

## **CITATION OF PROFESSOR ABDULWAHAB TIJANI**

Professor Tijani was born to the family of Late Alhaji and Late Alhaja Tijani of Olude Compound, Ijeru-Oba, Ogbomoso.

He attended Roman Catholic Primary School, Gusau, Northern Region (Now Zamfara State). After the primary school education, he attended Giginya Memorial College, Sokoto between 1973 and 1977 when he passed out with nine papers at Credit and Merit level. He taught for a year in Primary School before he gained admission into the School of Basic Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria between 1978 and 1979. In October 1979, he was admitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He graduated in 1982.

### **Appointment**

Prof. Abdulwahab, Tijani took up appointment with the Central Schools Board, Ibadan after his National Youth Service in 1983. He was posted to Muslim Comprehensive High School, Ogbomoso. In 1993 he and others opened the zonal Office of the Teaching Service Commission (TESCOM), Ogbomoso. He served as a Zonal Supervisor between 1993 and October 1994 when he joined the services of Ladoke Akintola University.

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While teaching at Secondary School, he enrolled for Master's degree in Political History at the Department of History, University of Ilorin, which he completed in January 1990. He continued his search for knowledge at the same university in 2003, he acquired a doctorate degree in Social History.

Tijani worked diligently, he wrote and published thirty-three articles in reputable international, and national journals. He contributed to chapters in books and published a grand historical book on Islam in Ogbomoso.

Professor Tijani attended about twenty two academic conferences in Nigeria, parts of Africa and Asia. He is a Member of Centre for Issues and Development on Africa (CENDIA). Late Professor Emmanuel Akorede, Dr. (Mrs.) Akorede, Professor Tijani and others organized CENDIA Conferences at Ondo, in Nigeria, Whydah, Republic of Benin, Pretoria, South Africa, Kumasi in Ghana and Dubai, United Arab Emirates.

At the National and International conferences, he presented and published very good academic papers. He is Assistant Editor, International Journal of Issues on African Development and Member, Editorial Committee, International Journal of Gender and Child Education in Africa. Professor Tijani has supervised more than sixty

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Postgraduate Students. He rose from the Position of an Assistant Lecturer through the rank and file to the post of a Professor in October 2010.

#### **Services within the University**

He served at various capacities at the Departmental, Faculty and University levels. He served as Welfare Officer, Time-table, Seminar Coordinator and later the Head of Department of General Studies between 2013 and 2016. He was the Faculty representative on the University Library Committee between 2012 and 2018. He served as member, ITURA Funds Committee of LAUTECH.

He was the Chairman, University Committee for Indigent Students between 2008 and 2016;

He was member, Internal Institutional Accreditation Team, 2012;

Patron, National Association of Muslim Medical and Health Students Society, LAUTECH.

Patron, Institutional Cadets Corps, LAUTECH with the rank of a Colonel;

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He has been the Chief Imam of the University Mosque for the past twenty-five years. By the grace of God, up till now there has not been any religious crisis in LAUTECH.

He is a Patron of Association of United Nations Students Association (ANNUNSA), LAUTECH branch.

### **Community Service**

Professor Abdulwahab Tijani was a member, Oyo State Committee of Desirability or Otherwise of the return of some schools to the original owners (2006)

He was Secretary to the League of Imams and Alfas, Ogbomoso Zone (1996 – 2005)

He is a member of the Nigerian Supreme Council of Nigeria, Oyo State branch.

### **Awards (Academic)**

1. The Strategic Institute for Natural Resources and Human Development, Abuja in 2010 honoured him with “Pillars of Nation-Building” award as member of Academia. This approval guaranteed his induction into the Institute of Fellow of Strategic Institute and Human Development (FRHD).

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2. For his exceptional contribution to knowledge, especially research in Social Sciences, the Global Journal, a Society Accredited ISO Certified and United States Corporation that is, Open Association of Research Society, (USA) honoured (Provisional) with Fellow of Social Science Research Council (FSSRC) in January, 2019.

### **Other Awards**

1. Professor Tijani was honoured with Award of Merit by Association of LAUTECH, Journalists.
2. LAUTECH Muslim Graduates gave him the Award of a “*Role Model*”.
3. Oyo State Muslim Students’ Society honoured him with “*Award of Excellence*”.
4. Association of Muslim Health Students LAUTECH honoured him with “Award of appreciation”.
5. United Muslim Cooperatives also honoured him with “*Award of Excellence*”.

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6. At-Taoheed International Group of Schools honoured him with *Gold Merit Award* for being the Pioneer Chairman, Board of the Schools and having served for ten years meritoriously.
7. The National Council of Muslim Youth Organisation, (NACOMYO), Ogbomoso South gave him ‘AlFaruq’, i.e. the distinguisher between truth and falsehood.
8. The National Council of Muslim Youth Organizations, Ogbomoso North awarded him with “*Otun Majeobaje NACOMYO*”

**COURTESIES**

The Vice-Chancellor

The Registrar

Other Principal Officers of the University

The Chairman, Committee of Deans and Provosts

Dean, Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences

Other Deans of Faculties

Professors and other members of the University Senate

Head of Department, General Studies and other Heads of  
Departments

Members of Academic Staff

Members of Non-Teaching Staff

My Spiritual Fathers

The Royal Fathers

Members of LAUTECH Muslim Community

Members of my Family

Distinguished Guests

Gentlemen of the Press

Great Ladokites

Ladies and Gentlemen

## **PREAMBLE**

In the name of Allah, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent

All praise is due to Almighty Allah for granting me the favour to deliver the 35<sup>th</sup> Inaugural Lecture of this great University, the 10<sup>th</sup> from the Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences and the 2<sup>nd</sup> from the Department of General Studies. I sincerely appreciate University Management under the indefatigable leadership of the Vice Chancellor, Professor Michael O. Ologunde for approving and providing all necessary facilities for the presentation of this inaugural lecture. I appreciate the Dean, Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences, Prof. A.T. Oladipo, for the necessary support provided to facilitate this presentation.

Vice-Chancellor sir, one day, I approached a Head of Department of Chemistry while trying to assist in solving a problem confronting a Chemistry Postgraduate Student. He referred me to the Dean, Postgraduate School saying *“Tell him the Student is in the area of Chemistry we need more teaching staff because you cannot remember if I tell you we have enough staff in Analytical Chemistry and Organic Chemistry, we need more hands in Inorganic Chemistry”*. I let him know that I knew these branches of studies in Chemistry, he said, he thought I would not remember the names.



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This happened when I was already a Professor of Intergroup Relations and Conflicts Studies. This incident shows the general depth of knowledge of studies in Humanities, especially of history by natural scientists. It reminds me of the work of E.H. Carr, titled “What is History?” Carr devoted a chapter to the issue of History, Science and Morality. He tried to establish the linkage between History and Science, i.e. the art of history as found in Scientific Studies. This is because science is a growing body of knowledge rather than being complete and static. By the close of the eighteenth century, science had tremendously increased both man’s knowledge of his own physical attributes and the knowledge of the world. At that time questions were asked whether science could increase man’s knowledge of his society. Carr observed that:

The conception of Social Sciences, and of History among them, gradually developed throughout the nineteenth century; and the method by which science studied the world of nature was applied to the study of human affairs (Carr, 1961: 56).

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Darwinian's scientific revolution at this period led social scientists, taking cue from Biology, to start thinking of society as an organism. But most importantly, Darwinian revolution completed what was begun by Leyell in geology, brought history into science. Science was no longer concerned with "something static and timeless, but with a process of change and development" (Carr, Ibid: 57). Therefore, we need to study history of science as part of scientific studies, and in every research, the historical development of the object of study forms an essential part of our study.

