



Centre for  
Human Rights and  
Restorative Justice

# REFERENCES TO COLONIALISM, COLONIAL, AND IMPERIALISM

Nigeria Truth Commission

## Abstract

A list of references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism in the Nigeria Truth Commission.

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## Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Nigeria report.

### Comparison Charts

- [References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism chart](#)
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### Word Trees

- [Colonial](#)
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## References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism

This section contains all references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism from the Nigeria report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC\_.Report-FULL> - § 63 references coded [0.91% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

particular communities, institutions or groups.

But on the whole, it was indisputably clear, from the evidence tendered before the Commission that the citizens of Nigeria generally believe that they have suffered badly in the hands of successive governments in the country, since independence, although this was more pronounced under military rule. However, it is clear that, beyond the accusations and counteraccusations of various ethno-communal, religious and other interest groups, the roots of bad governance in the country, historically and primarily, lie deep in the colonially-inherited structure and character of the post-colonial Nigerian State, and in the manner of its continuing incorporation into the world system.

As we shall try to

### Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

OF VOLUME ONE 44.

43.

In the Introductory Volume of this Report, we drew attention to the historical context for understanding not only the development of constitutional provisions for human rights but also the violations of those rights in the country. The Introductory Volume also provided a theoretical basis for understanding and appreciating the burden of our colonial legacy and its implications for, and impact on human rights violations in the country. 45.

It is clear from the analysis in the Volume that our present predicament is a product of a particular historical conjuncture. It is evident that colonialism by itself constituted a gross violation of the highest order of the human rights of the peoples of Nigeria. But the colonial inheritance can no longer be presented as the only or major reason for that predicament. Independence provided the opportunity for dissociation from that inheritance and for a new beginning. Unfortunately, the country's political class trifled with and, therefore, lost that golden opportunity for a national renaissance.

A proper understanding of the

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

#### POLICIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

It is our contention and conclusion that the state in Nigeria has failed its citizens. This much was clear from both the petitioners and their petitions. It is clear to us that the colonial nature of our historical experience is to a large extent responsible for the incapacity of the state to live up to its duties to its citizens.

1.

It is easy to

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

duties to its citizens.

1.

It is easy to argue that colonialism was not peculiar to Nigeria and that indeed, many other nations, which had their own colonial experiences, have since moved on. However, Nigeria's peculiar regional, religious and cultural history sets it apart from other nations. But this is not an excuse.

2.

It is clear now

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

is not an excuse.

2.

It is clear now that the decision of the colonial administration to merge both the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 was informed by reasons of British economic interests and not those of Nigeria. The legacy of dual administration and separateness, bequeathed by amalgamation, has become an albatross, casting a pall of mutual distrust, recrimination and antagonisms over the country's experiment in nation-building.

3.

4. For example, the

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

experiment in nation-building.

3.

4. For example, the regional arrangements, which were introduced gradually through constitutional changes between 1945 and 1954 created more problems than they were designed to solve. They deepened the centrifugal tendencies, which amalgamation had set in motion and which were encouraged by colonial administrators.

42

What is more, the

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

and, sometimes, religious lines.

8.

Our constitutional and political history is replete with many inherent contradictions, which show very clearly that there were discrepancies between what the colonial government sought and what Nigerians themselves wanted. Having inherited this skewed arrangement, our political class is responsible for not quickly addressing these visible discrepancies.

9.

The result is that

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

addressing these visible discrepancies.

9.

The result is that we have continued to tinker with the inherited system. Unfortunately, our national history has followed the logic of postcolonial states in many respects. The inheritance elites in many post-colonial states have tended to see their roles as being merely inheritors of the apparatus of power from the departing colonial masters. This is why we ended up with a situation whereby local elites took up residences in what is

10. 43

still referred to

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

#### EXPANDING THE POLITICAL SPACE 19.

The Minorities' Commission Report was testimony to the reluctance of the leadership of the majority ethnic groups in the three regions to accede to state-creation demands from minority ethnic groups in their respective regions. We have elaborated at some length on the politics of state creation in the penultimate years of colonial rule in Chapter 3 of Volume 1 of this Report.

