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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Case No.: 200701753

MAR 25 2010

I refer to your letter dated March 11, 2007 regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552).

We searched for and reviewed the self study guides that you requested and have determined that all except one of them may be released. They are on the enclosed disc. One of the guides is being released with excisions.

An enclosure provides information on Freedom of Information Act exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. With respect to material withheld by the Department of State, you have the right to appeal our determination within 60 days. A copy of the appeals procedures is enclosed.

We have now completed the processing of your case. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

We hope that the Department has been of service to you in this matter.

Sincerely,



for Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

63934 Federal Register/Vol. 69, No. 212
Rules and Regulations

Subpart F – Appeal Procedures

§171.52 Appeal of denial of access to, declassification of, amendment of, accounting of disclosures of, or challenge to classification of records.

- (a) *Right of administrative appeal.* Except for records that have been reviewed and withheld within the past two years or are the subject of litigation, any requester whose request for access to records, declassification of records, amendment of records, accounting of disclosure of records, or any authorized holder of classified information whose classification challenge has been denied, has a right to appeal the denial to the Department's Appeals Review Panel. This appeal right includes the right to appeal the determination by the Department that no records responsive to an access request exist in Department files. Privacy Act appeals may be made only by the individual to whom the records pertain.
- (b) *Form of appeal.* There is no required form for an appeal. However, it is essential that the appeal contain a clear statement of the decision or determination by the Department being appealed. When possible, the appeal should include argumentation and documentation to support the appeal and to contest the bases for denial cited by the Department. The appeal should be sent to: Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LC, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, DC 20522-8100.
- (c) *Time limits.* The appeal should be received within 60 days of the date of receipt by the requester of the Department's denial. The time limit for response to an appeal begins to run on the day that the appeal is received. The time limit (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) for agency decision on an administrative appeal is 20 days under the FOIA (which may be extended for up to an additional 10 days in unusual circumstances) and 30 days under the Privacy Act (which the Panel may extend an additional 30 days for good cause shown). The Panel shall decide mandatory declassification review appeals as promptly as possible.
- (d) *Notification to appellant.* The Chairman of the Appeals Review Panel shall notify the appellant in writing of the Panel's decision on the appeal. When the decision is to uphold the denial, the Chairman shall include in his notification the reasons therefore. The appellant shall be advised that the decision of the Panel represents the final decision of the Department and of the right to seek judicial review of the Panel's decision, when applicable. In mandatory declassification review appeals, the Panel shall advise the requester of the right to appeal the decision to the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel under §3.5(d) of E.O. 12958.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

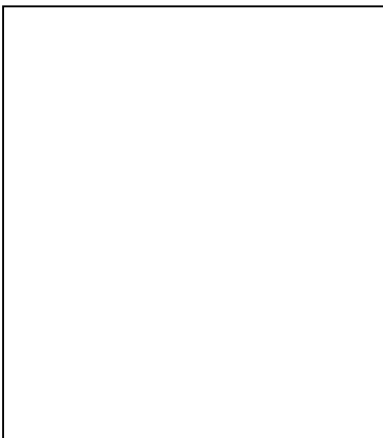
FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Withholding specifically authorized under an Executive Order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and properly classified. E.O. 12958, as amended, includes the following classification categories:
 - 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
 - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
 - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
 - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
 - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
 - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(h) Information on weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
 - ARMEX Arms Export Control Act, 22 USC 2778(e)
 - CIA Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
 - EXPORT Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 App. USC 2411(c)(1)
 - FSA Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4003 & 4004
 - INA Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f)
 - IRAN Iran Claims Settlement Act, Sec 505, 50 USC 1701, note
- (b)(4) Privileged/confidential trade secrets, commercial or financial information from a person
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Information compiled for law enforcement purposes that would:
 - (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
 - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 - (D) disclose confidential sources
 - (E) disclose investigation techniques
 - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

- NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request, excised with the agreement of the requester

A Self Study Guide to Nigeria



GEORGE P. SHULTZ NATIONAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS
TRAINING CENTER
School of Professional and Area Studies
Foreign Service Institute
U.S. Department of State

The **Self-Study Guide: Nigeria** is intended to provide U.S. government personnel in the foreign affairs community with an overview of important Nigerian issues related to history, geography, politics, religion, culture, economics, and international relations. The guide merely serves as an introduction and should be used as a self-study resource. Nigeria

is far too complex and diverse a society to be covered in any depth using only the text in this guide. Therefore, the reader is encouraged to explore the questions and issues introduced using the Internet site guide and articles and books listed in the bibliography. Most of the bibliographic material can be found either on the Internet or in Foreign Service Institute or Main State Libraries.

Rhonda M. Horried, a doctoral candidate completing her Ph.D. in political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University prepared this first edition guide on Nigeria during her 2000 summer internship at the Foreign Service Institute's School of Professional and Area Studies. The views expressed in this guide are those of the author and attributable sources and do not necessarily reflect official policy or position of the Department of State or the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. Special thanks are extended to Mr. Albert Fairchild and Dr. Anne Imamura.

This publication is for official educational and nonprofit use only.
First Edition
August 2000

CONTENTS

IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS: 1960-1999 INTRODUCTION HISTORY
POLITICAL ECONOMY
RELIGION AND SOCIETY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INTERNET SITE
GUIDE
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND GUIDE TO FURTHER READINGS

Important Political Events: 1960-1999

1960s	1960
	October : Nigeria declares independence from Britain.
	1963
	Nigeria becomes a republic.
	1966
	January: Attempted coup is staged, suppressed by federal troops. Still results in military government being established.

	<p>1967</p> <p>May: Eastern region of Nigeria secedes and proclaims itself the Republic of Biafra. Civil war erupts that kills an estimated 1 million people.</p>
1970s	<p>1970</p> <p>January: Civil War ends, but military rule continues for 9 more years.</p> <p>1979</p> <p>October: Nigeria returns to civilian rule when Sheu Shagari is elected President of the 2nd Republic.</p>
1980s	<p>1983</p> <p>December: Military coup topples the Shagari regime.</p> <p>1985</p> <p>Another coup is lead by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, who promises new elections.</p>
1990s	<p>1993</p> <p>June: Moshood Abiola receives 58 percent of the vote for President, but Gen. Babangida annuls the election. U.S. suspends aid. Eleven people die in riots protesting a return to military rule. Babangida relinquishes power and an interim government is established.</p> <p>November: Gen. Sani Abacha seizes power.</p> <p>1994</p> <p>June: Abiola declares himself president and is subsequently arrested and charged with treason.</p> <p>July: Nigerian Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers strike and the price of crude oil increases worldwide.</p> <p>November: Wole Soyinka, 1986 Nobel Prize winner for literature, flees Nigeria.</p> <p>1995</p> <p>October: General Abacha vows to step down in 3 years after reforms</p>

are complete.

November: Ken Saro-Wiwa along with 8 other political activists are hung by Nigeria's military government for killing 4 pro-government traditional chiefs in 1994. Subsequently, Nigeria is suspended from the Commonwealth.

1996

June: Kudirat Abiola, outspoken wife of Moshood Abiola is gunned down in her car in Lagos.

1997

March: Nobel Prize Laureate Wole Soyinka is charged in absentia with treason by the country's military government.

1998

May 7th: Nigeria announces it has freed 142 prisoners on orders of General Abacha.

June 8th: Abacha dies and is quickly replaced by Maj. Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar.