"Evolution in Science confirmed and complemented progress in history". Nothing however, occurred to alter the inductive view of historical method....(which involves); first collect your facts, then interpret them. It was assumed without question that this was also the method of science" (Carr, Ibid: 57).

Bury had this view in mind when in January 1903, in the closing words of his inaugural lecture he described history as "Science, no more no less". (Quoted by Carr, Ibid). For about half a century after Bury's inaugural lecture, a strong reaction was witnessed against this view of history. For instance, when Collingwood wrote in the 1930's he drew a sharp line between natural sciences and historical studies.

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Bury's position was derided by the scientists of that period. This was mainly because science itself had undergone a profound revolution.

Vice-Chancellor sir, my contention is that scholarship should rise above the argument of whether history belongs to science or not. The object of focus of all branches of knowledge is man. Even when we study inanimate objects, whether inorganic chemistry, organic chemistry, analytical chemistry, astronomy, climatology demography, geology, physics, optics, philosophy, religion, history or humanities, our interest is to arrive at conclusions and generalisations that would advance the quality of life for human beings directly or indirectly.

In the pre-modern society, every aspect of knowledge was geared towards solving one human problem or the other. In Ancient Egypt, knowledge of irrigation, Arts and Crafts Sciences and technology as well as religion were geared towards the advancement of the society. The departmentalization of knowledge was first experienced at Alexandria, in the hey days of Greek Science.

If man is the main focus of all branches of studies, then the argument about which one is science or which one is not really relevant. Similarly, the argument of the superiority of one form of knowledge to others is futile. Knowledge is holistic, interrelated, intertwine and

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interdependent. Knowledge is not static; it is growing or it grows. Thus today, the modern society, with its complexity due to advancement in sciences and technology, calls for advancement in other branches of knowledge.

Historical studies today have to face the challenge of studying the trend and the laws that guide modern society through trends of modern history. These trends have produced both the good, the bad and the ugly. Modern society has become a global village, thanks to advancement in science and its application, technology, especially advancement in information and communication technology (ICT), and the globalization of capitalist economic system etc.

The bad and ugly in terms of the negative consequences of these advancements made science and technology, its applications to have both functional and dysfunctional properties. These include environmental pollution due to industrial wastes and its threats to human existence, destruction of arable land, aquatic life and its effects on global warming. Similarly, the production of weapons of mass destruction at an alarming rate at the expense of spread of poverty, disease and the ignition of wars at the shortest provocation for 'national interests'. These often lead to loss of hundreds of

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thousands of lives, destruction of property, destruction of civil life, etc.

Many times, under the pretext of peace-keeping or as soldiers of democracy, wars are ignited, sustained and funded for other reasons such as the need to provide market for the arms industries, neo-colonial reasons to install puppets and to remove from power ‘non-friendly’ leaders in third world countries. Attempts to control the abuse of science and technology has led to various international treaties and formation of international organisations. The formation of the League of Nations, United Nations Organization (UNO), Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALTs) among others. The extent to which they have succeeded is an open debate.

Vice-Chancellor sir, to this end, the relevance of history in the modern world cannot be divorced from the historical trends that led man into the present condition of widespread violent conflicts and threat to human existence. This situation informed my topic - ‘The Microcosm of the African Crisis’. My area of specialization is Intergroup Relations and Conflict Studies.

Practically, my inspiration grew from true life experiences, I was born and I grew up in one of the Sabo Communities in Northern Nigeria. Living in the same compound with Hausas, Yorubas and

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having Igbos neighbours. In my primary school days at the CMS School and later at RCM, my school mates were pupils from various ethnic groups such as Hausa, Igbo, Ibibio, Nupe, Bachama, Birom etc. This made the works of Albert and Cohen to fire an academic zeal in me that directed my mind to studies in Intergroup Relations. Prof. Albert's PhD thesis was on 'The Sabo Communities of Kano and Ibadan'. It was from the level of Intergroup Relations in the migrant communities that scholarship drew my attention to the global factors in Africa's developmental problems, especially because the world has become a global village.

#### **Microcosm of African Crisis**

This lecture discusses the microcosm of the African crisis in Nigeria. This is because the African continent has a disturbing notoriety for violent conflicts, civil wars, mass poverty, insecurity, political instability, under-developed science and technology, issues of economic crisis, resource management, corrupt practices etc. There are various literary, historical, sociological, anthropological and scientific approaches in the study and analysis of the African crisis. The concept of ethnicity, tribalism, colonialism, slavery, under-development, outdated society, immaturity and others have been

adduced to assist in the evaluation of the African crisis (Tijani, 2010a).

These schools of thought hold that through the colonial experience, foreign political culture, institutions and structures were inherited by modern African nations. One, that colonial rule was essentially out to plunder the economy of Africa. Two, the exploitative nature of the colonial state made it necessary for the colonial masters to establish a powerful state. Three, the divide-and-rule policy of colonial administrations pitched one ethnic group against the other in African colonies. The nature of the post-colonial African states were thus fashioned along the lines of the colonial foundation. For instance, Ebijuwá holds that the African ruling class that stepped into the shoes of the colonial masters had the control of powers which “enabled them to plunder the economy and make sure that the existing opportunities and benefits in the state were reserved for themselves and people from their ethnic enclaves” (Ebijuwá, 2000: 959).

In this wise, ethnic crisis, plundering of the economy, corruption, and manipulative activities of the ruling class as well as security challenges are often blamed on the colonial legacy. The creation of a state of insecurity and uneven development within the colonial state

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were seen as part and parcel of colonial rule (Nnoli, 1998: 63) observed that:

Capitalism in general and the peripheral capitalism purvey by colonial capitalism in particular contained an inherent tendency to marginalise people, areas and economic sectors not directly involved in the expanded reproduction of private capital through profit maximization.

Uneven development is created internationally within the colonial state and within regions, cities and towns. The metropolitan cities of colonial capitalism were developed at the expense of the colonies while within the colonies the colonial headquarters in the cities and towns had more socio-economic infrastructure concentrated than the rural areas. This regional differences depended on the level of integration into the colonial capitalist economy (Rodney, 1972: 227). Thus for example, Southern Sudan and Western Kenya were neglected in terms of provision of roads, schools, hospitals etc. because they had little that drew the interests of the colonialists. Similarly, in Nigeria when the headquarters of colonial provincial



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headquarters was moved from Oyo to Ibadan in 1935, Oyo and its environs began to suffer infrastructural neglect (Adeniran, 1994: 20).

Vice-Chancellor sir, I have chosen the colonial thesis for appraisal because it encompasses most, if not all the arguments on the causes of the African crisis. Although it is a fact that any explanation of the African crisis should recognise its post-coloniality. By this, I mean the understanding of the three interfaced historical epic through which the contemporary reality in African history was shaped. They are the pre-colonial; the colonial; and the post-colonial epic of African history (Uroh, 2007: 43). It is within this historical context that we can justifiably explain occurrences within Africa. Yet, it is a fact that human society is dynamic. I ask, “what time in history shall writers stop blaming colonial rule for the African woes?” In other words, when shall African nations obliterate the negative impacts of colonial rule through reformations of the negative colonial legacies?

It is a fact that African nations have abundant natural and human resources. Of what use has the African nations made of those resources? We may also ask “How has the resources been managed or mismanaged? What role did this play in engendering the African crisis?” I shall attempt to answer these questions. Another school of thought on the African crisis view it as been caused by ethnic

identity, and the conglomeration of various ethnic categories under the modern African nations by the colonial masters. These are the essentialists. The essentialists believe that the African crisis is mainly due to the ethnic crisis in Africa, which in turn is attributable to the socio-cultural configuration of Africa and its centrifugality. (Ekechi, 1980; Nnoli, 1980; Osaghae 1992; Olayiwola 1998).