Even when concessions were grudgingly

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission, as an episode in

Nigeria's political and constitutional history, lies in the fact that, against the background of historically deep-rooted contradictions generated by the dialectics of conflict and cooperation among the various peoples and social movements in the country, dating back to pre-colonial times, its establishment was an attempt to lay the groundwork for an enduring and sustainable peace and development in the country, founded on the concepts and principles of human rights, equality, justice and reconciliation.

2.4 It is this

#### Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

research reports and other documents

(petitions etc) submitted to the Commission show, while there were indications of cooperation and integration among the various peoples and communities in pre-colonial and colonial Nigeria, as well as political institutions that set premium on accountability, participation and responsibility in governance, there were also cultural and political norms, practices and institutions as well as economic institutions which entailed human rights violations and abuses, aggravating and deepening latent animosities and conflicts between the various communities and alienating individuals from the political system.

20

2.7 Colonial rule

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

from the political system.

20

2.7 Colonial rule, itself manifestly authoritarian and exploitative, was founded as much

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

the pattern and form the decolonization process in the country assumed, the social character of the inheritance political elite to whom political power was transferred by the colonial power, and the structural imbalance created by the contrived federal system inherited at independence.

2.9 In short, the

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

two fundamental reasons. First, the decolonization process did not provide a lasting solution to the fears of minority ethnic groups and their demand for self-determination and self-government. The on-going political crisis in the Niger-Delta, characterized by raging protest by social movements and the unleashing of state-sponsored violence and repression in reprisal, finds its deep-roots in the country's colonial politics.

2.11 Secondly, and more

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

causes: the establishment of the

Commission was an attempt to come to grips with developments in Nigeria's recent political history— its colonial inheritance; the collapse of the First Republic; the descent into and prosecution of the country's civil war; the inherent violent and arbitrary logic of military rule, especially between January 1984 and May 1999, involving the use of public policy

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to favour particular ethnic

#### Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

political and economic entity was

brought together by the British colonial administration under a dual administrative structure, through the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, it would be wrong to assume that its peoples had no history of cultural, economic, political or social history before country's boundaries were negotiated by Britain, France and Germany at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, there was much more cultural, economic and political contact and interaction among the various and diverse peoples of pre-colonial Africa than has been admitted by colonial apologists and historians who tend to argue, with respect to Africa generally that, the continent had no history prior to colonization.

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3.4 The physical

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

physical profile historically influenced population

movements in pre-colonial Nigeria, while also providing the basis for and impelling complementary economic and cultural activities and interaction between and among the various peoples of the country before the advent of colonial rule.

3.6 In effect, there were in pre-colonial Nigeria migrations from one part of the country

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

argued that the concept of “Nigeria” or of a “Nigerian” was not the creation of colonial rulers, although colonial rule created its own inner dynamics, which later shaped the historical and political development of the country.  
3.8 What we wish

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

here, however, is that the physical structure of the country facilitated in pre-colonial Nigeria the embryonic emergence of networks of internal economic exchanges in various crops and commodities, on the basis of comparative  
57  
advantage. Out of these

#### Reference 20 - 0.03% Coverage

the basis of comparative  
57  
advantage. Out of these economic networks emerged cultural and political networks and the economic, political and socio-cultural institutions they spawned, which, though not without contradictions, as in wars and raids among the various peoples and communities in pre-colonial Nigeria, and their attendant violations of human rights had the long run potential of being integrative.  
3.9 Colonial rule interrupted and “arrested” the logic of the auto-centered historical development of this internal economic exchange and of its supporting cultural, legal, political and social systems. In effect, colonial rule presaged the beginnings of a new historical phase, which led to the incorporation of Nigeria into the wider world economic and political system. What was in pre-colonial Nigeria an autonomous internal market, dependent primarily on endogenous forces, became, in due course, and under the mercantilist logic of colonial rule, a trading post economy dependent on foreign trade.  
3.10 The historical trajectories

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

which the country had gone through since colonial rule, especially the sometimes bloody and murderous forms which competition and conflict among the various peoples and communities assumed, resulting in gross violations of human rights, were shaped by the internal logic and the further elaboration and development of this trading post economy.  
3.11 Prior to colonization

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, there were, in what is now Nigeria, great kingdoms with complex systems of culture and government. The following examples of pre-colonial kingdoms and political systems in the country are illustrative of our thesis that colonial

58

rule “arrested” the auto

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

is, therefore, not that pre-colonial political structures and their supporting socio-legal institutions were flawless and unblemished by violations of human rights. Our point, rather, is that on the eve of colonial rule, the various Nigerian communities had socio-legal and political institutions based on their unique historical and cultural circumstances, reflected in their chieftaincy institutions.

