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*UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN
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*THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE IN THE
TRANSFORMATIONS
OF THE NIGER DELTA, THE OYO
EMPIRE AND NIGERIA*



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THE CALABAR CITY STATES

In 1807, Britain abolished the slave trade. She did so in her commercial interest. Machines, then, replaced human labour to a great extent. Palm oil and palm kernel were needed for soap and to lubricate the industrial machines. Britain as an industrialised nation, desperately, needed a stable and peaceful market to sell her manufactured goods. She also needed raw materials from Africa. In 1862 the number of **European traders in Calabar had grown to above 300**. In 1862, Waddell was able to assert, correctly, that **“the towns of Calabar, are in fact, a number of republics, each with its own Chief and Council united only by the Ekpo Fraternity.”** Even, the **British Foreign Office** recorded that **Henshaw Town and Duke Town “lived separately, each under its own laws and government” (F O 84/1527).**

The City State was the foci of power politics. Consul Hutchinson in his **“Impressions of West Africa”**, 1858, at P. 115 recorded that in 1858, the population of Duke Town was **“at least 4000”** people, and **Creek Town, 3000** people.

Charles Livingstone reported in **June 1870** to the **Earl of Clarendon in London** that the **Calabar Kings were collecting port dues from European traders (F O 845/1326)**. In 1831, **the population of Duke Town was about 6000**. In 1846, when **the Old Town jealously maintained her sovereignty, the Presbyterian Mission opened the Hope Waddel School**. There was the **“Palaver House” – the Parliament where state matters were discussed and laws enacted**. **“Ekpo”** was the executive, legislative and police arm of the state. **The King presided**. The British admitted that the system was **“the most fair and effective instrument of government that was ever devised”** in the kingdoms and in the republics.

Diplomatic relations were maintained between the Kingdoms and the Republics on one hand and the United Kingdom and some other European powers on the other.

Consul Hutchinson negotiated and signed with the King of Calabar on January 21, 1856, a treaty abolishing human sacrifices. The Kingdoms and the Republics were accorded by the Europeans full recognition as sovereign states in international law.

THE OYO EMPIRE

In 1817, Afonja of Ilorin was the Are-Ona Kakanfo – the Head of the Army of the Oyo Empire, under the Alaaфин of Oyo – Aole (The King). That year, Afonja sent **an empty calabash to the Alaaфин Aole, thereby signifying that he no longer acknowledged the authority of the Alaaфин.** Aole had no choice but to accept and in the traditional fashion, **he committed suicide**, but not before **Alaaфин Aole uttered his famous curse on the Yorubaland** recorded by **Samuel Johnson** at page 192 of his **“History of the Yorubas”**, 1921.

From Alaaфин’s palace forecourt, **Aole shot three arrows, one to the north, one to the south, and one to the west, saying:**

“My curse be on you for your disloyalty and disobedience, so let your children disobey you. If you send them on an errand, let them never return to bring you word again. To all the points I shot my arrows will you be carried as slaves. My curse will carry you to the sea and beyond the seas, slaves will rule over you, and you, their masters, will become slaves.” Then, smashing an earthenware dish, he shouted, **“Broken calabash can be mended, but not a broken dish; so let my words be irrevocable.”**

The curse seemed to take immediate effect and there had been neither unity nor peace in Yorubaland from then till today.

The Oyo Empire flourished for over three hundred years. Professor I.A. Akinjogbin, the emeritus Professor of History put the situation as follows:

“Up to about 1780, the Oyo Empire remained at the peak of its military strength. Its economy was strong, its external trade in slave export unfortunately expanding, its industries functioning and its craftsmen confident and proud of their workmanship. There were quarrels between the ruling classes as to who would have a greater share of this growing wealth; with the successive *Alaaфин*, apparently on one side, and the chiefs, led by the various *Basorun* of the period, on the other side. Each side attempted to draw in the ordinary citizens, presenting itself as their champion but it is doubtful whether the common people saw any difference between one group and another. In any case, the quarrels were always fought within the constitutionally laid down procedures – the chiefs would say that the king had been rejected, and the king would meekly take his own life after which a new king, from the same royal family, would be installed. Some times the *Alaaфин* would use his prerogative to choose a *Basorun*, that he thinks would be more friendly towards him, only

to discover that between one *Basorun* and another, there was no difference in their relationship with the *Alaafin*. The point being made is that, in spite of all these events, the economic conditions within the empire were good, life was safe, trade routes ran in all directions, some citizens were indeed noted to be fabulously rich and some of the *Alaafin* embarked on prestige projects.”

1793 – 1893 were the darkest years in the history of Yorubaland. Two things, according to Professor Akinjogbin, happened between 1816 and 1824, which irrevocably changed the history and fortunes of the Yorubaland. First, in 1816, the jihad, which had been raging in the Hausa Kingdoms since 1804 was extended to NUPE (Tapa) next door to Yorubaland and the newly converted Nupe lost no time in declaring war against the Akoko and Akoko-Edo in eastern Yorubaland. Second, Afonja in 1817 invited Alimi, the Muslim itinerant preacher to Ilorin. The Professor put the sequence of events as follows:

“Afonja in 1817 invited Alimi, the Fulani itinerant Muslim preacher to Ilorin. Alimi was not new in Yorubaland, for from about 1813, he had been going round such northern Yoruba large towns as far as Ikoyi and Ogbomoso. He had lived for three years in Kuwo, Solagberu’s town, and was intending to settle there when Afonja heard of him and decided to invite him to Ilorin. He must therefore be presumed to have known Yorubaland fairly well and also to have been conversant with the on-going Fulani jihad. Afonja was not a Muslim and the invitation could have been conceived solely as a means of strengthening his military might with the charms that the Muslim preacher was expected to prepare. However, for Solagberu, who had earlier been invited by Afonja also from Kuwo and who might have known Alimi there, Alimi’s arrival could be seen as an important addition to his *jama’a* at Oke-Suna. There is indeed a distinct probability that Solagberu might have influenced Afonja’s invitation of Alimi to Ilorin, although the aim is not clear.”

“A number of discerning citizens clearly saw the danger in the new scenario, but so afraid of Afonja were most of them that they did not dare to tell him. Two persons however took courage. The first was Fagbohun, the Commander of the left flank of Afonja’s army, who thereby incurred his wrath and had to flee to avoid being executed. The second person was Agborin, Afonja’s younger brother, but so confident was Afonja of his own ability that he again brushed the warning aside. Frustrated, Agborin committed suicide.”

After dan Fodio was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful he swore to the disinterestedness of his intentions, saying:

“If I fight this battle that I may become greater than my fellow or that my son may become greater than his son, or that my slave may lord it over his slave, may the Kabbir (infidel) wipe us from the land.”

There was no imperial army and no central bureaucracy. Islam was the cement.

Alimi died about 1823. Afonja was Alimi’s benefactor but that did not stop Abdulsalam, Alimi’s successor, from overthrowing and usurping Afonja’s rights. According to Johnson’s History of the Yoruba, Abdulsalam became the ruler of Ilorin and heir of the whole of the Igbomina and what is now known as Oshun (Epo) area which Afonja had kept under his authority since 1797. Thus those who had led the rebellion, according to Professor Akinjogbin, finally lost the revolution. Abdulsalam sent for a jihadist’s flag from Sokoto which he served as Emir of Yoruba, under the Emirate of Gwandu and according to Johnson’s History, he then declared a Jihad against the whole of Yorubaland.

A new Oyo was established in the present site by *Alaafin Atiba* in 1837. Johnson recorded three attempts up to 1831 to retake Ilorin from the Fulanis. The first was the Ogele War, the second was the Mugbamugba War and the third was the Kanla war. About 1836, Oyo Ile, the original imperial capital was abandoned. But it is still today part of the Oyo State.

