

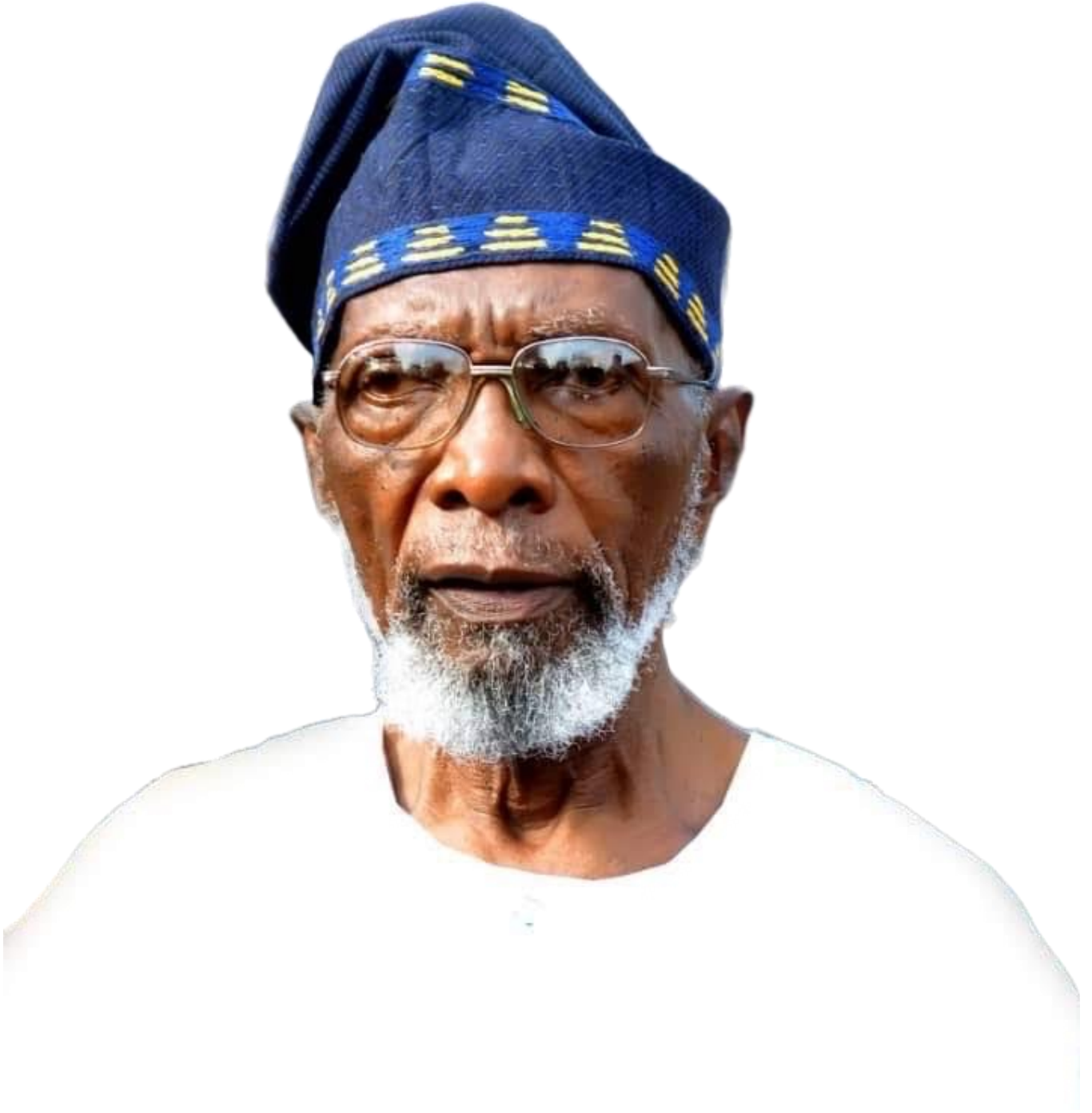
A CONFERENCE IN HONOUR OF DR. SEGUN OSOBA

**History and the Persistent Struggle:
Social Change, Nation-Building, and Constitution-Making in
Post-Independence Africa**

**Schedule of Presentations and
Book of Abstracts**

**Conference Venue:
Tai Solarin University of Education (TASUED)
Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria**

December 18-19, 2023



**The Honouree
DR. SEGUN OSOBA**

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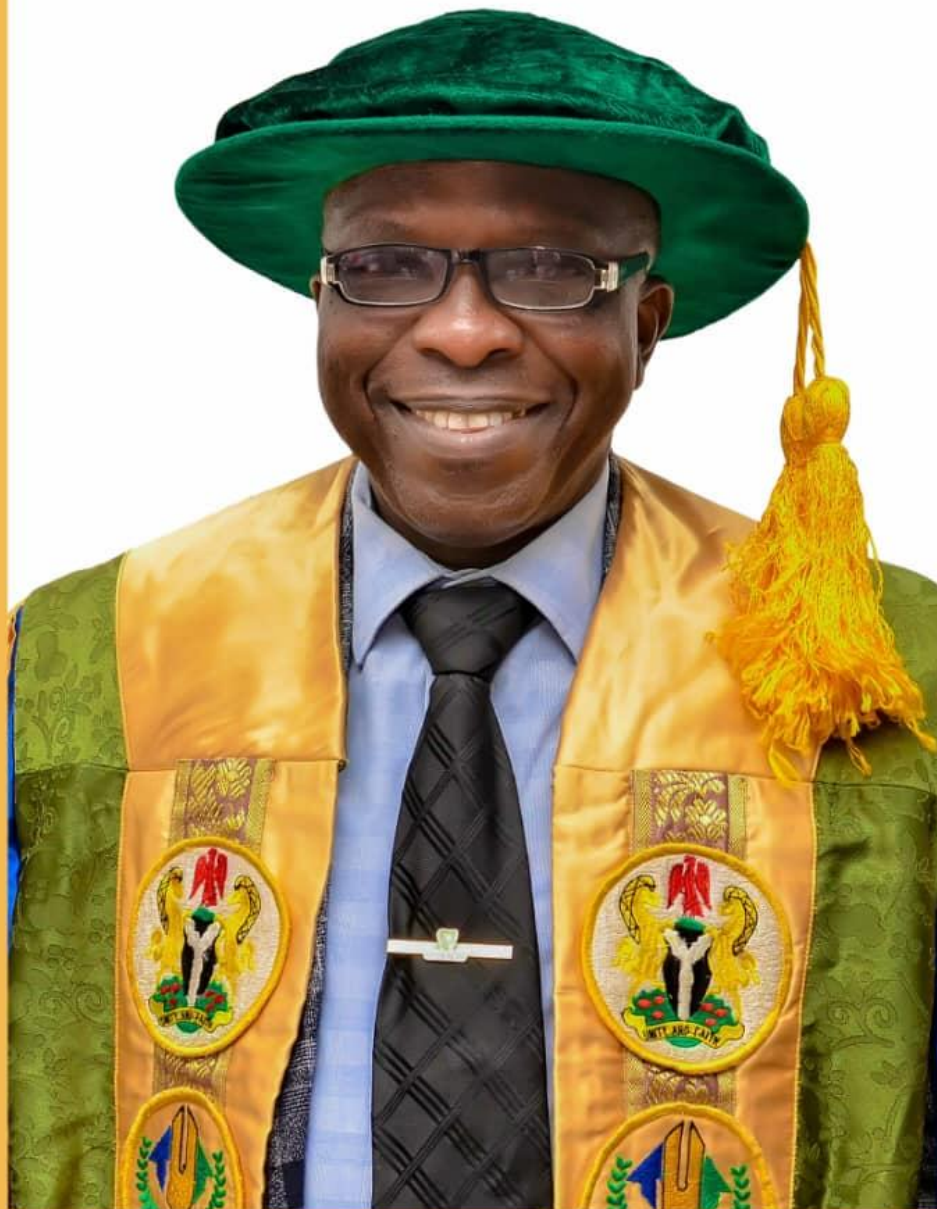
Abstracts (Arranged alphabetically by lead author's last name)



His Excellency
Prince Dapo Abiodun, CON
Governor of Ogun State



PROF. ABAYOMI ADELAJA ARIGBABU
Hon Commissioner Ministry Of Education
Science & Technology



PROFESSOR OLUWOLE SIKIRU BANJO, FWISON, FASN
VICE-CHANCELLOR, TASUED



Keynote Speaker

PROFESSOR SIYAN OYEWESO (FHSN, FNAL)

Professor of History, Osun State University & Director, Centre for Black Culture and International Understanding (CBIU), Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria



Keynote Speaker
DR. EBENEZER OBADARE
*Douglas Dillion Senior Fellow for Africa Studies,
Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), United States of America*

About the Conference

Several years after his retirement from formal academic life, Dr. Segun Osoba, the avowed Marxist scholar, and teacher has remained a great mentor and exemplary personality for his former students, admirers, the global community of scholars, and the civil society. This is because many of those who have had the good fortune of coming in contact with his intellectual prowess and ideology of unrelenting struggles against injustice, tyranny, poverty, and conservatism—though each in their specific contexts—have now come to a more mature understanding of the life, scholarship and philosophy of this committed scholar who spent his most productive life as teacher, scholar, and mentor at the University of Ife, Nigeria. In Nigeria and beyond, scholars have examined and critiqued Dr. Osoba's work. Several attempts were made to question his views or subvert his ideological vision that had provided a complicated context for inspiring generations of Africans with his lifelong examples of struggle for a better society. Born on 9 January 1935, Dr. Osoba taught and researched at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) from 1967-1991. There is the need to examine and assess his accomplishments and contributions in broad new lights. This is because there is now a more subtle appreciation of his position than has been previously recognized.

This conference pays special attention to the discourses surrounding Dr. Osoba's intellectual engagements, most especially his ideas surrounding the Political Economy of nation-building, constitutionalism, human freedom, and the ways they are energized by intellectual and historical imaginations. These have become more profoundly embedded in contemporary discourses in political thought. After teaching social and intellectual history, and the much-dreaded Advanced Philosophy of History, to undergraduate and postgraduate students at Ife, several important historical prisms can be distilled from his scholarship and pedagogy which also informed his works on post-independence Africa. These are: What kind of leadership? What kind of scholarship? What manner of struggle? What kind of state? He wrote one of the earliest works, if not the first monograph, on the history of foreign policy in Nigeria; he was a pioneer of what we now call social and economic history in Nigeria; his forte in the philosophy of history which was never popular among his colleagues back then and continues to be absent in contemporary African scholarship; his participation in the Constitution Drafting Committee in 1976 in the aftermath of which he and the late Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman issued a much-celebrated *Minority Report* in 1977; his belief that scholarship must be tied to something that stands to benefits the majority of the people, especially the poor and the downtrodden; his pathbreaking discussion of the role of corruption in our public life; and his original contribution on neocolonialism that present generation of students of decolonization might do well to revisit. Many people have also come to reconcile themselves to how the processes of nation-building have been subverted by the bourgeoisie and its collaborators—something that Dr. Osoba had seen and interrogated over time.

This conference provides a forum for discussions for both established and younger scholars, researchers, development experts, professionals, policy makers, postgraduate students, and others interested in re-engaging, reframing, and reassessing Dr. Osoba's intellectual legacy, which has now come to be seen by many as a more attractive radical alternative paradigm of critical social science, theory, and development. We invite scholars from all disciplines. Dr. Osoba's work is interdisciplinary as should the conference. Presentations are welcome from scholars and practitioners on history, political economy, constitutional law, historiography, contemporary movements, etc.