The essentialists thesis is problematic, not only because of its indebtedness to the colonial writers, but because African socio-cultural configuration are objective differences that cannot lead to crisis until and unless they are manipulated (Tijani, 2014a).

Among the earlier writers to whom the essentialities are indebted is Awolowo who held that “Nigeria is not a nation but a mere ‘geographical’ expression”. (Awolowo, 1947), while Diejomao and Wakanaja as quoted in Olayiwola (1998) held that:

Nigeria is an apt example where ethnic nationalities with differing religions and linguistic characteristics interact in conflicting situations under one pseudo-national constitution and laws. This tension consistently generated is

inimical to national integration and development (Olayiwola, 1998: 24).

Olayiwola thus argues that “It is probably for this reasons (reason of identity) and sundry historical reasons that the so-called emergent nations of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean are undergoing profound crisis of identity” (Olayiwola 1998: 04).

Such arguments overlook the fact that these ethnic configurations become important only when they become politically salient. That is, it is within the context of modern multi-ethnic African nations and the rivalry and competition by the ethnic political elites that these socio-cultural configuration are put to use as weapons. Therefore, the socio-cultural configurations are objective differences as basis of peaceful interactions on daily basis among the masses, in the religious houses, market places and other social engagements.

Here, we found a grain of truth in the argument that the manipulative activities of the ruling classes in various modern African nations are making ethnic and religious differences ‘Canons’ of attack in the intra-class rivalry and competition for the control of resources. (Nnoli, 1980). But this also provoke questions asked earlier, one, “Why are the ethnic ruling elites competing to control resources?”; Two, “what have they done with such control of the various natural

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resources in Africa?”. But before we attempt to answer these questions, we may argue that these ethnic rivalries are not only a phenomenon of the ruling class using divide-and-rule, there are objective crisis caused by political and economic interests among the masses. Examples are the Jos crisis in Nigeria whose genesis was the struggle over the control of Jos Local Government and the Kafanchan Religious Crisis of 1987 which had remote socio-political grievances; both of which eventually wore ethno-religious garbs, the 2015 South African Xenophobic attacks on other African nationals. Yet, even within this context we cannot completely rule out the handiwork of the ruling elites.

Again, on the question earlier raised on the extent to which African resources had been utilized for the common good in African countries, we need to first identify the various resources of African nations, and second, we should know the percentage of unemployment in these African nations. Although, many are under-employed and the ones that are not under-employed often find it difficult to meet the basic necessities of life due to vagaries of economic crises. Before we go into this, we need to define the concept of ‘Development’ as used in this work.

## **Development**

Vice-Chancellor sir, in this work, I have viewed development beyond the view of the term which has often been taken to be synonymous with economic growth. Although, it necessarily involved economic growth, it should be sustainable, which also connote improvement and progress in all aspects of human society. The definition by Odunbaku is useful for this discourse which is:

Sustainable development can be defined as a type of development that affects all aspects of life, be it cultural, educational, political, economic, social and technological. It is a type of development which is bound to have a permanent positive impact on a society not only in the present, but also in the future. All the ingredients of development in such a society must be sustainable since development in this respect has to be continuous and not static (Odunbaku, 2007: 1).

Based on this, I view development in modern African nations to include sustainable progress in science and technology, economic

equity, social justice, good governance, national integration, eradication of mass illiteracy, mass poverty and insecurity as well as freedom from international economic slavery. This is because most modern African countries are facing crisis of development.

### **Theories of Development**

As far as African developmental challenges are concerned, one cannot overlook the arguments of neo-Marxian theories of development. In this respect, the relevant theories are the Leninist-Marxian theory of imperialism, Frank's development of Brian's Neo-Marxist theory of underdevelopment and the neo-Marxist theory of dependency which form key part of the under-development theory (Philosopherees: 2011).

The dependency theory arose in the 1960s after the failure of western favoured economic development plans such as those of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank. In reaction, there were calls for more National Control of foreign capital investment and the development process and if possible a complete revolution. The Dependents' as they were called are of the argument that development process in the third world countries were in favour of foreign capitalist system (Philosopherees: 2011).

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For instance, a Neo-Marxist, Cardoso (1960s/1970s, 1972) believe that elites in poorer countries have a historical alliance with foreign capitalist interests to the detriment of the masses of their nations. In other words, those Marxian Scholars refer to as ‘Comprador Bourgeoisies’. Cardoso however, believes that there are pockets or islands of developments in the third world countries mainly by some elites, ‘which make an anti-nation in the nation’ (Philosopherees: 2011).

This argument is useful here in understanding the crisis of development in modern African nations. This is because we cannot overlook the inherent contradictions in the dependent capitalist nations in Africa, which was caused by the neo-colonial umbilical cord between the modern African nations and the metropolitan nations of global capitalist system in Europe and America. This cord is maintained through unequal economic relations and through the adoption of the imposed economic, fiscal and political policies. These policies were part and parcel of the conditionalities imposed by the IMF, World Bank and other Western-controlled financial organisations.

Therefore, right from the mercantilist stage of capitalism through the industrial and monopoly stage to the neo-liberal policies such as the

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Structural Adjustment Programme, privatisation and commercialisation policies etc., the Western powers maintain this ‘unholy’ exploitative and subversive umbilical cord of global capitalist relations with modern African nations.

However, sincerely, “how long shall African scholars continue to blame the African crisis on the Western powers?” Often human beings look for scapegoats in explaining their plights. “Why should Africa remain in such crisis after several decades of independence?” This question is pertinent especially if we consider the phenomenon of political corruption in modern African nations. As I have argued elsewhere (Tijani, 2010), widespread corruption has led to misuse and abuse of political power which has engendered other crises such as mass unemployment, mass poverty and widespread insecurity. Hence, corruption has been the bane of development in modern African nations (Tijani, *Ibid*). This has been evidenced in selected African nations. We need to define corruption. Corruption has been defined as the violation of established rules and regulations for personal gains and profits (Sen, 1999: 275). This also includes the securing of power, wealth or position through unlawful means and using it for personal or private interests at the expense of the public (Lipset and Lenz 2000: 112–114).



Therefore, in this work, I considered the indices of development as development in the national utilization of the natural resources, level of unemployment, percentage of literacy, infrastructural development, health facilities, educational facilities and level of corruption. I have considered these in Nigeria, Ghana, Tunisia, Tanzania, Central African Republic, Egypt, Kenya and Sudan.

A study of this table shows that the modern African nations are far from experiencing sustainable development. This is attributable to the under-utilization of the resources, corruption which has retroviral effects on the level of unemployment, mass poverty, level of literacy, all of which have direct link with insecurity and insurgency. However, all these cannot be justifiably appraised, explained or understood without a look at the political economy within which the African crisis is taking place.