June 9th: Clinton Administration offers improved relations with Nigeria's new military government if it frees political prisoners and moves toward democratic reform.

June 12th: Nigerians riot in Lagos and demand an end to military rule. They are dispersed by troops and police.

July 7th: Imprisoned Moshood Abiola dies of apparent heart attack as he talks with Nigerian officials and senior U.S. diplomats.

July 20th: Maj. Gen. Abubakar promises that free elections will be held in early 1999 and a civilian sworn in as president on May 29.

1999

January 20th: Nigerian and international election monitors declared that local elections in December and state elections Jan. 9th were fair.

February 27th: Nigerians vote for a civilian president in an election marred by claims of voter fraud and irregularities. Two days later,

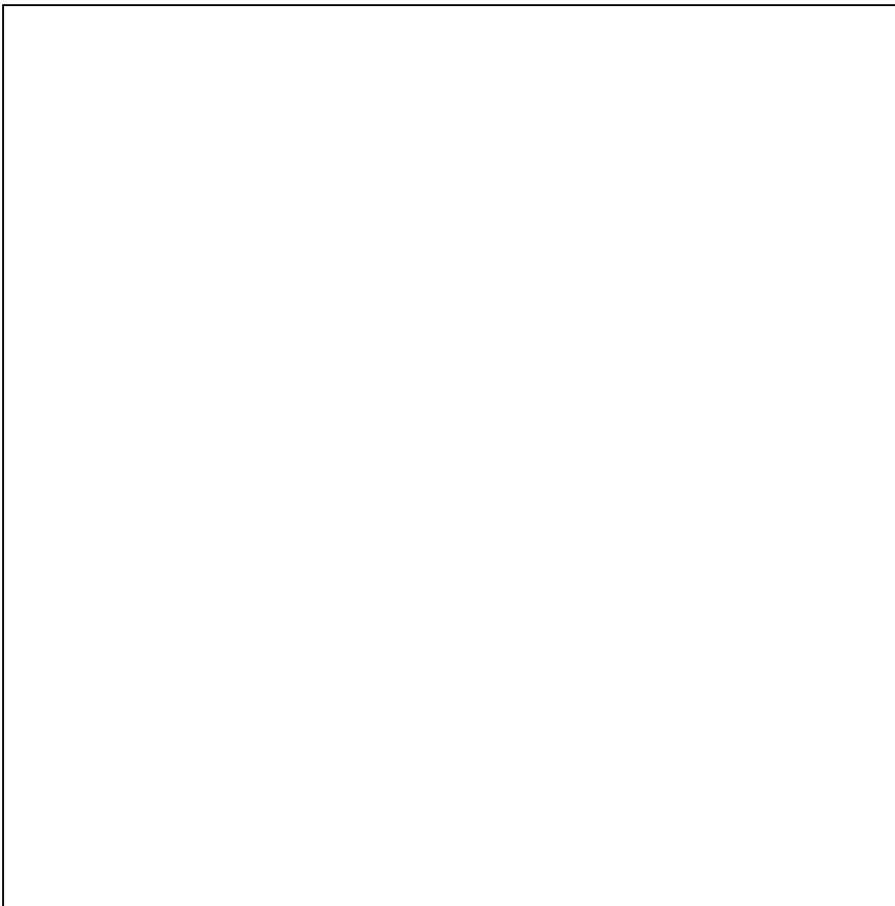
	Nigeria's election commission confirms former military ruler, Olusegun Obasanjo the winner.
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Time Line adapted from Washington Post.com: Nigeria Report,
<http://www.washingtonpost.com>

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

MAP OF NIGERIA



Nigeria is not a nation.... It is a mere geographical expression...There are no 'Nigerians' in the same sense as there are 'English' or 'Welsh' or 'French.' The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who within Nigeria from those who do not.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, 1947

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and faces many challenges in its political and economic development. It has been in a constant struggle since its independence in 1960 to build a strong federal system and reduce conflicts that arise from uneven development, religious, ethnic, regional and class differences. This guide attempts to set forth the major issues that threaten Nigeria's potential. The federal system, political competition, and the interests of the various ruling groups have posed significant barriers to Nigeria's political and economic development; they have also paradoxically acted in ways that favor development and democracy.

There are several dominant themes in Nigerian history that are essential in understanding contemporary Nigerian politics and society. First, the spread of Islam, predominately in the north but later in southwestern Nigeria, began a millennium ago. Second, the slave trade, both across the Sahara Desert and the Atlantic Ocean, had a profound influence on virtually all of Nigeria. The transatlantic trade in particular accounted for the forced migration of perhaps 3.5 million people between 1650-1860. Third, the colonial era was relatively brief, lasting only six decades or so (1900-1960), depending on the part of Nigeria under discussion, but it unleashed such profound change that the full impact is still felt in the contemporary period. Fourth is the military, which has ruled for 30 out of Nigeria's 40 years of independence.

The history of Nigerian people extends backward in time for some three millennia. Archeological evidence, oral tradition, and written documentation establish the existence of dynamic societies and well-developed political systems whose history had an important influence on colonial rule and have continued to shape independent Nigeria. Nigeria's history is fragmented in the sense that it evolved from a variety of traditions, but many of the most outstanding features of modern society reflect the strong influence of the three regionally dominant ethnic groups-Hausa/Fulani in the North, Yoruba in the Southwest, and Igbo in the Southeast.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Nigeria takes its name from its most important feature: the Niger River. The Niger rises in the northeast mountains in Sierra Leone and flows through Guinea, Mali, and Niger before entering Nigeria from the West. In Nigeria, it goes Southeast into the Niger Delta then into the Atlantic Ocean (Oyewole, 1987:1-2). Nigeria lies at the inner corner of the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa with an area of 356, 669 square miles. It is slightly more than twice the size of California. The longest distance from the eastern to the western boundaries is 700 miles, while the distance from the northern boundaries to the Atlantic Ocean is 650 miles. Benin borders Nigeria on the west, Niger and Chad on the north, Cameroon on the east and the Atlantic Ocean on the south (Oyewole, 1987:1-3). The climate varies: equatorial in the south, tropical in the center and arid in the north. The terrain ranges from southern lowlands to central hills and plateaus. There are mountains in the southeast and plains in the north (CIA, 1999).

POPULATION AND ETHNIC GROUPS

The size and population of Nigeria is one of its most significant and distinctive features. Various studies estimate Nigeria's population between 100 and 118 million; the precise figure is uncertain because there has been no accepted census since 1963. Nigeria is composed of more than 250 ethnic groups with more than 500 diverse spoken languages and various religious faiths. The official language is English, but Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and several others are spoken. The main ethnic groups are Hausa/Fulani in the North, Yoruba (made up of the Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ife, Ilesha, Ekiti and Owu peoples) in the Southwest, and the Igbo in the Southeast. These three groups comprise about 60 percent of the Nigerian population. The remainder of the people are members of the ethnic minority groups which include such peoples as the Kanuri, Tiv, and Nupe in the North, the Efik/Ibibio, Ejaw and the Ekoi in the East and the Edo and Urhobo/Isoko in the West along with hundreds of other groups that differ widely in language, culture, and even physique.

Fulani- One of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. They were the first ones to accept Islam and they did much to spread it. The Fulani are either nomadic cattle herders or town traders. During the Jihad in 1803 led by Usman Dan Fodio, the Fulani gained political control over the Hausa states. After the war, Fulani were installed as emirs in all the emirates in the northern regions. The Hausa and Fulani have acculturated each other's values and are often referred to as Hausa/Fulani (Oyewole, 1987:137).

