the lives of particular citizens. It is also based on the role of the Nigerian state that several annual global early warning reports such as the failed state index; state-led mass killing index; and global terrorism index place Nigeria among the deadliest and most genocide-prone countries in the world[29].

[29] These annual global reports are all referenced or quoted in this study.

That the Nigerian ruling elite and their cronies must come to terms with the essence of referendum as one of the most successful peaceful instruments of transforming acute or chronic (genocidal) conflicts should not be overemphasized. It is time for Nigeria to join the rest of the international community to understand that a referendum is always one of the ways of letting people express their rights to self-determination. Nigeria should and must understand that using genocidal war to suppress weakened ethno-political groups is becoming anachronistic and no more fashionable in the modern world. The examples of Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, the Ukraine, Iraq, and Syria have shown that genocidal suppression is used by states on minorities that are held together by force of arms. At the same time, Nigeria should borrow a leaf from the referenda in parts of the world and its implications for peace, social justice and the transformation of what seemed like combustible conflicts. The referenda in East Timor, Kosovo, Southern Sudan, Scotland, and Britain (Brexit) as well as the negotiated peace deals that led to Eritrea's independence, points to the fact that positive peace or social justice is always within the reach of those societies who diligently seek or desire it over forced integration.

The stakeholders in Nigeria, including those from the hegemonic ethno-political groups must understand that positive peace is like flowers, it cannot grow in a garden of stones. Thus, it is incumbent on the state with its institutions, including the justice system and military forces, to treat calls for a referendum and/or restructuring of Nigeria as a self-determination right of groups which seek to end or transforming the genocidal relations between the state, and the ethnic groups, haunting the country since its colonial days. The state's deadly suppression of popular voices calling for the restructuring of the polity and its wrong assumption that calls for referendum are calls for war, is an ill wind of disastrous dimensions for all Nigerians. Political or social engineering is the sense that every society is dynamic and organic, therefore, subject to

constant social change. The calls for secession and even constitutional changes by some components of the Nigerian federation are group rights, inherently, protected by each ethno-political group's rights to self-determination, as already contained in the 1999 Constitution. The right to self-determination, especially by indigenous peoples is contained in Articles 3, 4, 5 and 8 of the 2007 U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (U.N., 2007:5) that Nigeria ratified and is a signatory to.

Consequently, it amounts to Nigeria's disregard of international law and U.N. Conventions for it to continue to treat the Biafrans calls for a refendum for secession or retructuring as treasonable crimes or calls for war. The people of Biafra, Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani and all the respective 250 ethnic minorities are within their constitutional rights to decide how they want to be governed. Forced marriages are always inherently flawed and condemnable as they are bound to fail or lead to more abuses. Ethno-political groups should be seen as brides - if Nigeria and other Nigerians love any component that wishes to leave, they should be accorded the freewill to choose to stay or to leave the Nigerian union. The Scotland referendum should serve as a good lesson to the Nigerian state.

There is a need for the Nigerian state and pro-Biafra social movements and, indeed, all (pro or anti state) pressure groups to take full advantage of negotiated settement of issues surrounding the national question, including the rights to group self-determination. Having this at the back of every stakeholder's mind will go a long way to dry up the stream of innocent blood shed by the state and those ethnic groups that believe that conflicts must be solved with the use of military force. Nigerians must come to the realizaion that the current pro-Biafra agitation is not a call for genocidal war. Rather, IPOB's nonviolent stance is a timely warning geared towards avoiding anoher civil war, especially as aggrieved Biafras feel they have been forced to

suffer state-led atrocities of genocidal proportion. Again, understanding that genocidal conflicts, and wars in Africa like the Ethiopia-Eritrea, Ethiopia-Oromo, the Congo DRC, South Sudan, Sudan-Dafur, Libya, and those ongoing in Syria, Israel-Palestine, Yemen, Ukraine, Myamar-Rohinga Muslims, and others can hardly be transfomed on the battlefield but around negotiating tables. Put differently, the Nigerian government should tackle group conflicts with transparent negotations rather than miliary violence. In fact, the present pro-Biafra struggle is a clear indication that the genocidal crushing of Biafra secession could not, guarantee genuine positive peace for all since 1970. Rather, the end of the Biafran War marked the beginning of another genocidal warfare by the Nigerian state against the Biafrans.

In view of the foregoing, the people of Nigeria should take a cursory look at the 1999 Nigerian Constitution to identify the inherent flaws therein. It is unfortunately trite but true that Nigeria is operating a constitution whose peamble begins with a lie, "We the People of Nigeria," when it was actually packaged and imposed on the country by one military dictator, without the input, or consent of the peoples of Nigeria. The current governance structure and basis of intergovernmental relations, which has divested the Nigera federation of its "federalness" and replaced with a quasi- or unitary- federalism, should be addressed with the inclusive participation of all ethnonationalities. Thus, the stakeholders in the Nigerian project should ensure that all obnoxious or offensive clauses, policies, and structural defects contained in the constitution are corrected. For example, the '"ndivisibilty" and "indissolubility" clauses, the current exclusive and residual lists, and other issues pertaining to the problems emanating from the defective fiscal allocation of resources and responsibilities, revenue generation, derivation, and sharing, should be amended in line with the pillars upon which the successful federal democracies like Canada, US, France, Switzerland, and Germany stand. So Nigeria should take another look at the

provisions of the 1963 Constitution and advance relevant amendments or restructure the polity through a new constitution truly reflective of the soveriegn involvement and consent of all the ethno-nationalities and geoplilitical entitites.

The forces of conflict conflagration and genocidal warfare looms large in Nigeria because the state's has constantly engaged in genocidal repression of nonviolent agitations while it aids and abets terroristic attrocities by Fulani herdsmen. The frequency, magnitutude, and impunity of the genocidal killings in Nigeria in addition to the fact that the victims of genocidal killings come from specific or geographically contigous ethno-national groups, and the killers and terrorists from another specific part of Nigeria, simply means that the conflict lines were, predeterminedly, drawn by the killers and their sponsors. Time is running out but the window of extricating Nigerians from genocidal bloodshed may still be open. Transforming the issues that shape the contested statehood of Nigeria is a task that must be laid before every stakeholder in Nigeria.

Are there general or specific lessons to be learnt from the nonviolent agitation by pro-Biafra social movements? Is their nonviolent resistance registering any positive result? Is the human cost of the nonviolent resistance worth continuing its usage in pro-Biafra agitational context? The answers to these question may not be exhaustively and convincively provided in this study as the issues are still ongoing. What I am sure about is that pro-Biafra nonviolent resistance movements constitute one of the largest, and most popular nonviolent resistance groups in the world today. The prelimnary victory or success of their nonviolent actions continues to have reveberating effects around the world. The damning 2016 and 2017 AI reports, and those from local human rights organizations, have indicted the Nigerian state for using its military to commit genocidal crimes against unarmed nonviolent groups. The fallout is that Nigeria is being perceived as a pariah terrorist state by the global community.

There is a need to talk about the impact of state repression against the nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements. One of the issues discussed in Chapter 7 was the theoretical arguments about "when social movements die" or what forces could lead to the winding up of social movements. The goal was to validate, or disprove these theories by evaluating the outcomes of the internal and external challenges faced by pro-Biafra social movements. The external forces had to do with the impact of the role of the state (genocidal repression, and monetized inducements to infiltrate the social movements), and any other external factor, that could, potentially, lead to the death of pro-Biafra social movements. Internal factors included fractionalization, internal disputes, lack of trust, counter accusations, and mutual suspicion. Contrarily, this study discovered the external and internal factors were unable to kill, or weaken pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements. This was largely because, the various chosen methods of nonviolent resistance, despite taking the respective groups in different directions, proved to be effective in the long run. Where, one group seemed to became weak, another, or plethora of new groups emerged to take the struggle forward.

Second, incidences of massive deadly repression and illegal or extrajudicial detentions by the state against members of MASSOB and the Kanu led IPOB resulted in the strengtening of these social movements. In fact, the illegal detention of Kanu and the mass killing of members of his group were intrumental inthe unification of the social movements under one umbrella as seen in 2016 and beyond. But, the relaxing of state's repression, or ability to show restraint resulted in the weaking of the social movements' agitation. Although the BHRI legal method of nonviolent confrontation seemed effective as its members freely spread out to the courts, it did turn out that the state was prepared to endlessly trivialize, prolong, and frustrate the court proceedings. By so doing, the Nigerian state was able to nip, or weaken BHRI nonviolent strategy. Thus, one can say

that what makes nonviolent action effective, vibrant, and popular is not its presence in the law courts or when it takes demonstrates on the streets with megaphones; or engages in other forms of disruptive nonviolent or noncooperation activities. The nonviolent activities of the Kanu-led IPOB and MASSOB seem more effective, to the extent, that the state was woefully failed in its bid to reverse the Biafran masses decision to comply with the sit-in or sit-out orders The state was also unable to prevent the internet radio broadcasting by the various social movements.

One of the issues that debilitated the operations of pro-Biafra social movements was the leadership structure of the organizations. While MASSOB and the IPOB had their organizations under the shoulder of their leaders, the BHRI had layers of authority. The outcome as seen in the study findings is that MASSOB almost withered away when its leader became unpopular and dictatorial, given the fact that there were no groomed leaders who could serve as his replacement. But for Kanu's IPOB, there were capable leaders who ran its affairs while he was illegally incarcerated. And even when the military attacked and disappeared with Kanu on September 14, the IPOB carried out its nonviolent agitations as if he was still in the saddle. The problem is, the connotion of "the Kanu led IPOB" even when he is out of circulation seems like he is still running the IPOB as a one man show. Conversely, the layers of authority in the BHRI organizational structure appears to be a more effective leadership structure.

The world is now aware of the genocidal activities of the Nigerian state because of the activities of pro-Biafran nonviolent social movements. Most of the genocidal atrocities are transmitted to the rest of the world as the news about them breaks thnanks to the Internet and social media. The contribuition of the internet age in repressive states like Nigeria, Syria, and Iran have always had difficulties grappling with how to contradict evidence of their deadly killing of innocent citizens. Uploaded video and other documented evidence and reports on the

internet and social media about the state's genocidal killings, especially against the unarmed and nonviolent pro-Biafra social movements have placed the Nigerian state on the defensive just as these incidents keep the world aware of the plight and situation faced by the victims. This makes the internet and the social media one of the key instruments for nonviolent resistance movements to use in their struggle, and, indeed, it can be a real partner for peace and conflict studies (Hiller et al., 2017; Wallace, 2017; Hastings, 2016; Castells, 2015; Obar, et al., 2012). Perhaps, it will be difficult to argue that the Nigeria's handling and response to pro-Biafra nonviolent opposition would have been more punitive, denied or covered up from the world community had it not been for the internet and social media access on mobile devices and phones.

Finally, the study's findings illustrate that all issues pertaining to the name "Biafra" attract either positive or negative emotional reaction. To non-Biafrans, especially those from the Hausa-Fulani ethno-political groups, Biafra denotes an invitation to war, an aggression directed against the state, a name that is illegal, outlawed and a reminder of the past that is best forgotten. That is why the IPOB attracted the anger of the Nigerian state, and Hausa-Fulani elements and that was simply because Kanu's speeches about Biafra were perceived as a direct indictment of the perpetrators, some of whom, are leaders of the country today. To the People of Biafra and especially those in pro-Biafra nonviolent social movements, Biafra represents many things. It means a rapprochement to the Biafran drive for secession, it is a call on the Nigerian government, and the perpetrators of the Biafra genocide to take responsibility for their actions. It is also a demand to categorize or acknowledge the genocidal 1967-1970 civil war as genocide, and it is a need to restore and allow the Biafran people to enjoy or enforce their rights to self-determination, secession, and Indigenous identity. Be that as it may, the events surrounding The Biafra at 50 Event appeared to be a turning point as Nigerians from several ethnic backgrounds

were treated to a national gallery on the commemoration of Biafra, the lessons learnt from the genocidal dimension of the civil war, and how to avoid another civil war. What this translated into is that Nigeria cannot and should not run away from its inglorious past. It also means that rather than outlawing public discussions around the issues of Biafra, the older and the new generations should be allowed to express their views, learn about the past of their country to use the lessons learnt to reshape the future that is just for all citizens living in Nigeria.

Future Research

As already indicated elsewhere, this is a critical ethnographically-designed perception study. My focus and scope of the study was on the nonviolent resistance by pro-Biafra nonviolent resistance. There is no doubt that the study did not seek the perception of concerned serving or retired officials (military or civilian), and groups outside the Biafra area. And, the perceptions of the Biafra elite who were/are not part of pro-Biafra struggle were not sought. With the present realities, I do know that there are non-Biafran individuals who would be willing to, objectively, express their views or perceptions on the issues covered in this study. This fact is based on my personal encounter in 2005, in Jos, Plateau State, in Northern Nigeria, with some retired soldiers who openly expressed their unreserved regrets and apologies for their participation in the Pogroms and genocidal civil war against Igbos. The implication of this is that a future study may be needed to determine the extent of concurrence or dissonance between that of pro-Biafra social movements and those of other stakeholders in Nigeria, whether within and outside Biafra; in support or against the Biafra agitation.

As an ethnic Igbo and Indigenous Biafran, a Nigerian, and a Canadian I would be interested in matching what this study has unraveled with seeking to analyze why a state like

Nigeria spearheads genocidal strangulation of its vulnerable constituents. It will be necessary for a future study to look into whose purpose or in whose interest does a state serve when unarmed nonviolent groups like the IPOB are labeled terrorists while well-known terrorist groups like the Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen are defended and protected with unconditional amnesty and spurious recruitments into the Nigerian Armed Forces.

Final Words

Nigeria, especially since May 29, 2015, has been forced into a steady decline by state-led genocidal atrocities. From several reports, comments and material evidences, it has become an open secret that the Nigerians may not endure further genocidal killings currently linked to the actions, inactions, acquisance and complicity of the Buhari regime. Reports by the Chinua CACLD in 2018, and the call to (armed) self-defence by elder statesmen and Nigeria's key civil war commanders like Theophelous Danjuma, Paul Unongo, some serving state governors, legislators, political party officials, and community leaders of ethnic groups in most of the states undergoing daily genocidal carnage by Fulani herdsmen, is nothing, but a prelude to an open military confrontation. The deliberate protection and defense of Fulani herdsmen by the Buhari regime, and the nepotistic positioning of the command and control of the Nigerian armed cum para-military forces of a contested multi-ethnic country like Nigeria in one of its constituents (the Hausa-Fulani) is a clear sign that the current government sides with the perpetrators, and openly against the victims of the genocidal killings in Nigeria's Middle Belt.

Within the Biafra region, despite, bracing genocidal odds, pro-Biafra social movements, and the peoples of Biafra, have been consistent in nonviolently resisting all state terroristic provocations and killings. It is clear that just as genocidal killings especially by the Fulani

herdsmen and the Nigerian security forces became daily news in parts of Nigeria, pro-Biafra struggle now led by the IPOB, offers all peace-loving Nigerians one of the best nonviolent options towards the transformation of current conflict. Such a transformation could stave off a second civil war if, without delay, the ruling Hausa-Fulani oligarchy, agrees to a new political engineering that would result in a new constitution, which, in theory, practice, powers, and (fiscal cum fiducial) responsibilities of the components, and tiers of government, that is reflective of pre-1966 federalism. The second nonviolent alternative is for Nigerians, and the international community to heed the calls by pro-Biafra and pro-Oduduwa republics advocates for a referendum by every region to determine whether they which to be part of Nigeria or go their separate ways. The last option is the genocidal balkanization if all else fails. One of these three options are likely to happen as all are inevitable possibilities. To me as the researcher behind this study, I am convinced that it is only the first two nonviolent options that bear the transformative and nonviolent panacea to end the ongoing cultural genocide against the Biafrans and the genocidal killings by the Fulani herdsmen, Boko Haram terrorists and the Nigerian state in recent times. The two nonviolent options bears the key to end the quagmire of contested and deadly intergroup interactions, restructure unbundle Nigeria away from the deformed or quasi-federal system, from which the harbinger of irreconciliable differences and other problems of the national question emanate from.