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Country	Natural Resources	% of Unemployment	% of Literacy	Infrastructure Development	Corruption Practices	Health Facilities	Educational Institutions
Tanzania [Indep.-1961] [Population-44,928,932]	Agriculture, forestry and Wildlife land, gold, diamond, Iron, Coal, Nickel, Tanzanite, Uranium and natural gas	11.46%	72.90		Most affected Sectors are government procurement, land administration, taxation and customs.	Village Health Service, dispensary Services, Health Centre services, District Hospitals, Regional Hospitals, Referral/Consultant Hospitals	Educating the mass of the population, the intensive programme of "Education for self-Reliance"
Central Africa Republic [Indep.-1960] [Population-4,803,000]	Diamond, Uranium, Timber, Gold, Oil, Hydropower	9.43%	65.63	Over 4,000 km of waterways, abundant hydroelectric resources Telephone Service that is united to Bangui but operate efficiently	Corruption rank in CAR averaged 149.67 from 2006 until 2014. High of 162 in 2007 and a record low of 130 in 2006	Lack of access to health care and less of capacity to prevent, detect and respond to epidemic outbreak	Public education is free and compulsory from age 6 to 16. 43% of ages 6-11 enrolled in primary in the year 2000

Egypt [Indep.-1922] [Population-85,000,000]	Oil and Natural Gas, Iron Ore, Phosphate, Limestone, Manganese, Talc, Asbestos and Gypsum	12.8%	Youth (87.5%) Adult (72%)	Over 64,000 km of primary and secondary roads, 90 airports, 3 major ports, 3,500 water ways	Scores 32 in corruption scale, placing it 114 out of 177 countries	8% out of 57% of Egyptians use HIO Facilities for outpatient care	Primary (6-12); 10,004,002; Secondary (12-17); 6,346,000; Tertiary; 2,646,000.
Kenya [Indep.-1964] [Population-45,941,977]	Limestone, Soda ash, Salt, Gstones, Fluorspar, Zinc,, Diatomite, Gypsum, Wildlife, Hydropower	22.43%	87.45	1,400 km of coastline and the region's biggest and busiest port	Ranked 139 <sup>th</sup> out of 176 countries for corruption. Estimated the average urban Kenyan pays 16 babers per month	Dispensaries and Private clinics centres sub-district hospitals and nursing homes. District hospitals and private hospitals, provincial hospitals and National Hospital	

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South Africa [Indep-1934] [Population-51,770,560]	Diamonds, Salt, Gold, Iron cobalt, Uranium, Copper, Bauxite, Silica, Petroleum, Cocoa Beans, Woods and Tropical fruits.	25%	92.9%	One multi-billion road development to meet the demands of a growing economy and population.	Private use of Public resources, bribery and improper favoritism.	Private and Public Health Systems exist in Parallel.	The development of Basic Education (DBE) which is responsible for primary and secondary schools and the Higher Education and Training (DHET) is responsible for tertiary education and vocational training.
Sudan [Indep-1956] [Population-40,033,397]	Petroleum, Chromium ore, Copper, Iron Ore, Mica, Silver, Gold, Tungsten and zinc.	1.50%	71.9%	Tripling power generation capacity, liberalizing the ICT sector and connecting to an undersea fibre optic cable.	Government officials are frequently involved in corrupt practise and considered one of the most corrupted countries in the world.	Sudan has a long way to go to achieve its millennium developmental goals and to establish an adequate and efficient health care system that benefits every individual in the country.	Education is free and compulsory for children aged 6 – 13 years. Has 19 universities; instruction is primarily in Arabic.

Mali [Indep.-1960] [Population-15,768,221]	Petroleum, Hydropower, Gold, Phosphates, Kaolin, Salt, Limestone, Uranium, Gypsum, Granite, Bauxite, Iron Ore, Tin, Manganese and Copper.	8.20%	33.4%	Irrigated lands for increase in the production of rice; in 2003, Mali was the leading producer and exporter of cotton in Sub-Saharan Africa; the second largest producer of Gold in West Africa.	Lots and 218 million mismanagement in 2007, customs duty fraud and missing revenue of \$15.5 million.	2,500 primary schools have been setup in Mali at the elementary level. 70% of male and 56% for the females 28% for male on the secondary school and 17% for female. Education is compulsory for children that are almost 9 years.
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<p>Nigeria [Indep.-1960] [Population-140,003,543]</p>	<p>Oil and Gas, Coal, Cocoa, Cement, Iron Ore, Igrite, Tin, Salt Rubber, Palm Oil, Plywood, Marbles, Lead, Zinc, Limestone, Gold, Rice and Cotton</p>	<p>80%</p>	<p>61.5%</p>	<p>Mining and transporting Enugu Coal, compact Trauma and emergency centres along Expressways, 4<sup>th</sup> Mainland Bridge, Port Harcourt Monorail Project, Niger Delta Ship Building and Oil Rig Fabrication Yard, Public Recreational spaces, Lagos Badagry Rail Project, Enugu Monorail, Enugu Golf City, Asa Dam Project, MENA Infrastructure</p>	<p>Nigeria was ranked the most corrupt in the year 2000, second in 2001, second in 2000, second in 2003 out of 133 countries, third in 2004 out of 145 nations, the 6<sup>th</sup> in 2005 out of 158 countries, the 18<sup>th</sup> in the year 2006 out of 163 countries, the 144<sup>th</sup> in the year 2013 out of 177 countries and the 136<sup>th</sup> out of 174 surveyed countries in 2014. Mathematically, it shows that Nigeria is the 38<sup>th</sup> most corrupt country in the world in 2014.</p>	<p>Lack of access to quality healthcare coupled with the prevalence of quack hospitals and Doctors, false drugs and substandard products</p>	<p>English is the language of instruction, September to July is academic year 128 universities with 31 private universities. 47% is the lower Secondary gross enrolment ratio, 44% for secondary and 10% for tertiary gross enrolment ratio. 61.3% of adults are literate.</p>
<p>Ghana [Indep.-1957] [Population-27,055,010]</p>	<p>Gold, Timber, Bauxite, Industrial diamonds, Fish, Manganese, Rubber, Silver, Hydropower, Petroleum, Salt, Limestone</p>	<p>5.2%</p>	<p>71.5%</p>	<p>Opening the country up to public private partnership (PPP) in an attempt to bolster the country's infrastructure</p>			

**SOURCES:** AFDB Statistics Department, AFDB Database 2007; - List of African Countries by Human Development Index. Wikipedia, accessed on August 24, 2016 (from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list\\_of\\_African\\_Countries](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_African_Countries)).

**Neo-Liberal Policies and the African Crisis**

After the attainment of independence in various African nations, the colonial states transformed into neo-colonial states, with the economy and the ruling class been appendages and dependent on the western capitalist metropolitan system. The colonial structures and institutions in neo-colonial form ensured the continuation of the

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exploitative relations between African nations and their colonial masters with the active involvement of the African ruling class as the local partners of the western imperialist powers. This was made possible by the implementation of western economic and fiscal policies. In this wise, the contemporary neo-liberal policies such as privatisation and commercialisation with their attendant social costs such as mass unemployment, kidnapping, mass poverty, widespread insecurity have formed part of the African crisis.

These neo-liberal policies have feathered the nest of the Comprador Bourgeoisie and the entire ruling class in African nations. The ruling class in African nations are not only dependent on satisfying the demands of the global capitalist interests, but are also parasitic. Lacking the material base for private accumulation of wealth to enhance the control of state apparatus, they employ the capitalist economic policies to legalize the looting of state treasury in addition to wanton corrupt practices.

These malpractices have retroviral effects within the African nations leading to leadership tussle, which often leads to wars, alienation of the masses from the state; mass unemployment, mass poverty and insecurity. In the process of the intra-class struggle for the control of power and resources, objective primordial differences are employed

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as weapon. This often leads to ethno-religious wars, geopolitical conflicts as well as electoral corruption, god-fatherism and political thuggery, and insurgency.

Importantly, the abundant resources of African nations are neglected, unexploited except by the international capitalist corporations using the instruments of neo-liberal policies, aggressive economic policies such as privatisation and commercialisation. These aggravate the economic situation of the masses, increasing mass poverty mass unemployment with its attendant consequences of general insecurity and insurgency.