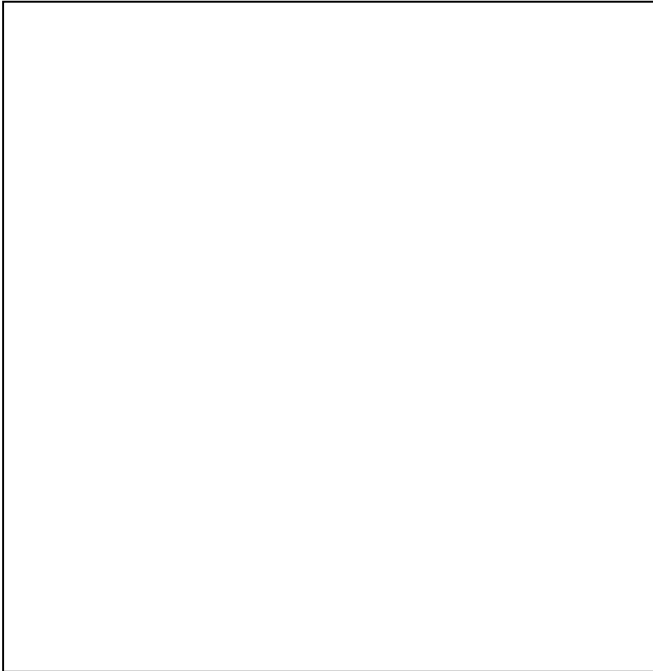
Hausa- The largest ethnic group in the North. They are Muslim and mostly farmers, artisans, and traders. The Hausa language is widely spoken not only in Northern Nigerian but also in other parts of West Africa. It is said they possess an intense cultural consciousness and pride in themselves. When they arrived in what is now called Nigeria, the Hausa set up 7 small states where they developed techniques of efficient government, including a carefully organized fiscal system and a highly learned judiciary.

Igbo (also spelled Ibo)- They constitute the majority ethnic group in Southeast. Among them they speak many dialects, which reflects their decentralized political structure. Their largest societal unit was the village, where each extended family managed its own affairs without being dictated by any higher authority. The villages were democratic in nature and where chiefs existed their political power was restricted to local jurisdiction. They are mostly farmers and traders. Many of the Igbo are Catholic, but some also practice the Igbo traditional religion.

Yoruba- They mainly live in the Southwest. It is believed that their ancestors migrated from Egypt. There were many trade wars among them during the 19th century. They have been the most urbanized people in Nigeria and before the British arrived, they had a fairly developed large political organization and traditional and constitutional monarchy. They have also been exposed to intense westernization. About 40% of the Yoruba are Christian (protestant), another 40% are Muslim and the remaining 10% practice the traditional Yoruba religion.

HISTORY

Map of 3 Major Ethnic Group Regions



PRECOLONIAL HISTORY

People have lived in what is now known as Nigeria since at least 9000 BC. Kingdoms emerged in the northern area, prospering from trade ties with North Africa around the early centuries AD. At roughly the same time, the southern area yielded city-states and looser federations sustained by agriculture and coastal trade.

North and Northwest Nigeria

The northern region's first well-documented state was the Kanem kingdom around 9th century AD. Kanem profited from trade ties with North Africa and the Nile Valley, from which it received Islam. Around the 14th century, the Kanem-Bornu Empire was established. Kanem-Bornu became a flourishing center of Islamic culture and grew rich in trade of salt and textiles. The empire lasted until 1846.

The Hausa cultures emerged into seven city-states (Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zaria, Gobir, Kebbi, Auyo) in the northwestern and north central areas of Nigeria. They developed strong trading centers typically surrounded by a wall. Their economies were based on intensive farming, cattle raising, craft making, and later slave trading.

The Fulani and the Jihad

In 1803, Usman Dan Fodio, a Fulani priest and reformer, initiated a movement to purify the practice of the Islam and to improve the economy in the North. This religious war

helped spread Islam and united Northern Nigeria under the Caliphate of Sokoto (city founded by Usman Dan Fodio).

Southwest Nigeria

Ife is the first well-documented kingdom established by the Yoruba in the southwest around the 12th century. Ife was known for its highly skilled artisans, who made beautiful pieces from terra cotta, bronze, wood and ivory. The kingdom of Benin emerged to the East of Ife, shortly after its rise. Around 15th century, the Yoruba city-state of Oyo arose. It replaced Ife as Yorubaland's political center. Initially, because of its strong military, the Oyo controlled the trade in slaves with the Portuguese. The Slave trade had disastrous effects on the area as the groups vied for the lucrative trade in slaves, conflicts increased, and agriculture and other economic areas declined or stagnated.

	<p><u>Southeast Nigeria</u></p> <p>The Igbos (pronounced Ebo) dominated this part of Nigeria. They did not for the most part have large, centralized kingdoms like other parts of Nigeria. In the 17th and 18th century, the Aro arose to dominate Nigeria's southeastern border. The Aro were oracular priests for the region and used this role to secure large numbers of slaves. The slaves were then sold in coastal ports.</p> <p><u>Slave Trade</u></p> <p>The effects of slavery on the development of Nigeria and West Africa are many. It drained the population of a</p>
	<p>considerable number of able-bodied men and women in their prime, leaving behind old men and women. It destroyed many villages and flourishing towns, and created distrust and hatred between various ethnic groups and even within the same ethnic groups, especially as witnessed by the Yoruba civil wars (mentioned previously under Southwest Nigeria). Still important is the fact it diverted Nigeria and West African efforts away from agriculture and industries. Finally, the suppression of slave trade in the 1800s gave European Empire builders a good opportunity to intervene in local African affairs, support one group against other and finally subjugate them.</p>