59

3.14 Thus, in

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

of their cultures and history.

3.15 Colonial rule prevented endogenous development of these communities by creating “new rules

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

traditional political and legal institutions.

3.16 In short, colonial rule arrested the auto-development of these pre-colonial political systems by imposing on the peoples of Nigeria and their communities a new political and economic order sustained by violence and by creating a new basis for loyalty and citizenship.

3.17 The expansion and consolidation of British colonial rule in Nigeria must be seen in the context of the rivalry and competition among the European powers over the acquisition of colonial territories in Africa.

3.18 In the case

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

arising out of the initial encouragement of missionary and commercial activities by English missions and companies like the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Royal Niger Company, British colonial rule in Nigeria was

60

formally regularized with the

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

two administrative entities of northern



and southern protectorates in the country had been preceded as part of this consolidation process by the following constitutional measures: the colony and protectorate of Lagos, annexed as a colony in 1862, was in 1906 merged with the protectorate of southern Nigeria to form the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria; and the amalgamation, already referred to, of the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria with the protectorate of northern Nigeria on January 1, 1914 to constitute the new colony and protectorate of Nigeria.

3.21 What followed after

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

was, however, not nation-building in Nigeria, in the strictest sense. British rule in Nigeria was less an attempt to forge a Nigeria nation than to “conquer and pacify” the country, under a regime of law and order, by bringing the various ethnic groups and communities under imperial authority through a policy of divide et impera.

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#### CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

were introduced in stages as pragmatic responses by the colonial government to nascent nationalist agitation.

3.24 Critical constitutional landmarks in colonial Nigeria were

the following: (a)

the 1922

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Constitution, which established a legislative council for the colony of Lagos and the southern protectorate, with 46 members, 10 of whom were to be Nigerians (4 of whom were to be elected on the basis of adult franchise); (b) the Richards Constitution of 1946

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

into the country; and (e) the 1960 Independence Constitution, bringing colonial rule to an end and transferring political power

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

fear of domination expressed by the minority ethnic groups in each of the then existing regions were well-founded, the Willink Commission, appointed on September 25, 1957 by the colonial government to look into their fears, rejected their demand for the creation of new states out of the existing ones.

3.34 We shall have

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

may have been in the administrative system, there was one ultimate factor: there had been a diversion of power from the traditional authorities to the incoming colonial administration. Even in the Northern region where the principles of indirect rule were applied most intensively, the Emir was no longer sovereign and held power by grace of the colonial government. His authority was reduced by the knowledge that, if he stepped over the uncertain boundary of rules for good government, as stipulated by the British, he could be deposed.

3.44 In the South

#### Reference 34 - 0.04% Coverage

the Northern Nigerian model,  
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warrant chiefs were created instead of finding the real seat of authority.... The system of native courts instituted along with this form of government perverted the traditional judicial system and deprived many chiefs of their judicial functions. In an attempt to increase further the power of the traditional ruler, the colonial administration gave him more judicial power than traditionally belonged to him. For instance, in Oyo Province...an appeals court was created in Oyo under the Alaafin Ladigbolu contrary to judicial practice in that part of the country. Indeed, in general, the British system of justice which was also being applied alongside the traditional system detracted from the traditional authority of the chiefs and broke down many of the traditional sanctions that helped to maintain law and order. It is not surprising that Indirect Rule provoked serious reaction among Nigerians; the most notable was the Aba Women's War of 1929 when women in South-Eastern Nigeria rose up against the Warrant Chief System and defied the attempt to tax women without trying to understand the economic relations between the male and female in Igbo society." [Bolanle Awe, "Nation-Building and Cultural Identity," in Peter P. Ekeh and Garba Asiwaju (eds), *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years: Volume V11 –Culture*, p.20, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1989].