### **Nigeria - A Microcosm of the African Crisis**

Vice-Chancellor sir, Nigeria provides an unenviable example of crisis in the modern African nations. In 1967, six years after independence, Nigeria experienced a civil war that lasted for two-and-half years. The war was a consequence of ethno-regional conflicts that had its roots in the colonial period. The colonial government divided the country on ethno-regional basis by canalizing democracy and power politics along ethno-regional lines. Hence, the country was sitting on a keg of gun powder of ethno-regional violent conflicts. This conflict was based on ethnic identity

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crisis. Between 1960 and 1970, this crisis was a serious challenge to the existence of Nigeria as a nation (Tijani, 2008d)

Nigerian has over 250 ethnic and linguistic groups. Each of them are distinct in terms of culture, religion, history political systems etc. There are three major ethnic groups the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, each occupying different regions. While there were other important groups such as Nupe, Igala, Idoma, Ebira, Jukun, Gwari, Ibibio, Itsekiri, Ijaw, Edo and Urhobo etc. In the pre-colonial period, identity was based on towns and clans and sub-group, rather than the entire linguistic or ethnic group. The new ethnic categories was a product of colonial rule whereby all members of linguistic groups assumed the linguistic nomenclature as an identity. Identities are often stressed by the ruling elite in the course of intra-class rivalry and competition for control of power and resources (Tijani, 2008). That is why some scholars view ethnicity as well as class as having dialectical relationship. They view ethnicity as hidden or disguised class interest (Nnoli, 1980; Chizea, N.D.).

Vice-Chancellor sir, it is on this line of thought that we can explain the causes of the ethno-national crisis in Nigeria and its threat to nationhood or the national question between 1960 and 1970. I challenged the thesis 'Inevitability of Instability' by O'Connell

(1967) and the thesis of the ‘essentialists’ who believe that the ethnic and cultural plurality of African nations are responsible for the centrifugal tendencies in African nations. (West African 1996: 939). I went beyond this traditional explanation of the African crisis. I ask ‘What is the social phenomenon that turned such primordial diversities into basis of conflicts?’ ‘Without such factors, would these diversities lead to conflicts that threatened the foundation of modern African nations?’ I traced the roots of these conflicts to the colonial roots and the manipulative activities of the ruling elites (Tijani, 2008d).

The post-war period in Nigeria under various military regimes experienced crises of political development which include identity crisis, the legitimacy crisis, the participation crisis, the integration crisis and the distributive crisis. The identity crisis was the first and most fundamental crisis that was the achieving of a common sense of identity by various ethnic and religious groups that constituted Nigeria at the local government, state and national levels. This period witnessed various ethnic, tribal and religious violent conflicts. Examples are the Ife/Modakeke crisis over the desire to have separate Local Government Councils and the keen contest for the control of Kaduna North Local Government Council between the Christians and the Muslims in Kaduna State under the zero party



system of the Babangida regime. The identity crisis also involved the definition of the recognition of limit and excesses of power of the traditional as well as modern political institution. However, not until the 1976, local government reforms which diminished the powers of the traditional rulers by snatching their powers of land matters, their voices were still influential in local, state and national affairs.

The legitimacy crisis was closely related to the identity crisis. In African States, this concerned the recognition and acceptance of the governments as representing the wishes of the people. The question of the religious identity of the leaders and their ethnic group was of importance to the people, as well as the limit of the authority of the army over local government affairs (Tijani, 1997).

The participation crisis involves the problems of population participation in the political process. For example in 1978, the Obasanjo military regime complained about the general apathy towards local council elections in Nigeria. The military regimes of Buhari, Babangida and Abacha solicited traditional rulers' support in seeking legitimacy and participation in their administrative programmes.

Nigerian military administration sought to resolve the integration crisis in various ways. For example the use of the National Youth

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Service Scheme by the Gowon regime, the use of zero party and the use of two party system under Babangida regime to avoid voting on regional and ethnic lines and appointments based on the recognition of regional, ethnic and religious divides. Lastly, the distributive crisis is still a major crisis that seems to deepen with every regime. The adoption and implementation of neo-liberal policies widen the gap between the rich and the poor considerably.

By 1999, Nigeria had entered a period of various ethno-religious violent conflicts especially in the migrant communities of Nigerian cities. Some of them were the Maitatsine riot of 1987, the Sagamu/Kano riots of 1999, the Zangon Kataf crisis of February and May, 1992, the Jos North Local Government crisis etc. These crisis had few things in common. One, they were robed and decorated in ethno-religious garbs. Two, the fundamental causes of the crises were rooted in the national question. That is, the question of the degree of national integration, thus they were rooted in local grievances of economic and political matters. For example, the Zongon Kataf crisis of 1992 was basically ignited by crisis of sale of pork by the Kataf people who were indigenous population in the Zangon Kataf though the market had been dominated by the Hausa ethnic group since the pre-colonial years. While the Kataf people were mostly Christians, the Hausas were Muslims. This gave the

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crisis ethno-religious clothing. The main causes of this crisis was rooted in the long years of the marginalisation of the Kataf people in Kaduna State by various Hausa-dominated governments in Kaduna. Thus, the crisis was a move to assert their authority on their land (Tijani, 2002).

Similarly, the Sagamu/Kano riots started between the Hausa migrants in Sabo Sagamu and the Oro ritualists. This also gave the crisis ethno-religious clothing. Sabo Sagamu had been established peacefully fifty years earlier in 1939 without any recorded conflicts. Oro rituals had taken place annually without any clash with the Hausa migrants. The decision of the Oro Ritualists to visit Sabo Sagamu for the first time since 1939 was rooted in ethno-national political crisis such as the annulment of June 12, 1993 election widely believed to have been won by an indigene of Ogun State by an Hausa-led military President, Ibrahim Babangida, the domination of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation depot in Sagamu by Hausa Oil dealers etc. informed the ‘decision’ of the Oro ritualists, even, when it was possible that many Oro ritualists were Muslims (Tijani, 1999).

The Jos crisis in the same vein started as a crisis over the long years of control of the Jos North Local Government Council by the Hausa

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politicians whose ancestors had settled there since the pre-colonial years. The Jos ethnic categories were mostly Christians while the Hausa were Muslims. This also gave it ethnic and religious colouration. Other crisis such as Maitastine riot of 1987, Kafanchan crisis were religious riots caused by religious intolerance that were also aggravated by deep sense of national mistrust.

By the late 1980s, during the Babangida years in Nigeria, the effects of the neo-liberal policies such as Structural Adjustment Programme and Commercialization and Privatisation policies led Nigeria into a watershed of crisis. Hence, a new wave of national crisis based on grievances of economic marginalisation, mass poverty, mass unemployment, immiserization started. These led to serious security challenges and ethnic militia crises. Nigeria provides a microcosm where neo-liberal capitalist policies fuelled the African crisis (Tijani, 2010).

### **External factors in the Nigerian Crisis**

#### *Food Crisis (Insecurity)*

Nigeria is a dependent capitalist country. It has all the features of economic backwardness. Poverty is an important factor in national

insecurity. For instance, disproportionate population of people in poverty implies an insufficient utilization of national resources and the possibility of social unrest which may be due to unemployment, or underemployment. Applying the Karl Marx theory of immiserization that attributes this phenomenon to inherent nature of the capitalist economic system, I observe that this situation creates or swells the population of what we call the Industrial Reserve Army IRA. In third world countries like Nigeria, it is this army that readily serve in the violent national crises. It is in this regard that poverty leads to poor participation or even totally inhibits popular participation and apathy in policy formulation and procedure of election. The net result is poor governance, lack of direction and general instability (Tijani, 2012).

Also because the potentials of the poor are unengaged they find expression in form of retaliation against the state which they hold as being responsible for their deprivation. This may lead to drug trafficking, armed robbery, violent ethnic/religious conflicts, kidnapping by ethnic militias etc.