References

Abati, R. (2017). *The Nnamdi Kanu Phenomenon*. Retrieved November 21, 2017, from SaharaReporters.com: http://saharareporters.com/2017/07/05/nnamdi-kanu-phenomenon-reuben-abati

Abiola, A. (2018). *FG Lacks Power To Abrogate Our Anti-grazing Law – Fayose*. Retrieved June 7, 2018, from Leadershipng.com: https://leadership.ng/2018/06/06/fg-lacks-power-to-abrogate-our-anti-grazing-law-fayose/

Abrahams, M. (2006). Why Terrorism Does Not Work. *International Security, Vol. 31 No. 2*, 42-78.

Achebe, C. (2013). *There was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra.* London: Peguin Books.

Ackerman, P., & DuVall, J. (2000). *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Action.* New York: Palgrave.

Ackerman, P., & Kruegler, C. (1994). *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century.* Westport: Praeger.

Adams, D. (2010). *Karl Marx & the State*. Retrieved 10. 12., 2012, from Marxist-Humanist Initiative (http://www.marxisthumanistinitiative.org/alternatives-to-capital/karl-marx-the-state.html).

Adebajo, A. (2002). *Building peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Adebisi, Y., & Taiwo-Oguntuase, S. (2017). *Why We Declare Oduduwa Republic, Reject Restructuring – YOLICOM*. Retrieved July 30, 2017, from Independent, Nigeria: http://independent.ng/declare-oduduwa-republic-reject-restructuring-yolicom/

Adelman, H. (1999). Preventing Genocide: The Case of Rwanda. Part IV. In R. W. Smith, *Genocide: Essays Toward Understanding Early-Warning and Prevention* (pp. 152-182). Williamsburg: VA : Association of Genocide Scholars, 159-182.

Adelman, H. (2008). Theories of Genocide: The Case of Rwanda. In V. M. Esses, & Richard A. Vernon, *Explaining the Breakdown of Ethnic Relations: Why Neighbors Kill* (pp. 193-222). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Adetayo, O., John Charles, Justin Tyopuusu, & Umar Muhammed. (2018). *Benue killings: If FG Can'T Protect Us, We Will Raise An Army, Says Unongo*. Retrieved January 19, 2018, from Punch, Nigeria: http://punchng.com/benue-killings-if-fg-cant-protect-us-we-will-raise-an-army-says-unongo/

Adisa, C. (2018). Startling Revelations About Fulani Herdsmen Attacks – By Professor Charles Adisa. In 247ureports.com. Retrieved February 10, 2018, from https://247ureports.com/startling-revelations-about-fulani-herdsmen-attacks-by-professor-charles-adisa/

Adonu, C. (2016, December 22). *Release Nnamdi Kanu Now, Ekweremadu Tells FG, Says He Has No Problem With Buhari*. Retrieved from Vanguardngr.com: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/12/release-nnamdi-kanu-now-ekweremadu-tells-fg-says-no-problem-buhari/

Adujie, P. I. (2010, March 12). *Are You a Citizen of Nigeria or Merely a Settler or Indigene of a Locale?* Retrieved from Vanguard Newspapers.

Afigbo, A. E. (1972). *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria 1891–1929.* London: Longman.

Afigbo, A. E. (1987). *The Igbo and Their Neighbours: Inter-group Relations In Southeastern Nigeria to 1953.* Ibadan: University Press Limited.

Agande, B. (2017, July 06). *Igbo Notice to Quit: Middle Belt Group Dissociates Self from Arewa Youths*. Retrieved from Vanguardngr.com: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/07/igbo-notice-quit-middle-belt-group-dissociates-self-arewa-youths/

Agbodo, J. A. (2016, May 20). *Biafra not for Igbo alone – IPOB*. Retrieved from The Sunnewsonline: http://sunnewsonline.com/ipob-biafra-not-for-igbo-alone/

Agnew, J. A. (2000). The Geopolitical Context of Contemporary Ethnopolitical Conflict'. In S. Byrne, & I. C.L., *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (pp. 3-22). West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

AI: Amnesty International. (2010). *Amnesty International Annual Report Entries on Nigeria 1968- 2010*. Retrieved from (London: Amnesty International Publications)

Ajaero, Chris, & Mikail Mumuni. (2007). The Plot To Kill Me in Prison: Uwazuruike. Lagos: Newswatch .

Ajisafe, R. A. (2016). Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria: Evidence from Ardl Bound Test and Error Correction Model . *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS) 7(3)*, 156-163.

Ake, C. (2003). *Social Science as Imperialism: The Theory of Political Development.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Akhaine, S. (2017). On the Occupation of South East. *Vanguard Newspapers, Nigeria*. Retrieved September 12, 2017, from https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/09/occupation-south-east/

Akinkuotu, E. (2015). Nigeria is Built on Satanic Foundation, says Fani-Kayode. *The Punch, Sepember 15*. Retrieved September 09, 2015, from http://www.punchng.com/news/nigeria-is-built-on-satanic-foundation-says-fani-kayode/

Akinkuotu, E. (2016, April 3). *We Visit Kanu in Prison — UK Govt*. Retrieved from The Punch Newspapers, Nigeria : http://punchng.com/we-visit-kanu-in-prison-uk-govt/

Akinkuotu, E. (2017, July 3). *Middle Belt Won'T Follow North if Nigeria Splits – Jerry Gana*. Retrieved from Punchng.com, Nigeria: http://punchng.com/middle-belt-wont-follow-north-if-nigeria-splits-jerry-gana/

Akinola, S. R., & Ayo Adesopo. (2011). Derivation Principle Dilemma and National (Dis)unity in Nigeria: A Polycentric Planning Perspective on the Niger Delta. *Journal of Substative Development, Vol 4. No. 5*, 251-263.

Akinyele, R. (2000). Power Sharing and Conflict Management in Africa: Nigeria, Sudan and Rwanda' in Africa Development . *Vol. XXV. Nos. 3 and 4.*

Akowe, T. (2013). *Buhari Faults Campdown on Boko Haram Members*. Retrieved June 2, 2013, from The Nation, Nigeria: http://thenationonlineng.net/buhari-faults-clampdown-on-boko-haram-members/

Akpan, N. U. (2013). *The Struggle for Secession, 1966–1970: A Personal Account of the Nigerian Civil War (First Published by Frank Cass, 1971).* London and New York: Routledge.

Alechenu, J., Olusola Fabiyi, Friday Olokor, Adelani Adepegba, Olaleye Aluko , & Justin Tyopuusu. (2018). Killings: Danjuma Alleges Ethnic Cleansing, Asks Nigerians to Defend Themselves. *The Punch Newspapers*, 1, 8.

Allen, N. (2016). Charting Boko Haram's Rapid Decline: War on the Rocks. *War Crimes Prosecution Watch, Volume 11 - Issue 15, October 2*. Retrieved March 12, 2017, from http://www.publicinternationallawandpolicygroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WCPW-100216-V11-I15.html

Alvarez, A. (1997). Adjusting to Genocide: The Techniques of Neutralization and the Holocaust. *Social Science History 21(2)*, 139-178.

Alvarez, A. (2001). Justifying Genocide: The Role of Professionals in Legitimizing Mass Killing. *IDEA Journal on the History and Prevention of Genocide Symposium, December 20, 2001, Vol.6, No.1*.

Amadi, S. (2007). *Colonial Legacy, Elite Dissension and the Making of Genocide: The Story of Biafra.* Retrieved 07 23, 2013, from Social Science Council.org (http://howgenocidesend.ssrc.org/Amadi/printable.html).

Amnesty International. (2016, November 26). *Nigeria: At least 150 Peaceful Pro-Biafra Activists Killed in Chilling Crackdown*. Retrieved from Amnesty International: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/11/peaceful-pro-biafra-activists-killed-in-chilling-crackdown/

Anele, D. (2017). *The Phenomenon of Biafra (13)*. Retrieved November 1, 2017, from Vanguard (Nigeria): https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/phenomenon-biafra-13/

Anibeze, O., Emmanuel Aziken, & Emeka Mamah. (2016). *Ekwueme's Recipe For a Better Nigeria*. Retrieved December 2, 2016, from Vanguard, Nigeria: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/ekwuemes-recipe-better-nigeria/

Anwar, A., & Matthew, O. (2017). *Our Quit Notice to Igbo Stands, Say Arewa Youths*. Retrieved August 5, 2017, from The Guardian Nigeria: https://guardian.ng/news/our-quit-notice-to-igbo-stands-say-arewa-youths/

Apapo Oodua Koya. (2012). UN Urged to Organize Referendum in Nigeria: Prepare for Oduduwa Republic. Retrieved January 21, 2015, from http://elombah.com/index.php/latest-news/10867-prepare-for-oduduwa-republic-oodua-group-urges-yoruba

Apsey, L. S. (2005). How Transforming Power Was Used in Modern Times - Against Race Prejudice in America. In R. L. Holmes, & B. L. Gan, *Nonviolence in Theory and Practice* (pp. 95-100). Long Grove: Waveland Press, Inc.

Arabajan, Z. (1994). Violence Versus Nonviolence in the USSR and Its Successors. In p. Wehr, H. Burgess, & G. Burgess, *Justice Without Violence* (pp. 147-163). Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Arendt, H. (1958). *The Human Condition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ariston, S. (2015, April 8). *The Hellenic Religious Tradition*. Retrieved March 1, 2017, from Scribd.com: https://www.scribd.com/document/354153016/Hellenismos-A-short-introduction-to-Hellenic-religion-and-worldview

Arreguín-Toft, I. (2001). How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict. *International Security, Volume 26 , No. 1*, 93-128.

Ashameri, I. (2014). Day A'Ibom Remembered Civil War Victims. *Daily Independent Newspapers, April 18*. Retrieved April 18 21, 2014, from http://dailyindependentnig.com/2014/04/day-aibom-remembered-civil-war-victims/

Ashley, R. K. (1987). The Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space: Toward a Critical Theory of International Politics. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Volume 12*, 403-434 .

Audi, R. (1971). On the Meaning and the Justification of Violence. In A. S. Jerome, *Violence.* New York: David McKay Company.

Audu, M., Osuala, Uzoma S., & Ibrahim, Baba Isaac. (2013). Contextualizing the International Dimensions of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 3 No. 8; August*, 112-117.

Augsburger, D. (1992). *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns.* Louisville: Westminister/John KnoxPress.

Avruch, K. (2006). *Culture & Conflict Resolution.* Washington D.C.: United Institute of Peace Press.

Avruch, K. (2008). Culture. In S. Cheldelin, D. Druckman, & L. Fast, *Conflict* (pp. 167-194). New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.

Avruch, K. (2010). Cross-Culture Conflict. In R. B. Pimentel, Elliot, Robert Charles, Lorenzano, Pablo, & Arlt, Hebert, *Religion, Culture and Sustenable Development, (Encyclopaedia of Life Support Systems, Vol. 11 .* Oxford: EOLSS Publishers/UNESCO. Retrieved from eolss.net.

Ayorinde, O. (2014, June 5). *Biafra Group's Attempt To Seize TV Station Foiled*. Retrieved from PM NEWS, Nigeria : https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/06/05/biafra-groups-attempt-to-seize-tv-station-foiled/

Baaz, M., & Stern, M. (2009). Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC). *International Studies Quarterly, 53*, 495-518.

Baldwin, J. (2017). Culture, Prejudice, Racism, and Discrimination. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.164

Bamidele, B. (2014). Why Can't Nigerians Watch Country's Biggest Movie? cnn.com, May 21. Retrieved August 12, 2014, from http://www.cnn.com/2014/05/21/opinion/why-cant-nigerians-half-yellow-sun/

Banjo, V. (1967). Brigadier Banjo's Broadcast to Mid-West. Benin City . Retrieved February 9, 2014, from www.dawodu.com/banjo.htm

Barber, B. (2011). *Commentary: Famine Equals Genocide in Somalia,* . Retrieved 12 04, 2011, from http://www.kansascity.com/2011/08/09/3063884/commentary-famine-equals-genocide.html.

Barkan, J. D., Gboyega, A., & Stevens, M. (2001). State and Local Governance in Nigeria. In *Public Sector and Capacity Building Program: Africa Region.* The World Bank.

Barnett, M. K. (2007). 'Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?'. *Global Governance, 13, pp.*, 35-38.

Barry, B. (1995). *Justice as Impartiality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bastian, M. L. (2002). Vultures of the Marketplace: Southeastern Nigerian Women and Discourses of the Ogu Umanwaaniy (Women's War) of 1929. In S. G. J. Allman, *Women in African Colonial Histories.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bauer, Y. (1994). In Search of a Definition of Antisemitism. In M. Brown, *Approaches to Antisemitism.* New York: American Jewish Committee.

Beary, B. (2011). *Separatist Movements: A Global Reference.* 370p. photogs. maps. bibliog. index. ISBN 9781604265699. CQ Press Electronic Library REF .

Becker, J. (1999). *Hungry Ghosts: Chinas Secret Famine.* London: John Murray.

Benedict, H. (2008). Why Soldiers Rape: Culture of Misogyny, Illegal Occupation, Fuel sexual Violence in Military. *In These Times*. Retrieved November 20, 2017, from http://inthesetimes.com/article/3848/

Berger, P. L., & Thomas Luckmann . (1991). The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Pengiun University Books (Re-Printed).

Bergman, J. (2016). *Biafra: Where is the International Community?* Gatestone Institute. Retrieved June 7, 2017, from https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/8349/biafra-nigeria

Bharadwaj, L. K. (1998). Principled Versus Pragmatic Nonviolence. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 10:1.*, 79-81.

Bird, S. E., & Ottanelli, F. (2014). The Asaba Massacre and the Nigerian Civil War: Reclaiming Hidden History. *Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 16, Nos. 2–3*, 379–399. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2014.936718

Biswas, B. (2006). 'The Challenges of Conflict Management: A Case Study of Sri Lanka'. *Civil Wars, Vol.8, No.1*, 46–65.

Blumer, H. (1969). Collective behavior. In L. A.M., *Principles of Sociology (3rd Edition).* New York: Barnes and Noble Books.

Boateng, O. (2008). Nigeria: A Squalid End to Empire. New African, Issue 478.

Bock, J. G. (2012). The Efficacy of Nonviolent Movements. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways Toward Terrorism and Genocide, 5:1,*, 74-76.

Bogdan, R., & Sari Knopp Biklen. (2011). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods.* PRENTICE HALL; 5 edition.

Bogen, J. (2017). Theory and Observation in Science. In E. N. Zalta, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2017 Edition).* Retrieved June 17, 2017, from https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2017/entries/science-theory-observation/

Bond, D. (1994). Nonviolent Direct Action and the Difusion of Power. In P. Wehr, H. Burgess, & G. Burgess, *Justice Without Violence* (pp. 59-79). Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bondurant, J. (1971). The Search for a Theory of Conflict. In J. Bondurant, *Violence and Nonviolence* (pp. 1-25). Chicago, New York: Aldine and Altherton.

Bondurant, J. V. (1988). *Conquest of Violence: The Gandian Philosophy of Conflict.* Priceton: Priceton University Press.

Bose, S. (2010). *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kasmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka.* Massachussets: Harvard University Press.

Boulding, E. (2000). *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Boulding, K. E. (1989). *Three Faces of Power.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications .

Bowen, J. (1996). The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict. *The Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7, Number 4*, 4-14.

Brubakar, R. (1996). *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Eiurope.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buchanan, R. T. (2015). Global Terrorism Index: Nigerian Fulani Militants Named as Fourth Deadliest Terror Group in World. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/global-terrorism-index-nigerian-fulani-militants-named-as-fourth-deadliest-terror-group-in-world-a6739851.html

Bufacchi, V. (2004). Why is Violence Bad? *American Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 41, No. 2*.

Bufacchi, V. (2009). *Violence and Social Justice.* New York: Palmgrave Macmillan.

Buhari Sleeping on Duty, Herdsmen Will Cause War – Middle Belt Youths Lament 'Genocide'. (2018b). In N. Daily Trust. Retrieved Juanuary 27, 2018, from http://dailypost.ng/2018/01/05/buhari-sleeping-duty-herdsmen-will-cause-war-middle-belt-youths-lament-genocide/

Bullen, B. A. (2012). *Mediation: A Training & Resource Guide for the Mediator.* Trafford Publishing. Retrieved December 9, 2011, from http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/culture-conflict

Burgess, G., & Burgess, H. (1994). Justice Without Violence: Theoretical Foundations. In P. Wehr, H. Burgess, & G. Burgess, *Justice Without Violence* (pp. 7-35). Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Burgess, G., & Burgess, H. (1997). *Transformative Approaches to Conflict.* Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Burgess, P. (2006). What is "Nonviolence"? *Communities, Vol. 130; ABI/INFORM Complete, Spring*, p. 8.