3.47 The policy of

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Rule underscored a paradox: while colonial rule brought Nigerians together in new ways and for new purposes, indirect rule emphasized and institutionalized differences among the various communities in the country.

3.48 The impact of

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

amalgamation: The amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria was effected in two phases, as recommended by the Selbourne Committee. The first phase, carried out in 1906, was the amalgamation of the protectorate of southern Nigeria with the Colony of Lagos. The second phase was the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914.

3.49 The decision to

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

as we have tried to show, during colonial rule in the form in which amalgamation and indirect rule assumed, have been central to the form and outcomes of political conflict in the country.  
3.220 Recent demand for

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

poverty and neglect by successive federal and state governments and the oil companies have combined to create a typical situation of internal colonialism, as the case of the Ogonis, which we have examined in another Volume of this Report, typically illustrates.  
3.227 This is the

#### Reference 39 - 0.03% Coverage

a period of nine months.  
The end-product of this undertaking is an extensive documentation of virtually all the variegated and ramified dimensions of human rights violations in Nigeria in that sad period of the country's national history as a post-colonial entity ravaged by unbridled and reckless misrule under a succession of military regimes, which presided over a profoundly prebendal and patrimonial state. The research reports provide essential details of a range of violations of individual as well as group/communal rights, some of which are often not factored into current discourses of rights violations in Nigeria, and many of which have not found their way to the Commission in form of petitions and pleas for intervention. The documentation would certainly serve as a constant reminder to citizens about what has been wrong and how. But it will be especially helpful to generations to come, to better position and equip them to draw the appropriate lessons and safeguard the future from such crude manifestations of trampling of people's fundamental rights.  
This volume condenses and presents

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

by the Hausa (Habe) peasantry.  
7. It further notes that the colonial government did not alter the political structure it inherited in Hausa land; rather, the traditional system was put in the service of the Indirect Rule system. The specific regime of rights identified as violated includes Community and Land Rights, and the Right to Life.  
8. South-South: The politics

#### Reference 41 - 0.02% Coverage

area that used to be under the Sokoto Caliphate in pre-colonial Nigeria. The Caliphate was the centralized, theocratic state system established by Shehu Usmanu Danfodio, a Fulani Islamic cleric, who led a jihad, an Islamic 'holy war', against the Hausa (Habe) rulers of the area in the first decade of the 19th century. His stated objective was to come out with a reform and a return to Islamic principles and practices of governance from which the Habe rulers had deviated. Not long thereafter, however, his descendants also substantially

deviated from those principles and practices he sought to establish. They established powerful, hereditary, ruling houses, and an Emirate system of government based on feudal-type rent-seeking activities, such as taxation, exaction of tributes from the peasantry and other commoners, and predatory activities, such as slave-raiding, which devastated neighbouring non-Muslim communities.

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### 1.3 After the

#### Reference 42 - 0.04% Coverage

of the area, the political

machinery and administrative structures of the emirate system were put to good use by the British colonialists until independence was attained on October 1, 1960. Emirs, who presided over the former caliphate's emirates, retained their positions, power and authority, but under the control of the British through the indirect rule method which the colonialists had perfected. Partly as a result of this, the Emirs and their allies in the Northern Nigerian segment of the emergent Nigerian political class were positioned to play subtle but significant roles in colonial and post-colonial dispensations of politics and governance, roles which have gone a long way to fuel the North-South political divide, which was carefully nurtured and manipulated by the British to counter nationalist agitation for independence and avoid a hasty departure from a lucrative colonial possession. In the post-colonial period, the political fortunes of these traditional rulers waxed stronger, especially under successive military regimes, which were led by Northern military officers, which found their influence very useful, and which sought to use them for popular mobilization to lend some semblance of legitimacy to their otherwise illegitimate rule. Increasingly, therefore, they came to be perceived, in the wider Nigerian political configuration, as the symbols of Hausa-Fulani domination of the Nigerian political scene. And, within the zone, they came to symbolize the traditional power base, which props up the modern state, and enables its functionaries and other emergent elite to use state power to dispossess poor peasants of their land holdings.

### 1.4 The political and

#### Reference 43 - 0.04% Coverage

South Zone covers the six

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

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### 2.2 The nature

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

and federal level) deprivations and discriminatory practices. Many of these are embedded in histories of unequal relations between groups, which have been perpetuated over the years by authoritarian regimes of colonialism and military rule.