Call for Proposals (Deadline: July 1, 2023)

We invite proposals for papers, panel discussions, oral historical/biographical reminiscences and poster presentations on the themes and subthemes highlighted below. These papers and commentaries may focus on Dr. Osoba's works and their impact. They may also explore the concerns that motivated his work and related ideas while also interrogating Dr. Osoba's enduring intellectual influence and legacy. The deadline for submission is **July 1, 2023**. The abstracts will be peer-reviewed and those whose proposals are accepted will receive notice by **August 1, 2023**.

Themes and Subthemes

1. Teaching history: pedagogy, philosophy, methodology, perspectives
2. Segun Osoba: The man, his works, his times, his contemporaries
3. Social and political movements; labour and labour movements; demilitarisation, democratisation and governance
4. Struggle for freedom, equality, human rights, cultural rights
5. Minorities, women's movement, and social change
6. Power, power-sharing and power politics
7. Africa and the world: international politics, New International Economic Order revisited
8. End of the Cold War, new global realities, political and intellectual realignments
9. Constitutions, constitutional history, and nation building
10. Development and underdevelopment: social and economic history, power, coloniality, and decoloniality
11. Higher Education in Africa and African higher education
12. Globalization, old and new players
13. The Nigerian Left: historical perspectives, political radicalism, charting alternatives for the future
14. Diversity and Inclusion: Subaltern history and the struggle for minority rights and visibility
15. Other related and relevant themes, sub-themes and topics

Co-Conveners and Collaborating Institutions

Co-Conveners

The conference is a collaborative project supported by the contribution of many mentees and former students of Dr. Segun Osoba. They include:

Professor Akanmu Adebayo
Professor Tunde Adeleke
Professor Olutayo Adesina
Professor Rasheed Ajetunmobi
Col. Samson Ogundile (Rtd.)
Professor Siyan Oyeweso
Professor Kemi Rotimi
Professor ('Malam') Olufemi Taiwo
Dr. Dapo Thomas

Collaborating Institutions

We thank the following universities, institutes and centres for their support:

1. Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State, NIGERIA
2. Tai Solarin University of Education (TASUED), Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, NIGERIA
3. University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State, NIGERIA
4. Yusufu Bala Usman Institute, Zaria, Kaduna State, NIGERIA
5. Center for Africana Studies, Kennesaw State University, Kennesaw, Georgia, USA
6. African and African American Studies Program, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, USA

About Dr. Olusegun (“Segun”) Osoba

He has been described, no doubt accurately and affectionately, as a “radical lecturer” and “a father-figure of radicalism” at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, an institution that is also described as “a luta campus” (from “*a luta continua*” meaning the struggle continues) and the “most radical institution in Nigeria.” One commentator noted with admiration that he was “frank to a fault.” The phrase, “persistent struggle,” which was adopted as the theme of the conference in his honour, appropriately defines his life-long commitment to “the struggle” in defence of the ordinary Nigerian. He never shied away from controversy; he never turned down a debate. Nothing, not even old age, has weakened his sharp and critical voice. In 2019, at the age of 84, he had his most recent public engagement at the public presentation of *The Minority Report and Draft Constitution for the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1976*, at which he presented “A Minimum Agenda for Change” to an enthusiastic audience of labour leaders, radical activists and students. During his active years, he was central to many movements, involved in many national events, and well connected with many people across the broad spectrum of the Nigerian Left.

Dr. Olusegun Osoba (a.k.a. Segun Osoba) was born on January 9, 1935. He attended Saint Saviour’s Primary School, Ijebu-Ode and Ijebu-Ode Grammar School. From there, he proceeded to the Nigerian College of Arts and Science, Ibadan and, subsequently, to the University College, Ibadan, from 1956-59. Upon graduation, he returned to Ijebu-Ode Grammar School to teach. He later left for the Soviet Union where he completed his Ph.D. degree at Moscow State University, 1963-67. The topic of his two-volume PhD thesis at Moscow State is “The Colonial Antecedents and Contemporary Development of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy: A Study in Social, Economic and Political Conflict.” Osoba returned to Nigeria in 1967 to join the faculty at University of Ife (later renamed Obafemi Awolowo University). Except for periods of sabbatical and research leaves, Osoba remained at Ife until he retired in 1991.

On June 18, 1960, he married Wuraola Olatokunbo Osoba (nee Idowu). Their marriage was blessed with four grown children: Dr. Oluleke Osoba (Consultant Gynaecologist, UK); Dr. Olubukola Osoba (Pharmacist, USA); Olubunmi Osoba (Architect, USA); and Olayinka Osoba (Chemical Engineer & IT specialist, USA). Except for Olubukola who went to the University of Ibadan, all Osoba’s children had their university education at OAU, Ife. His grandchildren include Olasubomi Osoba (Lawyer, UK); Oluwatoni Osoba (Management Consultant, UK); and Zoe Ajiboye (Business Manager, USA). Sadly, Mrs. Wuraola Osoba passed away on March 7, 2010

At Ife, Dr. Osoba taught a variety of courses to undergraduate and post-graduate students. They included “Philosophy and Methodology of History,” “The Politics of Decolonisation in Africa,” “Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th centuries,” “History of Russia: The Czarist Era,” “History of Russia: The Age of Revolution,” “History of European International Relations,” “Advanced Philosophy of History,” “African Political Thoughts in the 19th and 20th Centuries,” “The Making of Nigerian Foreign Policy and Diplomacy,” “Historiography of Nigerian History,” and many more. A keen observer of and commentator on current events nationally and globally, students in Osoba’s classes quickly learnt to challenge orthodoxy and reason critically. Through these classes, and through public lectures on campus and in the community, Osoba has directly influenced generations of students and, indirectly, generations of their students. Of great significance is Osoba’s supervision and mentoring of postgraduate students. To his credit, he supervised many students who earned their MA, MPhil and/or PhD degrees at Ife and went on to achieve renown in academia and other professions. Notably, Toyin Falola (1981) and Akanmu Adebayo (1986) completed their PhD dissertations under Dr. Osoba’s supervision. In December 2023, many of these former students and mentees organized a conference in his honour at Tai Solarin University of Education (TASUED), Ijebu Ode. The theme of the conference is “History and the Persistent Struggle: Social Change, Nation-Building and Constitution-Making in Post-Independence Africa.”

Osoba is the author of many works on Nigerian and African economic, political and social history. His works may be divided into two categories: first, writings required of him as a scholar in a Nigerian university. Such writings are published in academic journals or as chapters in scholarly books. Osoba's articles have appeared in *Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE)*, *Peuples Noirs Peuples Africains*, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigerians (JHSN)*, and *Theory and Practice*. He co-edited (with I. A. Akinjogbin) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History* (University of Ife Press, 1980). The second category comprises his writings as a public intellectual. These were works produced for the consumption of the general public. These appeared for many years in newspapers and magazines. A compilation of these writings is being prepared for publication as a single book.

A major part of Osoba's contribution to knowledge in general and to Nigeria's political and constitutional development in particular is the *Minority Report and Draft Constitution for the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, 1976, a collaborative work with the late Yusufu Bala Usman. The two Marxist historians served in the Constitution Drafting Committee appointed by then Brig. Murtala Muhammad in October 1975. The committee worked through 1976 by which time Murtala Muhammed had been assassinated and Olusegun Obasanjo had become Head of State. Osoba and Usman disagreed with 47 other members who produced the majority report that was submitted to Obasanjo in September 1976. In his own words, Osoba described what happened next: "Whereas the majority draft was published by the Federal Government of Nigeria and was widely debated by the public in 1976-77 before it was put before the Constituent Assembly for further consideration and subsequent enactment in 1979, the minority report was declared "non-existent" by the then military Head of State, Olusegun Obasanjo." Recently, Femi Falana (SAN) lauded the progressive provisions in the *Minority Report and Draft Constitution* thus: "Osoba and Usman had recommended in Section 145 of their own Draft Constitution way back in 1976 the minimum age of 30 as part of the qualifications to contest for the office of president or governor. Forty-three years later, the same provision is being celebrated by youths who now see the man that treated the Minority Draft then as "non-existent," Obasanjo, as a pathfinder of their future!... Other similarly remarkable provisions encapsulated in the Draft, but were regrettably rejected by the Obasanjo regime, include those on accountability by those in power; the purpose and management of political parties as well as the appointment of a prime minister by the elected president for the purpose of diffusing power" (*Sahara Reporters*, April 23, 2019).

One of Osoba's former students, Dr. Ebenezer Obadare, in reference to his intellectual encounters and his engagement with the public, referred to him as "an unflinching believer in the black man's multi-bunched endowments, a devoted student of History and an unrepentant Marxist" (*Daily Times* August 30, 1991). A most appropriate tribute from a former student and mentee!

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

DAY ONE, Monday, December 18

- 8:00 AM:** - **Registration opens and continues all day**
- 9:00am – 10am** **Meet and greet, guests are seated**
- 10:00am – 12:00 Noon** **Opening Ceremony & Plenary Session 1**
- National Anthem**
- Ogun State Anthem**
- Welcome Address by L.O.C. Chairman – Prof Rasheed Ajetunmobi**
- Declaration of Conference Open by Vice Chancellor (TASUED)**
- Citation of Dr. Segun Osoba – Prof. Akanmu G. Adebayo**
- Introduction of the Keynote Speaker**
- Keynote Speech by Prof. Siyan Oyeweso**
“Segun Osoba: Encountering a Historian and Radical Ideologist in Modern Nigeria”
- Response from Dr. Segun Osoba**
- Refreshments/Tea Break**
- 12:00pm – 1:30pm** **Parallel Sessions (see details below)**
- 1:30pm – 2:15pm** **Lunch Break**
- 2:30pm – 4:00pm** **Parallel Sessions (see details below)**
- 2:30pm – 4:00pm** **Workshop on “Teaching History, African Diaspora and Research” by Prof. Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani**
- 4:15pm – 6:00pm** **Parallel Sessions (see details below)**
- 6:00pm – 7:00pm** **Break for the day; commute to location of next event**
- 7:00pm – 9:00pm** **Formal Reception by Osoba Family (Location TBA) (By invitation only)**

DAY ONE: Parallel Sessions

<p>Monday, Dec 18 12 noon – 1:30pm</p>	<p>Parallel Session 1, Room 1 (COHUM Board Room) Teaching History Part 2</p>	<p>Parallel Session 2, Room 2 (COHUM Library) Democracy, Governance and Constitutionalism, Part 2</p>	<p>Parallel Session 3, Room 4 (Postgraduate Class) Segun Osoba: The Man and His Works, Part 1</p>
	<p>Chair: Dr. Dapo THOMAS, Lagos State University, Ojo</p> <p>Wumi RAJI (Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife) and Saheed AMUSA (Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife), “Afro-Arabs and Afro-Americans: A Critical Historical Analysis of the Global Identity and Legacies of the Trans-Saharan and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Systems”</p> <p>Mistura Eniola BELLO (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode) and Mishark Friday ALEX (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode), “Digitizing the Past: The Transformative impact of Digital History on Historical Research in Contemporary Nigeria”</p> <p>Joshua Bio SABI (Kwara State College of Education, Oro), “The Search for a New Order: The role of History in Nation Building and National Development”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. Kemi ROTIMI, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife</p> <p>Eunice Foluke OLAREWAJU (Kwara State College of Education, Oro), “Religious Education as a Mechanism for Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria”</p> <p>Lai OLURODE (The Wings Schools, Iwo), “From Landslide Victories to Competitiveness: Nigeria’s Recent Elections in Perspective”</p> <p>Samson Adesola ADESOTE (Osun State University, Osogbo) and Olusesan Adewunmi OSUNKOYA (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun), “Governance and the Attainment of Food Security in Nigeria: A Historical Analysis”</p> <p>Olasope O. OYELARAN (Albuquerque, New Mexico and Oke-Eji, Ajaawa), “Social Change, Nation Building and Constitution-Making in Post-Independence Africa: Un Cri de Coeur”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. Babatunde O. Osiyale, Tai Solarin University of Education</p> <p>Olutayo C. ADESINA (University of Ibadan, Ibadan), “Reimagining Segun Osoba’s Ideological Critique of State, Society and Bourgeois Politics in 20th Century Nigeria”</p> <p>Tokunbo AYOOLA (Anchor University, Lagos), “Samuel Olusegun Osoba and the Historical Political Economy of Nigeria’s Foreign Policy”</p> <p>Norma PERCHONOCK (Yusuf Bala Usman Institute, Zaria), “Partners in the Struggle for the Liberation of Nigeria: Segun Osoba and Bala Usman (Part 1: 1970 – 1985)</p> <p>Femi TAIWO (Cornell University, Ithaca), “The Nigerian Ruling Class: A Gramscian Analysis”</p>