Burrowes, R. L. (1996). *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Byrne, S. (2001). Consociational and Civic Society Approaches to Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Peace Research, vol. 38, no. 3,* , 327-352.

Byrne, S., & Irvin C.L. (2000). Introduction. In S. Byrne, & I. C. (eds.), *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (pp. pp. ix – xvi). West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Byrne, S., & C.L., I. (2000). Byrne, S.; Irvin C. L. In Introduction, *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (pp. ix – xvi). West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Byrne, S., & Carter, N. (1996). Social Cubism: Six Social Forces of Ethnoterritorial Conflict in Northernland and Quebec. *Peace and Conflict Studies, 3(2) December*, 52-71.

Carland, J. M. (1985). *The Colonial Office and Nigeria, 1898 - 1914.* Hong Kong: Hoover Press Publication of the Stanford Univerity Press.

Carter , N., & Byrne, S. (2000). The Dynamics of Social Cubism: A View from Northern Ireland and Quebec. In S. Byrne, & C. L. Irvin, *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (pp. 41- 62). West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Carter, J., Irani, G., & Volkan, V. (2009). Ethnopolitical Conflict in Perspective. In J. Carter, G. Irani, & V. Volkan, *Regional and Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives From the Front Lines* (pp. 1-5). Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age.* Cambridge: Polity; 2 edition .

Cayton, M. K., & Williams, P. W. (2001). *Ethnicity and Race.* New York: Scribner's Sons.

Cesaire, A. (1955). *Discourse on Colonialism .* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chalk, F. (1997). Redefining Genocide. In G. J. Andreopoulos, *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimension* (pp. 47–63,). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Charny, I. W. (1994). Toward a Generic Defi Nition of Genocide i. In G. J. Andreopoulos, *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Chenoweth, E. (2017). Trends in Nonviolent Resistance and State Response: Is Violence Towards Civilian-Based Movements on The Rise? *Global Responsibility to Protect, 9(1)*, 86-100. Retrieved from Global Responsibility to Protect, 9(1), .

Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M. J. (2011). *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Chernus, I. (2004). *American nonviolence: The History of an Idea.* New York: Maryknoll.

Chickering, R., & Forster, S. (2005). Are We there Yet: The Second World War and the Theory of Total War. In Chickering, R., Forster, S. , & Greiner, B., *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945* (pp. 1-14). Washington, D. C.: Cambridge University Press.

Chickering, R., & Försterr, S. (2005). Are We there Yet: The Second World War and the Theory of Total War. In R. Chickering, S. Förster, & B. Greiner, *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945* (pp. 1-14). Washington, D. C.: Cambridge University Press.

Chirot, D., & McCauley, C. (2006). *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder.* Priceton: priceton university Press.

Chossudovsky, M. (2013). Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb: Who's Who? Who is Behind the Terrorists? *Global Research*, http://www.globalresearch.ca/al-qaeda-in-the-islamic-maghreb-whos-whos-who-is-behind-the-terrorists/5319754, Retrieved 04/03/2013.

Christiansen, J. (2009). Four Stages of Social Movements . *EBSCO Research Starters*, 1-7.

Chu, Y. (1997). The Counterrevolution - A family of Crimes: Chinese Communist Revolutionary Rhetoric, 1929-89. In J. Turpin, & L. R. Kurtz, *The Web of Violence: From Interpersonal to Global* (pp. 69-89). Chicago: Urbane and Chicago.

Clempson, R. (2012, February 1). *The Primacy of Structural Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Retrieved from E-International Relations Students : http://www.e-ir.info/2012/02/01/the-primacy-of-structural-violence-in-sub-saharan-africa/

Coady, C. A. (1986). The Idea of Violence. *Journal of Applied Philosophy, Vol. 3, No. 1*, 3-19.

Coleman, J. S. (1958). *Nigeria: Background To Nationalism .* Berkeley and Los Angeles: Berkeley University of California Press.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2002). Greed and Grievance in Civil War,. *Journal of Conflict Resolution 46 (1):*, 13-28.

Cone, J. (2001). Martin and Malcolm on Nonviolence and Violence. *Phylon (1960 -). Vol. 49, No. 3 and 4 (Autumn and Winter)*, 173-183.

Conteh-Morgan, E. (2006,). Globalization, State Failure, and Collective Violence: The Case of Sierra Leone. *International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 11, Number 2,*, 87-103.

Cookson, M. D. (2004). Conceptual Clarity Freedom and Normative Clarity: Reply to Blau. *Political Theory, Vol.32 No.4, August (Sage Publications)* , pp.554-562.

Cordell, K., & Stefan Wolff. (2010). *Ethnic Conflict: Causes, Consequences, and Responses.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cordell, K., & Wolff, S. (2016). *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Cortright, D. (2006). *Gandhi and Beyond: Nonviolence for an Age of Terrorism.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Coser, L. A. (1972). *The Functions of Social Conflict .* London: Routedge & Kegan Paul.

Creighton, O. H., Wright, D. W., Fradley, M., & Trick, S. (2018). Waging War: Fields of Conflict and Siege Warfare. In O. H. Creighton, & D. Wright, *The Anarchy: War and Status in 12th-Century Landscapes of Conflict* (pp. 34-79). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press (Paper Back Edition).

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches (3rd Edition).* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Crozier, D. &. (1992). *An index of Nigerian Languages.* Abuja:NERDC & Dallas: SIL.

Curtis, M. (2004). *Unpeople: Britain's Secret Human Rights Abuses.* London: Vintage Publishers.

Dadrian, V. N. (1975). A TYPOLOGY OF GENOCIDE. *International Review of Modern Sociology, Vol. 5, No. 2 (AUTUMN)*, 201-212.

Dambazau, A. B. (2015). *2015 Elections: How to Make Nigeria the Winner*. Retrieved September 19, 2015, from Newsdiaryonline. Paper Delivered at the 12th Trust Dialogue, at Abuja, Nigeria on 22 January 2015: https://newsdiaryonline.com/2015-elections-make-nigeria-winner-abdulrahman-b-dambazau/.

Davenport, C. (2015). *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dayton, B., & Kriesberg, L. (2009). Introduction. In B. a. Dayton, *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Moving From Violence to Sustainable Peace* (pp. 1-12). New York: Routledge.

De la Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social Movements: An Introduction (2nd Ed).* Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

De Vos, G. (1975). Ethnic Pluralism. In G. De Vos, & L. Komanucci-Ross, *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (pp. 5-41). Palo Alto: Mayfield.

Dellinger, D. (1970). *Revolutionary Nonviolence.* Outstanding Political Essays.

Denborough, D., Koolmatrie, C., Mununggirritj, D., Marika, ,. D., Dhurrkay, W., & Yunupingu, M. (2006). Linking Stories and Initiatives:A Narrative Approach to Working With the Skills. *The International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work No. 2*, 19-51.

Deng, F. M. (2012). The Challenge of Managing Identity Conflict. In I. W. Zartman, M. Anstey, & P. Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. vii-xiii). New York: Oxford University Press.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oasks, CA: SAGE Publication Inc.

Deutsche Welle. (2013). *'Failed States' Represent a Global Challenge, http://www.dw.de/failed-states-represent-a-global-challenge/a-16709334*. Retrieved 03 21, 2013

Diamond, L., & McDonald, J. (1996). *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace.* West Heartford: Kumarin Press.

Dikötter, F. (2018). *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62.* London: Bloomsbury Paperbacks (Reissue Edition , January 9, 2018).

Donohue, W. A. (2012). The Identity Trap: Managoing Paradox in Crisis Bargaining. In I. W. Zartman, Mark Anstey, & Paul Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. 55-71). New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Doré, G. (1999). Case Study:Conscietization as a Specific Form of Community Practice and Training in Quebec. In H. Campfens, *Community Development around the World* (pp. 93-110.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Doyle, D. H. (2010). Introduction: Union and Secession in the Family of Nations. In D. H. Doyle, *Secession as an International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements* (pp. 1-18). Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Druckman, D. (2005). *Doing Research: Methods of Inquiry for Conflict Analysis.* Thousan Oaks and London: Sage Publications, Inc.

Dudouet, V. (2011). Nonviolent Resistance and Conflict Transformation in Power Asymmetries. In B. Austin, M. Fischer, & H.J. Giessmann, *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II* (pp. 237-264). Opladen/Framington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers. Online at www.berghof-handbook.net.

Duke, J. (2010). The Impact of Colonialism on the Development of Management in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Management Vol. 5, No. 8; August*, 65-75.

Duru, P. (2018). *Resign now, You Are Incompetent, Benue Govt Tells IGP*. Retrieved February 7, 2018, from Vanguard, Nigeria: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/resign-now-incompetent-benue-govt-tell-igp/

Ebert, T. (1968). *Gewaltfreier Aufstand: Alternative zum Bürgerkrieg [Nonviolent Insurrection: Alternative to Civil War] .* Freiburg: Rombach.

Ebiem, O. (2014). *Nigeria, Biafra & Boko Haram: Ending the Genocides Through Multi-State Solution.* New York, NY: Page Publishing Inc.

Edevbie, D. (2000). *The Politics of the 13 Percent Derivation Principle.* Retrieved July 12, 2014, from http://waado.org/Environment/FedGovt_NigerDelta/RevenueAllocation/13PercentAllocation.htm

Effiong, P. U. (2012). 40+ Years Later…The War Hasn't Ended…. In C. J. Korieh, *The Nigeria-Biafra War : Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (pp. 261-276). Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Egwu, A. (2017, July 1). *Biafra, Kanu, Ants And Elephants*. Retrieved from Facebook.com: https://www.facebook.com/agha.egwu/posts/10154871003863510

Ejibunu, H. T. (2007). Nigeria'S Niger Delta Crisis: Root Causes of Ppeacelessness. *EPU Research Papers*. Retrieved June 17, 2014, from http://epu.ac.at/fileadmin/downloads/research/rp_0707.pdf

Ejiogu, E. C. (2013). Book review: The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory Chima by J Korieh (ed.); Remembering Biafra: Narrative, History, and Memory of the Nigeria-Biafra War. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 2013, Vol.48(3)*, 387-390.

Ejiogu, E. C. (2013). Book Review: The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory Chima by J Korieh (ed.); Remembering Biafra: Narrative, History, and Memory of the Nigeria-Biafra War. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 2013, Vol.48(3)*, 387-390.

Ekanola, A. (2004). Beyond Isolation, Co-Operative Relations and the Resolution of Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary African Society. *CCDESRIA Bulletin, Nos. 2&4*, 35-37.

Ekanola, A. (2004). Beyond Isolation, Co-Operative Relations and the Resolution of Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary African Society . *CODESRIA Bulletin, Nos. 2&4*, 35-37.

Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol 17, No. 1*, 91-112.

Ekeh, P. P. (1983). *Colonialism and Social Structure.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (1991). The Biafra War: Nigeria and the Aftermath. Lampeter, Ceredigion: Edwin Mellen Press.

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2006). Genocide Against the Igbo Continues in Onicha. *USAfricaonline.com*. Retrieved July 21, 2014, from http://usafricaonline.com/ekwekwe.genocide2006.html

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2007). *Biafra Revisited.* Dakar (Senegal) and Reading (GB): African Renaissance.

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2007). The Biafra War and the Age of Pestilence. *Africa Resource*, 1-3. Retrieved 01 12, 2014, from http://www.africaresource.com/essays-a-reviews/essays-a-discussions/317-the-biafra-war-and-the-age-of-pestilence?showall=1&limitstart=

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2012a). *A Review: There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra.* Retrieved October 04, 2012, from The Literary Encyclopedia: [http://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=34707

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2012b). *Rights for Scots, Rights for the Igbo*. Retrieved March 4, 2016, from Rethinking Africa: http://re-thinkingafrica.blogspot.ca/2012/01/rights-for-scots-rights-for-igbo.html

Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2012c). The Nigerian State, Igbo Genocide and the Africom. *Tensões Mundiais/World Tensions, Vol 17, No 13*, 155-168.

Ekwenche. (2004). *Submission to the UN Human Rights Commission on the Violations of Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in the Nigerian Federation (1914-2004): A Call For Re-Establishment of Igbo Sovereignty, Reparations and Appropriate Restitution*.

Elden, S. (2014). The Geopolitics of Boko Haram and Nigerias 'War on Terror. *The Geographical Journal 180 (4)*, 414-425. doi:doi:10.1111/geoj.12120

Elias, R. (1997). A Culture of Violent Solutions. In J. Turpin, & L. R. Kurtz, *The Web of Violence: From Interpersonal to Global* (pp. 117-147). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Elugbe, B. O. (1994). Minority Lanuage Development in Nigeria: A Situation Report on Rivers and Bendel States. In R. Fardon, & G. Furniss, *African Languages, Development and the State* (pp. 62-75). Ney York: Routledge.

Emeagwali, P. (n.d.). *Official Record of the Minutes of the Meeting of Nigeria's Military Leaders held at Aburi.* Retrieved April 20, 2015, from http://emeagwali.com/biafra/nigeria-biafra-civil-war-aburi-accord-ghana-official-records.html

Emekesri, E. A. (2012). *Niafra or Nigerian Presidency: What Do Igbos Want?* London: Christ the King Community .

Enabuele, Amos, & Bazuaye, Bright. (2014). *Teachings on Basic Topics in Public International Law.* Benin City: Ambik Press.

Enekwechi, E., & Nkwocha, O. (2011). *Genocide: Biafra's Open Letter to the UN*. Retrieved December 2, 2011, from http://www.elombah.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5085:genocide-biafras-open-letter-to-the-un&catid=25:politics&Itemid=92.

Engels, F. (1973). The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 3. (Moscow)*, 326-327.

Esajere, A. (2008). *'We Are Now In Aremu Of Ota's Third Term Through Yar'Adua, His Puppet' – Danjuma at 70.* Lagos: The Guardian Newspapers.

EWP (Early Waning Project). (2017). *Countries Most Likely to Experience State-Led Mass Killing: Statistical Risk Assessment 2016.* Annual Report by the Early Warning Project.Org. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from https://www.earlywarningproject.org/2017/04/10/countries-most-likely-to-experience-state-led-mass-killing-statistical-risk-assessment-2016

Eze, E. C. (2005). Epistemic Conditions for Genocide. In R. K. Roth, *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide* (pp. 115-129). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ezekwesili, Obiageli; Adenikinju, Adeola; Andrew Onyeanakwe; Bode Longe ;. (2014). *Stabilizing Nigeria's Volatile Economy: Necessity of a Constitutional Savings and Stabilization Mechanism.* Abuja, Nigeria: Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Foundation. Retrieved December 12, 2017, from yaraduafoundation.org/files/Necessity_of_a_Stabilization_Mechanism_for_Nigeria.pdf

Fabiyi, M. (2014). *Rethinking the Amalgamation of 1914 By Malcolm Fabiyi.* SaharaReporters.com. Retrieved June 19, 2014, from http://saharareporters.com/2014/01/06/rethinking-amalgamation-1914-malcolm-fabiyi

Fafowora, D. (2013). *Lord Lugard and the 1914 Amalgamation of Nigeria.* Lagos: The Nation, February 28. Retrieved June 18, 2014, from http://thenationonlineng.net/lord-lugard-and-the-1914-amalgamation-of-nigeria-2/

Falola, T. (2009). *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press .

Falola, T., & Matthew Heaton. (2006). The Works of A.E. Afigbo 0n Nigeria: An Historiographical Essay. *History in Africa, Volume 33*, 155-178.

Faracovi, O. P. (2000). A Philosopher of Nonviolence: Aldo Capitani. *Diogenes, No. 192, Vol. 48/4*, 105-119.

Fearon, J., & Laitin, D. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War. *American Political Science Review, 97, 1*, 75-90.

Feierstein, D. (2014). *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas.* New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press.

Fein, H. (1990). Genocide: A Sociological Perspective. *Current Sociology, Vol. 38, No. 1*, 1-126.