When we consider our period of discourse in Nigeria, we need to look into the consequences of Neo Liberal Capitalist policies in engendering insecurity in Nigeria. In Nigeria, neo-liberalism

stipulates the withdrawal of state from the provision of social services. Fundamentally, it advocates the disengagement of state from the management of public services. Nigeria has embraced this ideology, it consequently led to the policies of withdrawal such as privatization, commercialization, deregulation etc. With this, Nigeria entered the period of severe economic crisis coupled with the dearth of democratic values, manipulated democratic enterprise fraught with electoral malpractices; and the consequences of aggressive neo-liberal policies of commercialization and privatisation. These led to the manifestation of insecurity which include massive unemployment, poverty, disease, ethno-religious conflicts in various parts of country, high and rising rates of criminal activities, proliferation of ethnic militia, politically motivated violence, arson, thuggery, terrorist bombings high inflation rates and instability in the oil market. It also led to environmental insecurity such as decadent, decaying and neglected infrastructure such as roads and bridges, urban overcrowding among others (Tijani, 2012).

At the global level, there has been increase in divergence and antagonistic pluralities which converge around ideology and faith. This has divided the world into violent ideological and religious camps. It has been so violent that it has threatened global security. These has manifested itself at the global level in the conflicts of

which makes one to question the dividing line between terrorism and freedom fighting, between anti-terrorist army and imperialist army; between foreign occupation and human rights supporters, between installation of puppet regime and democracy soldiers etc. All these crises are global manifestation of the global conflicts between faith and ideology. The globalized world is principally hinged on the globalisation of economy (Capitalism), Information and Communication Technology ICT. These led to the attempt to globalise western model of democracy and ‘human right’. Hence, western ‘NATO’ Army of Democracy are in essence soldiers of global capitalism. On the other hand, religious ‘fundamentalism’ may not occur in a vacuum. It is within the context of the new world order or the globalized world. Otherwise why should al-Qaeda strike in the different parts of the world especially where there are American economic interests. Violence on both sides have polarised the world into conflict between ideology and faith. In the same vein, when we consider, the organisational methods and the operations of the terrorist groups in Nigeria the Niger Delta Militants, the Boko Haram, the Armed Robbers, we find that in spite of the seeming ideological differences, a common strong factor exist among them, i.e. the political economic interests.

## **Political Economy, External Forces and National Crisis in Nigeria**

Vice-Chancellor sir, the incorporation of African economy and its supsumption under the global capitalist economy implies that all forms of conflicts that are inherent to capitalist system shall find a way of manifesting itself at the micro-level in dependent capitalist economies such as Nigeria. In this regard, I may need to discuss the effects of neo-liberal capitalist policies such as privatisation, deregulation and commercialization on the nation-building problem in Nigeria.

In this lecture, the term external forces refers to the United Nations Development Partners, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the World Trade Organization (W.T.O.). They are among the numerous institutions that constitute the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which is a body of the United Nations that coordinates all the social and economic works of the United Nations (U.N.).

The IMF and IBRD also known as the World Bank were established at Briton Wood after the Second World War to help avoid economic disasters such as the Great Depression. These were organizations



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whose principles were based on classical liberal capitalist doctrines of Keynesian economics. John Mayard Kenes was a British economist and one of the closest economic advisors of Franklin Roosevelt.

The World Bank and IMF today have dominated economic activities in many countries of the world. The main preoccupation of the IMF was to stabilize foreign exchange rates while the IBRD was involved in the reconstruction of war devastations in Western Europe and long term economic development planning for the less developed countries. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995, it succeeded the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) created in 1947. The WTO has been involved in promoting “free trade” agenda of the Trans-national Corporations. In other words, ensuring the opening of national borders for the trade exploitation by the multinational companies’ headquarters in Europe and America. The common characteristic of the three institutions is that they dictate economic policies to less developed countries, rather than the other way round. It is within these context that we shall appraise the external factor in the security challenges in Nigeria (Tijani, 2012).

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The IMF, World Bank and WTO played roles that have devastating effects on the Nigerian economy. They have in essence assisted the economic enslavement of Nigerian economy by the global capitalist metropolitan economy of Europe and America. As early as 1955, the World Bank had started its involvement in the Nigerian economy. It took up the responsibility of a critical study of the Nigerian economy. In 1958, it gave its first credit facility of \$26.1 million to Nigeria to complete the railway line from Gombe to Maiduguri. This was the beginning of its involvement in the Nigerian political economy. It financed projects mostly in areas of transport, sea ports, highways, telecommunications and electricity. Between 1958 and 1970, it financed a total of twelve projects amounting to some \$248.3 million (Tijani, 2012).

Between 1971 and 1980, the World Bank was involved in the funding of agricultural projects and rural development. It financed Cocoa production in the Western Region and between 1974 and 1977, it sponsored five agricultural development projects in Nigeria, i.e. Funtua, Gombe, Gusau, Lafia and Ayangba. In fact, between 1958 and 1987, 66 projects loans were approved by the bank for Nigeria out of which 29 projects were for Agriculture which was valued at \$1,591.8 million. The result generally was that it boosted agriculture impressively during this period (Tijani, 2012).

However, by 1989, World Bank began the introduction of non-project and quick disbursing Structural Adjustment Loans (SAL) in its global activities. In September 1986, the Federal Government of Nigeria adopted the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) officially. By November, 1986, it acquired the first SAP loan of \$452.0 million. In 1989 the second SAP loan of \$600 million was approved for Nigeria and it continued until Nigeria then became the 12<sup>th</sup> largest borrowers of the Bank in the World. The acquisition of World Bank Loan and adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria became a turning point in the history of Nigerian Political Economy. The whole programme and the loan was designed to further enslave the economy of the borrower and favour the designers (Tijani, 2012).

The World Bank programmes started playing the role of facilitating the activities of the International Corporations and Western governments. It became policy agents for the two. It was in that capacity that countries like Nigeria had no choice but to adopt the economic policies of a neo-colonial character. The Structural Adjustment Programme basically include political and economic policy measures such as privatization, deregulation, austerity measures, devaluation of currency, massive reduction in social welfare programmes and state expenditure, retrenchment of workers

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and wage freeze. It also include introduction of repressive laws curtailing political liberty. The consequences of the SAP Programme both economically and socially can be seen in terms of the insecurity it created in the country. The programme lacked human face such that at the Khartoum Conference organised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, SAP was criticized seriously for not meeting urgent human needs' (Tijani, 2012).

Since the 1980s, the living conditions of Nigerians has continuously deteriorated. The real incomes of most households declined sharply and the rate of underemployment worsened. World Bank reports that since the commencement of the SAP programme, the living standard of Nigerian masses fell drastically. The per capita income reduced from \$800 to less than \$400 in the 1990s (World Bank, 1994). Thus it put the lives of Nigerians into serious food insecurity and it eroded genuine nationalist feelings leading many into their ethnic and religious shells, from which they started serious violence against the state, leading to National insecurity.

At the dawn of the present millennium, Nigeria entered a period of serious problem of socio-economic and political instability and insecurity. The harsh-economic policies enforced by the World Bank, IMF and WTO – the so-called International Development

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Partners have the effects of deepening poverty, aggravating food insecurity, environmental destruction, neglect of social infrastructure and population dislocation and displacement. The purchasing power of Nigerians declined so much that most Nigerians live below poverty line. Removal of subsidy from petroleum resources, health and education further pushed Nigerians into abject poverty. Debt servicing took priority over social services. Young people suffer under-employment and unemployment. Removal of subsidy from the Agricultural sector reduced the purchasing power of peasant farmers and their capacity utilization.

Before the SAP programme in 1989, Nigeria was among the middle income nations, but by the early 1990s, Nigerian had joined the leading poorest and most corrupt nations in the World. Although Nigeria ranked among the richest 50 countries in pre-early 1970s but by the turn of this millennium, she became one of the 25 poorest countries and the second most corrupt country in the World.