Each of the war was lost by the Yoruba largely because of what Johnson called: “the want of foresight and vaulting ambition of the rulers”. Professor Akinjogbin agrees with Johnson and is amazed how in the face of the danger which they all saw, the leaders kept thinking in terms only of their own selfish interest or their own importance and could not combine to fight a common enemy. Johnson on page 197 – 222 and R. Lawrence in his “The Oyo Empire” PP. 284 – 299, give many instances of these changing alliances, quarrels among the Yoruba leaders and the consummate political game of the Fulani rulers of Ilorin. Karl Maier in his “This House Has Fallen” at P. 232 – 233 put it bluntly:

“Internal divisions have often opened the door to external manipulation. Such divisiveness dates at least to the demise of the old Oyo empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, Oyo was facing pressure from the Fulanis in the

north and from the Dahomey kingdom to the west (in modern-day Benin). Dahomey's powerful slave-trading king, Gezo, fielded imposing armies led by thousands of female warriors. The power of the king of Oyo, the Alafin, collapsed when his army commander, Afonja, rebelled and captured the town of Ilorin with the support of the Fulanis pushing south on their Islamic jihad. Afonja's revolt convinced Yoruba provincial kings to the south that they too could rebel. For the rest of the century Yoruba land was beset by nearly continuous civil conflict that degenerated into slave-raiding wars. For a good part of the nineteenth century Yorubas sold Yorubas into bondage. If they had united, they probably could have defeated the Fulanis and retaken Ilorin, but they opted to fight each other instead. The wars only came to an end when the British governor of the Lagos Protectorate, Sir Gilbert Carter, used a combination of diplomacy and military muscle to force a pan-Yoruba peace treaty. The legacy of those wars has continued until today. - - -"

The struggle in South Africa started in 1897 and they only released Mandela from prison in 1992.

The Ibadan Wars: Fulanis Defeated in Oshogbo

First, Ibadan was founded in 1828 – 1835 by brave and tested soldiers. During the same period, roaming Oyo soldiers occupied Ijaiye under Dado and Kurunmi. Alaaftin Atiba founded New Oyo (Ago-Oja) in 1837. These leaders saw their mission as continuing the war of resistance against the Fulani until the last were completely driven out of Yorubaland. Alaaftin Atiba shared their determination and resuscitated old titles and bestowed them on the rulers of the new towns. Kurunmi of Ijaiye became the Aare-Ona-Kakanfo with responsibility to defend the western part of the old Oyo Empire against threats from Gezo, the King of Dahomey. Oluyole of Ibadan was so successful that the Fulani army was defeated in 1840 in Oshogbo thereby recovering some of the lost Yoruba towns. It was morale boosting. The victory encouraged the Ekitis to invite the Ibadan to help them drive out the Fulanis from Ilorin who had been threatening Osi, Otun, Aisegba, Ikole and Itaji. The Ibadan acceptance led to the Ibadan expansionist wars as stated by S.A. Akintoye in his "Revolution and Power Politics."

The Ibadan Empire

The Ibadan Expansionist Wars took place between 1840 – 1878. Emeritus Professor Akinjogbin in his "Wars in Yorubaland, 1793 – 1893: An analytical categorisation" puts it thus:

"By 1865, Ibadan had grown to become the strongest political force in Yorubaland. In those 25 years, virtually all the Oyo speaking areas, the Ife Kingdom, the Ijesha Kingdom, the whole of Ekiti, Akoko and Yagbe, came under what has been called *The Ibadan Empire* from which the Fulani invaders had been driven out".

So successful was Ibadan that the Ijebu Kingdom and the Ebga State constantly suspected, **not without reason**, that Ibadan might want to take them over as well and become "**Master of the whole world**". What an hyperbole!