<p>Monday, Dec 18 2:30 – 4:00 PM</p>	<p>Parallel Session 4, Room 3 (Creative Art Seminar Room) Nation Building and Development</p>	<p>Parallel Session 5, Room 5 (French class/French Lecture hall) Women and Minorities, Part 1</p>	<p>Parallel Session 6, ICT Building Osoba and Africa: A Critical Reader (Remote, Zoom link to be provided)</p>
	<p>Chair: Prof. Victor O. Edo, University of Ibadan, Ibadan</p> <p>Olayemi Jacob OGUNNIYI (Lagos State University, Ojo), “Proto-nationalism and Resistance Struggles in Pre-Colonial Nigeria”</p> <p>Bonifacio Aderemi BRITTO (Lagos State University, Ojo) and Tunde Femi AKINOLA (Lagos State University, Ojo), “Political Inclusiveness, Justice and Human Rights in Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa”</p> <p>Fatai Lateef YUSUF (Federal College of Education, Kontagora) and Shehu MUSA (Federal College of Education, Kontagora), “Nation Building and National Question in Nigeria since 1960”</p> <p>Adewale ADEPOJU (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode) and Oluwasegun Dare OGUNSAKIN (Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti), “Human Rights Violations and National Development in Post-Colonial Nigeria”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. T.O. Erinosh, Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun</p> <p>Oluwakemi Abiodun ADESINA (Redeemer’s University, Ede), “Women of the “Left” and the Nigerian Conundrum: A Historical Analysis of Leftist Women’s Experiences in Nigeria since the Beginning of the Cold War”</p> <p>Ibironke B. Dominion ADIGUN (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode) and Titilola K. ALUKO-AROWOLO (Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago Iwoye), “Women’s Rights in the Nigerian Constitution: A Requirement or Mere Feminist Agenda”</p> <p>MUSA Shehu (Federal College of Education, Kontagora) and YUSUF Fatai Lateef (Federal College of Education, Kontagora), “Patriarchal Norms and Women Security in Kontagora Emirate of Niger State, Nigeria”</p> <p>Temitope FAGUNWA (Osun State University, Osogbo), “African Marxist Intellectuals and the Question of Rights and Material Inequality in the Age of Neoliberalism”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. Charles O. Adesina, University of Ibadan, Ibadan</p> <p>Oluwatoyin ODUNTAN (Towson University, Towson), “Africanity as Marxian Capitulation: Critical Insights from Dr. Osoba’s Pedagogy”</p> <p>Ernest DZELAMONYUY (The University of Bamenda, Bamenda), “Diversity Conflict in Africa: The Case of Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon, 1961-2016”</p> <p>Funsho AFOLAYAN (University of New Hampshire, Durham), “Leadership, Democracy, Security, and the Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria”</p>

2:30pm – 4:00pm Workshop on “Teaching History, African Diaspora and Research” by Prof. Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani

ICT Building

This workshop is an online workshop session. Access code will be provided by organizers.

<p>Monday, Dec. 18 4:15 – 6:00PM</p>	<p>Parallel Session 7, Room 4 (COHUM Postgraduate classroom) Teaching History, Part 1</p>	<p>Parallel Session 8, Room 3 (Creative Art Seminar Room) Democracy, Governance and Constitutionalism, Part 1</p>
	<p>Chair: Prof. R.O. Ajetunmobi, Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun Rasheed Owoyele AJETUNMOBI (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode) and Boluwatife Oyindamola TAIWO (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode), “Revisiting the Power Struggle and Political Conflict in the Old Oyo Empire: The Oyomesi, Aole, Afonja and Political (Dis)order in a 19th Century Yoruba State” Niyi John OLAYIOYE (Kwara State College of Education, Oro), “Historical Studies as panacea for insecurity and socio-economic under-development in Nigeria” Adebola TALABI (Sikiru Adetona College of Education, Science and Technology, Omu Ajose) and Adewale ADEPOJU (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode), “History, Knowledge and Social Practice: Pedagogy, Philosophy, and Methodology in Perspective”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. Akanmu ADEBAYO, Kennesaw State University, Kennesaw Adedayo ADEKAWONISHE (Ajayi Crowther University, Oyo), “Reparations for the Translocation of Labour in Pre-colonial Africa: Any Justification?” Jamiu Abdulazeez SAAD (Kwara State College of Education, Oro), “Islamic Injunctions and Democratic Governance in Nigeria in the 21st Century” Jacob Olaoluwa ADESINA (University of Ibadan, Ibadan), “From Kunle Adepeju to George Iwilade 'Afrika': Welfarism, Protest and State Oppression in Nigerian Universities, 1971-1999”</p>

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

DAY TWO: Tuesday, December 19

8:00am: Registration opens and continues all day

8:00am – 8:55am: Meet and Greet; Guests are seated

9:00am - Programme Starts

9:00am – 10:30am Plenary Session 2

Introduction of Keynote Speaker

Keynote Speech by Dr. Ebenezer Obadare

“Rekindling the Scientific Spirit: Historical Criticism in the Age of Sacred Authority”

Q & A

Response from Dr. Osoba

10:30am – 11:00am Refreshments/Tea Break

11:00am – 12:30am Parallel Session(see details below)

12:30pm – 2:00pm Lunch

2:00pm – 3:30pm Parallel Session(see details below)

3:30pm – 4:00pm Closing ceremony

7:00pm Closing Reception (TBA)

Day Two Parallel Sessions

<p>Tuesday, Dec. 19 11am – 12:30pm</p>	<p>Parallel Session 9, Room 3 (Creative Art Seminar Room) Contemporary Global Issues</p>	<p>Parallel Session 10, Room 1 (COHUM College Board) Political Economy and Development, Part 1</p>	<p>Parallel Session 11, Room 5 (French Lecture Room) Women and Minorities, Part 2 Chair: Prof. B.O. Osiyale</p>
	<p>Chair: Prof. Akanmu ADEBAYO, Kennesaw State University, Kennesaw</p> <p>Aderemi MEDUPIN (CEE Coalition, Iyamoye-Ijumu), “Africa's Status in the Contemporary Global Economic System”</p> <p>Bamidele Folabi SETEOLU (Lagos State University, Ojo), “Contemporary International Politics: Is there a new Cold War?”</p> <p>Dapo THOMAS (Lagos State University, Ojo), “The Next World War: Not Near, But Not So Far”</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. Kemi ROTIMI, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife</p> <p>M. F. FAKAYODE (Lagos State University of Education, Otto-Ijanikin), S. I. AJAYI (Lagos State University of Education, Otto-Ijanikin) and Afolabi KUMAVO (Lagos State University of Education, Otto-Ijanikin), “Post-Colonial Nigeria and the Politics of the Developing World: A Historical Discourse”</p> <p>Onoho’Omhen EBHOHIMHEN (Benin City, Edo State), “The Political Economy of Natural Resources Commodification in Nigeria's Niger Delta”</p> <p>Timothy Olugbenro ERINOSHO (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode) and Babatunde Olabiyi OSIYALE (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu-Ode), “Democracy, Corruption and Nigeria's Underdevelopment: Interrogating the Fourth Republic, 1999-2015”</p> <p>Ajibade Samuel IDOWU (University of Ibadan, Ibadan), “Democracy, Liberty and Economic Growth in Africa: Understanding the Contours of the Nigerian Economy in the Fourth Republic”</p>	<p>Chair: Dr. Oluwakemi ADESINA, Redeemer’s University, Ede</p> <p>Olubunmi OMOTOLA (Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye) and Adebusola LASISI (Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye), “Nigerian Women: Minorities in Power”</p> <p>Femi ADEDINA (Lagos State University of Education, Oto/Ijanikin) and Alimot Titilope ANIFOWOSHE (Lagos State University, Ojo), “Interrogating Minorities, Women's Movement and Social Change in Oboli's Wives on Strike and Onuzo's Love is War”</p> <p>Monsuru MURITALA (University of Ibadan, Ibadan), “Women’s Resistance and Subalternity in Colonial Southern Nigeria: A Re-Interpretation”</p>

<p>Tuesday, Dec 19 2-3:30 PM</p>	<p>Parallel Session 12, Room 4 (COHUM Postgraduate Class) Political Economy and Development, Part 2</p>	<p>Parallel Session 13, Room 2 (COHUM College Library) Education, Migration, and Media</p>	<p>Parallel Session 14, Room 1 (COHUM Board Room) Segun Osoba: The Man and His Works, Part 2</p>
	<p>Chair: Prof. Sola AKINRINADE, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife</p> <p>Michael Olusegun AJAYI (University of Ibadan, Ibadan), "Lebanese Merchants' Populist Politics and the Dominance of the Produce Trade in Western Nigeria, 1920-1980s"</p> <p>Olumide EKANADE (Redeemer's University, Ede) and Kehinde EKANADE (Trinity University, Lagos), "Federal Finance: A comparative study in Nigerian and German History"</p> <p>Moses I. Olatunde ILO (Tai Solarin College of Education, Omu-Ijebu), "Investment and the Evolution of Indigenous Economy: A Study of the Production and Trading of Locust Beans in Agosasa"</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. O.O. Olubomehin, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye</p> <p>Oluwafemi Olatunji ONI (Lagos City Polytechnic, Ikeja), "The Development of an Indigenous Education Policy as the Panacea for Africa's Underdevelopment: The Nigeria Case Study"</p> <p>Yetunde AKINOLA (Osun State University, Osogbo), "'Japa' as Solution to the Challenge of African Higher Education and National Crisis in Nigeria"</p> <p>Ajibola TAIWO (Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye), "Old and New Players in Globalization: The Role of the Media"</p> <p>Jamiu Kolawole AUDU (Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun), "Cartoons as a Factor in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Socio-Economic and Political History of Nigeria"</p>	<p>Chair: Prof. T.O. Erinsho, Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun</p> <p>Omotoye OLORODE (Odoje Biodiversity Center, Ogbomoso) and Idowu AWOPETU (Lagos), "Segun Osoba: Individuals, Collectives, Moments, and Movements"</p> <p>Akanmu G. ADEBAYO (Kennesaw, State University, Kennesaw), "History according to Segun Osoba"</p> <p>Emmanuel Osewe AKUBOR (Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife), "Social Change and Development: Nigeria's 1976 Draft Constitution and the Minority Report in Historical Perspective"</p> <p>Ibrahim ABDULLAH (University of Sierra Leone, Fourah Bay), "Is there a Segun Osoba Problematic in Nigerian Historiography?"</p>

PARALLEL SESSION VENUES

- ROOM 1 – COHUM College Board
- ROOM 2 – COHUM College Library
- ROOM 3 – Creative Art Seminar Room
- ROOM 4 – COHUM Postgraduate Classroom
- ROOM 5 – French Class Room

NOTE: ETF Building will be available to accommodate extra sessions if need be

ABSTRACTS

Workshop on Teaching History, African Diaspora and Research

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Description

Teaching is not just a passion; it is a mission and a joyful service to humanity. Teachers across discipline, more importantly, History, should be advocates of inclusion, cooperation, and differentiated pedagogy for teaching the contents. The philosophy of inclusion is socially and culturally engaging and has been the bedrock of students' success and immersion at the end of the semester. The workshop will integrate participants' passion for teaching predicated on the philosophy of inclusion, methodology of engaging students in and out of the classroom, etc. We will learn about multidimensional model of teaching history and the African Diaspora with emphasis on Triadic Relationships that prepare students for real world activities and the work place. Participants will dissect students' cognitive and reflective knowledge in learning the contents. Students' zeal for creativity and innovation in evaluating the texts in African, African-American history, the African Diaspora and World History classes, for instance, is sharpened through critical thinking, research, and writing every semester. In brief, participants will learn about pedagogy of inclusion and pathways to learning outcome in a diverse classroom; model respects for differences, provides opportunities for differentiated learning, and create an environment for a sense of belonging that sustain a lifelong relationship among learners and the instructor. Participants will be guided by Bloom's Taxonomy during the lesson circle, tutorial, or thesis advisement; read and critiquing texts, synthesizing texts, and evaluating the text in a multidisciplinary approach. The adaptation of biographical pedagogical discourse, critical race theory and the triad relationship with a mix of experiential learning and leadership skillsets will be discussed.