In terms statistics that shows incidence of poverty, by 1980, using the rate of US\$1 per day it increased from 28.1% to 46.2% in 1985 and by 1996 it increased to 68.6%. While using US\$2 per day to measure the poverty level, the percentage of people living below poverty line increased to about 93.4%. Poverty, instability, corruption, food

insecurity, national insecurity therefore became consequences of the precarious and fragile economy and social conditions, which was engendered by decades of neglect, and exploitation by the so-called International Development Partners (Tijani, 2012).

The Niger Delta where the major source of national income is being derived, suffered untold ecological devastation due to the exploration and exploitation of oil resources. This put the people of Niger Delta into precarious social, health and economic conditions. Any efforts by the Government to cushion the effects could not succeed due to hyper corruption in higher places. It is in this context that we can historically understand the Niger Delta militancy and the birth of Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. MEND's methods of bombing of government and oil companies installations clearly indicate their grievances.

But the insecurity caused by Boko Haram bombings cannot be so simply understood. The sect which called itself "Society for propagation of Islam and Holy War" have been involved in series of bombings that seems to be indiscriminate, Muslims and non-Muslims were targeted. But the Christians Churches were part of their targets of attacks, thereby giving suggestions of an inter-religious war.

However, other activities of the group becloud their real focus. They have not only been attacking government departments but also Muslims seems to be the largest victims of bombings in terms of number of deaths due to bombings.

Perhaps that was the reasons why Dr. Sunday Mbang, former President of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), told Nigerians that “Boko Haram is our suffering for North/South inequality” (Sunday Tribune April 15, 2012). While General Azazi, the former National Security Adviser of the Nigeria held that Boko Haram saga is a baby of ruling Democratic Party’s conflicts. A position which a spokesman of the Boko Haram, affirmed (Sunday Sun, May 5, 2012). The former Nigerian President, Jonathan Goodluck also admits that ‘Politics of bitterness is promoting Boko Haram’ (Nigerian Tribune, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2012). Thus we may deduce that in spite of the seeming religious clothing the real reason behind the indiscriminate bombings of the Boko Haram group could be found within the political economic conflicts.

The United State of America asserts that it is due to the serious decline in the standard of living of Nigerians especially Northern Nigeria, which is more devastated by poverty and neglect (Nigerian Tribune April 19, 2012). Consequently, we may argue that the Boko

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Haram saga as well as the militancy in the South cannot be divorced from the economic woes initiated by the economic hardship caused by the neo-colonial status of Nigeria. But the political and economic corruption of Nigeria's comprador Bourgeoisie is part of the reason. Boko Haram saga has led to serious loss of lives, state of panic, loss of millions of Naira worth of property on daily basis and it has threatened the foundation of Nigeria statehood.

In Nigeria, as in other African countries, the economic crisis could also be attributed to under exploitation and underutilization of the natural resources. Table II shows the abundant Natural Resources in each of the thirty six states and the Federal Capital Territory.



**Table 2:** Thirty-Six States and FCT with their Natural Resources

S/No	States	Natural Resources
1.	Abia	Gold, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Oil/Gas and Salt
2.	Abuja	Cassiterite, Clay, Dolomite, Gold, Lead/Zinc, Marble and Tantalite
3.	Adamawa	Bentonite, Gypsum, Kaolin and Magnetite
4.	Akwa Ibom	Clay, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Oil/Gas, Salt and Uranium
5.	Anambra	Clay, Glass-Sand, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Phosphate and Salt
6.	Bauchi	Gold, Cassiterite (tine ore), Columbite Gypsum, Wolfram, Coal, Limestone, Lignite, Iron-Ore and Clay
7.	Bayelsa	Clay, Gypsum, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Manganese, Oil/Gas and Uranium
8.	Benue	Barite, Clay, Coal, Gemstone, Gypsum, Iron-Ore, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Marble and Salt
9.	Borno	Bentonite, Clay, Diatomite, Gypsum, Hydro-Carbon, Kaolin and Kaolin and Limestone
10.	Cross River	Barite, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Manganese, Oil/Gas, Salt and Uranium

11.	Delta	Clay, Glass-Sand, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Kaolin, Lignite, Marble and Oil/Gas
12.	Ebonyi	Gold, Clay Dolomite, Phosphate, Glass-sand, Gold, Gypsum, Iron-Ore, Lignite, Lime
13.	Edo	Bitumen,, Clay Dolomite, Phosphate, Glass-sand,, Gold, Gypsum, Iron-Ore, Lignite, Limestone, Marble and Oil/Gas
14.	Ekiti	Feldspar, Granite, Kaolin, Syenite and Tatum
15.	Enugu	Coal, Lead/Zinc and Limestone
16.	Gombe	Gemstone and Gypsum
17.	Imo	Gypsum, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Marcasite, Oil/Gas, Phosphate and Salt
18.	Jigawa	Butyles
19.	Kaduna	Amethyst, Aqua Marine,, Asbestos, Clay Flosper, Gemstone, Gold, Graphite, Kaolin, Hyanite, Mica, Rock Crystal Ruby, Sapphire, Sihnite, Superntinite, Tentlime, Topaz and Tourmaline
20.	Kano	Cassiterite, Copper, Gemstone, Glass—Sand, Lead/Zinc, Pyrochinre and Tantalite Kaolin, Marble and Salt
21.	Katsina	Kaoline, Marble and Salt

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22.	Kebbi	Gold
23.	Kogi	Cole, Dolomite, Feldspar,, Gypsum, Iron-Ore, Kaolin, Marble, Talc and Tantalite
24.	Kwara	Cassiterite, Columbite, Feldspar, Gold, Iron-Ore, Marble, Mica and Tantalite
25.	Lagos	Bitumen, Clay, Limestone and Glass-Sand
26.	Nasarawa	Amethyst (Topaz Garnet), Barytex, Barite, Cassiterite, Chalcopyrite, Clay, Columbite, Coking Coal, Dolomite/Marble, Feldspar, Galena, Iron-Ore, Limestone, Mica, Salt. Sapphire, Talc, Tantalite, Tourmaline Quartz and Zircon
27.	Niger	Gold, Lead/Zinc and Talc
28.	Ogun	Bitumen, Clay, Feldspar, Gemstone, Kaolin, Limestone and Phosphate
29.	Ondo	Bitumen, Clay, Coal, Dimension Stones, Feldspar, Gemstone, glass-Sand, Granite, Gypsum, Kaoline, Limestone and Oil/Gas.
30.	Osun	Columbite, Gold, Granite, Talc, Tantalite and Tourmaline
31.	Oyo	Aqua Marine, Gassiterite, Clay, dolomite, Gemstone, Gold, Kaolin, Marble, Silimonite,

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		Talc and Tantalite
32.	Plateau	Barite, Bauxite, Bentonite, Bismuth, Cassiterite, Clay, Coal, Emerald, Fluoride, Gemstone, Granite, Iron-Ore, Kaolin, Lead/Zinc, Marble, Molybdenite, Phrochlore, Salt, Tantalite/Columbite, tin and Wolfram
33.	Rivers	Glass-Sand, Lignite, Marble and wolfram
34.	Sokoto	Clay, Flakes, Gold, Granite, gypsum, Kaolin, Laterite, Limestone, Phosphate, Lead/Zinc
35.	Taraba	Lead/Zinc
36.	Yobe	Soda Ash and Tintomitte
37.	Zamfara	Coal, Cotton and Gold

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**Source:** World Bank, 2012 (Quoted in the Nation Newspaper of Tuesday, August 30, 2016)

This table clearly shows that the Natural Resources of Nigeria are underexploited and underutilized. The dependence on Crude Oil as the main source of foreign exchange makes the Nigeria economy vulnerable and at the mercy of global oil price.