Fein, H. (2001). Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide: Definitional Evasion, Fog, Morass or Opportunity. *Paper Presented at the Association of Genocide Scholars Conference*, (pp. 1-16). Minneapolis, June 10–12,.

FFP, Fund For Peace. (2012). *The Failed States Index 2012, http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2012-sortable*. Retrieved 09. 11, 2012

Finnegan, A. C., & Hackley, S. G. (2008). Negotiation and Nonviolent Action: Interacting in the World of Conflict. *Negotiation Journal, 24, 1;*, 7-24.

Fischer, L. (1950). *Life of Mahatma Gandhi.* New York: Harper and Row.

Fischer, L. (1988). *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi.* New York: Harper and Row.

Fleming, M. (2003). Genocide and the Body Politic in the Time of Modernity. In R. Gellately, & B. Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide:Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (pp. 97-113). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Förster, S., & Gessler, M. (2005). The Ultimate Horror: Reflections on Total War and Genocide. In R. Chichering, S. Förster, & B. Greiner, *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Conflict of Destruction, 1937-1945* (pp. 53-68). Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

Francisco, R. A. (2004). After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression. *Mobilization: An International Journal, Vol. 9, No. 2 (June)*, 107–126.

Franon, F. (2004). *The Wretched of the Earth, English Translation by Richard Philcox.* New York: Grove Press.

Freire, P. (2014). *Education For Critical Consciousness.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Freire, P. (2017). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Translated by Myra Bergman. Ramos. S. L.* Penguin Books.

Friedländer, S. (1977). *1977.* New York: HarperPerennial.

Fund For Peace. (2017). Fragile States Index. *Fund for Peace*.

Gaffey, C. (2016, February 28). *Pope Greets Pro-Biafra Activists at the Vatican During Angelus Prayer*. Retrieved from Newsweek: http://www.newsweek.com/pope-francis-biafra-angelus-431329

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict Development and Civilization.* London : SAGE Publications.

Gamsom, W. (1984). Political Symbolism and Nuclear Arms Policy. *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August.* San Antonio, Texas.

Gamson, W. (1990). *The Strategy of Social Protest.* Belmont: Wadsworth.

Ganga, D., & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural "Insiders" and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving "Across" and Moving "Along" Researcher-Participant Divides. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 7(3), Art. 7*.

Gans, C. (2003). *The Limits of Nationalism.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Gellateley, R., & Kiernan, B. (2003). The Study of Mass Murder and Genocide. In R. Gellateley, & B. Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (pp. 3-26). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Geras, N. (1990). Our Morals. In N. Geras, *Discourses of Extremities.* London: Verso.

Gerhard, L. M. (2005). Total War: Global Dimension of Total Conflict. In R. Chikering, S. Förster, & B. Greiner, *A World at Total War* (pp. 19-31). Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

Girard, R. (1987). *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World, translated. Stephen Bann and Michael Metteer .* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Given, L. M. (2008). The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Glasberg, D. S., & Deric Shannon . (2011). *Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance, and the State.* Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc & Pine Forge Press.

Glaser, B. G. (2002). Conceptualization: On Theory and Theorizing Using Grounded Theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 1 (2). Article 3.* Retrieved May 20, 2017, from https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/1_2Final/pdf/glaser.pdf

Godwin, A. C. (2017). *Yoruba Groups Reject Restructuring of Nigeria, To Declare Oodua Republic*. Retrieved july 18, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria : http://dailypost.ng/2017/07/28/yoruba-groups-reject-restructuring-nigeria-declare-oodua-republic/

Godwin, A. C. (2018). *Benue Attacks: Ortom Reveals How Many People Killed Since Mass Burial*. Retrieved Februari 19, 2018, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2018/02/16/benue-attacks-ortom-reveals-many-people-killed-since-mass-burial/

Goodman, P. (1962). *Drawing the Line.* New York: Random House.

Gooson, i., Biesta, G. J., & Adair, N. (2010). *Narratrive Learning.* London: Routeledge.

Gramsci, A. (1957, Reprinted in 2007). *The Modern Prince and Other Writings.* New York: International Publishers.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. transl. & edited by Q. Hoare and G. Smith .* New York: International Publishers.

Gregg, R. B. (1966). *The Power of Nonviolence.* New York: Schocken.

Group), I. (. (2017). *Herders against Farmers: Nigeria's Expanding Deadly Conflict.* International Crisis Group. Retrieved November 9, 2017, from https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/252-herders-against-farmers-nigerias-expanding-deadly-conflict#-undefined-1

Guest, G., Emily E. Namey, & Marilyn L. Mitchell. (2013). *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research.* Thousand Oaks: CA: SAGE Publication, Inc.

Gurr, R., & Harff, B. (1988). Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides. *International Studies Quarterly 37, 3*.

Gurr, T. R. (1993). *Minorities at Risk. A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflict, With Contributions by Barbara Harff; Monty G. Marshall, and James R. Scarritt.* Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Gurr, T. R. (2015). *Political Rebellion: Causes, Outcomes and Alternatives.* Routledge.

Gurr, T. R., & Harff, B. (1994). *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics.* Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.

Hagan, J., & Kaiser, J. (2011). The Displaced and Dispossessed of Darfur: Explaining the Sources of a Continuing State-Led Genocide. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 1-25.

Haken, N., M., J. J., Hendry, K., Taf, P., Lawrence, K., Anderson, T., . . . A., W. (2012). The Fund for Peace Conflict Early Warning and Assessment:The Failed States Index 2012, http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/library/cfsir1210-failedstatesindex2012-06p.pdf. *The Fund for Peace*.

Hall, S. (1999). *Representation and the Media.* Northampton: Media Education Foundation.

Hamshire, S. (1999). *Justice is Conflict.* Priceton: Priceton University Press.

Harff, B. (2003). No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955, . *American Political Science Review Vol. 97, No. 1*, 57-73.

Harff, B., & Gurr, T. R. (1988). Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides,. *International Studies Quarterly, 37:3*, 359-371.

Harnischfeger, J. (2011). Igbo Nationalism and Biafra. *Afrikanistik online 2011, http://www.afrikanistik-online.de/archiv/2011/3042/. Retrieved 04/19*.

Hassan, I. (2017). *Boko Haram – the Fear, the Conspiracy Theories, and the Deepening Crisis.* IRIN. Retrieved November 8, 2017, from http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2017/08/30/boko-haram-fear-conspiracy-theories-and-deepening-crisis

Hastings, T. (2016). Turtle Island 2016 Civil Resistance Snapshot. *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict, 11*, 58-68.

Hauss, C. (2010). *International Relations for the 21st Century.* New York: Continum.

Hazen, J. M., & Jonas Horner. (2007). *Small Arms, Armed Violence, and Insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in Perspective.* Geneva, Switwerland : Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies, .

Heerten, L., & Moses, M. (2014). The Nigeria–Biafra War: Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide J. *Journal of Genocide Research 16, 2-3*, 169-203.

Helvey, R. L. (2004). *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About The Fundamentals.* Boston: Albert Einstein Foundation.

Herr, K. G., & Anderson, G. L. (2005). *The Action Research Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Hine., V. H., & Gerlach, L. P. (1970). *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation.* Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

Hjørland, B. (2015). Theories are KnowledgeOrganizing Systems (KOS). *Knowledge Organisation, 42(2)*, 113-128.

Hobsbawm, E. (1995). *Age of Extremes : The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991 .* London: Abacus.

Hoey, B. A. (2014). A Simple Introduction to the Practice of Ethnography and Guide to Ethnographic Fieldnotes. *Marshall University Digital Scholar* . Retrieved November 12, 2018, from (2014) http://works.bepress.com/brian_hoey/12/

Honderich, T. (2003). *Terrorism for Humanity: Inquiries in Political Philosophy.* London: Pluto.

Hopper, R. D. (1950). The Revolutionary Process: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Revolutionary Movements. *Social Forces 28 (3), 270-280.* Retrieved Retrieved May 12, 2008 from EBSCO Online Database SocINDEX http://search. ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=tru

Hopper, R. D. (1950). The Revolutionary Process: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Revolutionary Movements. *Social Forces 28 (3), 270-280. Retrieved May 12008 from EBSCO Online Database SocINDEX http://search. ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=tru*.

Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.* Berkeley: , CA: California University Press.

Horowitz, I. L. (2017). *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power.* New York : Routledge.

HRW (Human Rights Watch). (2003). "Miss World Riots": Continued Impunity for Killings in Kaduna. *Human Rights Watch. 22 July 2003*. Retrieved April 7, 2014, from https://www.hrw.org/report/2003/07/22/miss-world-riots/continued-impunity-killings-kaduna

HRW (Human Rights Watch). (2012). Spiraling Violence:Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria. Retrieved April 14, 2014, from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover_0.pdf

HRW (Human Rights Watch). (2013). "Leave Everything to God": Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States, Nigeria. Retrieved June 01, 2015, from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1213_ForUpload.pdf

Huntington, S. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations. *Foreign Affairs*, 22–49.

Ibaba, S. (2008). 'Alienation and Militancy in the Niger Delta: Hostage Taking and the Dilemma of the Nigerian State'. *African Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 8, No. 2,* , 11-34.

Ibeanu, C. (2006). Antinomies of Wealth: Oil Revenue Allocation, Distribution and Utiisation In The Niger Delta. *Report for Oxford GB, Abuja*.

Ibeanu, O. (1999). Exiles in Their Own Home: Conflicts and Internal Population Displacement in Nigeria. *Journal of Refugee Studies, Vol. 12. No. 2*, 161-179.

Ibekwe, N. (2018). *Soyinka Berates Buhari Over Government's Failure to Rein in Fulani Herdsmen*. Retrieved Fenbruary 10, 2018, from Premiun Times Newspapers: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/255149-soyinka-berates-buhari-governments-failure-rein-fulani-herdsmen.html

Idowu, O. W. (1999). "Citizenship, Alienation and Conflict in Nigeria" . *Africa Development, CODESRIA) Vol. xxiv, Nos. 1 and 2.*

IESS (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences). (2008, July). *Dependency Theory*. Retrieved 04. 19, 2013, from Encyclopedia.com.

Ihenacho, D. A. (2004, September 20). *The Ojukwu Enigma in Nigeria*. Retrieved January 19, 2011, from NigeriaWorld.com: http://nigeriaworld.com/columnist/ihenacho/092004.html

Ikunga, S. A., & Goddy Wilson. (2013). The Politcs of Revenue Allocation and Socio-economic Development of Emohua Local Government Area of Rivers State, Nigeria. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol 3. No. 3*, 90-94.

Iledare, W., & Rotimi Suberu. (2010, March 3-4). Oil and Gas Resources in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. *Conference on Oil and Gas in Federal Systems World Bank Headquarters, Black Auditorium*. Retrieved November 12, 2016, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTOGMC/Resources/336929-1266445624608/Framework_Paper_Nigeria2.pdf

Imhonopi, D., Urim, U. M, & Iruonagbe, T. C. (2013). Colonialism, Social Structure and Class Formation: Implication for Development in Nigeria. In D. Imhonopi, & Urim, U. M, *A panoply of Readings in Social Sciences: Lessons for and from Nigeria* (pp. 107-122). Lagos: Department of Sociology, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State.

Imhonopi, O., & Urim, U.M. (2013). Colonialism, Social Structure and Class Formation: Implication For and From Nigeria. In O. Imhonopi, Urim, U.M. , & Iruonagbe, T.C., *Panoply of Readings in Social Sciences: Lessons for and from Nigeria.* Lagos: Department of Sociology, Covenant University.

Institute for Economics & Peace. (2018). *Global Terrorism Report 2018: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism.* Sydney. Retrieved November 30, 2018, from http://visionofhumanity.org/reports

International Christian Concern. (2013). *Nigeria: The Deadliest Place To Be a Christian.* Retrieved April 30, 2013, from http://au.christiantoday.com/article/the-deadliest-place-to-be-a-christian/15339.htm

Interntional), R. (. (2012). *BIAFRA DRAGS NIGERIA TO COURT!* . Retrieved 02 12, 2013, from http://www.radiobiafralondononline.com/biafra-drags-nigeria-to-court/

Inyang, I. (2017). *2,000 Igbo Youths Have Been Killed by Nigerian Army – CD.* Retrieved February 12, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/01/05/2000-igbo-youths-killed-nigerian-army-cd/

Iroanusi, Q. E. (2018). *Buhari Can End Killings By Herdsmen if He Wants To – SERAP*. Retrieved January 19, 2018, from Premium Times Newspapers: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/255877-buhari-can-end-killings-herdsmen-wants-serap.html

Iroegbu, S. (2015, November 18). *Nigeria: Biafra - Court Orders DSS to Produce Nnamdi Kanu Nov.23*. Retrieved from AllAfrica.com: http://allafrica.com/stories/201511190983.html

Irwin, B., & Faison, G. (2002). *Why Nonviolence?: Introduction to Theory and Strategy.* Prepared for posting on the Web by Randy Schutt, September 2002. Retrieved May 23, 2013, from http://www.vernalproject.org/papers/understanding/WhyNonviolence

Isichei, E. A. (1976). *History of the Igbo People.* London: Macmillan Press.

Jacobs, D. (1987). *The Brutality of Nations.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Jalata, A. (2016). *Phases of Terrorism in the Age of Globalization: From Christopher Columbus to Osama Bin Laden.* New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Jannah, C. (2017, April 4). *Musicians, Actors Visit Nnamdi Kanu in Kuje Prison*. Retrieved from Daily Post: http://dailypost.ng/2017/04/04/musicians-actors-visit-nnamdi-kanu-kuje-prison/

Jasinski, M. P. (2017). *Examining Genocides: Means, Motive, and Opportunity.* London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Jeong, H. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction.* Burmington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Jeong, H. (2005). *(2006) Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategies and Process.* Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

Jeong, H. (2006). *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategies and Process.* Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

Jinadu, A. L. (2007). Democracy, Oil and Politics In the Niger Delta Linking Citizens' perceptions And policy Reform. *Centre for Advanced Social Science, Port Harcourt, Nigeria* .

Johassen, K., & Karin Solveig Bjornson. (1998). *Genocide and Gross Human Rights Violations: In Comparative Perspective.* New Brunswick (USA) and London UK: Transaction Publishers.

Johnston, H. A. (1967). *Fulani Empire of Sokoto.* London: Oxford University Press.

Jones, A. (2006). Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Publishers.

Jones, A. (2017). *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction (Third Edition).* Routledge/Taylor & Francis Publishers.

Joseph, S. K., Moolakkattu, J., & Mahodaya, B. (2009). Introduction. In S. K. Joseph, J. Moolakkattu, & B. Mahodaya, *Nonviolent Struggles of the Twentieth Century: Retrospect and Prospect* (pp. vii-xxii). Maharashtra and New Delhi: Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal / Gandhi Book Centre and Gandhi Research Foundation.

Kaldor, M. (1999). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era.* Cambridge: Polity.

Kaldor, M. (2001). *New and Old Wars.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kaldor, M. (2003). Beyond Militarism, Arms Races and Arms Control. *War and Peace in the 20th Century and Beyond*, 145-175.

Kaldor, M., & Vashee, B. (1997). New Wars. In M. Kaldor, & B. Vashee, *New Wars.* London: Pinter.

Kamal, A. (2016, Vol.95 (1)). How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa.(Book Review: How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa By Christian Davenport Cambridge University Press. 2015.). *Social Forces*, p.e6(1).

Kanbur, R., Rajaram, P. K., & Arshney, A. (2011). Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Strife. An Interdisciplinary Perspective. *World Development Vol. 39, No. 2*, 147–158.

Kanuna News Online. (2016). *EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: Why I am Paying Herdsmen To End Killings in Southern Kaduna – Gov. El-Rufai.* Kaduna News Online. Retrieved May 12, 2017, from https://kadunanewsonline.com/exclusive-interview-why-i-am-paying-herdsmen-to-end-killings-in-southern-kaduna-gov-el-rufai/

Kasuka, B. (2013). *Prominent African Leaders Since Independence.* Dar es Salem, Tanzania: New Africa Press.

Katz, D. (2009). On Three Definitions: Genocide, Holocaust Denial, Holocaust Obfuscation. In L. Donskis, *A Litmus Test Case of Modernity. Examining Modern Sensibilities and the Public Domain in the Baltic States at the Turn of the Century. Interdisciplinary Studies on Central and Eastern Europe. 5.* (pp. 259–277). Bern: Peter Lang.