Is There a Segun Osoba Problematic in Nigerian Historiography?

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Abstract

As a project constructed to displace colonial epistemology, African historiography, or Nigerian historiography to be specific, evolved within a framework that privileged what was then imagined to be the “pre-colonial” and its attendant oral tradition as repository of that past. In this reading, reconstructing the Nigerian/African past(s) became tied to state formation and that beloved theme of the Ibadan Brahmins—inter-group relations. What subsequently came on stream as nation-building was central to that history’s goal of subverting colonial epistemology. The hegemonic position of the Ibadan Brahmins was rocked during the first decade of independence by an alternative project that sought to privilege the dynamic role of bottom-up agency in reconstructing that African/Nigerian past. That agency, assigned to ordinary people as makers of history, was the alternative pathway that Segun Osoba represented in the production of Nigerian history/historiography. Osoba’s intervention then, stood Ibadan history on its head; it was the pathway that made an alternative problematic (to the mainstream Ibadan school) possible in Zaria in the second decade of Independence. How Osoba nursed a working people centred problematic that became the basis for a radical alternative to the dominant Ibadan school is the subject of this paper. The central argument hinges on the alternative reading/writing of the Nigerian past(s) and its practice—the Osoba problematic?—and implication for knowledge production: from labor history to the nationalist movement, and the struggle for decolonization/development in the post-colony.

Keywords: Ibadan history, Brahmins, historiography, African historiography, problematic, bottom-up agency, post-colonial, African/Nigerian past

History According to Segun Osoba

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Abstract

In this paper, I reflect on Segun Osoba's perspective on history as an academic discipline. I also explore how Osoba imparted his love of history to his students, and what he envisioned as Nigeria's (and indeed Africa's) place in history. For several decades, Dr. Olusegun Osoba designed and taught the undergraduate capstone history course at the University of Ife (later renamed Obafemi Awolowo University) in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. Entitled "Philosophy and Methodology of History," the course was offered to final year history honors students. In content, pedagogy and style, Osoba taught his students what history is, the understanding of and intellectual appreciation for history in Western and African thought, and what historical scholarship should be about in Africa. From his definition of history to his lectures on historical materialism, from his perspectives on African historiography to his critiques of personality and leadership, no subject was taboo in this course. Many students used to dread the course partly because of the word "philosophy" in the course title, but also because of what they had heard about the course and its instructor from former students. Students who didn't take the course still encountered Osoba's ideas of history in the other classes he taught and through his public lectures. This paper attempts a review of Osoba's perspectives of history through his lecture notes and through interviews with former students. It also evaluates Osoba's influence on the teaching and learning of history as an academic discipline in Nigeria.

Keywords: historical materialism, Osoba, philosophy of history, historical research method

Interrogating Minorities, Women's Movement and Social Change in Oboli's *Wives on Strike* and Onuzo's *Love is War*

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Abstract

People are not the same anywhere in the world because there are several basis of division and classification amongst people. In every society, the realities and the experiences of people differ because of their sex, gender, age, ideology, social class and many more. These foundations of division further split people into majorities and minorities where a particular subdivision gets to enjoy their human rights and privileges to the brim compared to the other group. This is also why many justice movements came about in our societies today; to combat the oppression, disservice and inequity suffered by the minority groups. In order to bridge the gap created by the division, these movements emerge and function to bring about social change where everyone is equal and no one has their rights compromised. Some of these social justice movements include the #Black Lives Matter, #End SARS, #Ni Una Menos, feminist movement amongst others. This paper is anchored upon the feminist theory of Simone de Beauvoir. In her magnum opus, she claims that women have to take concrete actions in order to achieve existential liberation. They must also participate in their own creative projects despite the fear of rejection and uncertainty. This paper investigates the extent to which the change clamoured by the feminists have been effected by assaying two Nollywood films: *Love is War* and *Wives on Strike*.

Keywords: Feminism, magnum opus, Nollywood, #End SARS, #Ni Una Menos.

Translocation of Labour in Pre-colonial Africa: The Convergence of Power, Restitution and Reparations

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Abstract

Despite Africa's vast natural and human resources, it remains the lowest-income region in the world, making its poor economic performance a puzzle in growth and development economics. Scholars have postulated different theories to explain the source of Africa's poor development trajectory. One theory points to how the translocation of labour from Africa to the New World in the pre-colonial period disrupted much of Africa's organic economic systems, leading to many of the continent's contemporary economic challenges (Rodney, 1972; Amin, 1974). Recent research suggests that if the slave trade had not existed, 72% of the average income gap between Africa and the rest of the world, and 99% of the income gap between Africa and the rest of the underdeveloped world would not exist today (Nunn, 2007). Restitution/reparations movements have emerged in Africa and the diaspora to redress this. This study argues that Africa should be paid reparations for slavery, colonialism, and neocolonialism. The reparations might not necessarily be in the form of monetary payments but in other forms, such as encouraging meaningful foreign direct investment into Africa, technology transfer, canceling African debts, and so on. Since these are classic demands/solutions to Africa's growth problems, the study emphasises the creation of an enabling economic structure/system where Africa and the Global North will relate as partners with symbiotic rather than parasitic benefits.

Keywords: reparations, restitution, labour translocation, Africa, slave trade

Human Rights Violations and National Development in Post-Colonial Nigeria Since 1960

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Abstract

This paper examines human rights violations and national development in Nigeria since 1960. Human rights principles are a set of values that guide the work of government and other political and social actors. Nigeria has experienced an upsurge in fundamental human rights violations, which has impeded national development. The damage that human rights violation has caused to Nigeria has degraded its socio-economic development. This study harnesses secondary data for its historical and empirical analyses of the phenomenon and its implications for peace and development in Africa's most populous country. These include journal articles, government reports, newspaper reports, and information available on the internet. Human rights violations discussed here ranged from political to gender rights. Copious examples will be drawn from many of the experiences associated with the problems of nation-building since 1960. The need to uphold human rights is important in building a better country. The Nigerian government needs to understand that respecting the Constitution and supporting its people will contribute to attaining national development. This study expresses the hope that in protecting human rights, the various governments and security agencies would understand the need to respect the Constitution and through that provide the enabling environment for building the country. The paper concludes that national development is not feasible if the human rights of every citizen are not safeguarded as this can have a ripple effect on Nigeria's development. Successive governments should work on and build sustainable guarantees into the country's fundamental human rights framework, thereby ensuring the attainment of national development in Nigeria.

Keywords: Human Rights, constitution, national development, economic development

Women of the “Left” and the Nigerian Conundrum: A Historical Analysis of Leftist Women’s Experiences in Nigeria since the Beginning of the Cold War

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Abstract

The Cold War manifested in several developing countries as proxy battles between the capitalist West and the socialist Eastern bloc. The excesses that characterized the ideological conflicts between the two groups in Nigeria and the experiences of Leftist women in the country form the primary focus of this work. This work of history relies heavily on archival research, oral interviews, and a critical analysis of other primary and secondary sources to construct a detailed historical narrative of the experiences of Nigeria’s women of the ‘left’ since the Cold War era. It examines their ideologies and contributions to Nigeria’s political, social, economic, and women’s movements. This work explores prominent female figures of socialist persuasion in Nigeria in political and academic spaces and their tribulations. In addition, this work highlights their roles in advancing Leftist ideology and agenda, women’s rights, and social change in Nigeria. Finally, the work stops at the threshold of their contributions to promoting progressive plans for developing women and Nigerian society.

Keywords: Women, Leftist, Cold War, Nigeria, ideology

Reimagining Segun Osoba's Ideological Critique of State, Society and Bourgeois Politics in 20th Century Nigeria

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Abstract

The role of socialist thinkers in Nigeria's history has understandably been under-represented in historical literature. This was due to the prejudices and antagonisms that have resulted in their being ignored or taken for granted. The period in which Segun Osoba taught history and political economy to university students has receded from memory, displaced by a new generation of thinking that ignored socialist thoughts, ideals, values, and icons. The height of Osoba's scholarship was during a period when progressive socialist movements sought to break, in every possible way, the stranglehold of degenerate capitalist exploitation on the developing world. In strength and resourcefulness, the voices to be heard seeking to free the people from their yoke were those of Osoba and his fellow travelers who enthusiastically deployed their knowledge and ideology in the service of their fatherland. But that period atrophied in the early 1990s. The post-Osoba age was signalled by the coming of scholars trained after 1990 and weaned on neo-liberalism. Many of the young scholars moved away from the reading of Marx and Engels. Even then, we must pay attention to those commitments that analysed the popular bases of society and efforts made to teach to generations of students the radical ideas embedded in socialist thought and its values for nation-building. This is an attempt at writing a critical history of Osoba's life and thoughts by drawing on diverse primary and secondary documentation and personal accounts to undertake a systematic illumination of his ideas that heralded hopes for a brighter future.

Keywords: Osoba, socialist thought, neo-liberalism, Marx and Engels

From Kunle Adepeju to George Iwilade “Afrika”: Welfarism, Protest and State Oppression in Nigerian Universities, 1971-1999

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Abstract

Since 1971, Nigerian universities have experienced many brutal protests, against which the state responded with great severity. These protests included the gruesome murder of Kunle Adepeju at the University of Ibadan in 1971, the Ali Must Go protests of 1978, the Ango Must Go riots at the Ahmadu Bello University in 1986, and the July 10, 1999 massacre at the Obafemi Awolowo University. The protests sparked nationwide sympathy, further protests, and social unrest in and outside the academic environment. Government's reactions to the demands for improved welfare, freedom and quality of education reflected the draconian nature of capitalist oppression and the suppressive nature of power of those in authority. This study investigates the position of students in the struggle for improvement of the welfare of the masses, democracy and freedom across Nigerian Universities. The study takes a historical and interpretative approach. The data used for this study are sourced from primary and secondary materials. It further reveals that these events were a reflection of state oppression consequent on capitalist economy and policies to strangulate the poor masses of the society. It concludes that the oppressive nature of capitalist economy has been woven into daily affairs of Nigerians, transcending the academic environment.