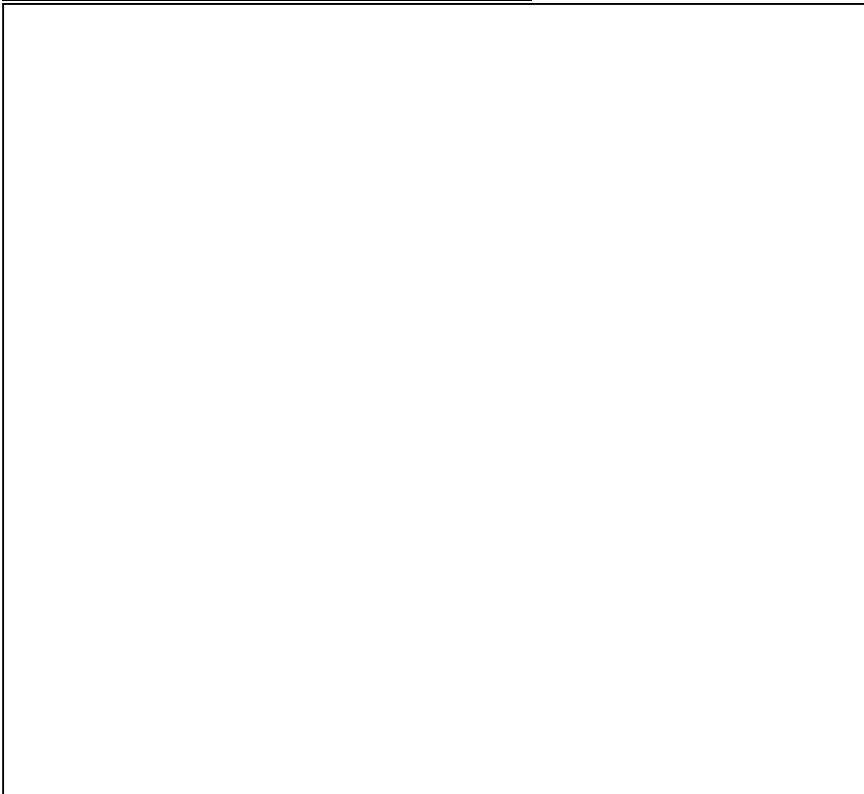
COLONIAL HISTORY

	<p>In 1853 the British government had two consuls in Nigeria: John Beecroft for the Bight of Biafra and Benjamin Campbell for Lagos. Nigeria was the creation of these British imperial authorities. Its boundaries were determined not on the basis of its ethnic communities, but rather on the basis of European economic interests and power politics (Oyewole, 1987:5). The British established a colony in Lagos in 1861. Lord Frederick</p>
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Lugard, a British colonial administrator was responsible for the pacification and conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate as well as unifying northern and southern Nigeria. He was a major advocate of British indirect rule, which basically used local chiefs and emirs to rule the people rather than establish a entirely new administrative network.

The British divided and ruled colonial Nigeria as distinct and independent political units via a regional system of separate administrations and local authority structures. Thus, there was no central representative institution or unifying political body. Nigeria became a federation of three regions (Eastern, Northern, and Western) in 1954. The federal structure reflected the wide cultural and political differences between the country's three largest ethno-linguistic groups, the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba that constituted the majority of the populations in the Northern, Eastern and Western regions, respectively. Within each regional system, the majority group tended to exercise political dominance over numerous of other smaller ethnic groups. (Forrest, 1993:17).

COLONIAL MAP OF NIGERIA



Independence and Crisis Years

The Federation of Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960. Since no party had won a majority in the 1959 elections, The Northern People's Congress and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) formed a coalition government. After the election, Abubakar

Tafawa Balewa of NPC became Prime Minister and Nnamdi Azikiwe of NCNC became the governor-general. In 1963, it became the Republic of Nigeria and its first President was Nnamdi Azikiwe.

The first years of independence were characterized by severe conflicts within and between regions. In the Western region, a mostly Yoruba based party called the Action Group led by Obafemi Awolowo split off under the leadership of S.I. Akintola to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1962. In 1963, the Mid-Western region (mostly Edo population) was formed from part of the Western region. National Elections in 1964 were hotly contested with an NPC-NNDP coalition emerging victorious.

The January 1966 coup staged by Igbo army officers killed Federal Prime Minister Balewa, Northern Prime Minister Ahmadu Bello, and Western Prime Minister S.I. Akintola. The coup leaders installed an Igbo, Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi as head of government. Another coup in July killed Ironsi, and named Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon as head of a new military regime. The Eastern parliament subsequently declared the region an independent republic and civil war erupted.

Issues to Explore in Nigeria's History: Pre-Colonial to Civil War

Effects of Slave Trade

Resistance of Emirates in the North to Colonialism

Lord Frederick Lugard and the British policy of Indirect Rule

Independence, Internal Conflict and the Biafra War

POLITICAL ECONOMY

ETHNICITY AND POLITICS

In Nigeria, politics is not just the pastime of the educated elite alone. The uneducated rural population and their uprooted urban counterparts are as keenly aware of their stake in politics as the educated elites. Politics is largely non-ideological, based more along ethnic lines and concerned with material advancement and the

accumulation of power for one's ethnic group (Wilson, 1988:21-22). Nigeria has spent most of its post independence years searching for a national identity or at least trying to get citizens to think of themselves as Nigerians. Most Nigerians still have strong regional local loyalties embedded in ethnic and religious ties.

Politics of Marginalization

Minabere Ibelema claims that Nigeria's ethnic groups are fearful of domination and, that this is the root cause of all the tension and instability that Nigeria has experienced since independence. At different points in time, each of the 3 major ethnic groups claims to have been marginalized from the government. Their claims of marginalization center on 4 central concerns: participation in and/or control of government, political appointments, budgetary allocations, and leadership of government-owned industries or parastatals.

The declining economy and government corruption have exacerbated the problem as many groups feel a loss of privilege and have started seeking scapegoats among other ethnic groups. There is an inherent inequity in the federal revenue sharing system, as 85-90 percent of the government's budget comes from a relatively small region's (the Niger Delta) crude oil production.

The Igbos and the Hausa/Fulani both feel marginalized. One can understand the Igbo claim since they still feel the impact of the civil war, but it is difficult to understand the Hausa/Fulani claim as they have dominated political leadership of Nigeria since the end of colonialism. Before the civil war, many Igbo held important political and business positions throughout the country especially in the North and Niger Delta, positions many have yet to regain. Although the Hausa/Fulani have dominated national politics, the Northern region where majority live has lagged tremendously in educational and industrial development.

On the other hand, Yorubas feel cheated since they have not fully participated in political leadership despite their high levels of education and extensive involvement in national industry and commerce. As a group, the Yoruba did not vote for Obasanjo (although he is Yoruba)

because he did not denounce the military government when it nullified the 1993 elections that would have made Moshood Abiola the first Yoruba Nigerian president.

GOVERNMENT

In 1968, Nigeria adopted a federal structure of 12 states. The number of states increased in 1976 to 19, to 21 in 1987, to 30 in 1991, and to 36 in 1996. The federal capital of Abuja, a new city on the model of Brasilia, was created in 1979 (Mabogunje, 2000:818). The Nigerian state is now governed under the 1999 Constitution that is modeled after the American Presidential system, with three branches: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. The executive branch is headed by a popularly elected president for a 4-year term and is assisted by a cabinet. The bicameral legislature consists of a 360-seat House of Representatives and a 109-seat Senate. All legislators are elected for 4-year terms. The current President is Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party, and the Vice-president is Alhaji Abubakar Atiku. The three major political parties are People's Democratic Party (PDP, centrist), All People's Party (APP, conservative) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD, progressive).

State governments are run by democratically elected Executive Governors, assisted by a Deputy Governor and State Executive Council of Commissioners who are appointed by the Governor and approved by the legislative arm of government-the State House Assembly. States enact laws, which are superceded by federal laws in case of conflict.