Katz, S. T. (1994). *The Holocaust in Historical Context: Volume 1: The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age* . Oxford University Press; 1st US -1st Printing edition .

Kazah-Toure, T. (2004). A Discourse on the Citizenship Question in Nigeria. *Democracy and Development, Journal of West African Affairs, 4(1)* , 45-63.

Keil, C. (1970). The Price of Nigeria Victory. *Africa Today. Vol. 17, No. 1*, 1-3. Retrieved February 23, 2014, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185054?&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Keller, E. J. (2007). Secessionism in Africa. *The Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13 (1)*, 1-26.

Kellett, P. M. (2011). Narrative in the Teaching and Practice of Conflict Analysis, Transformation, and Peacebuilding. In T. M. Maytok, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne, *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies, and Pedagogy* (pp. 310-328). Lanham, MD: Lexicon Books.

Kennedy, J. F. (1962). Address on the First Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress During the White House Reception for Diplomatic Corps of the Latin American Republics, March 13, 1962. . *Public Papers of the Presidents – John F. Kennedy* , 223.

Kennedy, J. F. (1962). *Address on the First Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress," White House Reception for Diplomatic Cors of the Latin American Republics, .* Washington, D.C.: Public Papers of the Presidents .

Kerstetter, K. (2012). Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere in Between: The Impact of Researchers' Identities on the Community-Based Research Process. *Journal of Rural Social Sciences 27(2)*, 99–117.

Kiernan, B. (22003). Twentieth-Century Genocides: Underlying Ideological Themes from Armenia to East Timor. In R. Gellately, & B. Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (pp. 29-51). London and New York: Cambridge University Press.

King Jr., M. L. (1958). *Stride Towards Freedom.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

King Jr., M. L. (1964). Transcript of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Speech at the New School, February 1964 and Rebroadcast on WAMFon December8, 1964.

King Jr., M. L. (1964). *Why We Can't Wait.* New York: Harper Collins.

King, M. (2008). *Regime Change: The Strategies and Potential of Nonviolent Struggle.* Washington D. C.: Foreign Policy In Focus.

Kirk, D. (1994). *North Korean Death Rate Is Said to Be up Sharply Since 1994,.* Retrieved from NewYork Times Nov. 22, 2001: A5. .

Kirk-Greene, A. (1975). The Genesis of the Nigerian Civil War and the Theory of Fear. . *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Research Report No. 27. Uppsala Offset Center AB*.

Koenis, S., & Saukkonen, P. (2006). The Political Organization of Cultural Difference. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration, Vol. 1, No. 1*, 1-14.

Koos, C. (2016). Does Violence Pay? The Effect Of Ethnic Rebellion on Overcoming Political Deprivation . *Sage Journal of Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 3-24.

Korieh, C. J. (2012). History and the Politics of Memory. In C. J. Korieh, *The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (pp. 1-40). Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Korieh, C. J. (2012). The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory. In *Korieh, C. J.* Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Korieh, C. J. (2013). Biafra and the Discourse on the Igbo Genocide. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol 48, Issue 6*, 727 - 740.

Korieh, C. J., & Ifeanyi Ezeonu . (2010). *Remembering Biafra: Narrative, History, and Memory of the Nigeria-Biafra War.* Goldline & Jacobs Publishers: Glassboro, NJ and Owerri, Nigeria.

Kortright, C. (2003). *Colonization and Identity, Retrieved by The Anarchist Library on May 21, 2012.* Retrieved November 11, 2012

Krause, J. (2011). A Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. *Geneva Declaration Working Paper (June) Executive Summary*. Retrieved June 2, 2015, from http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/regional-publications/GD-ES-deadly-cycle-Jos.pdf

Kurlansky, M. (2008). *Nonviolence: The History of a Dangerous Idea.* New York: The Random House Publishing House, Inc.

Lakey, G. (1987). Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution. Philadelphia: New Society Press.

Lang, B. (2005). The Evil of Genocide. In J. K. Roth, *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide* (pp. 5-17). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Larry, I. S., & Ekundayo, A. (2017). The Nigerian State, Deprivation and Demand for Resource Control in the Niger Delta Region. *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies, Volume 2, Issue 8*, 297-312.

Leahy, P. (2015). Being a Reaction of Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) to Nigerian President Buhari's Mis-directed Criticism of The Leahy Law on Human Rights. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from https://www.leahy.senate.gov/press/reaction-of-senator-patrick-leahy-d-vt-to-nigerian-president-buharis-mis-directed-criticism-of-the-leahy-law-on-human-rights

LeBaron, M. (2003). Culture and Conflict. *Beyond Intractibility*. Retrieved July 12, 2017, from https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/culture_conflict

Ledarach, J. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies.* Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Lederach, J. P. (1996). *Preparing For Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures.* New York: Syracuse University Press (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution) Paperback.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (2009). Social Construction of Reality . In &. K. S. Littlejohn, *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory* (pp. 892-895). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Legum, C. (1966). *London Observer, October 16.* London.

Lemkin, R., Schabas, W., & Power, S. (2014). *Lemkin, Raphael, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress.* Clark, NJ: Lawbook Exchange.

Lenshie, N. E., & Ayokhai, F.E.F. . (2013). Rethinking Pre-Colonial State Formation and Ethno-Religious Identity Transformation in Hausaland Under the Sokoto Caliphate. *Global Journal of HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE Political Science Volume 13 Issue 4 Version 1.0* , 1-11.

Lev, D. S. (2005). Conceptual Filters and Obfuscation in the Study of Indonesian Politics. *Asian Studies Review Vol. 29 , Iss. 4*, 345-356.

Levene, M. (2005). *Genocide in the Age of the Nation-State.* London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Levey, Z. (2014). Israel, Nigeria and the Biafra Civil War, 1967–70. *Journal of Genocide Research 2–3*, 263-280.

Levine, M. (2013). *The Crisis of Genocide, Vol 1.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liddel, H. G., R., S., & McKenzie , R. (2012). *Complete Liddell & Scott's Greek English Lexicon with Inflections, Kindle Edition.* Lighthouse Digital Publishing; Ninth edition.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Cannella, G. S. (2004). Qualitative Research, Power, and the Radical Right. *Qualitative Inquiry April 2004 10*, 175-201.

Little, D. (1995). Introduction. In D. R. Smock, *Perspectives on Pacifism: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Views on Nonviolence and International Conflict* (pp. 3-9). Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1984). *Analyzing Social Settings.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Los Angeles Times. (2009). Cracking Down on 'Conflict Minerals': Action Would Aid Those Suffering from Fighting in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Editorial, December, 17, A15*. Retrieved December 18, 2009, from http://articles.latimes.com/2009/dec/15/opinion/la-ed-congo15-2009dec15

Lower Niger Congress USA. (2016). *Referendum: The Only Vote that Counts for Nigeria's Future*. Retrieved from lnc-usa.org: http://www.lnc-usa.org/blog/referendum-means-preference-for-the-ballot-not-the-bullet-lnc-usa/

Luckham, R. (1975). *The Nigerian Military a Sociological Analysis of Authority & Revolt 1960-1967.* Cambridge: Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

MacGinty, R. (2008). *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords .* New York : Palmgrave MacMillian.

MacGinty, R. (2015). Handbook on Peacebuilding. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

MacGinty, R., & William, A. (2009). *Conflict and Development.* New York: Routledge.

Machiavelli, N. (1985). *The Prince, University of Chicago Press. Translated by Harvey Mansfield.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Translated by Harvey Mansfield.

Madiebo, A. A. (2000). *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company; Reissue edition (Sep 5 2000).

Madu, J. C. (2011). Biafra Liberation In Exile, Bilie Inaugural Speech. *Being the Inaugural Address Delivered on Behalf of the BHRI Inagural Committee on November 29th, 2011, in Owerri, Imo State, Nigeria* . Retrieved June 26, 2014

Magil, K. (2008). Justifications for Violence. In L. Kurtz, *Vol. [2] of Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict,3 vols.* (pp. 1085-1097). Oxford: Elsevier.

Mamah, E. (2017). *Ohanaeze Ndigbo Excited Over Atiku's Support for Restructuring*. Retrieved August 02, 2017, from Vanguard (Nigeria): https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/07/ohanaeze-ndigbo-excited-atikus-support-restructuring/

Mamah, E., Clifford Ndujihe, Chidi Nkwopara, & Chinenyeh Ozo. (2016). *Bloodbath in Enugu as Fulani Herdsmen Kill 40*. Retrieved April 26, 2016, from Vanguard, Nigeria: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/04/bloodbath-enugu-fulani-herdsmen-kill-40/

Marc Matera, Misty L. Bastian, & Susan Kingsley Kent. (2012). *The Women's War of 1929: Gender and Violence in Colonial Nigeria.* London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marcus, D. (2003). Famine Crimes in International Law. *The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 97, No. 2*, pp. 245-281.

Mark, M. (2012). *Nigerian President Admits That Islamists Have Secret Backers in Government*. Retrieved May 11, 2015, from The Guardian, UK: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/09/nigeria-islamists-government-backers-admits-president

Mark, M. (2014). Surprise as Nigerian censors halt premiere of civil war film. London: The Guardian, April 25. Retrieved June 18, 2015, from http://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/apr/25/nigerian-censors-halt-civil-war-film

Marshall, M. G., Gurr, T. R., & B., H. (2010). *PITF - STATE FAILURE PROBLEM SET: Internal Wars and Failures of Governance, 1955-2009,*. Retrieved May 12, 2011, from Political Instability (formerly, State Failure) Task Force (PITF): http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/pitfcode.html

Martin, B. (2005). Researching Nonviolent Action: Past Themes and Future Possibilities. *Peace & Change, Vol. 30, No. 2, April,*, 247-270.

Martin, B., & Varney, V. (2003). Nonviolence and Communication. *Journal of Peace Research, vol. 40, no. 2,*, 213–232.

Marx, K. (1977). *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, With Some Notes by R. Rojas.* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Mayah, E. (2016a, June 8). *Nigeria: Special Report - Inside the Massive Extrajudicial Killings in Nigeria's South-East*. Retrieved from AllAfrica.com: http://allafrica.com/stories/201606090026.html

Mayah, E. (2016b, June 15). *Nigeria – SSS whistleblower Says Killing of Pro-Biafra Activists Cordinated*. Retrieved from Premium Times: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigationspecial-reports/205176-special-report-onitsha-massacre-pro-biafra-supporters-coordinated-sss-operative.html

Mayton II, D. M., Susnjic, S., Palmer, B. J., Peters, D. J., Gierth, R., & Caswell, ... (2002). The Measurement of Nonviolence: A Review. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace PsychologY, 8(4),* , 343–354.

Mayton, D. M. (1996). Nonviolence and values: Empirical Support for Theoretical Relationships. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology 2*, 245–253.

McCoy, D. (2006). Rectifying Horizontal Inequalities: Lessons from Africa. *International Peace Academy Occasional Papers Series* , 105-134.

McCoy, T. (2014). *Paying for Terrorism: Where Does Boko Haram Gets Its Money From?* Retrieved December 2, 2014, from Independent, UK: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/paying-for-terrorism-where-does-boko-haram-gets-its-money-from-9503948.html

McCullum, H. (2012). *Biafra was the Beginning*. Retrieved October 23, 2012, from http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=5549.

McGivern, M. A. (2016). Do Not Lose Sight of the Nuclear War Threat: Tools of Resistance. *Global Sisters Report*. Retrieved May 17, 2018, from http://globalsistersreport.org/column/justice-matters/do-not-lose-sight-nuclear-war-threat-tools-resistance-39296

McKenna, J. C. (1969). Elements of a Nigerian Peace. *Foreign Affairs Vol. 47, No. 4, July*, 668-680. Retrieved May 30, 2017, from https://search-proquest-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/docview/1290348637/fulltextPDF/D3F3D4FBF2BB4B56PQ/1?accountid=14569

McNamee, T. (2012). The First Crack in Africa's Map?: Secession and Self-Determination after South Sudan. *Discussion Paper 2012/01, The Brenthurst Foundation*, http://issat.dcaf.ch/fre/content/download/6238/54041/file/Brenthurst+paper+2012-01.pdf.

McNeil, B. (2014). 'And Starvation is the Grim Riper': The American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive and the Genocide Question During the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. *Journal of Genocide Research Vol. 16, Nos. 2-3 (Routledge)*, 317-336.

Menkhaus, K. (2003). State Collapse in Somalia: Second Thoughts. *Review of African Political Economy. No. 97*, 405-422.

Meredith, M. (1984). *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Post-war Era.* New York: Harper & Row.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

MESSNER, J. J.; NATE HAKEN ; HANNAH BLYTH; CHRISTINA MURPHY; AMANDA QUINN; GEORGE LEHNER; DANIEL GANZ;. (2017). *Fragile States Index 2017 – Annual Report*. Retrieved July 1, 2017, from The Fund For Peace: http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/14/fragile-states-index-2017-annual-report/

Metz, H. C. (1991). In H. C. Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study.* Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress.

Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2011). *Divide and Rule or the Rule of the Divided? Evidence from Africa.* Retrieved from Working Paper 17184: http://www.nber.org/papers/w17184

Mike, U. (2018). *Corruption in Nigeria: Review, Causes, Effects and Solutions*. Retrieved May 16, 2018, from Soapboxie.com: https://soapboxie.com/world-politics/Corruption-in-Nigeria

Miller, F. D. (1999). The End of SDS and the Emergence of Weatherman: Demise through Success. In J. Freeman, & V. Johnson, *Waves of protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties* (pp. 303-324). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Mobilising against Nuclear War: the Insufficiency of Knowledge and Logic. (1980). *Social Alternatives, Vol. 1, Nos. 6-7*, 6-11.

Modood, T. (2005). *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity, and Muslims in Britain.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Moolakkattu, J. (2009). Nonviolent Action: Some Dilemmas. In S. K. Joseph, Moolakkattu, J., & Mahoda, B., *Nonviolent Struggles of the Twentieth Century: Retrospect and Prospect* (pp. 34-52). Maharashtra and New Delhi: Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal / Gandhi Book Centre and Gandhi Research Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/dilemmas.htm.

Morel, E. D. (2013). *Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems.* London: Forgotten Books. (Original Work published by Smith, Elder & Co., (1911). Retrieved June 02, 2015, from http://www.forgottenbooks.com/readbook_text/Nigeria_Its_Peoples_and_1000536358/291

Morris, M. (1996). By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture. *Duke Law Journal*, 651-781 .

Moses, G. (1998). *Revolution of Conscience: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Philosophy of Nonviolence .* New York and London: The Guilford Press.

Muhammad, M., Nina Wallerstein, Andrew L. Sussman, Magdalena Avi, & Bonnie Duran. (2014). Reflections on Researcher Identity and Power: The Impact of Positionality on Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) Processes and Outcomes. *SAGE Journal of Critical Sociology*, 1-20.

Nagle, J. D., Pearson, F. S., & Suprun, M. (2000). Overcoming Wisnonianism: America Conflict Resolution and Ethnic Nationalism in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. In S. Byrne, S, & C. L. Irvin , *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (pp. 21 - 40). West Hartford: Kumarian .

Naijaant.com. (2016, March 3). *British MP Angela Rayner Joins pro-Biafran Rally in London*. Retrieved from Naijaant.com: https://www.naijiant.com/articles/british-mp-angela-rayner-joins-pro-biafran-rally-in-london/

Nair, K. (1972). *Politics and Society in South Eastern Nigeria. 1841-1906.* London: Frank Cass.