In conclusion, the analysis of the African crisis cannot be mono-causal, rather we should look at the various historical, socio-economic and the political economic factors that engendered the

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developmental challenges in Africa. Here I have argued that due to all these factors, the African resources have been underutilized, neglected, unexploited and mismanaged. Hence, the efforts towards facing the African developmental challenges should include the management of African resources. The causes of the African crisis include the colonial legacy, the neo-colonial structures of exploitation, political corruption and its attendant mass unemployment, mass poverty and widespread insecurity.

The capitalist ideology favours the development of individual capitalist under whose control is the political super structure and the legal powers. These they utilize to feather the nest of the individual capitalist and that of their class. This affects the large segment of the society, i.e. the masses and leading to mass poverty and its attendant effects of violent conflicts and insurgency.

### **Some of my humble Contributions to Knowledge**

My area of research within the broad field of History is Intergroup Relations and Conflict Studies. As a student of History, a researcher and lecturer, most of my works are on teaching especially the History of Science being in a university of technology, teaching courses in Social Works Studies at the Postgraduate level; supervising postgraduate students' projects. My research focus includes studies

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of the dynamics of intergroup relations and conflicts. It encompasses the study of history of inter-ethnic, inter-religious conflicts and the global factors in Africa's crises. I delved into the effects of social change in family conflicts and relations. My works specifically touched some of these areas - The analysis of the trend of intergroup relations between the Hausa, Fulani and Nupe migrants and the Yoruba people in different Yoruba towns. I studied the major Yoruba towns and cities such as Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ogbomoso, Oyo, Agege, Abeokuta, Ijebu-Ode, Sagamu, Osogbo, Ede, Ilorin, and Ejigbo. I divided the region into three zones, the northern Yoruba towns, the Central and the Southern Yoruba towns. I discovered that based on the different socio-economic relations; there were local variations in the evolution of Sabo communities in the various Yoruba towns. In this respect, it was a pioneering work. My study of the Sabo communities examined the integrative and conflict aspects of the relationship, which involves the analysis of the economic, social and political aspects of the relationship. It is of historical interest to study the factors that held them together and enhanced peaceful intergroup relations by evolving and employing African institutions of harmonizing intergroup relations (Tijani, A. 2003).

### **Pre-Colonial Intergroup Relations**

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In the field of intergroup relations in Africa, the general received opinion painted African intergroup relations before colonial rule as that of wars, battles, rise and fall of kingdoms of empires based on hostilities. Although, there were wars and battles but in my research, I have discovered that in the history of intergroup relations in Africa, harmonious relations was the rule rather than the exception. Different African Societies had evolved and developed various institutions that enhanced peaceful intergroup relations with strangers, migrants and people of other cultures, religions and ethnic categories. African Kingdom, Chiefdoms and empires had related economically, diplomatically, socially and had exchanged techniques and technologies as well as assimilated or accommodated people of diverse primordial groups (Tijani, 2002; Tijani, 2004; Tijani, 2005; Tijani, 2006).

### **Colonial Intergroup Relations**

The colonial factor in intergroup relations was the root cause of the post-independent nation-building problems in Africa. That was due

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to the creation of Structures and Institutions that ensured the oppression, exploitation and divide-and-rule policy in African nations. These structures were inherited and sustained by the political elites, national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia that stepped into the shoes of the colonial masters (Tijani, 2008).

I delved into the historical phenomenon of the creation of ethnic identity in modern African nations. I researched into the impact of colonial history on the creation of ethnic identity and its impacts on the social cohesion and national integration and nation building (Tijani, 2007; Tijani, 2008; Tijani, 2009).

### **Post-Colonial Intergroup Relations**

The post-independence modern African nations experienced various conflicts that destabilised and at time shook the foundation of the African nations. I observed that struggle for power, control of economic resources, and the satisfaction of cultural and religious sentiments were issues that affect national integration and conflicts (Tijani, 2009, Tijani, 2000). I studied the migrant conflicts as encapsulation of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria (Tijani, 1999, Tijani, 2002).

On the challenge of corruption in modern African nations. I have argued that widespread political corruption has engendered misuse of



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power and employment of ethnic, religious, cultural and geographical diversities in intra-class struggle. These have adversely affected sustainable development in Africa (Tijani A. 2010)

On the issue of widespread insecurity in modern African nation, using Marxian paradigm, I have argued that neo-liberal economic policies from the second half of 1980s called ‘Babangidanomics’ in Nigeria, Thatcherism in the United Kingdom led to adoption of such policies as deregulation, commercialization and privatization which in turn engendered unprecedented institutionalized corruption, mass unemployment, mass poverty and its aftermaths widespread insecurity. These I have discussed in Tijani A. (2010).

### **Gender Relations and National Integration**

Delving into gender issues as part of studies in National conflicts and integration, I researched into the challenges faced by individuals, families and especially the female gender in the interplay of African traditional customs, Islamic tenets and the effects of social change on marital conflicts and the family institution (Tijani, 1997; Tijani, 2009; Tijani and Hussein, 2010).

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

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I observe that among the fundamental challenges of modern African nations, Nigeria in particular, is the neo-colonial economic relation with the metropolitan capitalist countries. Hence, efforts should be made to free Africa and Nigeria in particular from economic slavery. Neo-colonial structures such as the enslaving IMF and World Bank loans should be dismantled.

Africa and Nigeria particularly is endowed with abundant natural resources. These resources should be exploited and utilized for the common good of the citizens. There is direct link between insecurity such as insurgency, kidnapping, banditry and mass unemployment and mass poverty. Hence, I recommend that Youth unemployment should be brought to its barest minimum through the provision of education for self-employment, the awakening and sustaining of indigenous industries through meaningful economic and trade protectionist policies.

There is crisis in the economic distribution system between the ruling class and the masses. When the ruling class refers to the distribution of wealth among states and local governments, the essence is to ensure that members of the ruling class have their shares of the national wealth at these levels. The real distributive crisis is a situation whereby the political class legalized the looting of the

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public treasury through allocation of millions to their members as salaries, security votes and other benefits of office, while the workers' take home cannot take them home. I therefore recommend that the salaries and other benefits of office of the political class should be drastically reduced.

Corruption is the bane of African development. It has become endemic and systemic. It harms the people, the nation and undermines democracy when competition for public office is not about ideas or merit but commercialized; political powers goes to the highest bidders. It then leads to cut throat competition, or a do or die affair. Throats are actually cut, deaths are actually recorded through ritual killings, political thuggery, assassination etc. The political thugs after elections become kidnappers, armed robbers, bandits etc. Elections are never won or lost; they are either stolen or rigged.

I recommend that there should be a reorientation of our National ethics and values. The nation should be sensitized to eschew giving honour to ill-gotten wealth, by awarding chieftaincy titles, and titles in the mosque and churches as well as giving political appointments to those who acquired wealth illegally. Honesty, perseverance and uprightness should be honoured and rewarded.

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The use of primordial sentiments such as ethnicity and religion should be discouraged. Politicians that employs primordial sentiments during political campaigns should be disqualified from the race. Hate speeches should be outlawed in religious houses and the media. The people must be sensitized to know that politicians employ ethnic and religious differences to divide them. Hence, when he loots public treasury he appeals to ethnic and religious sentiments for support against the state, and from being brought to justice. The people would carry placards, saying he is one of us don't witch-hunt or persecute our son. Crimes are ethnicized.

Essentially, my recommendation have emphasized that Nigeria and Africa shall be great when we eschew corruption , eradicate mass poverty and exploit as well as utilize national resources for the common good of the people

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