Nigerian Leaders since Independence

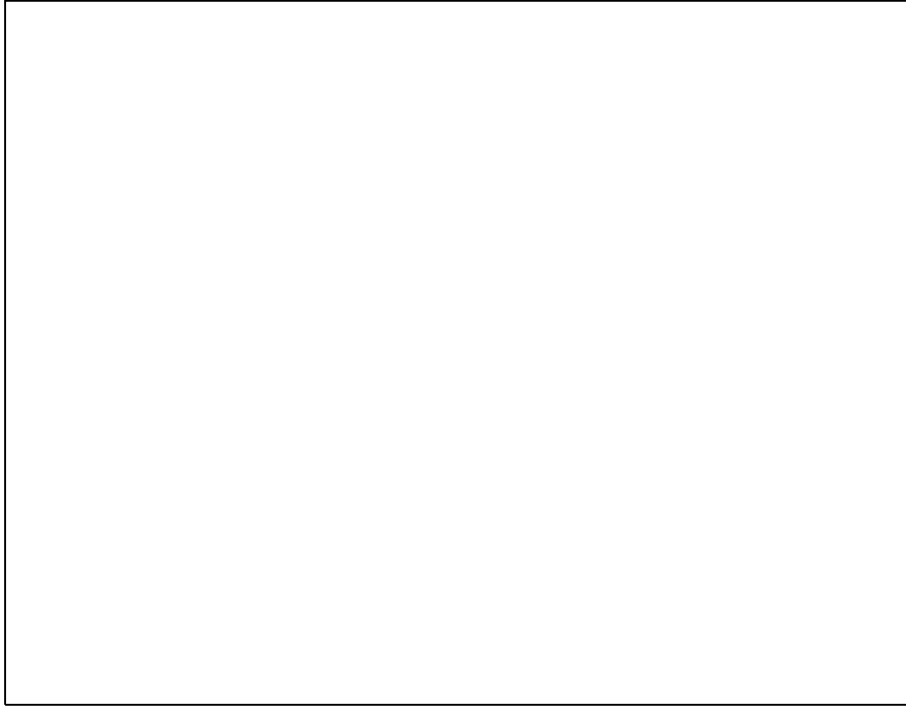
Name	Ethnicity, Religion or Region	Period in Power	Type of Government
Nnamdi Azikiwe	Igbo	1960-66	Civilian
Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi	Igbo	1966	Military
Yakubu Gowon	Hausa	1966-75	Military
Murtala Muhammad	Hausa/Fulani	1975-76	Military
Olusegun Obasanjo	Yoruba-Christian	1976-79	Military

Shehu Shagari	Hausa/Fulani	1979-83	Civilian
Muhammadu Buhari	Hausa/Fulani	1983-85	Military
Ibrahim Babangida	Hausa/Fulani	1985-1993	Military
Ernest Shonekan	Yoruba	1993	Civilian
Sani Abacha	Kanuri (North)	1993-98	Military
Abdulsalami Abubakar	Hausa/Fulani	1998-1999	Military
Olusegun Obasanjo	Yoruba-Christian	1999-	Civilian

Nigeria's 36 States

Abia	Adamawa	Akwa Ibom	Anambra	Bauchi	Bayelsa
Benue	Borno	Cross River	Delta	Ebonyi	Edo
Ekiti	Enugu	Gombe	Imo	Jigawa	Kaduna
Kano	Katsina	Kebbi	Kwara	Kogi	Lagos
Nassarawa	Niger	Ogun	Ondo	Osun	Oyo
Plateau	Rivers	Sokoto	Taraba	Yobe	Zamfara

Map of Nigeria's 36 States



DOMINATION OF MILITARY RULE

The political future of Nigeria is tied to the future of the Nigerian military. For now the military is confined to its barracks. However, military dictatorships have dominated 30 of Nigeria's 40 years of independence. Thus, the military remains a viable and threatening alternative to civilian rule. The key will be to get the military force to defer to civilian authority and accept a subordinate role in a constitutional democracy. After so many years of military rule, many Nigerian public and private sector institutions are overly centralized, corrupted, inept, and autocratic.

Many of the country's military rulers and their associates stole tens of billions of dollars that may never be reclaimed. Far worse than this, however, was the squandering of the national budget on capital building projects that simply provided vehicles for kickbacks, but produced little of value. It is estimated, for example that \$8 billion was spent to build a steel plant in Ajaokuta in 1970s (*Economist*, 2000). It has yet to produce any steel.

Coup d' État (1966-1993)

Between 1966 and 1993, Nigeria experienced 7 coups. Some people, especially the Hausa/Fulani saw the first coup in January 1966 in the North as being staged for the sole purpose of establishing Igbo domination. After the *Unification Decree* in May, 1966, abolished the federal structure to set-up a unitary form of government, this was especially the case. Violent protest subsequently erupted in the Northern Region and 6,000-8,000 Igbos were killed (this ultimately led to the civil war and declaration of the Republic of Biafra).

The second coup in July 1966 established General Gowon as national leader. The third coup in July 1975 brought in General Murtala Muhammad as head of state, and Olusegun Obasanjo, as military chief of staff. In February 1976, there was an attempted coup that resulted in the death of General Muhammad. Obasanjo stepped in to rule the country. The fifth coup in December 1983 was bloodless, and removed Shehu Shagari's civilian government and brought Major-General Muhammadu Buhari to power. A sixth coup in 1985 was led by General Ibrahim Babangida. Sani Abacha led the seventh coup in November 1993, and brutally ruled until his death in 1998.

Civil War

The Nigerian civil war was the result of ethnic suspicion and leadership conflict. The Hausa/Fulani thought the Igbos were attempting to dominate the country after the January 1966 coup, so they launched a counter coup in July that killed many Igbo military officials as well as thousands of civilians in the North. Many Igbo began to feel insecure in the current Nigerian federation, especially after General Gowon emerged as the new leader. The Igbo military leadership expressed much displeasure over the selection of General Gowon. After almost a year of political and economic power moves, Lt. Col. Ojukwu proclaimed the independent Republic of Biafra in May 1967. The war ended with Biafra surrendering in January 1970.

Modern Economy

Spurred by the booming petroleum industry, the Nigerian economy quickly recovered from the effects of the civil war and made more impressive advances. Nonetheless, inflation and high unemployment

remained, and the oil boom led to government corruption and uneven distribution of wealth. In the late 1970s, a crisis ensued. It was brought on by rapidly falling oil revenues, government restrictions on public opposition to the regime, restricted union activity, student movements, nationalization of land, and increased oil industry regulation.

The World Bank ranks Nigeria as a low-income country despite its tremendous agricultural and mineral resources. It is among the world 20 poorest countries on the basis of per capita income. The decline in world petroleum prices in 1981 led to a decline in earnings from foreign exchange, which led to an accumulation of arrears in trade debts and to import shortages that resulted in a sharp fall in economic activity. A series of poor harvests, an overvalued currency, and a widening budget deficit severely compounded the problem. Between 1984 and 1990, austerity measures-- including elimination of price subsidies and privatization of state enterprises--were instituted by the Buhari and Babangida governments.

Petroleum Domination

The development of the petroleum industry in the late 1960s and 1970s radically transformed Nigeria from an agriculturally based economy to a major exporter of oil. Nigeria extracts about 93.1 metric tons of oil annually to account for 2.9 percent of the world production (Ejobowah, 2000). The entire production comes from the Niger Delta and adjacent off-shore fields, which host over a dozen oil companies producing what accounts for at least 80% of Nigeria's annual revenue. The largest of the companies is Shell. The Nigerian government has joint partnership arrangements with each company, and commands 55-60 percent of shares.

Effects of Petroleum

The discovery of oil, rather than improving the quality of life of most Nigerians, only made it worse (Onimode, 1992). Although it led to the establishment of many projects in industry and construction, which generated employment for skilled and unskilled labor, it also led to the population drift from rural to urban areas and the decline of agriculture in the national economy. The long-term problem of neglecting

agriculture has resulted in steep increase in food prices and food insecurity. The disruptive effect of petroleum activities also directly affected agriculture productivity in the oil producing regions, since some of the shore lands were farming lands. The pollution that accompanied oil-drilling activities also affected fish production in the area.

Niger Delta

Ogoniland is the center of oil production in the Niger Delta and is suffering deteriorating social and environmental conditions. As it is the center of oil production, it generates at least 80% of government revenues in Nigeria. Ken Saro-Wiwa led the struggle of the Ogoni people until his execution by the Abacha regime in 1995. Before his demise, he called for reparations from the oil companies.