3.4 Investigations in the

#### Reference 45 - 0.03% Coverage

but contested political and administrative experiences are reinforced by other historical and cultural commonalities in the zone that have implications for human rights. The first of these is that the Middle Belt, especially the outlying areas of the Niger-Benue confluence, has witnessed massive population movements, migrations and displacements. This explains the rather high-tension ethnic mixes and endemic conflicts among groups in the region, which have long histories of contestations over boundaries, ownership of territory for farming and other economic purposes, over who is “indigenous” and “stranger” or “foreigner”, and over which groups are “superior”, “core” “marginal” and “peripheral”. Another important strand of this history involved the administrative and territorial reorganizations undertaken by the colonial authorities. This was done as a matter of administrative expediency and to facilitate indirect rule, but the reorganizations had lasting and mostly negative consequences for inter-group relations.

3.10 For some groups

#### Reference 46 - 0.02% Coverage

Ilorin was a Yoruba town founded by the legendary Ladein, who established a ruling dynasty. The Yoruba however lost control of Ilorin under Afonja who was betrayed and treacherously murdered by Mallam Alimi, an itinerant Fulani Muslim leader, whose descendants subsequently usurped power and established the Fulani ruling house. As was the pattern in most parts of the north, the colonial regime supported and reinforced the system of “internal colonialism”. Since then, the descendants of Afonja struggled to reassert themselves and reclaim what they regarded as their rightful heritage. They demanded the establishment of an alternative Yoruba (Afonja) ruling house through the restoration of the chieftaincy tradition that existed before the imposition of Fulani rule, as was done in Offa where the Olugbense and Anibelerin were established as alternative ruling houses in 1972.

3.31 The case of

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

state have a long-standing battle for supremacy with the Egbura, whose claim to superiority and overlordship they dispute based on historical evidence that the two groups had autonomous kingdoms before colonial rule. Although conversion to Islam gave the Egbura an advantage over the “pagan” Bassa in the Northern regional system that privileged Islam, the Bassa hoped that the emergence of secular administration would liberate them. That opportunity came when the government of the then Plateau state decided to resuscitate traditional institutions,

create/upgrade chiefdoms, village

#### Reference 48 - 0.02% Coverage

minority group who claim to have once lived together under the centralized authority of the Otse Etulo, but were strewn across several clans, districts and local government areas by administrative reorganizations since colonial times, thereby transforming them into 'micro-minorities'. This made it possible for their interests to be subordinated to those of the more educated Tiv who constituted the majority in the districts and local government areas, and to be submerged in Benue state where they, alongside the Tiv, Idoma and Iggede, constitute the major ethnic groups. Indeed, the Tiv were accused of treating them as "visitors" and

91

second-class citizens and

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

peoples have lived together and inter-married for a long time, having been merged together in the Utur clan, now called Etulo clan, in the colonial period. Nevertheless, the groups remain culturally distinct, and the Abakwa claim to have suffered deprivation, discrimination and oppression in the hands of

92

the majority Etulo, who

#### Reference 50 - 0.02% Coverage

six states, namely Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, Taraba, Gombe and Bauchi States, located in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. Its climatic conditions traverse the northern arid zone and the upper Benue valley, which is a rich agricultural area. It is also characterized by a complex mix of ethnic and religious groups. Some of the states, such as Adamawa, Gombe and Bauchi, were part of the pre-colonial Sokoto Caliphate, although with significant populations of diverse non-muslim nationalities. Although Borno and Yobe were independent of the Caliphate under the pre-colonial Bornu Empire, they have closer religious and socio-cultural affinity to the north-west zone. Many of the characteristic features of these areas are, thus, in many respects similar to those of the north-west zone.