How the Ibadan Empire, which for all practical purposes succeeded the defunct Oyo Empire, has been scholarly traced in three works: Samuel Johnson: History of the Yorubas, J.F. Ade Ajayi and R. Smith: Yoruba Warfare and Professor Bolanle Awe: Oxford PH.D. thesis (1964) – "**The Rise of the Ibadan Empire**".

The leaders of Ibadan during these era, stemming the Fulani calvary drive and their expansionist onslaught, were Oluyole (Bashorun). Ibikunle, the (Balogun); Oderinlo, (the Balogun); Ogunmola; (the Otun); and Oshundina, (the Osi).

The Ijaiye War fought between 1859 – 1862 could rightly be classified in effect, as part of the Ibadan expansionist wars. Kurunmi of Ijaiye was the Are-Ona-Kakanfo – the Commander of the Army of the Oyo Empire.

The Ijaiye War was fought on two major issues. First, Adelu's succession after Atiba in 1858 was supported by Ibadan but opposed by Kurunmi. Second, the issue of giving the Alaaftin more territory to increase his income, particularly in Oke-Ogun to which Kurunmi said no; because the **Are did not recognise Adelu as the Alaaftin**.

The first disagreement was a constitutional issue, namely, that the Aremo should die with the Alaaftin, his father. Ibadan argued that the practice should stop in that new era has dawned. Kurunmi said that the practice was sacred and should continue.

Behind all these disagreement was the true central issue: who was the most powerful military power in Yorubaland: Ibadan or Ijaiye? That was the unsettled and unspoken issue and Ibadan was determined to settle that once and for all. These have been well documented by eminent historians particularly, Ajayi and Smith; I.A. Akinjogbin, Bolanle Awe, S. Johnson to mention a few. "**The Rise of the Ibadan Empire**" by Professor Bolanle Awe, Oxford, 1964 is particularly brilliant. The Egbas allied with Ijaiye against Ibadan. Kurunmi lost the war.

Ijaiye was annexed to Ibadan. The Ibadan Empire became undisputed and total to the extent that the Alaafin though untouched, was at the mercy of Ibadan.

Palm Oil and Crude Oil: The Niger Delta and the Sokoto Caliphate

Oil began to fan the flames of turmoil in the Niger Delta more than a century ago, so stated Karl Maier in his book **“This House Has Fallen”**. I owe a lot to him in what now follows. The oil was not the crude oil but the thick oil derived from boiling palm nuts.

The Atlantic slave trade and the **New World** plantations had furnished the capital needed to embark on the industrial revolution and now the Europeans needed to lubricate their machinery. Palm Oil emerged as **the pioneer commodity in Africa’s commercial modern relationship with the developed world – the export of the cheap raw materials. The Niger Delta was the biggest source of palm oil in Africa. The Delta Chiefs and the Liverpool traders** were the dominant players.

The Africans kept a tight grip on the trade as middlemen by preventing direct contact between the Europeans and the actual producers of palm oil in the hinterland. The Africans were wealthy and shrewd men who amassed wealth from the trade with the Portuguese in the fifteenth century and later with the British.

While the British commercial companies operating there were squabbling, each **underrating** the other in order to under cut the other in hope of gaining greater market share, **the African middlemen demonstrated strict discipline in fixing prices.**

It was at this crucial moment that three men stepped into the scene. The three of them put their indelible imprimatur on the history and the fate of Nigeria – for better and for worse. They were:

- (a) **Major George Dashwood Goldie Taubman**
- (b) **Major Edward Hewett and**
- (c) **Major Fredrick Lugard.**

Goldie in June 1897 raised 2000 (Two thousand) strong black soldiers. Lugard arrived the Delta in the spring of 1898 after serving the East India Company and East African Company in India and East Africa respectively as their soldier/employee. Mercenary? **Lugard was the first governor of the North from 1900 – 1906.** He went to Hong Kong and returned to Nigeria in 1912 and two years later became Governor-General after the **amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigeria.** But then, the difference between the North and the South had hardened too much to be easily eliminated.