Keywords: Protest, students, university, activism

Governance and the Attainment of Food Security in Nigeria: A Historical Analysis

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Abstract

Food insecurity is a perennial problem confronting Nigeria since 1960. There is no doubt that the rapid growth in population far exceeds growth in food production. This development poses a great threat to national food sufficiency. The main thrust of this paper is an in-depth analysis of governance effectiveness as one of the main determinants of food security in the country. The paper argues that the absence of good governance has been the bane of most of the regimes (either military or civilian) that have emerged in the country since 1960. Despite the various agricultural policies that have been introduced by successive governments towards addressing the problem of food insecurity in the country, the situation was far from being abated. Sadly, Nigeria has continued to be a major importer of staple foods like rice and wheat, among others, despite abundant land resources. The paper explains that the previous agricultural policies failed to adequately address the problem of food insecurity in the country due to crisis in governance, which manifested in various forms like poor implementation, lack of continuity of policies and programmes, problem of corruption, high cost of governance, maladministration, lack of strong political will and commitment, and so on. The paper submits that except there is a change in the character of the Nigerian state and the promotion of good governance, the attainment of national food security may be a mirage. The methodology adopted in this paper is historical and thematic, utilizing materials from both primary and secondary sources.

Keywords: Nigeria, agriculture, food, food insecurity, food security, governance

Women's Rights in the Nigerian Constitution: A Requirement or Mere Feminist Agenda

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Abstract

Attaining women's rights and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women are fundamental human rights and United Nations value. Therefore, anything against this is a violation of human rights. Women around the world nevertheless regularly suffer violations of their human rights throughout their lives. In Nigeria, women's rights appear to be protected. The country is a signatory to many international conventions which include, Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa adopted in 2004 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979. As the saying goes, "women's rights are human rights." Yet this protection is mostly on paper, and women are still denied their rights simply because of their gender. Also, Nigeria as one of the African countries may be seen as a late comer in the formation of a regional instrument for the protection of human rights. Therefore, this paper aims at shedding light on the nature and the extent of human rights protection afforded to women under domestic laws and under international law. It reflects on how key issues such as gender discrimination, women's property rights and female succession norms and practices affect gender justice and the protection and fulfillment of the rights of women in Nigeria. Historical research methods will be adopted for the study. Using secondary data from different scholarly works, this paper discusses the possible legal solutions to these historical and cultural challenges in this 21st century.

Keywords: Human rights, constitution, women's rights, feminism

Leadership, Democracy, Security, and the Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria

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Abstract

Six decades after independence, good governance, in most of its key indicators of equitable development, social and economic justice, peace and security, order and stability, accountability and transparency, national integration and sense of belonging, remains elusive in Nigeria. Various reasons have been offered for this state of failure and crisis of good governance in the country. For the most part, it is the same story, the same list: corruption, failure of leadership, ethnicity, sectarianism, weak civil society, electoral fraud, education and infrastructural deterioration, poverty, illiteracy, and elitism, among other variables. The “trouble with Nigeria”, to use Chinua Achebe’s telling phrase, appears to be evident, crystal, and clear, yet the solution has remained frustratingly elusive. This paper re-evaluates each of these factors of failure to underscore their relative contributions to the country’s entangling and crippling conundrum of state failure. Using an array of sources, the paper argues that the root causes of the Nigerian predicament should be sought in a new and nuanced interrogation and understanding of the internal contradictions, post-colonial dysfunctionalities, the ethno-sectarian bewilderment and obfuscation, the baffling poverty and subversion of progressive ideas, the distorted federalism, marginalization and undermining of ethnic minorities, gross misunderstanding of the challenges of a heterogenous society, youth alienation, the elite covert collaborative conspiracy, and the toxic violence and insecurity, characteristic of Nigerian politics, governance, and society, since the attainment of independence.

Keywords: Nigeria, good governance, corruption, state failure, distorted federalism

Lebanese Merchants' Populist Politics and the Dominance of Produce Trade in Western Nigeria, 1920-1980s

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Abstract

The emergence of Lebanese merchants in West Africa's economic space has become a dominant theme in its history as a result of their unique penetration and contributions to economic and societal development since the nineteenth century. While an extensive body of literature exists on their overall business activities and the reactions of the Europeans and African hosts to their engagements, not enough attention has been focused on their populist approaches in the booming produce trade of southwestern Nigeria since the 1920s. Though reference has been made to their participation in cocoa trade by scholars, their rapid and effective domination of the trade between 1930 and 1980 as well as the factors responsible for this has not been well studied on its own merit and from Lebanese perspectives to illustrate the complexities and nuances that became their everyday approaches. This paper will argue that following the post-war boom of the 1920s, the more competitive Lebanese merchants outdistanced the few African traders as the leading retailers and middlemen to the European merchants and immediately established centres of purchasing cocoa and palm kernels, and that from the 1930s took control of the produce export market having successfully bypassed the European merchants to deal directly in the overseas market. This study examines archival documents, newspaper reports, secondary and oral sources to construct a narrative of the extent and scope of the Lebanese engagement and ascendancy in the cocoa trade and the factors that aided this enterprise as a way of contributing to the study on international migration and economic development in Africa.

Keywords: Lebanese migrants, entrepreneurship, produce trade, cocoa, economic development

Revisiting the Power Struggle and Political Conflict in Old Oyo Empire: The Oyomesi, Aole, Afonja and Political (Dis)order in a 19th Century Yoruba State

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Abstract

Power struggle and political conflict are two of the major issues that afflict human society. The Old Oyo Empire which served as the watch dog among the Yoruba was not spared of leadership crisis borne out of power tussle among the political gladiators who held political sway in the polity. The thrust of this paper is a critical review of power relations between the *Alaafin* or Monarch and the *Oyomesi* on the one hand, and *AlaafinAwole* (Aole) and Afonja the *Aare-Ona-Kankanfo* on the other hand. The aftermath of this unhealthy power relationship brought the empire to her knees in the 19th Century. The paper is a reinterpretation of existing secondary and primary sources. One major assumption pursued here is that Afonjawas (and is) often wrongly castigated or blamed as a traitor or sellout among the Yoruba, and for being responsible for the collapse and disintegration of the Empire. This study is a departure from the stated belief that Afonja was a traitor. By re-assessing the personality and military career of Afonja from available historical facts, this work provides valuable insight into the crisis that assailed Oyo in the 19th century.

Keywords: Aole, Afonja, political conflict, Oyomesi

‘Japa’ as Solution to the Challenges of African Higher Education and National Crisis in Nigeria

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Abstract

Studies are ample on higher education in Africa. Conferences, advocacy groups and leaders have discussed and analyzed contemporary challenges facing African higher education and their solutions. Little emphasis however has been placed on “Jápa” as solution to the contemporary problem that faces higher education and nation-building in post-independence Africa. This paper argues that African students face a lot of challenges which make studying abroad (used here conceptually as “jápa”) attractive to those leaving the country for what they see as a better future. The paper highlights some major challenges of African higher education and examines the way “jápa” can be a solution for African students. The paper employs the term “jápa,” the Nigerian youth slang for traveling abroad, as a synonym for emigration or relocation to the West for a better future. It argues that “jápa” became a necessity for the Nigerian youth because of contemporary challenges of Nigerian higher education and national political and economic crises, which are discussed in the paper.

Keywords: Jápa, higher education, emigration, study abroad

Social Change and Development: Nigeria's 1976 Draft Constitution and the Minority Report in Historical Perspective

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Abstract

As far as Segun Osoba and Yusufu Bala Usman were concerned, history is about persistent struggle, which must be channeled towards social change and development. This paper is an attempt at establishing how Segun Osoba and his works have been able to achieve and sustain his ideology of unrelenting (persistent) struggles against injustice, tyranny, poverty, and conservatism, which has over time made him to focus on social change, much of which he attained through his scholarship and the *Minority Report on Nigeria's 1976 Draft Constitution Committee*. Over the years, the specific references to the Minority Report and the Draft Constitution have exposed the anti-people and undemocratic nature of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Data obtained from primary and secondary sources were deployed to carry out the study with an analytical and narrative historical method. Findings indicate that the intentional neglect of the Minority Report, which is directly or indirectly linked with inequitable distribution of national resources as well as use of revenue derived from it, is largely responsible for mass landlessness, low economic activities/productivity among the people (especially among professionals whose means of livelihood are tied to land), boundary disputes as well as occupational conflicts in parts of the country.

Keywords: Nigeria, history, constitution, Minority Report, social change, economy,

Cartoons as a Factor in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Socio-Economic and Political History of Nigeria

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Abstract

In recent years, the cartoon genre has gained considerable research interest from all disciplines. Perhaps one of the sternest yet satirical forms of communicating in modern times is cartoons. The term cartoon refers first to metaphorical codification and second to a satirical or humorous genre through which an artist subtly informs, educates and entertains his viewers. Before the imposition of colonial rule in Africa, traditional African societies possessed their peculiar means of criticizing, satirizing and depicting the socio-economic and political phenomena through songs, poems and drama. Despite the introduction of printing press in Nigeria in 1846 and newspapers in 1859, the use of cartoon as a means of portraying social realism did not gain currency until the 1930s when the West African Pilot newspaper blazed the trail. Since then, cartoons have become a pungent instrument of communication and illustration in Nigeria. This paper aims at illustrating the use of cartoons as a factor of Nigeria's socio-economic history. Also, this paper will historically analyze selected cartoons from some cartoonists published in national dailies in Nigeria over the years. The research heavily relies on secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources will be collected from materials such as magazines, books, journals, and newspapers. The method applied to this study includes library research methods and oral sources such as oral interviews with some cartoonists from various newspapers, oral interview with a sampling of newspaper readers, and oral interviews with youths. Some past projects, theses, journals would also serve as good sources of information for this study.

Keywords: Cartoon, media, socio-economic development, colonial history, Nigeria.

Samuel Olusegun Osoba and the Historical Political Economy of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

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Abstract

In the 1960s and 1970s, there emerged several Marxist scholars in the Nigerian university system. Among them is Samuel Olusegun Osoba, one of Africa's erudite and radical historians. Between 1967 and 1991, Osoba taught History at the University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. There, he mentored and schooled many students and staff in Marxist historical materialism and political economy. His intellectual oeuvre included historical roots of Nigerian foreign policy, international relations, colonialism and neocolonialism, development and underdevelopment, labor history and migration, intellectual history, Nigerian power elites, and Marxism. Although Osoba did not write extensively on Nigerian foreign policy, nevertheless, his works on historical political economy of the Nigeria's foreign policy has been foundation-laying, profound, and relevant to any critical engagement with the foreign policies of African countries, particularly that of Nigeria. This essay therefore seeks to navigate Osoba's analysis of the colonial root and postcolonial development of Nigeria's foreign policy. This essay will argue that his analysis of the socio-economic and political conflicts inherent in the formulation and implementation of Nigerian foreign policy provides a window into understanding why Nigeria has remained a dependent and neocolonial out-post of Western imperialism. The essay will conclude that Osoba's perspective on Nigeria's foreign policy demonstrates the dynamics informing the country's poor performance at home and abroad.

Keywords: Nigeria, foreign policy, colonialism, post-colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism.

Digitizing the Past: The Transformative Impact of Digital History on Historical Research in Contemporary Nigeria

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Abstract

The integration of technology across various disciplines has become inevitable in every discipline in the contemporary period, and history is no exception. With the rise of advanced digital technologies, historians now have access to new tools and methodologies that can revolutionize traditional research practices. Digital history, which utilizes technologies like computer, the internet, and software systems, is gradually transforming how historians study and represent the past. Despite the numerous benefits associated with this innovation, many Nigerian historians have not fully embraced the knowledge of digital history in carrying out historical research. This paper, therefore, explores the transformative impact of digital history on historical research in contemporary Nigeria. It highlights the advantages of digitization, such as improved data preservation and efficient data retrieval. Digital archives and databases have opened up new avenues for historians to access previously inaccessible or underutilized historical materials in the past. This paper also addresses certain bottlenecks and limitations of digital history such as: data security, authenticity, and potential biases introduced by digitization. Emphasizing the importance of maintaining a balance between traditional and digital methodologies in historical research, this paper stresses the need for training and capacity building among researchers in order to equip them with the knowledge and the use of digital tools. The incorporation of digital historical methodologies has significantly changed historical research in contemporary Nigeria. By embracing digital technologies and effectively addressing associated challenges, historians can make substantial strides in enriching our understanding of Nigeria's past and ensuring the preservation and accessibility of its historical heritage for future generations.