4.2 In the sense

#### Reference 51 - 0.04% Coverage

Nwankwo was commissioned by the Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission to ascertain or establish the causes, nature and extent of all gross violations of human rights committed in the southeast zone between January 15 1966 and May 28 1999. Dr Nwankwo's investigations and findings are contained in a two-volume report: volume one covers the period between 1966 and 1980, while volume two covers that between 1980 and 1999. The report relies heavily on secondary data on the Igbo and its relations with the rest of Nigeria from colonial records, anthropological accounts by Simon Ottenberg, Daryle Forde and G.I. Jones, extant works on Nigeria's political history, especially those by Alexander Madiebo, and Emma Okocha on the civil war, accounts of contemporary political events in British and Nigerian newspapers and magazines, the Report

of the GCM Onyuke Panel of Enquiry into the Massacre of the Ndigbo in Northern Nigeria, 1966, Report of the International Commission of Jurists and the Report of the International Commission on Genocide in Biafra, and annual reports and other publications of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and the Constitution Rights Project (CRP). Primary data was obtained from interviews with various categories of Ndigbo, personal accounts of those who witnessed and/or were victims of the 1966 pogrom, civil war, and riots in which the Igbo were major targets, and the qualitative analytical insights of the author, who is himself a notable human rights activist and Ndigbo leader, public affairs commentator, and publisher.

6.7 What is immediately

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

in Nigeria predates the independence

and, indeed, the founding of the Nigerian nation. Although the year 1873 marked the formal beginning of the organisation of a modern prison service in Nigeria under the colonial dispensation, Prison and its administrative and physical structure(s) were not unknown in the pre-colonial social formation in the area now known as Nigeria.

In

1872, the first prison

#### Reference 53 - 0.03% Coverage

now known as Nigeria.

In

1872, the first prison in Nigeria was established at Broad Street, Lagos. By 1910 there were prisons in Ibadan, Degema, Onitsha, Calabar, etc., – all administered under the colonial prison administration. But as a result of Indirect Rule, and given the fact that there were developed prison institutions in the north (and to some extent in the west of the country), the colonial authorities were content to allow the prisons in these areas to function under supervision. The Native Authority (NA) prisons (as they were referred to) were allowed to function alongside the colonial prisons with some measure of supervision by the latter. This was the dual state of the entire prisons system until 1968 when the prison services in Nigeria were unified under one administration. With the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by Lord Lugard in 1914, the Prison Ordinance of 1916 and Prison Regulations of 1917 were promulgated.

176

The ordinance gave extensive

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

POLICE IN NIGERIA 8.2

Before the advent of British colonial rule, the various ethnic nationalities that make up

#### Reference 55 - 0.04% Coverage

modern Nigeria Police, armed and

distinct from civil society, is a creation of colonial rule. The police began their history and functions in the interest of British colonial government. It is important to underline the motive for the establishment of

the modern Nigeria Police Force as it has a direct influence on the functions, which the police have performed in Nigeria up till the present dispensation. Orthodox literature on the police reveal that the first modern police force in the world, Metropolitan Police Force, London, was established in 1829, partly in response to popular outrage in Britain against the brutality of soldiers in dealing with social dislocations occasioned by the industrial revolution.<sup>40</sup> Thus the modern British police forces were established with the principle of being “in tune with the people, understanding the people, belonging to the people and drawing its strength from the people.”<sup>41</sup>

8.4 In the Nigerian situation, “the colonial government was faced with the problem of controlling restive natives that needed to be cowed in order to facilitate colonial exploitation of Nigeria's resources, hence, the need for coercive police forces.”<sup>42</sup> The period between 1861 and 1904 witnessed British colonialists subjecting over two hundred and fifty nationalities that make up Nigeria to their domination. As each of the nationalities was subjected to colonial rule, the British established police forces and constabulary to protect its interests.<sup>43</sup> These forces and constabulary were armed and organized as quasimilitary squad. Such forces in different territories were made up of

40 R. Reiner (2000) The

#### Reference 56 - 0.02% Coverage

violence on the community.<sup>44</sup>

8.5 An example of this was in 1863, when the colonial Governor of Lagos Colony, H. S Freeman wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle in which he highlighted the advantage of an estranged police for the colonial government. According to him, deploying policemen to areas where they were aliens would foster effective deposit of violence in the community policed. Consequently, Freeman reported that: The men [Hausamen recruited into the force in Lagos Colony] being from the interior and professing the mussulman [Muslim or Islam] religion are hated by the natives of these parts who have hitherto only known them as their slaves. They [Hausas] are disliked also by the Europeans as being of a more independent character than the Lagos people. They thus have only the government to depend on, and if properly managed will prove a valuable resource to this settlement.<sup>45</sup>