Even after the election of a democratic regime, Nigeria's oil region still experiences immense problems--with unemployed youth resorting to violence and terrorist tactics against oil company personnel and pipelines. These recent conflicts are unlike actions led by Ken Saro-Wiwa, which were peaceful demonstrations limited to the Ogoni people, who inhabit a small part of the region. These recent uprisings have been violent and deadly. President Obasanjo's attempts to quell the unrest by sending in the military have resulted in condemnation by human rights groups. The Niger Delta region wants development, but the oil fields do not lend themselves well to providing arable land for farming and clean water for fishing. The Niger Delta question revolves around the federal government's control of oil resources and the distribution of oil revenue among the constituent states of the federation, and the claims of local communities to ownership of the resources.

Corruption and Crime

Corruption and crime are believed to be two of the most serious challenges posing a threat to the fabric of Nigerian society. Although direct looting of the Treasury associated with previous military administrations has probably declined under President Obasanjo, routine corruption, largely responsible for the state's mismanagement of

resources is likely to continue even after the delayed anti-corruption law comes into force (EIU, 2000:7). Corruption is so widespread in Nigerian public culture that it will take major changes – including the promotion of greater openness in government, paying public servants enough to reduce the temptation for bribe-seeking and generally loosening the state’s grip on the economy – to reduce the problem.

The effects of corrupted and incompetent military leadership on the Nigerian economy are still felt throughout the society. Crime including armed robberies, thefts/stealing, burglaries and house/store break-ins, violence including murders, assault and rape constitute 73% of all crimes and offenses reported to the police between 1994-1997 (UNDCP, 1999).

Advance Fee 419 Scam

At one time Nigeria criminals targeted potential fraud victims via the mail, but now it is mostly over the Internet. In all cases, it is still the same Advance Fee 419 scam that starts with a letter enticing recipients to part with information, such as bank account details, with the promise they can make huge profits by allowing money to be transferred out of Nigeria into their account.

Drug Trafficking

Since the mid-1980s, Nigeria-based trafficking organizations, which smuggle large quantities of Southeast Asian heroin (primarily Thailand) into the United States, have become an increasingly sophisticated threat to drug enforcement efforts. The traffickers from Nigeria pay couriers, many of them fellow Nigerians to smuggle small amounts of heroin aboard commercial airlines. To avert suspicion, traffickers have begun to recruit couriers from every nationality. American teenage girls have been used, as well as members of U.S. military. As a result of increasing law enforcement pressure, Nigeria-based traffickers are beginning to switch from courier shipments to using express mail deliver. Once in the U.S., ethnic Nigerian traffickers sell the product to inner city gangs. To decrease their transportation costs, Nigerian traffickers have begun to cultivate heroin markets in other areas outside of Southeast Asia, such as Europe (DEA, 2000).

Debt

Nigeria has over \$30 billion in loans due to official bilateral, private sector, and multilateral creditors. Much of this debt, over \$20 billion, is in arrears because Nigeria's previous government stopped paying its official bilateral creditors in the early 1990s. The government has used every opportunity to argue for debt relief, including substantial debt cancellation, and has even published a booklet, "Debt Cancellation: A Case for Nigeria," which it hopes will turn the argument in its favor. The government contends that Nigeria is too poor to meet its present debt repayment obligations of over \$3 billion a year, needs to invest in poverty alleviation and deserves compensation for its financial commitment to stabilizing the West African region.

Issues to Explore in Nigeria's Political Economy

1. Federalism and Ethnic Rivalry
2. Potential for Democratization
3. Corruption by Civilian and Military Officials
4. Oil Resources and Revenue Sharing
5. International Criminal Activities: financial fraud, narcotics trafficking, money laundering, white-collar crime

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

In Nigeria as well as in other parts of Africa, Islam, Christianity and strongly held traditional beliefs exist along side each other. Approximately 50 percent of the population is Muslim, 40 percent is Christian and the remaining 10 percent practice indigenous beliefs. Religious differences combined with ethnicity have contributed greatly to Nigeria's instability.

Religion has always been an important aspect of the culture and a way of life for the Nigerian people. Long before the advent of Islam and Christianity, the various people of Nigeria had their own indigenous religions, which permeated all aspects of the peoples' lives. Each ethnic or linguistic group had its own religious customs. The intersection of religion and politics can be as volatile as ethnicity and politics, and may be growing more so. Over the past 15 years, the most divisive

communal or interregional conflicts have occurred over religious matters. Some have pitted Muslims against Christians, and other members of radical Muslim sects against fellow Muslims.

Religious Controversy and Conflict

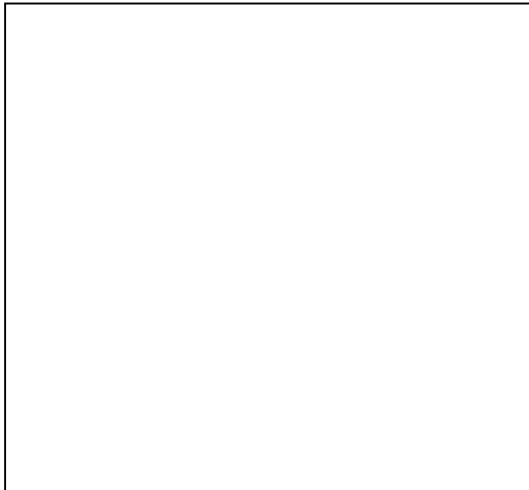
Since 1970, religious controversy and intolerance in Nigeria have increased, and religious identities have become more overtly involved in political divisions. Religious tensions, especially intra-religious ones, are not new to Nigeria. Within Islam there was competition between the Qadariyya and Tijaniyya brotherhoods in the 1950s and 1960s. Later in the 1970s, there was localized conflict between the reformist Izala movement and the brotherhoods. But open conflict between Christians and Muslims had been rare in the past. Religion has on occasion been manipulated for political purposes. In general, however, religious identities – as distinct from ethnic, sectional, and class ones – have not been harnessed to mobilize political support. This has all changed since 1999. Indeed, the bloodiest conflicts that have occurred since Nigeria inaugurated a civilian government in May, 1999, have had less to do with religion rather than ethnicity. They have pitted the northern Hausa/Fulani, who are Muslim against the southern Yoruba, who are also Muslim as well as Christian. Many Hausa/Fulani claimed to be shut out of power, because the current president is Yoruba and Christian.

Prominence of Religious Issues

To understand the prominence that religious issues and organizations have attained in Nigeria, a number of factors are relevant. First, there was the growth and dynamism of Islam and Christianity and the rise of fundamentalism in both Islam and Christianity. Second, there was the impact of the civil war of the 1960s and the increased influence of international tensions on domestic divisions. Third, there was the growth of state intervention in areas like education that were previously the province of religious bodies. Finally, there was the changed position of Christian populations within the northern states.

Islam

Islam is the earliest external influence to reach Nigeria. It impacted principally the Northern sections of Nigeria, introduced a new way of life, and brought with it literacy in the Arabic language. Until the jihad of Usman Dan Fodio in 1803, it was mainly a religion of a small elite among the Hausa rulers. Today, it is practiced in the north among the Hausa/Fulani and some sections of western Nigeria among the Yoruba people.