Nairaland. (2017, June 12). *Re: Buratai, 13 Others Taken To U.S. District Court Over Biafra Protests*. Retrieved from Nairaland.com.com: http://www.nairaland.com/3856181/buratai-13-others-taken-u.s/3

National Intelligence Council. (2012). *GLOBAL TRENDS 2030: ALTERNATIVE WORLDS.* National Intelligence Council (United States of America). Retrieved August 1, 2017, from https://fas.org/irp/nic/global_trends_2030.pdf

Ndibe, O. (2016, March 16). *President Buhari's Interesting Interview With Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from Sahara Reporters : http://saharareporters.com/2016/03/15/president-buhari%E2%80%99s-interesting-interview-al-jazeera-okey-ndibe

Ndujihe, C. (2018). *Ipob Honours Those Killed During Pro-Trump'S Inauguration Rally in P/Harcourt*. Retrieved January 21, 2018, from Vanguardngr.com: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/ipob-honours-killed-pro-trumps-inauguration-rally-pharcourt/

Nettler, G. (1978). *Explaining Crime.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

News Express, Nigeria. (2016, February 19). *BREAKING NEWS: Mass Grave of Massacred Pro-Biafra Agitators Discovered Near Aba •Amnesty International Steps In* . Retrieved from News Express: http://www.newsexpressngr.com/news/detail.php?news=20426&title=BREAKING-NEWS:-Mass-grave-of-massacred-pro-Biafra-agitators-discovered-near-Aba-•Amnesty-International-steps-in

Niebuhr, R. (1960). *Moral Man and Immoral Soceity: A Study in Ethics and Politics.* New York: Scribner's.

Nieburg, H. l. (1971). The Threat of Violence and Social Change. In B. Bondurant, *Conflict: Violent and Nonviolence* (pp. 73-88). Chicago: Aldine and Altherton.

Nigeria. (1948). *Legislative Council Debate* . Lagos.

Nigeria. (1953). *House of Representatives Debates, Second Session, March 3 - April 1, 1953.* Lagos.

Nigeria. (1990). Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990: Bight of Bonny Act, 17th January 1975, No. 4. Lagos: Ministery of Information .

Nigeria: Politics and the End of Oil. (2010). *Review of African Political Economy, Volume 37, Issue 123* , 89-91.

Nigerian Outlook. (1967). Enugu - Nigeria: Nigerian Outlook, March 21 cf. Luckham (1975:319).

Njoku, H. M. (1987). *Tragedy Without Heroes: The Nigeria—Biafra War.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd.,.

Njoku, R. C. (2002). *Secession, History and the Social Sciences.* VUB: Brussels University Press.

Njoku, R. C. (2005). Adiele Afigbo:Imperial History and the Challenges of Igbo Historical Studies. In T. Falola, *Nigerian History, Politics and Affairs: the Collected Essays of Adiele Afigbo* (pp. 43–57). Trenton, NJ,: Africa World Press.

Nkwocha, O. (2010). *The Republic of Biafra: Once Upon A Time In Nigeria: My Story Of The Biafra-Nigeria Civil War - A Struggle for Survival.* Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.

Nkwopara, C. (2013). *Biafra: Group Sues FG Over Abandoned Property, Others. http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/01/biafra-group-sues-fg-over-abandoned-property-others/*. Retrieved 01/ 10, 2013

Nmoh, A. O. (2017). *Fulani Herdsmen, Boko Haram and the Nigerian Government.* Retrieved July 18, 2017, from http://www.thebreakingpostng.com/opinion/fulani-herdsmen-boko-haram-the-nigerian-government-by-angela-onuko-nmoh/

Nnebe, M. (2013). What is the Population of Igbos? *NigeriaWorld.com*. doi:https://nigeriaworld.com/feature/publication/nnebe/101013.html

Nnochiri, I. (2015, December 17). *Biafra: Court Orders Kanu's Release from Detention*. Retrieved from Vanguard, Nigeria : http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/12/%e2%80%8ebiafra-court-orders-kanus-release-from-detention/

Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria .* Enugu : Fourth Dimension.

Nnoli, O. (1989). *Ethnic Politics in Africa .* Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA.

Nnoli, O. (1995). Introduction: A Theoretical Perspective. In O. Nnoli, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria* (pp. 1-44). London: Avebury Publishers.

Northrup, D. (1978). *Trade Without Rulers: Precolonial Economic Development in South-Eastern.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nwabughiogu, L. (2013). *They've Made Nigeria Ungovernable For Jonathan – Ezeife*. Retrieved May 20, 2013, from http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/05/theyve-made-nigeria-ungovernable-for-jonathan-ezeife/

Nwabughiogu, L. (2014). *Boko Haram Killing of Christians: 'Enough is Enough!' (Special Report)*. Retrieved May 09, 2016, from Vanguard (Nigeria) : https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/07/boko-haram-killing-christians-enough-enough/

Nwachukwu, J. O. (2017). *Why North is afraid of restructuring – Gov. Aminu Masari*. Retrieved August 1, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/08/01/north-afraid-restructuring-gov-aminu-masari/

Nwadike, J. A. (2010). *A Biafran Soldier's Survival from the Jaws of Death: Nigeria-Biafran Civil War.* Bloomington IN : Xlibris Cooperation.

Nwakanma, O. (2012). Denying the Genocide. *The Vanguard Newspapers, Nigeria, http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/10/denying-the-genocide/*, p. Retrieved 10/22/2012.

Nwakanma, O. (2016, July 17). *Biafraexit?* Retrieved from Vanguard, Nigeria : http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/07/biafrexit/

Nwofe, E. S. (2017). Pro-Biafran Activists and the Call for a Referendum: A Sentiment Analysis of 'Biafraexit' on Twitter after UK's Vote to Leave the European Union. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1*, 65-81.

Nzogola-Ntalaja, G. (2001). The National Question in Comparative African Perspective. In E. E. Osaghae, & E. Onwudiwe, *The Management of the National Question in Nigeria.* (Ibadan: PEFS.

O'Brien, C. (2005). Integrated Community Development/Conflict Resolution Strategies as 'Peacebuilding Potential' in South Africa and Northern Ireland. *Oxford University Press and Community Development Journal, Volume42, Issue1,* , 114-130.

Obamiyi, A. (2017, April 4). *BUHARI's 'Northernization' Agenda, Others, Pogrom on IGBOS in NIGERIA-BIAFRA Civil War Revisited, Strongly Condemned*. Retrieved from http://tooample.com/2017/04/04/buharis-northernization-agenda-others-pogrom-igbos-nigeria-biafra-civil-war-revisited-strongly-condemned/: http://tooample.com/2017/04/04/buharis-northernization-agenda-others-pogrom-igbos-nigeria-biafra-civil-war-revisited-strongly-condemned/

Obar, J. A. (2014). Canadian Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of Social Media Adoption and Perceived Affordances by Advocacy Groups Looking to Advance Activism in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication Vol 39* , 211-233.

Obar, J. A., Zube, P., & Lampe, C. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action. *Journal of Information Policy*, 1-25. Retrieved from

Obetta, E. (2015, November 14). *In The Matter of State Security Service (SSS) and Mazi Nnamdi Kanu: Proress Report*. Retrieved from Rethinking Africa: http://re-thinkingafrica.blogspot.ca/2015/11/the-full-text-of-recently-statement.html

Obi, C. (2001). The Changing Forms of Identity Politics in Nigeria Under Economic Adjustment: the Case of the Oil Minorities Movement of the Niger Delta . *(Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet)*.

Obi, C. a. (2011). *Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta : Managing the Complex Politics of Petro-violence.* London : Zed Books.

Obi, P. (2016, September 30). *Release Nnamdi Kanu Now, Soludo Tells FG.* Retrieved from Thisday Online: https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/09/30/release-nnamdi-kanu-now-soludo-tells-fg/

Obi, P., Jeff Amechi , Geoffrey Anyanwu, & George Onyejiuwa. (2016, November 26). *Biafra: We Lost 2000 Members, Not 150 – MASSOB, IPOB*. Retrieved from Sunnewsonline: http://sunnewsonline.com/biafra-we-lost-2000-members-not-150-massob-ipob/

Obiano, W. (2015). *"Ozoemezina! Memory and the Quest for Igbo Renaissance" An Address by the Governor of Anambra State, Willie Obiano on the Occasion Of The Symbolic Memorial Ceremony For Ndigbo That Paid The Supreme Sacrifice For National Unity, (January 12, 2015).*

Obineche, C. (2012). *Nigeria in Crisis: The Paper That Overthrew Gowon–Asiodu.* Lagos- Nigeria: The Sun, March 9. Retrieved June 15, 2014, from http://sunnewsonline.com/new/nigeria-crisis-paper-overthrew-gowon-asiodu/

Ochonu, M. E. (2018). *Buhari's Confusing and Dangerous Rhetoric on Herdsmen, By Moses E. Ochonu*. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from premiumtimesng.com: https://opinion.premiumtimesng.com/2018/05/03/buharis-confusing-and-dangerous-rhetoric-on-herdsmen-by-moses-e-ochonu/

Odu, P. (2009). *The Future That Vanished: A Biafra Story.* Bloomington IN : Xlibris Corporation .

Odunsi, W. (2015). *Boko Haram Killings Increased After Buhari'S Threat to Make Nigeria Ungovernable – Fasehun*. Retrieved January 5, 2015, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2015/01/03/boko-haram-killings-increased-buharis-threat-make-nigeria-ungovernable-fasehun/

Odunsi, W. (2016). *Nigeria Has Over 350 Million Illegal Weapons – UN*. Retrieved March 12, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria : http://dailypost.ng/2016/08/02/nigeria-350million-illegal-weapons-un/

Odunsi, W. (2017a, May 25). *Biafra at 50: Nigerian Government Must Apologise to Igbos Now – Fani-Kayode*. Retrieved from Dailt Post: http://dailypost.ng/2017/05/25/biafra-50-nigerian-government-must-apologise-igbos-now-fani-kayode/

Odunsi, W. (2017b). *Biafra: IPOB, MASSOB Sit-at-Home Order Lawful, Police Warning Illegal – Adegboruwa*. Retrieved May 27, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/05/27/biafra-ipob-massob-sit-home-order-lawful-police-warning-illegal-adegboruwa/

Odunsi, W. (2018a). *Herdsmen killings: Ortom Indicts Presidency, Defence Minister, IGP*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2018/02/15/herdsmen-killings-ortom-indicts-presidency-defence-minster-igp/

Oduntan, O. B. (2010). *Elite Identity and Power: A Study of Social Change and Leadership Among the Egba of Western Nigeria 1860-1950.* Ph. D. Thesis: Department of History, Dalhousie University. Retrieved March 23, 2015, from http://dalspace.library.dal.ca:8080/bitstream/handle/10222/13121/Oduntan,%20Oluwatoyin,%20Phd,%20History,%20Oct.%202010.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Offodile, C. (2012). *For Ekwueme, a Timely Birthday Gift from Atiku, By Chudi Offodile.* Lagos. Retrieved October 17, 2012, from http://www.premiumtimesng.com/opinion/103888-for-ekwueme-a-timely-birthday-gift-from-atiku-by-chudi-offodile.html

Offodile, C. (2016). *The Politics of Biafra and the Future of Nigeria .* Ibadan: Safari Books .

Ogboro, F. A. (2014). Population Census in Nigeria . Binin: The Nigerian Observer Newspaper.

Ogunbado, A. F. (2012). Impacts of Colonialism on Religions: An Experience of South-Western Nigeria. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (JHSS), Volume 5, Issue 6*, 51-57.

Ogundele, K. (2013). *Ezu River Corpses May Be Victims of Extra-judicial Killings – NBA*. Retrieved March 12, 2013, from http://thenationonlineng.net/new/news-update/ezu-river-corpses-may-be-victims-of-extra-judicial-killings-nba/

Ogundipe, S. (2018). (premiumtimesng.com, Editor, & Premium Times, Nigeria) Retrieved April 13, 2018, from Buhari Blames Gaddafi for Killings Across Nigeria : https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/264764-buhari-blames-gaddafi-for-killings-across-nigeria.html

Ogunje, V. (2017, April 27). *Nigeria: Nnamdi Kanu - Fayose Defends Action, to Attend Dasuki's, El-Zakzaky's Trials*. Retrieved from Thisday Newpapers live, Nigeria : https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/04/27/nnamdi-kanu-fayose-defends-action-to-attend-dasukis-el-zakzakys-trials/

Ohaneze Ndigbo. (1999). *The Violations of Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in the Federation of Nigeria (1966– 1999): A Call for Reparations and Restitutions, October, 1999.* Enugu: Being a Petition to the Human Rights Violations Investigation Committee by the Ohaneze Ndigbo. Retrieved 02 12, 2014, from http://www.asabamemorial.org/data/ohanaeze-petition.pdf

Ojeleye, O. (2010). *The Politics of Post-War Demobilisation and Reintegration in Nigeria.* Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Oji, C. (2012, November 6). *The Biafra Zionist Movement*. Retrieved from The Nation Newspapers (Nigeria): http://thenationonlineng.net/the-biafra-zionist-movement/

Ojiaku, C. U. (2007). *Surviving the Iron Curtain: A Microscopic View of What Life Was Like, Inside a War-Torn Region.* Baltimore, MD: Publishamerica Inc .

Ojo, J. S., & Fagbohun, Francis Oluyemi. (2014). Military Governance and Civil War: Ethnic Hegemony as a Constructive Factor in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F, Vol. 14 Issue 4 Version 1.0*, 16-35.

Ojukwu, C. O. (1969). *Biafra: Selected Speeches with Journal of Events.* New York: Harper & Row.

Okakwu, E. (2016, December 16). *Biafra: Orji Kalu Meets Nnamdi Kanu, to Told Talks With Nigerian Govt*. Retrieved from Premium Times: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/218227-biafra-orji-kalu-meets-nnamdi-kanu-hold-talks-nigerian-govt.html

Okocha, E. (2006). *Blood on the Niger: The First Black on Black Genocide, The Untold Story of the Asaba Massacre in the Nigerian Civil War.* New York: TriAtlantic Books.

Okoh, G. (2018). *Again, Benue Victims of Herdsmen Killings to Get Mass Burial*. Retrieved March 8, 2018, from Thisday, Nigeria: http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/03/07/again-benue-victims-of-herdsmen-killings-to-get-mass-burial/

Okonkwo, N. (2017). *Northern conspiracy Won't Allow Igbo Presidency - Uwazuruike*. Retrieved March 7, 2017, from Vanguard, Nigeria: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/03/northern-conspiracy-wont-allow-igbo-presidency-uwazuruike/

Okonkwo, R. O. (2013). *The Real Armed Robbers of Nigeria*. Retrieved June 10, 2016, from Sahara Reporters: http://saharareporters.com/2013/12/12/real-armed-robbers-nigeria-rudolf-ogoo-okonkwo

Okonta, I. (2012). *Biafran Ghosts : The MASSOB Ethnic Militia and Nigeria's Democratisation Process.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Okonta, I. (2014). Biafra of the Mind': Massob and the Mobilization of History. *Volume 16, 2014 - Issue 2-3: Special Double Issue: The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967–1970: Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide*, 355-378.

Okonta, I., & Oronto Douglas. (2003). *Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights, and Oil in the Niger Delta.* New York: Verso.

Okpanachi, E. (2010). Ethno-religious Identity and Conflict in Northern Nigeria: Understanding the Dynamics of Sharia in Kaduna and Kebbi States . *IFRA-Nigeria e-Papers, N° 07* .

Okpara, I. (2014, March 13). *Enugu Government House Attack: Pro Biafran Group Claims Responsibility*. Retrieved from African Examiner : http://www.africanexaminer.com/enugu-government-house-attack-pro-biafran-group-claims-responsibility/

Okutu, P. (2017, March 10). *IPOB Killings: Ohanaeze tackles Buratai.* Retrieved from Vanguard, Nigeria: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/03/ipob-killings-ohanaeze-tackles-buratai/

Olaleye, O. (2017, May 1). *How Ekweremadu Rallied Igbos to Meet Kanu's Bail Terms*. Retrieved from Thisday, Nigeria: https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/05/01/how-ekweremadu-rallied-igbos-to-meet-kanus-bail-terms/

Ollerenshaw, J., & Creswell, J. W. (2002). Narrative Research: A Comparison of Two Restorying Data Analysis Approaches. *Sage Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, 329-347 .