44 E.E. O Alemika

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

a valuable resource” to the colonial government. As a result, thirty years later in 1893, another colonial governor, in a letter to London, reported that:

8.7 In our Hausa

#### Reference 58 - 0.02% Coverage

body of men dissociated from

the countries immediately around Lagos both by birth and religion, and who are as a matter of fact the hereditary enemies of the Yorubas. This is such an enormous advantage in any interior complication [opposition to colonial rule] that I should be sorry to see it abandoned if it were possible to obtain a supply of recruits in any other way (emphasis added).<sup>46</sup>

8.8 In essence, there was a colonial interest in ensuring that the police were alienated from the communities they were recruited to police. They were not established as agents for promoting rule of law, human rights or for delivering social services. The colonial police



forces were therefore used in punitive expeditions to further the goal of colonial annexation of territories,<sup>47</sup> to suppress opposition against colonial exploitation.<sup>48</sup>

46 Denton and Rippon, August

#### Reference 59 - 0.02% Coverage

Law Enforcement Education, p.31.

47 Examples include the activities of the colonial constabulary police in the pillage of Benin Kingdom (1897), Opobo nation and the battle for Niger confluence occupied by various ethnic nationalities such as Abinu (Bunu land), Bassa Nge, Oworo, Kakanda, Egbura etc) between 1895 and 1900. The 'victory' of the British Force led to the formation and proclamation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria with Lokoja

as headquarters on January 1, 1900. 48 Such instances include women anti tax riots in the East (1929-1930), in Warri Province (1927-1928), in Abeokuta (1948) and industrial Labour strikes in Burutu (1945), Enugu (1949), general strike (1945). Scores of unarmed men and women were "killed or maimed in these incidents by colonial forces.

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8.9 With the

#### Reference 60 - 0.02% Coverage

became politically independent in 1960,

there were expectations that the police would be reorganized and reorientated from a colonial occupation force to a service organization. This did not happen. The parties that were elected into government found it more convenient to retain all colonial structures of coercion in dealing with the people. Therefore, instead of a major reorganization of the police to serve and protect Nigerian people, what was witnessed was a ceremonial oath transferring allegiance of the Nigeria Police Force from the British Crown to the Federal Republic of Nigeria and a change of their former crests bearing the symbol of the British Crown to the Federal Coats of Arm. All other features of the police that made

49 A. Nweze and L

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Rights Project, p.16.

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them widely feared and despised under the colonial government were left untouched.<sup>51</sup>

IMPACT OF MILITARY RULE ON

#### Reference 62 - 0.02% Coverage

Nigeria based on true federalism.

This case came to a close following the Afenifere response on 11 October 2001. The Chairman requested lawyers to consider all the points and arguments that have been made in this case, and try to identify common grounds. He remarked that "once it can be established that Nigeria is our country and we are all Nigerians, then our greatest enemy is ethnicity." This problem was traced to the country's colonial roots and the divide-and-rule tactics of colonialists. He appealed to counsels to invent ways of turning the sectional groups into Nigerians, and decried that nobody was complaining of being marginalized as a

Nigerian, but as an ethnic group. Counsel should brainstorm and provide answers as to what should be done to redeem the situation. Addresses of Counsel should be submitted within six weeks.

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PETITION NO. 1653: PETITIONER

#### Reference 63 - 0.03% Coverage

can heap on one's enemy.

The petitioner also made an extensive submission of his formation and membership of an organisation called The Pyrates Confraternity, explaining that the association was a perfectly loyal and open organisation that was founded in 1952 while he was a student at the University College, Ibadan, in order to raise social and political consciousness among Nigerian students in the colonial days. He referred to the documented history of victimization of its members by the various security agencies ranging from routine harassment, arrest, tortures to murders as in the Umuluku massacre, merely on account of deliberate disinformation as to the activities and objectives of the organisation and its members. While enumerating the achievements of the organisation, the petitioner deplored the tendency of the illinformed public and even the media to fall victims of mass hysteria and sweeping generalization by routinely demonising the organisation and confusing it with the notorious campus killer-cults.

The petitioner accordingly requested the