Sharia

Sharia means path or way. It is the legal structure central to Muslim identity and practice. In Northern Nigeria, it deals mostly with civil cases, but it is in the area of family law and succession that it is strongest and most important. Nigeria's 1999 Constitution allows sharia courts to decide questions of Islamic personal law where the parties are consenting

Muslims, but the Constitution forbids the adoption of a state religion. Unfortunately, the Constitution also empowers each of the 36 states to make laws on religion. Recently, some northern governors had instituted the sharia criminal code. The governors insist it will apply only to Muslims. This has led to protest from non-Muslims. A plan by the Kaduna state to introduce the system in February, 2000 unleashed mayhem resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people and reprisal killings in Southeastern Nigeria. Sporadic sharia-related violence still continues.

The sharia issue is complex. While Muslims, rich and poor, insist on their religious rights, Christians in Muslim-dominated states fear they will eventually be subjected to the legal code. In addition, to attempt to adopt an Islamic criminal system, some northern states have introduced laws (or plan to) that are more associated with Islamic states than a multi-cultural society including banning alcohol and the separation of sexes in public (EIU, 2000:12).

Role of Women

Women's roles are primarily governed by regional and ethnic differences. Traditionally, in the North, Islamic practices are still very common. Thus, generally, there is less formal education, early marriages-especially in rural areas, and confinement to the household (except for visits to kin, ceremonies, and the workplace, if employment is available and permitted by a woman's family or husband). Marriage is often polygamous. For the most part, Hausa women do not work in the fields, whereas Kanuri women do. Both work with harvesting and all

household members work in food processing. In the Muslim North, education beyond primary school has traditionally been restricted to the daughters of the business and professional elites.

In the South, women traditionally have economically important positions in interregional trade and the markets, work on farms as major labor sources, and have influential positions in traditional systems of local organization. The South, like North, still practices polygamy in Christian and Muslim households. Women in the South, especially among the Yoruba peoples, have received Western-style education since the 19th century.

Nigerian Literature

Two of Nigeria's greatest authors and commentators are Nobel Prize Laureate Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe. These authors have written books, essays, poems, plays on Nigeria's post independence struggles.

Suggested Readings:

Wole Soyinka

The Open Sore of a Continent: A Personal Narrative of the Nigerian Crisis
The man died: Prison notes of Wole Soyinka

Chinua Achebe

The Trouble with Nigeria
Anthills of the

Ibadan: the Penkeleles years: a memoir: 1946-1965
The Burden of Memory, the Muse of Forgiveness
A Dance of the forest
Myth, Literature and the African World

Savannah
A Man of the People
Things Fall Apart
No Longer at Ease
Hopes and
Impediments

Other Nigerian Authors to Explore

Buchi Emecheta

Olu Oguibe

Christopher Okigbo

Ben Okri

Ken Saro-Wiwa

Amos Tutuola

Art and Culture

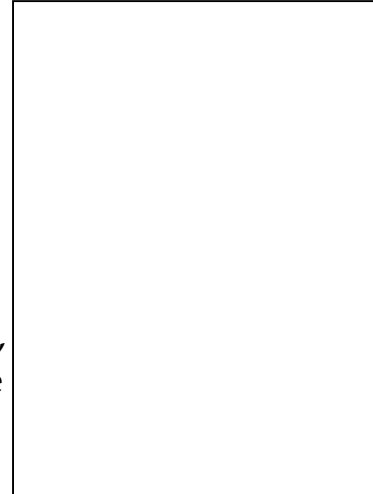
In Nigeria, culture is manifested in art, dance, language, literature, folklore, governance, music, and even the environment.

George Landow, Brown University, "Civilizing Scars"

As in the essentially anti-Romantic arts of medieval Europe, traditional African body decoration and sculpture elevate the human above both the merely natural (in reality) and the merely realistic (in aesthetics). Scarification, tattooing, and body piercing therefore parallel the characteristic African aesthetic emphasis upon composure, balance, and calm in an important way, for both represent ways of separating the human from the less-than-human -- the animal, the natural. As Susan Mullin Vogel explains, "Scarification and other forms of body decoration were traditionally considered marks of civilization. They distinguished the civilized, socialized human body from the body in its natural state and from animals. The Chokwe say that teeth not filed to points are like the teeth of animals" [Aesthetics of African Art" The Carlo Monzino Collection, NY; Center for African Art, 1986,25;images from Willet, 189,221]

Such body modifications, she explains, largely occurs "during adolescence, often at rituals that celebrate the accession to adulthood, " and it "marks progressive stages of social integration and standing, such as parenthood, and it marks one as a member of one's group" (25).

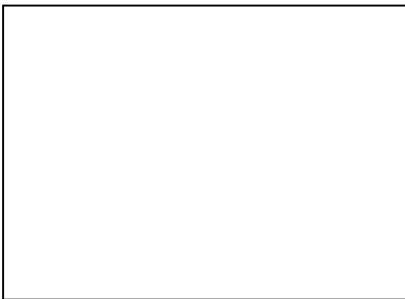
Scarification thus functions as a multiple border marker -- separating the human form from the animal, the individual at a particular life-state from those at all other, and members of one tribal or ethnic group from outsiders.



Scarification serves as a sign of character as well, since it is "not only beautiful to look at and arousing to touch but it is also proof of stamina and courage, characteristics necessary to undergo the painful operation" (25) --something apparent in Soyinka's description of his scarification in Ake.

If changing the physical body thus combines the aesthetic, philosophical, and social much as do other African aesthetic qualities, how does African body modification relate to scarification, tattooing, and body piercing in the West, and how do both relate to elective cosmetic surgery?

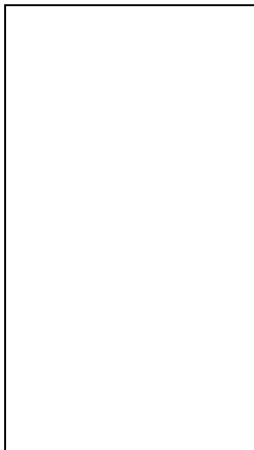
Michael Connor, Indiana University "Shaping: The Blacksmith"



Forged-iron figurative sculpture is not common in Africa, but Yoruba blacksmiths pound, weld, and cast several types of very elegant standards, such as those carried by Ifa cult priests, those planted in the ground at the shrines of Osanyin herbalists, and those

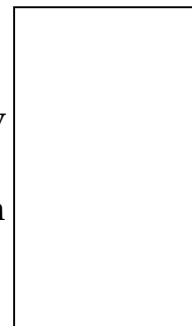
pounded from hoes into a sword-like staff for the deity of agriculture, Oko. These are the same artisans who produce the everyday tools of the leatherworkers, woodcarvers, and farmers. Some of these men also know how to do ornamental and ritual brass casting using the "lost-wax" process. Most of this casting work is done on commission for the Ogbodi (or Osugbo) society. This is a secret society comprised of elders

dedicated to maintaining law and order in a community. The society worships the Earth and values the incorruptible quality of brass. It is famous for its twin ritual brasses (edan) joined from the head by a metal chain. Some of the stylistic abstraction of cast-metal art can be attributed to differences in media and technique. Some may be due to the abstract character of the Ogboni society's subject of veneration - Earth itself. Regional variation in style may also be involved. Until late in the last century, the Ogboni cult was a southern forest phenomenon, while woodcarving has long been practiced throughout Nigeria. Yet both woodcarvers and brass casters depict the figure in basically the same manner: frontal, expressionless, and with great attention to meaningful detail, especially around the head.