Olokor, F. (2017). *Christians May Avenge Herdsmen Killings - CAN*. Retrieved June 12, 2017, from Punch (Nigeria): http://punchng.com/christians-may-avenge-herdsmen-attacks-can/

Olorunyomi, L. (2017). *Is Nigeria a Failing State?* Retrieved May 30, 2017, from premiumtimesng.com: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/232534-is-nigeria-a-failing-state.html

Olowolagba, F. (2018a). Jonathan's Aide, Omokri Attacks Defence Minister for Defending Herdsmen Killings. In N. Daily Post. Retrieved January 27, 2018, from http://dailypost.ng/2018/01/26/jonathans-aide-omokri-attacks-defence-minister-defending-herdsmen-killings/

Olowolagba, F. (2018b). *Herdsmen: Afenifere Seeks UN intervention, Says Presidency Behind Killer Herders*. Retrieved April 1, 2018, from Daily Trust: http://dailypost.ng/2018/04/01/herdsmen-afenifere-seeks-un-intervention-says-presidency-behind-killer-herders/

Olu-Kayode, O. (2018). *5 Useful Idiots and the Spirit of the Accursed Slave (Part 3)*. Retrieved March 31, 2018, from Linda Ikeji Blog: https://www.lindaikejisblog.com/2018/3/5-useful-idiots-and-the-spirit-of-the-accused-slave-part-3-femi-fani-kayode-2.html

Olusegun Obasanjo . (2005). *National Broadcast on 60% Debt Cancellation by President Olusegun Obasanjo, July 1, 2005.* Lagos: Daily Independent. Retrieved from Daily Independent, Nigeria.

Omaka, A. O. (2016). *The Biafran Humanitarian Crisis, 1967–1970: International Human Rights and Joint Church Aid (Law, Culture, and the Humanities Series.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press : Madison and Teaneck.

Omoigui, N. (2002). *Leaked Police Special Branch Report: "Military Rebellion of 15th January 1966".* Uhrobo Historical Soceity. Retrieved June 18, 2014, from http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/nigeria_facts/MilitaryRule/Omoigui/1966Coup-PartThree.html

Omonobi, K., & Muhammad, A. (2012). *ESCAPE OF BOKO HARAM KINGPIN: Zakari Biu risks jail – Police*. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from Vanguard (Nigeria): https://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/02/escape-of-boko-haram-kingpin-zakari-biu-risks-jail-police/

Omotosho, F. (2010). Nigerian Fiscal Federalism and Revenue Allocation Formula for Sustainable Development in Niger Delta. *The Medwell Journal: The Social Sciences, Vol. 5. 3*, 246-253. Retrieved June 23, 2014, from http://www.medwelljournals.com/fulltext/?doi=sscience.2010.246.253

Onochie, B. C., & Nzeagwu, U. (2017, January 17). *Secret Trial of Kanu, Others Begins*. Retrieved from The Guardian, Nigeria : https://guardian.ng/news/secret-trial-of-kanu-others-begins/

Onumah, C. (2016). *We Are All Biafrans: A Participant Observer?s Intervention in a Country Sleepwalking to Disaster .* Lagos, Nigeria: Parrésia Publishers Ltd.

Onuoha, G. (2011). *Challenging the State in Africa: MASSOB and the Crisis of Self-Determination in Nigeria.* Berlin-Muenster: Lit Verlag .

Onuoha, G. (2013). The Fractured Multi-Ethnic State: Contemporary Igbo Quest for Self-Determination in Nigeria. *African Identities, 11:1, 19-32*, 19-32. doi: 10.1080/14725843.2013.775838

Onwubiko, E. (2001). Igbo Losses Counted at Oputa Panel. Lagos: The Guardian. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/34a/051.html

Onwuka, A. (n.d.). *Nnamdi Kanu and the Lure of Megalomania*. Retrieved June 27, 2017, from The Punch, Nigeria : http://punchng.com/nnamdi-kanu-and-the-lure-of-megalomania/

Onyechere, U. (2017). *Biafra: Civil Disobedience, The Only Solution To The Delusion (Nigeria).* The Biafra Telegraph (August, 8). Retrieved August 12, 2017, from http://www.thebiafratelegraph.co/2017/08/biafra-civil-disobedience-only-solution.html

Onyeji, E. (2017, June 22). *No Election in Southeast Nigeria Without Biafra Referendum — Nnamdi Kanu*. Retrieved from Premium Times, Nigeria: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/234816-no-election-southeast-nigeria-without-biafra-referendum-nnamdi-kanu.html

Onyesoh, C. O. (2012). *Igbo Pogrom Memorial Remembrance (Being a Keynote Paper Delivered at the Igbo Pogrom Memorial Remembrance, September 25 by Okpala EzeNri Chukwuemeka I. Onyesoh.* Nri, Anambra State.

Onyike, A. (2015, August 30). *AppoAppointment: Buhari is Pursuing Northernization Policy Against East, West – Onyike* . Retrieved from Vanguard Newspapers : http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/08/appointment-buhari-is-pursuing-northernization-policy-against-east-west-onyike/

Opejobi, S. (2017a). *Fani-Kayode Reveals Those Sponsoring Killer-Fulani Herdsmen*. Retrieved November 11, 2017, from http://dailypost.ng/2017/11/13/fani-kayode-reveals-sponsoring-killer-fulani-herdsmen/

Opejobi, S. (2017b). *Biafra Sit-at-Home Order: Compliance Shows Formula for Restoration of Igbo Nation Is Working – Nnamdi Kanu*. Retrieved May 31, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/05/31/biafra-sit-home-order-compliance-shows-formula-restoration-igbo-nation-working-nnamdi-kanu/

Opejobi, S. (2017c). *Biafra at 50: Nigerians Can't be Forced to Live Together – Afenifere leader, Adebanjo Replies Osinbajo*. Retrieved May 25, 2017, from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/05/25/biafra-50-nigerians-cant-forced-live-together-afenifere-leader-adebanjo-replies-osinbajo/

Opejobi, S. (2018). *Herdsmen Killings: Gov. Ortom Cries Out Over Influx of Benue by 1 million Cattle*. Retrieved February 27, 2018, from Daily Trust, Nigeria:

http://dailypost.ng/2018/02/26/herdsmen-killings-gov-ortom-cries-influx-benue-1-million-cattle/

Orenlitcher, D. (. (2003). International Response to Separatist Claims: Are Democratic Principles Relevant? In S. Macedo, & A. Buchanan, *Secession and Self-Determination, NOMOS XLV* (pp. 19-49). New York: New York University Press.

Osaghae, E. E. (1998). "Managing Multiple Minority Problems in a Divided Society: The Nigerian Experience. *The Review of Modern African Studies,Vol. 36 No. 1*, 1-24.

Osaghae, E. E. (2004). 'Introduction: Globalisation, Diversity and Citizenship . *Identity, Culture and PoliticsVolume5, Numbers 1&2, December* , vi-vii.

Osaghae, E. E. (2006). Colonialism and Civil Society in Africa: The Perspective of Ekeh's Two Publics. *Voluntas: The International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organiations, (Springer - Netherlands, Published Online, September, 2006*.

Osimen, G. U., Balogun Akinyemi , & Adenegan Taiwo Samuel. (2013). Ethnicity and Identity Crisis: Challenge to National Integration in Nigeria. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS), Volume 16, Issue 4 (Sep. - Oct.*, 79-86. Retrieved April 02, 2015, from http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol16-issue4/J01647986.pdf

Osinbajo, Y. (2017). Greater Together than Apart (Being a Speech Delivered at the 'Biafra at 50' Event on May 24, 2017 by the Acting President of Federal Repubic of Nigeria. Abuja, Nigeria.

Osuji, S. (2012). There Was a Country: Blockade, Starvation and a Requiem for Biafra. Lagos, October 23: The Nation Newspapers. Retrieved October 23, 2013, from http://thenationonlineng.net/there-was-a-country-blockade-starvation-and-a-requiem-for-biafra/

Ottenberg, S. (2005). *Farmers and Townspeople in A Changing Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Owen, O. (2004). Police Swoop on Separatist Leader in Eastern Nigeria. *World Market Analysis*. Retrieved February 10, 2014

Owen, O. (2009). Biafran Pound Notes . *Africa, Vol. 79, No. 4* .

Oyediran, M. (2017, January 8). *Nigeria Army Denies Allegation of Killing 2000 Igbo Youths*. Retrieved from Daily Times, Nigeria: https://dailytimes.ng/news/nigeria-army-denies-allegation-killing-2000-igbo-youths/

Oyelaram-Oyeyinka, B. (1997). *Nnewi: An Emergent Industrial Cluster in Nigeria.* Ibadan, Nigeria: Technopl Publishers.

Paige, G. (1993). *To Nonviolent Political Science: From Seasons of Violence.* Honolulu: Center for Global Nonviolence.

Pakenham, T. (1991). *The Scramble for Africa:The Scramble for Africa.* London: Abacus.

Paris, R. (2004). *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Partington, W. (1966). *The Carnage I Saw.* London: London Daily Express, October 6. Retrieved June 19, 2015, from http://www.docstoc.com/docs/25251352/The-Genocide-Committee#

Patrick Hiller , David Prater , & Molly Wallace. (2017). Letter From The Editors. *Peace Science Digest, Vol. 2 Special Issue "Nonviolent Resistance"* , 4.

Payne, J. L. (2004). *A History of Violence.* Soundpoint: Lytton Publishing Company.

PCN (Presbyterian Church of Nigeria). (2015). *About Us: The Presbyterian Church of Nigeria, All Saints Ugep Urban Parish*. Retrieved June 19, 2016, from https://aspcnugep.com/about-us/

Pearson, S. R. (1970). *Petroleum and the Nigerian Economy.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pelton, L. H. (1974). *The Psychology of Nonviolence.* New York: Pergamon Press, Inc.

Penetrante, A. M. (2012). Negotiating Memories and Justice in the Philipines. In I. W. Zartman, Mark Antey, & Paul Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. 85-109). New York: Oxford University Press.

Phinney, J. S. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marin , *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, And Applied Research* (pp. 83-81). Washington D.C: American Psychological Association.

Pilkingston, A. (2003). *Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Britain.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Point Blank News. (2014). *REVEALED: How Adamawa Governor Nyako Funds Boko Haram, Fulani Jihadist*. Retrieved May 14, 2014, from Point Blank News, Nigeria: http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/exclusive/exposed-how-governor-nyako-funds-boko-haram-fulani-jihadist/

Point Blank News. (2017, February 28). *Release Nnamdi Kanu Now, Utomi, Soludo Tell FG* . Retrieved from Point Blank News , Nigeria : http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/exclusive/release-nnamdi-kanu-now-utomi-soludo-tell-fg/

Popovic, S., & Octavian Manea. (2012). *Struggle as Asymmetric Conflict: Interview with Srdja Popovic.* Retrieved 10. 12, 2012, from Small Wars Journal: http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/nonviolent-struggle-as-asymmetric-warfare-interview-with-srdja-popovic

Power, S. (2013). *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide.* New York: Basic Books.

Press., J. P. (2005). *John Paul Lederach. 2005. The Moral Imagination.* Oxford University Press.

Ratcliffe, M. (2006). Folk Psychology is Not Folk psychology. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences. 5 (1)*, 31–52.

Ratnavale, D. (2009). Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict. In J. Carter, G. Irani, & V. Volkan, *Conflict' in Regional and Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives from the Front Lines* (pp. 159-179). Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall,.

Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada.* Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Reuter, T. K. (2015). Ethnic Conflict. *Encyclopaedia Britanica*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict

Reychler, L. (2006). CHALLENGES OF PEACE RESEARCH. *International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 11, Number 1,*, 1-16.

Richards, P. (2011). A Systematic Approach to Cultural Explanations of War:Tracing Causal Processes in Two West African Insurgencies. *World Development Vol. 39, No. 2*, 212–220.

Roberts, F. O. (2004). Federalism, Hegemony and Petroleum in Nigeria's Political Economy. *Ibadan: Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, N.I.S.E.R. Monograph Series No. 3*.

Roberts, F. O. (2005). The political Economy of Petroleum in Nigeria . *Report Submitted to NISER, Ibadan as Part of the Policy Research on Political Economy of Nigeria*.

Roberts, F. O., & Uchenna Chester Azubuike. (2005). The State, Politics and Deindustrialization in Nigeria. *Nigerian Economic Society*, 307-336.

Rodney, W. (1973). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, London and Tanzanian Publishing House, Dar-Es-Salaam, Transcript from 6th reprint, 1983; Transcribed: by Joaquin Arriola.

Roedel, J. (2008 - 2009). Sacrificial and Nonsacrificial Mass Nonviolence. *Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture, Volume 15/16,*, 221-236.

Roggeband, C., & Klandermans, Bert . (2007). Introduction . In C. Roggeband, & B. Klandermans, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines* (pp. 1-12). New York: Springer.

Ross, M. H. (2007). Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rothman, J. (2012). The Insides of Identity and Intragroup Conflict. In Zartman, I. W. , M. Anstey, & P. Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. 154-172). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

RT International. (2017). *Shell 'Motivated' Nigerian Army In Deadly Crackdown on Local Tribes Opposing Extraction – Amnesty*. Retrieved October 12, 2017, from Rt International: https://www.rt.com/news/411293-shell-involved-nigeria-crackdown/

Ruddick, S. (2005). Maternal Nonviolence: A Truth in the Making. In R. L. Holmes, & B. L. Gan, *Nonviolence in Theory and Practice* (pp. 161-185). Long Grove: Waveland Press Inc.

Rummel, R. J. (1994). *Death By Government.* New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Ryan, P. (1995). *Storytelling in Ireland: A Re-awakening. .* Londonderry: The Verbal Arts Centre.

Sacrritt, J. R. (1994). Nonviolent Versus Violent Ethnic Political Action in Africa. In P. Wehr, H. Burges, & G. Burgess, *Justice Without Violence* (pp. 165-189). Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sagay, I. (2008). Nigeria: Federalism, the Constitution and Resource Control. In Ikein, A. A., Alamieyeseigha, D. S. P. , & Azaiki, S. S., *Oil, Democracy, and the Promise of True Federalism in Nigeria* (pp. 351-378). Lanham, MD: University Press of America Inc.

Sahara Reporters. (2014). Resurrecting Biafra: Half of a Yellow Sun. Sahara Reporters, August 4. Retrieved April 11, 2015, from http://saharareporters.com/2014/08/04/resurrecting-biafra-half-yellow-sun

Salami, Y. K. (2006). The Democratic Structure of Yoruba Political-Cultural Heritage. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol.1, No.6, December* , 67-78.

Salmi, J. (1993). *Violence and Democratic Society.* London: Zed Books.

Samuel Udochukwu, Nwankwo, & Ifejika, A. A. (1970). *Biafra: The Making of a Nation.* New York: Praeger Publishers.

Satha-Anand, C. (1998). Introduction: Exploring the Frontiers of Nonviolence. In C. Satha-Anand, & M. True, *The Frontiers of Nonviolence* (pp. 1-11). Honolulu and Bangkok : International Peace Researcg Association, Centre for Global Nonviolence, and Peace Information Centre.

Schaack, B. V. (2016). Siege Warfare and the Starvation of Civilians as a Weapon of War and War Crime. *Just Security. March 13, 2016*. Retrieved October 16, 2016, from https://www.justsecurity.org/29157/siege-warfare-starvation-civilians-war-crime/.

Schaller, D., & Zimmerer, J. (2009). *The Origins of Genocide: Raphael Lemkin as a Historian of Mass Violence.* London: Routledge.

Schellenberg, J. (1996). *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research and Practice.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Schlesinger, A. M. (1983). *Dynamics of World Power: A Documentary History of U.S Foreign Policy, 1945 - 1973, Vol 1.* New York: Chelsea House.

Schmid, M. (1993). The Concept of Culture and Its Place within a Theory of Social Action: A Critique of Talcott Parsons's Theory of Culture. In Richard Münch , & Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Culture* (pp. 88-121). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schwartz, T. (1992). Anthropology and Psycchology: An Unrequitted Relationship. In T. Schwartz, White, G., & Lutz, C., *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Senehi, J. (2009). Building Peace: Storytelling to Transform Conflicts Constructively. In D. J. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, J. Senehi, & I. Sandole-Staroste, *Handbook of Conflic tAnalysis and Resolution* (pp. 201-225). London: Routeledge.

Senehi, J. J. (2000). *Constructive Storytelling: Building Community, Building Peace.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University.

Serbyn, R. (2008, November 7). Holodomor: Reflections on the Ukrainian Genocide. *16th Annual J.B. Rudnyckj Distinguished Lecture*.

Serbyn, R. (2009). Lemkin on Genocide of Nations . *Journal of International Criminal Justice 7 (Raphael Lemkin Papers, The New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation, Raphael Lemkin ZL-273. Reel 3)*, 123-130 .