Keywords: Digital history, technology, Nigeria, historical research, data

Political Inclusiveness, Justice and Human Rights in Post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa

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Abstract

We argue that a major characteristic of the wars that have plagued Sub-Saharan Africa since the end of the Cold War is the internal nature of these wars. Yet, this trend is not new in so far as Africa is concerned. In 1996 alone, 14 of the 53 African countries were afflicted by armed conflicts, accounting for more than half of all war-related deaths worldwide and resulting in more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons. In recent years, political inclusiveness has been used in Sub-Saharan Africa as a strategy to ensure national unity and social cohesion in a context of extreme ethnic polarization, as a peace-making tool designed to end a stale-mated civil war, and as a mechanism to overcome a situation of inter-community violence and socio-political instability created by the mishandling of an electoral process. This paper, through historical method of enquiry, seeks to investigate political inclusiveness, justice and human rights. Although political inclusiveness as a peace-making tool or a mechanism to foster national unity and social cohesion is likely to contain violence, it raises tensions in so far as the pursuit of justice and the protection and promotion of human rights are concerned. It concludes that while political inclusiveness as a result of a stalemated civil war and a mishandled electoral process tends to significantly undermine the pursuit of justice and the protection and promotion of human rights, political inclusiveness in the context of a civil war ended in a military victory is usually unbalanced and promotes victors' justice.

Keywords: Sub-Saharan Africa, civil war, political inclusiveness, human rights

Diversity Conflicts in Africa: The Case of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon 1961-2016

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Abstract

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is a complex conflict that has its roots in the country's colonial history and its diverse linguistic and cultural heritage. This conflict is characterized by tensions between the Anglophone and Francophone regions of Cameroon, which trace back to the country's independence in 1961 when British Southern Cameroons reunified with the Republic of Cameroon. The conflict has been fueled by a range of factors including linguistic and cultural differences, political marginalisation, and economic disparities. The Anglophone population of Cameroon, which makes up around 20% of the country's population, has long felt marginalised and underrepresented in political and economic spheres. The crisis has escalated in recent years, with Anglophone separatists declaring the "independence" of the English-speaking regions of Cameroon, leading to violent clashes with government forces. The conflict has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and has had a devastating impact on the country's social and economic development. At the heart of the Anglophone crisis is the issue of diversity, and the tensions that arise when different linguistic and cultural groups are forced to coexist within a single political entity. Addressing the root causes of the conflict will require a nuanced approach that recognizes the importance of diversity and promotes inclusive policies that ensure all groups are represented and have access to political and economic power. Examining the historical context of the crisis from 1961-2016 provides insight into how the conflict has evolved and the underlying factors that have contributed to its escalation.

Keywords: Anglophone, diversity, Francophone, marginalisation, separatists

Federal Finance: A Comparative Study in Nigerian and German History

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Abstract

So much has been written about federal finance in Germany, Nigeria and several other federal states. However, there has been no systematized attempt to comparatively interrogate the practice and performance of fiscal federalism in Germany and Nigeria with a view to drawing probable lessons for the Nigerian state. This paper interrogates the origin and environment of federalism in these two federations, it analyzes critical components in the evolution and practice of intergovernmental fiscal relations in the two federations and advances reasons why the states are situated where they are presently. It argues that unlike the mutual convenience and compromise approach of Germany to intergovernmental revenue sharing arrangements, Nigerian federal finance, based on statutes, has been quite conservative. It has failed to reinvent its federal architecture to reflect modern dynamics and realities thereby creating political and fiscal tension in the otherwise fragile federation with its primordial culture and disposition to the political economy. This study uses the Historical Institutionalism concept and path dependency theory to explain sources and patterns of change in Nigerian and German fiscal federalism. The paper concludes that fundamental restructuring is imperative, particularly with regards to existing tax culture and revenue sharing system in Nigeria. It posits that mutual convenience, compromise and co-occupation are non-negotiable values for a virile federal finance. Drawing critical lessons for Nigeria from the German experience surely presents alternatives for organizing a sustainable fiscal federalism order, moving from a more corporatist fiscal federal system to a more decentralized order.

Keywords: Nigeria, Germany, federal finance, para diplomacy, historical institutionalism, path dependency, primordial culture, tax culture

Democracy, Official Corruption and Underdevelopment of Nigeria: Interrogating the Fourth Republic, 1999-2015

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The return to civilian rule in 1999 was heralded with jubilation as Nigerians were expectantly waiting for a total overhaul of the various sectors of the nation's economy. It was hoped that a civilian administration would be more accommodating and transparent than military autocracy and despotism they had experienced prior to the birth of the Fourth Republic. The return of the military to the barracks was regarded as a welcome development because the country was adjudged to be adjusting positively in tandem with global clarion declaring military regimes a misnomer. However, the masses' hopes and aspirations were dashed during the first sixteen years into the nation's march in democratization process due to pervasive official corruption that permeated Nigeria's political landscape. The resultant effect was practical inaccessibility of the citizenry to dividends of good governance and democracy. This paper interrogates the dawn of civilian rule and the escalation of official corrupt practices. It also questions the impact of corruption on the country's development.

Keywords: Democracy, official corruption, underdevelopment, dividends of democracy, good governance

African Marxist Intellectuals and the Question of Rights and Material Inequality in the Age of Neoliberalism

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Abstract

The mounting pressure of neoliberalism on a global scale has led to the upsurge of different forms of nefarious activities by agents of global Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). This reality became inescapable after the emergence of neoliberal policies in the 1980s. The attempt to reform capitalism provoked leading Bretton Woods institutions to fund the activities of NGOs in promoting insidious ideas of privatization, deregulation, devaluation, and Western democracy, globally, especially in countries of the South. The countries in the South have had to contend with the enormous effects of these ideas. In Africa, the NGOs have successfully hijacked responsibilities that ordinarily ought to be within the purview of governments. This trend has suppressed the guilt of governments in failing to perform their legitimate duties. In a world of “NGOism,” the ideal obligations of governments in providing basic social amenities or infrastructures, vis-à-vis the protection of rights, lives and properties of citizenries, are now monopolized by international donors. This work examines the alternatives that have been prepared by select African epistemic-decolonizers cum Marxist-inclined intellectuals to the crises of material inequality and human rights violations on the continent. This assessment is more pertinent now because of the widening gap between the rich and poor on the one hand, and the consistent attacks on citizens’ democratic rights by state apparatuses, on the other hand. Through a reliance on a Marxian historio-analytical approach, this essay depends on primary and secondary sources and on models provided by academic scholar-activists such as Bade Onimode, Eskor Toyo, Segun Osoba, Claude Ake and Walter Rodney, whose distinctive intellectual productions serve as models to understand the question of material inequality and human rights.

Keywords: Marxism, African intellectuals, material inequality, neoliberalism, human rights

Post-colonial Nigeria and the Politics of the Developing World:A Historical Discourse

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Abstract

In this paper, we identify and discuss the stages in the building of the neo-colonial political economy in Nigeria, the country's declining strategic importance in the wake of the Cold War, and its experience with the rise and decline of oil wealth. In addressing these interrelated issues of political economy chronologically, beginning with the economic foundations laid in 1939, we can trace Nigeria's economic slide to economic predicament. Ironically, despite its diminished position globally, and despite the problems constituted by the lack of diversification of its economy, Nigeria remains a regional leader, both economically and militarily.

Keywords: Colonialism, independence, economy, Cold War, developing world, struggles

Democracy, Liberty and Economic Growth in Africa: Understanding the Contours of the Nigerian Economy in the Fourth Republic

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Abstract

The return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999 raised hopes for the resolution of the country's crises of governance, the rule of law, economic freedom and national development. It is in that light that this work studies the symbiotic relationships between democracy and economic growth in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. The main thrust of the argument here is that the practice of democracy in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular has not been appropriately handled enough to initiate economic freedom and development envisaged by the fathers of democracy. Rather, the material immiseration of the people had gone out of control with the country being described as the 'poverty capital of the world' despite the fact that it boasts of some of the richest people in Africa. What went wrong? This study is a contribution to the discourse on the principle of economic freedom based on the fundamental traditions of classical liberalism anchored on the intertwined nexus between democracy, economic freedom and economic development. It draws copious examples from both the macro and microeconomic policies, plans, and their effects on the country and society.

Keywords: Africa, democracy, liberty, liberalism, economic growth, Nigeria

Investments and the Evolution of the Indigenous Economy: A Study of Production and Trading of Locust Beans in Agosasa

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Abstract

Indigenous technology constitutes an important aspect of African culture. Technology represents the adaptive mechanism through which people survive in any place they find themselves. These include how to source for tools, food, shelter, medicine and other necessities of life for sustainable living. The end product of the technology made by man is regarded as material culture which is tangible. This refers to that segment of human production that one can see, touch, appreciate and most importantly eat which have been purposely made and modified according to the changes over time. This paper centers on production and trading of locus beans in Agosasa, a town located on the border between Benin and Nigeria, inhabited by Yoruba people. The paper examines the production of locus beans as an indigenous food spice that existed from the deep past. It further discusses its demand and marketability that have gone global because the Yoruba and indeed Africans preferred it in their indigenous foods. The work employs primary and secondary sources of historical writing to analyze its production and its distribution within western Nigeria and Benin Republic. The paper argues that though its technology is simple, however it keeps on changing over the time, thereby satisfying the needs and consumption in Nigeria and beyond. It concludes that while indigenous technology are abandoned in other areas, this has been preserved and transferred to another generation, since it serves as source of their revenue. It recommends that Nigerians should preserve their indigenous food spices against other food spices that are in stiff competition with Nigerian spices around the world.

Keywords: Indigenous technology, material culture, production, locus beans, trade

Nigerian Women: Minorities in Power

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Abstract

Women in Nigeria represent half of the population and therefore also half of its potential. Yet, at all levels of governance, they are the minority. They represent a substantial, underutilised force for sustainable development. A major reason for this is that women do not have equal access to political power. Other African countries—like Ethiopia, Rwanda and South Africa—are deliberate about increasing the representation of women in politics. Unfortunately, Nigeria is far behind. She has one of the lowest rates of female representation in parliament across Africa, and globally. Nigeria as a country suffers from extensive gender imbalance and hence misses out on a critical component of economic success. Gaining access to mainstream decision-making and political power by women can be a game changer for the economy. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development, and peace cannot be achieved. Strengthening women's roles as leaders and economic stakeholders is a key to development. This study investigates women's political participation in Nigeria during the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods. It investigates the advantages of women in positions of authority and their challenges. It makes recommendations for repositioning women in politics to achieve gender equality. The paper argues that women's studies and the women's movement must work together for women to assume their place in governance.