Occasionally, the caster will create items for other cults. The covered brass bowl with four figures in the Meyer Collection may be either an Ogboni-related medicine bowl or a container for an Ifa diviners sacred palm nuts. At least one important divination verse compares Ifa to brass, stating, "White ants never devour brass, worms do not eat lead. I (Ifa) am humble, hence I have become a god." Secular or cult prestige staffs were sometimes commissioned by chiefs or important dignitaries. As public staffs of office or chief's messenger staffs, they incorporate symbols of leadership and are sometimes

heavily ornamented with figures. The worship of the god of iron, Ogun, also requires certain brass-cast objects. Anyone who uses iron in any form should honor the god of iron. Of course, most occupations and institutions use iron, so the symbol of Ogun is widely mingled with images of most other deities. Even the woodcarver will carefully maintain a shrine to Ogun and make offerings there before felling a tree or beginning a new work. Like the Opa Osanyin herbalist, whose metal staff with birds is shown above, the blacksmiths use staffs (iwana Ogun) and swords with open-work and incised patterns (ada Ogun) to define status in their trade, to advertise a mastery of their craft, and to ornament shrines to Ogun. The senior blacksmith's staff is in the form of an iron poker with a figurative cast-brass handle. At the top of the poker sits a tilted Ogun devotee,



dressed militantly, holding weapons, and wearing the insignia of his office - an openwork headdress, bandoleers of medicines, charms, and beads.

Health Issues

Nigeria continues to experience severe epidemics of preventable diseases and remains among the world's greatest focal points for polio cases, HIV infections, and overall population growth (USAID, 1998). Major diseases included cerebrospinal meningitis, yellow fever, Lassa fever, HIV/AIDS, malaria, guinea worm, schistosomiasis, and river blindness. The federal, state and local governments and private groups own medical establishments. In rural areas there is a shortage of medical facilities and physicians (*Nigeria*, 1992:xvii). Half of the population has no access to safe drinking water. Many walk hours every day to get water, and it often contains water-borne parasites and bacteria that leads to deadly cases of diarrhea and guinea worm (Economist, 2000).

HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is a growing problem in Nigeria. It is estimated as of June 1999 that over 5 million Nigerians are living with HIV infection. The first case of AIDS was reported in Nigeria in 1986, yet it took the government six years before it was able to carry out its first HIV sentinel survey, with assistance from World Health Organization (WHO). The national prevalence rate was then (1992) estimated to be 1.2 percent. Since then, the number of HIV infected individuals in Nigeria has increased rapidly from about 600,000 through to 1.9 million in 1994 and 2.25 million in 1996 to over 3-4 million in 1998 (USAID, 1999).

Issues to Explore in Nigerian Religion and Society

1. 'Sharia' in majority Muslim States

Role of Islamic and Christian Fundamentalism

Christianity as an ethnic/regional issue & its conflicts with traditional customs

Role of Women (pre- and post-colonial periods)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Nigerian International Relations

Nigeria accounts for 47 percent of the region's population, and 43 percent of the region's GDP. In recent years, Nigeria has exercised a leadership role through the West African peacekeeping force, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which restored peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria has played a vital role in supporting regional stability through substantial peacekeeping efforts over the last decade. It is home to about 1 in 5 Africans, and the second largest economy in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria is also an important bilateral economic partner of the United States, it is the United States' second largest trading partner on the continent (South Africa is first).

President Obasanjo has spent much of his first year in office travelling abroad and is keen for Nigeria to play a more active role in African economic and political issues outside of West Africa. These include leading the African campaign for debt relief and seeking a role as a mediator in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the current problems in Zimbabwe.

Political Culture and Foreign Policy

Akinyemi (1974) argues that Nigeria has a conservative foreign policy because of the numerical strength of conservative Northern Nigeria. Wilson (1988) believes the conservative orientation also reflects the general conservatism of the traditional cultures throughout Nigeria and their impact on popular opinion. He also states it is closely tied to the importance most groups place on business and commerce. Thus, Nigeria's foreign policy has tended to be pro-Western and conservative.

Ogunbadejo also implies that 'oil wealth provided Nigeria with the economic base, and thus the confidence, to give more substance to its foreign policy...' (1980:765). Thus, Wilson (1988) concludes that 'with its newly-found wealth and relative stability, and within the general

framework of pro-Western moderation, Nigeria sought to influence Western countries' relations with sub-Saharan Africa, and to establish itself as a leading broker in Western-African relations (35).

In its foreign relations, Nigeria sought to promote independence in the region without radicalization and to legitimize Nigeria's emergence as a leader in sub-Saharan Africa (Wilson, 1988). Nigeria achieved these objectives in negotiating Zimbabwe's independence, its search for solutions to Southern Africa conflicts, its support for MPLA in Angola against the US' wishes, and its self-proclaimed membership in the front-line group of states.

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

ECOWAS is an association of West African states. It was established by a treaty and ratified by 15 states in 1975 (Cape Verde joined later) to promote trade, economic development and cooperation in West Africa. In 1978, ECOWAS adopted a non-aggression protocol and in 1981, 13 of its members signed a mutual defense pact providing for collective military response against attack from non ECOWAS countries, mediation and peacekeeping missions in the event of armed conflict between states and defense against external states that initiate or support insurgencies in within member states. ECOWAS has a mixed record in mediating disputes between member states, particularly in attempting to resolve civil wars. An ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) comprising about 8,000 troops led by Nigeria was dispatched to Liberia in 1990. It succeeded in implementing a cease-fire agreement between the main rival factions and in appointing an interim president.

International Sanctions

From 1994-97, Nigeria faced political isolation, primarily on the issues of human rights and democratic processes in the country. The European Union and the U.S. imposed limited sanctions that suspended bilateral and multilateral assistance. The suspended direct flights between Nigeria and the United States, arms sales, and military assistance. It placed restrictions on travel by government officials and their family members. After the hanging of the Ogoni 9, Nigeria was suspended

from the Commonwealth and the United States recalled its Ambassador for a four-month consultation.

Issues to Explore in Nigerian Foreign Relations

1. Nigeria in Africa
2. Nigeria in West Africa
3. Role of Sanctions during Military Regimes

Internet Site Guide

General News and Information

African News Service- recent news on Nigeria from Pan African News Agency, Nigerian press and other sources.

<http://www.africanews.org/west/nigeria>

Nigeria Nexus-newspaper articles and essays on Nigerian politics, civil society, media, economy and history -

<http://www.internews.org/nigeria>

Nigeria Media Monitor- focuses on media and censorship-

<http://www.kilima.com/mediamonitor>

Nigerian news On-line <http://www.Nigeriaworld.com>

<http://www.Nigeriaweb.odili.net/culture.html>

Africa Policy Home Page-<http://www.africapolicy.org>

Association of Nigerian Scholars for Dialogue-discussion, documents and additional background on constitution-making and potential reform in Nigeria <http://www.nigerianscholars.africanqueen.com>

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<http://www.nigeriagalleria.com/lifestyle/music.htm>

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<http://www.fa.indiana.edu/~conner/yoruba/woodcarver.htm>

"Shaping: The Blacksmith"-

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Landow, George, Professor of English and Art History, Brown University

"Yoruba Aesthetics: Theories and Attitudes"

<http://landow.stg.brown.edu/post/nigeria/yaesthetics.htm>

"Mask Sculpture and Social Practice"-

<http://landow.stg.brown.edu/post/africa/art3.htm>

"Civilizing Scars"-

<http://landow.stg.brown.edu/post/africa/scar.htm>

"African Attitudes toward Art Objects: the BaLega"-

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