Sergie, M. A., & Johnson, T. (2015). *Boko Haram.* Council on Forein Relations. Retrieved June 18, 2017, from https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/boko-haram

Sharp, G. (1971). The Technique of Nonviolent Action . In B. V. Bondurant, *Conflict: Violece and Nonviolence* (pp. 151-171). Chicago: Aldene and Altherton, Inc.

Sharp, G. (1973). *The Politics of Nonviolent Action.* Boston: Extending Horizon Books, Porter Sargent Publishers.

Sharp, G. (2003). Gene Sharp 101,Gene Sharp's Interwiew with Metta Spencer. *Peace Magazine Jul-Sep, (http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v19n3p16.htm)*, 16.

Sharp, G. (2005). *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential.* Boston: Extending Horizon Books.

Shaw, M. (2000). The Contemporary Mode of Warfare? Mary Kaldor's Theory of New Wars: New Wars by Mary Kaldor; Basker Vashee; The End of Military Fordism by Mary Kaldor;Ulrich Albrecht; Geneviève Schméder; New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era by Mary Kaldor. *Review of International Political Economy, 7, 1*, 171-80.

Shaw, M. (2007). *What is Genocide? .* Cambridge, M.A.: Polity Press.

Shoemaker, P. J., Tankard, James William , & Lasorsa, Dominic L. . (2004). *How to Build Social Science Theories.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Simbine, A., F.O.N., R., Benjamin, S., Danjibo, N., Oladeji, A., Tijani, H.O., & Azubuike, U.C. (2008). *Security in the Niger Delta.* Ibadan, Nigeria : NISER Monograph Series No. 5, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Simkiss, D., Edmond, K., Waterston, A. J., Bose, A., Troy, S., & Bassat, Q. (2010). Mother and Child Health: Research Methods. *Journal of Tropical Paediatrics, http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/tropej/online/ce_ch14.pdf, http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/tropej/online/ce.html, Impact factor: 1.006*.

Simpson, B. (2014). The Biafra Secession and the Limits of Self-determination. *Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 16,Nos. 2-3*, 337-354.

Siollun, M. (2009). *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture (1966-1976).* New York: Algora Publishing.

Siu, W. (2009). Social Construction of Reality. The Tobacco Issue. *Critical Public Health Vol. 19, No. 1, March*, 23–44.

Sklar, R. (2004). *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation.* Trnton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc.

Smith, A. D. (2009a). *Ethno Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Smith, A. D. (2009b). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sobechi, L., Akhaine, Saxone, & Ahovi, I. A. (2017, June 12). *Buratai, 13 Others Taken to U.S. District Court Over Biafra Protests*. Retrieved from The Guradian, Nigeria : https://guardian.ng/news/buratai-13-others-taken-to-u-s-district-court-over-biafra-protests/

Spencer, P., & Howard Wollman. (2005). *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader .* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Spencer, P., & Wollman, H. (2002). *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction.* London, Thousand Oaks, India and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Springer, P. B., & Truzzi, M. (1973). Introduction. In P. B. Springer, & M. Truzzi, *Revolutionaries on Revolutions* (pp. 1-7). 1973: Goodyear Publishers.

Staggenborg, S. (2016). *Social Movements.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Stanton, G. S. (1998). The 8 Stages of Genocide. *Article Originally Written in 1996 and was Presented as the First Working Paper (GS 01) of the Yale Program in Genocide Studies in 1998).*

Starr, B. (2006). Can There be Moral Justification for State Violence?: The Case of America. In F. O. Murchadha, *Violence, Victims and Justifications.* Bern: Peter Lang.

Staub, E. (2012). The Roots and Prevention of Genocide and Related Mass Violence. In I. W. Zartman, M. Anstey, & P. Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. 35-52). New York: Oxford University Press.

Stegar, M. B. (2003). *Judging Nonviolence: The Dispute Between Realists and Idealists.* New York and London: Routledge.

Stephan, M. J., & Chenoweth, E. (2008). Why Civil Works:The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Action. *International Security, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Summer)*, 7–44.

Stevenson, J. A. (2014). *Capitol Gains: How Foreign Military Intervention and the Elite Quest for International Recognition Cause Mass Killing in New States.* Illinois: University of Chicago, Dissertation Publication Number 3668294. Retrieved 06 16, 2015, from http://gradworks.umi.com/36/68/3668294.html

Stewart, P., & Lesley Wroughton. (2014). *How Boko Haram is beating U.S. Efforts to Choke Its Financing*. Retrieved October 4, 2014, from Reuters: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701

Stride, G. &. (1971). *Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History 1000-1800.* Edinburgh: Nelson.

Stringer, C. (2007). *Homo Britannicus. The Incredible Story of Human Life in Britain.* London: Penguin.

Suberu, R. T. (2001). The National Question, State Creation And The Reform of Nigerian Federalism. In O. E.E. Osaghae and E., *The Management of The National Question in Nigeria.* Ibadan: PEFS.

Summy, R. (1997). Nonviolence Around the World: The Triumph of Gandhi. *Social Alternatives, Vol16, No.2. (April)*, 12-49.

Tamuno, T. N. (1989). Introduction: Men andMeasures in the Nigerian Civil War, 1966-1970. In T. N. Tamuno, & Samson C. Ukpabi, *Panel on Nigeria Since Independence History Project: The First 25 Years, Vol. VI, The Civil War Years (* (pp. 1-27). Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria Ltd) .

Tatz, C. (2003). *With Intent to Destroy: Reflecting on Genocide.* London: Verso.

Teitel, R. (Vol. 5. No. 4 (Fall)). Judgement at The Hague. *East European Constitution Review*, 80-85.

Temin, J. (2010). Secession and Precedent in Sudan and Africa. *USIP Peacebrief*, 1-3.

Temin, J. (2012). What Africa Did Right in 2012. *Foreign Policy, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/12/20/what_africa_did_right_in_2012?wp_id_n=592587747. Retrieved 01/14/2013*.

Ter-Gabrielian, G. (1999). *Strategies in Ethnic Conflict .* Retrieved 04 19, 2012, from Gevork Ter-Gabrielian and Center for World Indigenous Studies : www.cwis.org/fwj/41/ethnic.html

Terminski, B. (2011). Oil-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Social Problem and Human Rights Issue. *Research Paper, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.* Retrieved March 10, 2014, from http://ssrn.com/abstract=2029770

The Cable. (2018). *Nigerian Army Has Committed War Crimes Against Humanity, Says ICC.* Nigeria: The Cable.ng. Retrieved December 10, 2018, from https://www.thecable.ng/nigerian-army-has-committed-war-crimes-against-humanity-says-icc

The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP). (2015). Global Terrorism Index (GTI). *The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP)*.

The Nigerian Army. (2017). *Rejoinder to the Campaign for Democracy's Allegation of the Killing of 2000 Igbo Youths by the Nigerian Army*. Retrieved January 8, 2017, from NewNigerianNewsPapers, Nigeria: http://newnigeriannewspaper.com/rejoinder-to-the-campaign-for-democracys-allegation-of-the-killing-of-2000-igbo-youths-by-the-nigerian-army/

The Punch: Nigeria. (2013). *Ezu River Corpses: 'We've Found Out Cause of Death', http://www.punchng.com/news/ezu-river-corpses-weve-found-out-cause-of-death/*. Retrieved 04 26, 2013

Thernstrom, S. (1971). The New Pacifism. In J. Bondurant, *Conflict: Violent and Nonviolent* (pp. 45-49). Chicago: Aldine and Altherton.

Thisday. (2017). *Editorial: Again, Atiku on Restructuring*. Retrieved March 21, 2017, from Thisday, Nigeria: https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/03/16/again-atiku-on-restructuring/

Thornton, J. K. (1999). *Warfare in Atlantic Africa 1500–1800.* London and New York: Routledge.

Tilly, C. (2004). *Social Movements -1768–2004.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Treanor, P. (1997). Structures of Nationalism. *Sociological Research Online, vol. 2, no. 1,*.

Tregaskis, S. (2010). *Curse of the Black Gold: 50 Years of Oil in the Niger Delta.* The Guadian (London). Retrieved 07 19, 2017, from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/gallery/2010/mar/05/curse-black-gold-nigeria

Tsa, G. (2017, April 29). *Biafra: Kanu Regains Freedom*. Retrieved from Sunnewsonline.com: http://sunnewsonline.com/biafra-kanu-regains-freedom/

Tukor, S. (2014). *Governor Nyako Accuses Jonathan Administration of Genocide Against Northern Nigeria*. Retrieved April 20, 2014, from Premium Times, Nigeria: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/159014-governor-nyako-accuses-jonathan-administration-genocide-northern-nigeria.html

Tukur, S. (2015, December 30). *Why We Can't Release Dasuki, Kanu - Buhari*. Retrieved from Premium Times: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/195994-why-we-cant-release-dasuki-kanu-buhari.html

Tull, D. M. (2011, August). Separatism in Africa: The Secession of Souther Sudan and Its Unlikely Consequencies. *SWP Comments*, 1-4.

Tylor, E. (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches in the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom.* London: John Murray.

Tylor, E. (1974). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom.* New York: Gordon Press.

Ubhenin, O. E., & Enabunene, S. (2011). Youth Restiveness and Credible Alternatives to Violence in Nigeria. *Journal of Human Security Vol. 7 no. 1*, 53-67.

Uche, C. (2008). Oil. British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War. *The Journal of African History, Vol. 49, No. 1*, 111-135 .

Udoh, I. (2003). The Languages of Cross River State . In I. I. Udoh, *The Languages of the South-South Zone of Nigeria: A Geo-Political Profile* (pp. 51-69). Lagos : Concept Publications.

Ugot, M., & Mathew Nsing Ogar. (2014). Language and Power in Cross River State, Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 5 No 10*, 648-656.

Ujomu, P. (2003). Institutional Marginality, Social Conflicts and the Quest for National Unity in an African Nation-State: A Theoretical Exploration . *African Development, Vol. XXVIII Nos. 2&4* , 22-35.

Ukaegbu, C. C. (2012). Lessons from Biafra. In C. J. Korieh, *THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA WAR: Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (pp. 277-302). Amherst, NY : Cambria Press.

Ukaogo, V. (2012). Igbo Challenges in Postconflict Nigeria. In C. J. Korieh, *The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (pp. 303-324). Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Umeagbalasi, Emeka. (2016). Silent Genocide in Nigeria. *Intersociety/SBCHROs*. Retrieved June 19, 2017, from http://www.intersociety-ng.org/component/k2/item/206-silent-genocide-in-nigeria?highlight=WyJpcG9iliwia2lsbGluZ3MiXQ==

Umoru, H. (2017). *El-Rufai using Kaduna's federal allocation to pay herdsmen – Shehu Sani.* Vanguard (Nigeria). Retrieved December 18, 206, from https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/12/el-rufai-using-kadunas-federal-allocation-pay-herdsmen-shehu-sani/

UN. (1948). Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948. In *United Nations Treaty Collection.*

UNICEF. (1996). Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War. *The State of the World's Children 1996 Report*. Retrieved November 02, 2017, from https://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/sexviol.htm

Uzodinma, E. (2017a, May 29). *Biafra: We Shall Hold Osinbajo Responsible if Any Igbo Man is Killed – Ohanaeze*. Retrieved from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/05/29/biafra-shall-hold-osinbajo-responsible-igbo-man-killed-ohanaeze/

Uzodinma, E. (2017b, June 6). *Nnamdi Kanu, a Great Igbo Man – Ben Nwabueze*. Retrieved from Daily Post, Nigeria: http://dailypost.ng/2017/06/06/nnamdi-kanu-great-igbo-man-ben-nwabueze/

Uzoigwe, G. N. (2012). Forgotten Genocide. In C. J. Korieh, *The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (pp. 61-90). Amherst NY: Cambria Press.

Valentino, B. A. (2010). *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century.* Ithacha and London: Cornell University Press (Paperback Edition).

Vanguard. (2017). *Igbo Quit Notice: Arewa Groups' Leaders Dare Police to Arrest Youths*. Retrieved June 11, 2017, from Vanuard, Nigeria: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/igbo-quit-notice-arewa-groups-leaders-dare-police-arrest-youths/

Venter, A. J. (2018a). *Biafra Genocide: Nigeria: Bloodletting and Mass Starvation, 1967-1970.* Pen & Sword.

Venter, A. J. (2018b). *Biafra's War 1967-1970: A Tribal Conflict in Nigeria That Left a Million Dead.* West Midlands, England: Helion and Company; Reprint edition.

Volkan, V. (1998). *Blood Lines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Waal, A. D. (1997). Famine Crimes: Politics and The Disaster Relief Industry. *Africa 117*.

Waal, A. D. (2002). *Demilitarizing the Mind: African Agendas for Peace and Security.* Trenton: Afrca World Press, Inc.

Wallace, M. (2017). *Why Indigenous Civil Resistance Has a Unique Power*. Retrieved July 21, 2017, from Peace Science Digest, July 8: https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/07/indigenous-civil-resistance-dapl/

Waller, J. (2002). *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* . Oxford: Killing. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weekly Post NG. (2016, June 17). *BREAKING: Online Poll Shows 93% Of Nigerians Want A Referendum On Biafra (Snapshot)*. Retrieved from Weelypostng.org: http://www.weeklypostng.org/2016/06/breaking-online-poll-shows-93-of.html

Weinberg, G. L. (2005). Total War: The Global Dimension of a Total Conflict. In R. Chichering, S. Förster r, & B. Greiner, *A World at Total War* (pp. 19-31). Wachington, D. C.: Cambridge University Press.

Weiskopf, D. A. (2011). The Theory-Theory of Concepts. *Internet Encylopedia of Philosophy: A Peer Reviewed Academic Resource*. Retrieved June 23, 2017, from https://www.iep.utm.edu/2011/04/

West Africa. (February 27, 1965). *Nigeria's Oil Revoluton Begins.* West Africa.

Wilkinson, P. (1974). *Political Terrorism.* London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Wink, W. (1998). *The Powers That Be:Theology for a New Millennium* . New Yook: Doubleday.

Wolfe, L. (2014). Why Soldiers Rape - And When They Don't - In Diagrams. *WMC Women Under Siege*. Retrieved November 12, 2017, from WMC Women Under Siege

Wolff, S. (2007). *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press).

World Watch Monitor . (2017). *Nigerian Government has Failed to Counteract Violence pf Fulani Herdsmen – ICG Report.* Retrieved November 2017, 2017, from https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2017/09/nigerian-government-failed-to-counteract-violence-of-fulani-herdsmen-icg-report/

Yafugborhi, E. (2018). *Herdsmen Menace: Wike Gives Benue Displaced Persons N200m*. Retrieved February 7, 2018, from Vanguard, Nigeria: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/herdsmen-menace-wike-gives-benue-displaced-persons-n200m/

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference.* Priceton: Priceton University Press.

Yushchenko, V. (n.d.). *Holodomor: Ukrainian Genocidein the Early 1930s,.* Retrieved 01 24, 2011, from http://www.president.gov.ua/docs/Holodomor_English_version.pdf.

Yusuf, B. (2007). Managing Muslim-Christian Conflicts in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Kaduna State. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations. 18(2)*, 175-188.

Yusuf, M., Malarvizhi, C., Mazumder, M. N., & Su, Z. (2014). Corruption, Poverty, and Economic Growth Relationship in the Nigerian Economy. *The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 48, No. 3*, 95-107.

Yusuf, O. (2017). *North Rejects Jonathan'S Confab Report, Speaks About Restructuring*. Retrieved July 29, 2017, from Naij.Com: https://www.naij.com/1114702-north-rejects-jonathans-confab-report-speaks-restructuring.html

Zartman, I. W., & Anstey, Mark. (2012). The Problem: Preventing Identity Conflicts and Genocide. In I. W. Zartman, M. Anstey, & P. Meerts, *The Slippery Slope to Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (pp. 3-34). New York: Oxford University Press.

Zeleza, P. (2005). The Development Cost of Conflicts. *CODESRIA Bulletin, Nos. 3 & 4,* , 34-36.

Zukas, L. L. (2009). The Women's War of 1929. In I. Ness, *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest.* Blackwell Publishing/Blackwell Reference Online. Retrieved March 12, 2015, from http://www.revolutionprotestencyclopedia.com/subscriber/uid=/tocnode?id=g9781405184649_yr2011_chunk_g97814051846491611&authstatuscode=202