Keywords: Women, minority, sustainable development, gender inequality, political power, women's movement

Africa's Status in the Contemporary Global Economic System

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Abstract

Any academic or political exploration and explanation of how the status of Africa in the international economic order became what we are witnessing in contemporary era must pay due homage to the leading lights of the radical tradition epitomized by the likes of Walter Rodney, Segun Osoba, Bade Onimode, Yusufu Bala Usman, Peter Eke, Eskor Toyo, to mention just a few and from there, do an update on the unfolding scenario. This paper builds on the inspiration beamed by the genre of scholarship referenced here in order to draw attention to the challenges faced by Africa in the related areas of self-reliance, technological progress and political voice in the international system. Thus, focus is placed on relevant empirical and theoretical resources to demonstrate the validity of the thesis that Africa remains a victim of exploitation within the extant international division of labour. It underscores the urgency of the continental challenge and the imperative of redress whose programmatic thrust must reckon with the collusive role of African leaders in the scheme of Africa's domination, exploitation and marginalization.

Keywords: marginalization, radical tradition, international economic order, self-reliance

Women's Resistance and Subalternity in Colonial Southern Nigeria: A Re-Interpretation

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Abstract

The long-established orthodoxy on women's resistance and activism has always favoured women of note as originators and organisers of anti-colonial movements. In other words, little attention and even far less credit have been directed to the role of the subaltern women as the originators of protest movements. Instead, focus has been on the educated women and market leaders who later coordinated protest movements, especially in the cities of Lagos, Abeokuta and Aba. This paper attempts to focus on the subaltern women who pioneered these resistances in Lagos, Abeokuta, Aba, and other cities across Nigeria as the champions of the social movements during the colonial period. It argues that beyond the coordinating roles of the educated women, the subalterns and non-educated women stood against British policies that threatened their welfare and livelihoods in well-coordinated and impactful protests. The paper uses both primary and secondary sources to examine and re-interpret women resistance in colonial southern Nigeria. The paper concludes that women demonstrated extraordinary courage and determination in their resistance against such policies as the taxation of women, water rate payment, colonial ordinance prohibiting street trading, and price control scheme. Women achieved remarkable successes in these protests.

Keywords: Women, resistance, re-interpretation, colonial Southern Nigeria

Patriarchal Norms and Women's Security in Kontagora Emirate of Niger State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Violence against women is generally regarded as belonging in the private sphere and is shielded from outside scrutiny. A culture of silence reinforces the stigma that attaches to the victims rather than the perpetrators of such crimes. Women in Kontagora Emirate of Niger State are battered by various safety issues ranging from all form of domestic violence and physical abuse, pervading patriarchal norms, kidnapping, battering, sexual harassment, gender discrimination, rape, cultural believes, marital and home issues. Coupled with these is the poor representation of women in political matters. Neglecting women in matters that concern them, mostespecially safety of women's and participation in political matters, can never be in the interest of countries or communities; it is only in the interest of individuals who choose to do so. The poor representation of women in key areas that affect national development like economics, socio-cultural, political, and religious lifeis similar to a country trying to clap with one hand as in the case of women in Kontagora Emirate of Niger State. The concomitant effect of these challenges made women more vulnerable, reduces their worth and value in the society. Where the human rights and safety of women are not protected, the resultant effect is emotional and psychological stress which can lead to reduction in the lifespan of women. Primary sources and secondary materials were assessed to make this work worthy. The secondary sources include textbooks, journals, articles, newspapers, dissertations, seminar papers and other materials related to the study. Tripartite theories which include youth bulge theory, public opinion theory, and feminist theory were applied to aid this work.

Keywords: Domestic violence, feminists, patriarchal norms, vulnerability, Kontagora Emirate, gender equality, victims.

Africanity as Marxian Capitulation: Critical Insights from Dr. Osoba's Pedagogy

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Abstract

Dr. Segun Osoba's scholarship provides the platform for interrogating concepts and axioms of Nigerian historiography, including much uninterrogated Africanization of Nigerian history. Osoba focused his scholarship on understanding the Nigerian state and society, including its class structure, its engagements with international capitalism, and on social malaises such as corruption; not for a lack of awareness of Africanism, but from understanding that the national project was a critical first step towards resolving the black condition. He hoped for a successful Nigeria, giant of Africa and pride of black people everywhere. In conceiving of Nigeria's place in the world, did Osoba think of Africanity as a distraction of global capitalism? Does Africanity present a distraction from the cogent national themes of Osoba's scholarship? Is global Africanism the outcome of collapse of Afro-Marxist thoughts? How might we achieve a scholarly redirection towards nation-building? These are the questions which this article explores from a study of Dr. Osoba's publications.

Keywords: Nigerian historiography, capitalism, Afro-Marxist thought, Africanity

Proto-Nationalism and Resistance Struggles in Pre-colonial Nigeria

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Abstract

The various areas which make up Nigeria were acquired at different times. Specific forces and conditions favouring the emergence of nationalist movements surfaced in pre-colonial Nigeria. The resistance mounted against the British by the indigenes and traditional rulers of the territories that were later merged to become Nigeria constitute the early phase of resistance struggles. Overall, the paper submits that the eventual nationalist movements' aim was to achieve both economic and political freedom for the disparate groups who had come together courtesy of the amalgamation which later led to Nigeria becoming a sovereign nation in 1960. Making use of qualitative analysis of primary and secondary sources, the paper argued that there was heavy resistance by the native occupants of these territories in the form of non-cooperation in trade. Several fought wars against the British. Invariably, before the 1914 amalgamation, what would later become the nationalist idea was already in place.

Keywords: Nigeria, kingdoms, British conquest, territories, nationalist movements

Religious Education as a Mechanism for Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria

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Abstract

Nigerian democratic governance is facing a lot of challenges. This paper explores the role of religion in democratic stability in a developing country. It focuses on the interactions of religion and politics. Religion impacts institutions, civil liberties, and political participation, contributing to the consolidation of democracy. This paper examines the challenges facing Nigerian democratic dispensation since 1999 and the roles played by religion in providing lasting solutions to them. The research methodology used is descriptive which involves the use of primary and secondary sources. The paper concludes that religion can play significant roles in the avoidance of any type of corruption and can elevate the prudent spending of Nigeria tax payers' money as a national ethos.

Keywords: Religious education, sustainability, democracy

Historical Studies as Panacea for Insecurity and Socio-economic Underdevelopment in Nigeria

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Abstract

History has shown that Nigeria as a developing country has been convulsed by acute insecurity and other social vices, which have resulted in serious economic instability and underdevelopment. Arising from the foregoing, it is obvious that security is imperative for development in any nation. This is even more crucial for a developing nation like Nigeria. Studies have revealed that historical studies have helped many developing nations to advance in terms of technological output and in reshaping the security architecture for effective process of nation building. Drawing from this background, this paper highlights some of the security threats in Nigeria which require transformation through the teaching of history as catalyst to tackle and stem insecurity and socio-economic under-development. The paper adopts the historical approach to explicate the issues enumerated here. The role of historical studies as well as the concept of global security and socio-cultural development cannot be overemphasized. Hence, this paper suggests that the Nigerian government should make the teaching of History a priority and a compulsory subject/course in Nigeria's educational institutions of learning to enhance security consciousness.

Keywords: History, panacea, insecurity, socio-economic development

Segun Osoba: Individuals, Collectives, Moments, and Movements

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Abstract

This contribution locates Comrade Dr Segun Osoba in the moments of the movement of Nigeria's working people in the last fifty years or so. The contribution relates to Segun Osoba—his persona, strength of character, humanism, private relationships, and endurance—in terms of the critical factor of *the individual* as an element in the response of *the collective* to *moments*, and to the roles of various Nigerian collectives in the evolution of *the movement* of Nigeria's working people. By this, we mean how the conjuncture thus identified influences, and is influenced by, the conditions and development of social formations (labour, women, the youth, etc.), the state and its institutions, and the ruling class that superintends it. Comrade Dr Osoba's interventions, needless to say are, and they have continued to be, in the specific context of the *committed intellectual* as activist, student, organiser and mentor at local and national levels. This is the context in which Dr Osoba had functioned throughout his active years which now straddles at least three generations of radical intellectual and political activists. This discussion is about the trajectory and the content of the actual engagements by Comrade Segun Osoba at Ile-Ife, where he retired as a Senior Lecturer in History, and his contributions to the struggles of Nigeria's working people.

Keywords: Osoba, collectives, working people, intellectual

From Landslide Victories to Competitiveness: Nigeria's Recent Elections in Perspective

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Abstract

My main objective in this presentation is to make comparisons between four previous elections in terms of how competitive the elections had been, particularly in the closeness of outcomes, with reference to the role of technology, voter participation, voters' demographics, policy options placed before the electorate, major campaign issues, and the role of the courts in resolving electoral fiasco. At the theoretical angle, I wish to pursue my earlier argument that election technology is aiding and conferring credibility on Nigeria's electoral process. However, attitudinal and institutional issues pose obstacles to the tolerance and acceptance of electoral and judicial verdicts in our country. Candidates believe strongly that the only reason why they may not win an election is electoral fraud. In this context, procedural compliance and fidelity wouldn't be enough to submit to people's verdict in an electoral contest. Conspiracy theory is often believed to be a major reason for defeat. The paper concludes that the electoral umpire's failure to deploy wholesale election technology, especially the uploading of final election results in real time to INEC's server in Abuja, polluted the election environment and created doubts about the credibility and transparency of the 2023 presidential election. Electoral bodies are cautioned against raising expectations of stakeholders. Finally, my research finds that every subsequent election seems more competitive than the previous ones.

Keywords: elections, competitiveness, landslide, voters' demographics, expectations

The Development of an Indigenous Education Policy as the Panacea for Africa's Underdevelopment: The Nigerian Case Study

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Abstract

Since the 1980s, several African countries including Nigeria, the continent's most populous country, have witnessed the desecration of the educational sector. These problems affecting the education sector are serious when we take into consideration the fact that government policies guiding the education sector are mechanical guidelines, entirely lacking in sound philosophical footing. School curricula are lacking in content and the study of indigenous languages is gradually being phased out from the school curriculum. All the policy orientations affecting and regulating schooling are not properly organized or efficient in packaging the desired quality of education. In contrast, education during the pre-colonial period could be said to be better organized. Furthermore, in this age when the family, the basic and first social context for the child's socialization and training, has also been dislocated as both husband and wife enter full-time employment to make ends meet, the society now depends almost solely on the school as the sole agent to prepare the child mentally, morally and socially to become a responsible citizen. It is no gainsaying that the contemporary Nigerian environment is thus ill-equipped to prepare children qualitatively to understand the meaning and the purpose of life, and to discover the right way to live. Already the nation has begun to witness the effect of this situation, which includes lowering of values and morals, and students' involvement in violent and wicked acts besides meaningless intellectual orientation and ideas. This work highlights the need for the adoption of an indigenous educational policy as a tool of progressive change in Nigeria.

Keywords: Education, curriculum, colonialism

**Social Change, Nation Building and Constitution-Making in Post-Independence Africa:
Un Cri de Coeur**

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Abstract

In the decades of toil with and alongside Şégun Òşóbá, activists and committed colleagues failed to mobilize and raise the consciousness of Nigerians in order to put them in the saddle as masters of their own fate, on their own soil, and in their own best interests, and, by so doing, enable Nigerians to optimize all that nature endows them. As point of departure, we recognize that the term “independence” presupposes two antecedent conceptual existential states predicable onto any sentient being to whose existential condition the term pertinently applies. These include a pristine state of unrestrained self-determination, and, secondly, a state during which the subject owes all critical motions of and for its existence to others than itself. Putting the matter this way enables us to appreciate the essence of the Akan symbol “Sankofa,” relevant to conscious, self-propelled forward thrustmaster, and if effectively emerging from the second state. To the extent that articulate language, the only attribute that distinguishes humans from any other sentient being, does not manifest itself in vacuo, any effort to put any subset of humans in charge of its own affairs, but fails to take advantage of the instrumentality of the language that sustains that subset, will not only be persistently arduous; but any such effort may inevitably succeed in subjugating that subset to another nonautonomous domination. This is the narrative of and about Nigeria that plays out before our own very eyes, despite Şégun Òşóbá’s lifetime of commitment to putting Nigerians in charge.

Keywords: self-determination, Sankofa, Segun Osoba

**Partners in the Struggle for the Liberation of Nigeria: Segun Osoba and Bala Usman
(Part 1: 1970 – 1985)**

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Abstract

The paper examines the personal and intellectual relationship between Segun Osoba and Bala Usman over the long period of their friendship from the 1970s. Data will be drawn from the extensive correspondence between the two historians which is housed in the archives of the Yusufu Bala Usman Institute, as well as personal sources. We will highlight their collaboration in writing the Minority Report and its significance. We will look at the similarities in their approach to history, the responsibilities of intellectuals, and the relationship between scholarship and political action.

Keywords: Olusegun Osoba, Yusufu Bala Usman, Minority Report, political action

Afro-Arabs and Afro-Americans: A Critical Historical Analysis of the Global Identity and Legacies of the Trans-Saharan and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Systems

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Abstract

The history of slavery, enslavement and slave trade in Africa is not complete without its international dimensions typified by the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic slave trade systems. However, the existing literature focuses on the international nature, impact and legacies of the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the almost total neglect or obliteration of the trans-Saharan slave trade. Against this background, this paper attempts a comparative historical analysis of the two trade systems particularly their legacies regarding the global identity struggles and exploits of contemporary Afro-Arabs and Afro-Americans. The paper argues that the contemporary global popularity of the exploits of Afro-Americans and the seeming obscurity of their Afro-Arabs counterparts are not unconnected with the Arab/Islamic and Western/Christian doctrines and practices of slavery as well as the historical experiences of enslaved Africans north of the Sahara, in the Mediterranean World and Euro-America from the 7th to the 19th centuries. It is also argued that the preponderance of scholarly works on Afro-American experiences and exploits is a byproduct of European political and intellectual imperialism in Africa. The paper concludes that more scholarly works need to be done on the Afro-Arab experiences and exploits in the contemporary Arab world and elsewhere.

Keywords: Afro-Americans, Afro-Asians, Afro-Arabs, trans-Saharan trade, slave trade, slavery, enslavement

Islamic Injunctions and Democratic Governance in Nigeria in the 21st Century

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Abstract

After two decades of an uninterrupted democratic experiment in Nigeria, the system is still battling with some challenges which hindered the even distribution of the dividends of democracy across Nigeria. This paper interfaces Islamic Injunctions and democratic governance in Nigeria in the 21st century. It highlights some challenges facing democratic governance in Nigeria and their negative implications on ways of attaining true dividends of democracy in our society. It recognizes corruption and injustice as the bane of the democratic process. Election riggings, pre- and post-election violence, nepotism and misappropriation of public funds characterize our nascent democracy. There is high competition among politicians for political offices as a result of the high remunerations accruing to office-holders aside the wanton levels stealing of public funds among political office holders. These sharp practices among politicians negate Islamic doctrines and teachings. However, if the political elites can imbibe Islamic instructions and education, these vices will become minimized in our young democracy. The methodology is descriptive research, analyzing relevant articles, books, conference papers, journals, and internet resources. This paper proffers solutions via Islamic injunctions and principles based on morals and good characters (*Akhlaq*), that avoids corruption, and encourage equality among the people. In addition, adequate consultation (*Shura*) with the led by the leaders will bring unity, love and progress in the country.

Keywords: democracy, governance, Islamic injunctions, Akhlaq

The Search for a New Order: The Role of History in Nation Building and National Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

The intricate interplay between nation building and national development has been a subject of paramount importance throughout history. This work delves into the multi-faceted relationship between the two concepts, highlighting the role of historical knowledge in shaping the dynamics of nation-building. As nations evolve, historical experiences leave indelible imprints on their security strategies and development trajectories. This paper underscores the role of history in enhancing nation building and national development as history serves as a repository of valuable lessons that inform present day decisions. It provides insight into the consequences of various nation building and development strategies, aiding the formulation of more effective policies. The roots of conflicts, ranging from wars to regional disputes, can only be known by studying the past. Nations that have navigated such challenges aptly have often drawn strategies from historical precedents by adapting strategies to changing circumstances. Learning from history, leaders and policy makers can craft more equitable policies that address root cause of instability. The nexus between nation building and national development is deeply entrenched in history. The paper will equally examine how the evolving challenges of nation building and national development can be enhanced by historical understanding which remains a valuable and effective tool for sustainable growth.

Keywords: Nation building, national development, the role of history, causes of conflicts, security

Contemporary International Politics: Is there a new Cold War?

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Abstract

The global political economy had been defined by decades of Cold War between the major and contending ideological blocs. This epoch was characterized by huge military spending, propaganda, and intense antagonism between capitalism and socialism. The global economic system and scholarship also became defined by these realities. The critique of imperialist political economy engendered anti-imperialist polemics and theories that include theorizing on development and underdevelopment as posed by Segun Osoba, Yusuf Bala Usman, Yusuf Bangura, Bade Onimode et al. The new global realities have, however, raised questions on the emergence of a new Cold War. What are the signposts of the new Cold War? How do these define or moderate international politics? What states are the major players in the new Cold War structure? What economic and political interests define their roles in the emerging global order? This research relies on historic, analytic approaches, and the realist theory to interrogate the changing patterns of international politics. The work also relies on the analyses of ongoing Russia-Ukraine War to underscore the new Cold War. It concludes that the military strength of nation states and military alliances, rather than economic relations, are gaining ascendancy in international politics.

Keywords: Russia-Ukraine War, new Cold War, propaganda,

Old and New Players in Globalization: The Role of the Media

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Abstract

The media is one of the many actors that have influenced the complex course of globalization, contributing significantly by being a vehicle for information dissemination and a supporter of cross-cultural interaction. Globalization was initially controlled by old players like nation-states, multinational companies, and international organizations, most of which promote their own causes and disseminate their own cultural ideals through the media. As globalization evolved, newer players such as Transnational Social Movements and Non-Governmental Organizations emerged to compete with the old in advocating for and bringing attention to global issues that concern them. In all these transitions, the media remains the common denominator, evolving alongside key players in keeping with prevailing realities. The role of the media in driving globalization cannot be overemphasized. From the creation of collective memory to commoditization of history, and to the creation of a whole diverse culture (popular culture, etc.), the media has added distinct direction to the different courses of globalization. More people leverage internet and other technologies to connect and share knowledge and ideas, making the role of the media central to globalization. In exploring the old and new players in globalization, this paper will pay particular attention to the role of media, and how it serves as the denominator and driver for both old and new players.

Keywords: Globalization, the media, Old and New Players, technology, collective history

The Nigerian Ruling Class: A Gramscian Analysis

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Abstract

As an individual and as a scholar, I have often wondered why the Nigerian State is ever so quick to resort to the use of force even when an objective assessment of the circumstances would not point to any serious threat to either the integrity of the State or its survival. This behavioural pattern contrasts sharply with that of some other States in the world which hardly, if ever, have recourse to force and even then, moderately, whenever their young or other segments of their population cross paths with the state. Why is it that Nigeria after more than six decades of independence is still far from realizing its potential for development, unity and stability? Of course, if the country has not gotten on the road to genuine development, unity and stability, the reason for such a failure might, if unearthed, give us some insight into why those who run the Nigerian State indulge in such easy recourse to violence in order to solve the innocuous problems of youth rebelliousness, peasant-worker agitation, ethnic and religious conflicts, and so on. Perhaps the inability of those who manage the Nigerian state to manage even simple crisis is traceable to their inability to discharge the functions of the state in the areas of development, unity and stability. The task of this paper is to present a Gramscian analysis of state power and hegemony. Specifically, it will be argued that the behaviour of the functionaries of the Nigerian state is symptomatic of a failure. The failure is that of a class—the Nigerian ruling class—and this failure must be traced significantly to the inability of its members to constitute in Nigeria an ‘historical bloc’ over which they exercise ‘hegemony’.

Keywords: Nigerian State, Gramsci, development, unity, stability, violence, hegemony

History, Knowledge, and Social Practice: Pedagogy, Philosophy and Methodology in Perspective

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Social

practice refers to every day practices and the way these are typically and habitually performed in a society. History deals with inquiry and the search for the truth. It studies change over time and covers all aspects of human society. The essence of education is to acquire information that will bring worthwhile or valuable changes in society. These worthwhile changes must be seen through the social practice of the people in the society. How can we teach history so that the knowledge acquired can have a n impact on every day practices and the way these are typically and habitually performed? This paper investigates the way history is being taught in schools in Nigeria presently and its impact on the social practice of the people. It is discovered that the discipline is not a favorite of many students, and many who study it do not relate their knowledge to their every day life. Therefore, people and governments do not learn from past mistakes or plan their programs based on the hindsight of their predecessors. It is therefore suggested that there should be a shift in the pedagogy, philosophy, and methodology of teaching history. History should be taught in perspective. It should be taught in such a way that it brings an alignment between pedagogy, philosophy, and methodology for effective synergy in the historical knowledge and social practice for the betterment of society.

Keywords: social practice, knowledge, pedagogy, philosophy, teaching history

The Next World War: Not Near, But Not So Far

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Abstract

This paper attempts a theoretical contextualization of nuclear weapons symmetries and asymmetries and the psychological and political maturity of the leadership of different countries not to allow the grandstanding by a few well-armed countries to undermine and imperil global peace. The unfolding scenarios in the international system require some interrogation. The ominous threats of nuclear weapons by competing and contending powers, both major and global, give the System a complex character suggesting imminent anarchy. In East Asia, the crisis between China and Taiwan is experiencing massive troop and armament deployment. Also, the sticky situation between North Korea and South Korea has witnessed a series of missile tests by North Korea to which South Korea has not responded other than to participate in joint military drills with the U.S. It is evident that the provocations are calculated. In South Asia, Iran looks unstoppable with its programme of uranium enrichment. The recent arms deal between North Korea and Russia was also meant to expand the scope of this threat. The Russian-Ukrainian war in Eastern Europe can boast of deployment of different kinds of armaments. This study is designed to provide a theoretical understanding to these build-ups via empirical findings in order to establish their potential for escalatory tendencies into an all-out war of global proportion. The study adopts the Nuclear Weapons and International Conflict Theory as its theoretical framework.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian War, nuclear weapons, international conflict theory

Nation Building in Nigeria since 1960: A case of National Question

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Abstract

National Question arose from the character of Nigeria as a plural and multiethnic society. The concept of National Question can be traced to the amalgamation of two protectorates of the north and the south to make present day Nigeria. The process which was completed on the 1st of January 1914 created structural defects and imbalances which are quite evident in the social, political, and economic affairs of Nigeria. It must be noted that all these structures embarked upon by the British government was to enhance an administrative convenience, stop internal rancor among the protectorate, gain access to raw materials and finally to save or reduce administrative cost. Nigeria since Independence has not been able to maintain this balancing act, subsequent administrations have been unable to provide a structural path for national integration and economic development. Intolerance among different ethnic groups, insecurity and strife have continued to shape the affairs of the nation. Majority of Nigerians have often reduced the national question to contradictions and antagonism between the various ethnic nationalities in the country. In order words, they see the national question in terms of inter-ethnic hostilities only. But the national question is far bigger and more complex than this. This paper examines the national question as understood by various groups. Historical method of data collection was deployed. Primary source (unstructured interview) and secondary materials include textbooks, journals, articles, newspaper, dissertations, seminar papers and other materials related to the study.

Keywords: National Question, nation building, amalgamation, ethnic group, resource control,

APPRECIATION

We thank you for participating in the conference. We wish you journey mercies, long life and good health.