Lugard was a short, wiry, masterful, austere thirty-three year old, the Resident and Chief representative of the Imperial East Africa Company. **He was a freelance imperialist – euphemism for mercenary,** a captain in 1891. He drove the French out of Uganda with maxim guns ruthlessly. Before Uganda, Lugard served the East India Company in India as a Captain.

Karl Maier explain the purpose of **Lugard’s 1914 amalgamation** as follows:

“The joining was not for the purpose of nation building. The simple reason was that the north’s colonial budget was running at a deficit and only a link with the profitable South could eliminate the needed British subsidy.”

When it came to **name the new protectorate,** Goldie’s influence was so powerful that **Goldesia,** reminiscent of Rhode’s **Rhodesia,** was considered along with **Niger Sudan** and **Negretia.** London finally settled for **Nigeria** which was coined by **Flora Shaw, Lugard’s then mistress,** in an article in **The Times** of London. Lugard later married her.

AFRICA? DARK CONTINENT?

The fact that the Anglo-Saxon had dispersed across the globe and mastered their environments engendered the general feeling that they were ideally qualified to rule! Is that so? On what terms? And under what circumstances? Could they have done it if the African had invented the Maxim Guns at the same time as the Anglo-Saxon? And if the duels and confrontations were not bows and arrows against the maxim guns? But maxim guns versus maxim guns?

In 1885, when a British army was fighting its way down the Nile in a **failed attempt** to rescue **General Charles Gordon from Khartoum,** a French newspaper, **La France,** scornfully observed:

“England, who would have done nothing to save civilisation, or Khartoum, its citadel in the Sudan, has only undertaken her costly and adventurous expedition in order to deliver one of this arrogant race which considers itself superior to the rest of humanity.”

As far back as 500 BC, the NOK culture flourished in what is now part of Nigeria, furnaces were being used to smelt iron. **The Benin Kingdom** (also now in Nigeria) **exchanged ambassadors with Portugal in 1486.** Then, **Timbuktu in Mali was a major trading centre of international fame. The splendors of the Songhai Empire,** which stretched from **Mali to Kano,** in Nigeria, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were compared by early travellers with those of contemporary Europe. **A Dutch visitor wrote about 1600 Edo City** in Benin:

“As you enter it, the town appears very great. You go into great broad street, not paved, which seems to be seven or eight times broader than the Warmoes Street in Amsterdam - - - The Houses in this town stand in good order, one close and even with the other, as the Houses in Holland stand.....”

Priceless bronze busts were being cast in Ile-Ife before Columbus set sail for America. Iron-age Africans started building stone structures in that country we call **Zimbabwe** as early as A.D. 1100. **Some 16th century Portuguese maritime traders found that one West African textiles were superior to anything than being made in Europe.** Without the written languages, Africa could neither store nor exchange information. Africa lacked the building blocks that a civilisation needed. **Africa was defenseless against a new enemy from the North – the white man. The Portuguese explorers opened the door for the slave traders, who in turn ushered in the missionaries, who were, in their own right, agents of colonialism. Each invader – slave trader, missionary, colonialist – sought to exploit and convert. Each came to serve himself or his God, not the African.** By 1920, every square inch of **Africa save Liberia, Ethiopia and the Union of South Africa** was under European rule or protection or was claimed by a European. **The principles and norms of International Law were settled to suit European political and economic interests.** Until the recent decision of the **International Court of Justice in the Western Sahara case, ICJ Reports 1975**, the jurisprudence was that the African continent was **terra nullius** – not effectively occupied by anyone and therefore available for European settlement. The International Court of Justice rejected that norm only in 1975.

I am unable to put the historical events better than as stated by Karl Maier: Goldie came to the Niger Delta after travels with his beautiful Egyptian mistress. He did not like what he met in the Niger Delta, namely; **too much competition from wealthy African traders against European traders. Goldie took immediate action to rectify and reverse the situation.** He successfully **banded the palm oil companies in 1879 into the U.A.C. (United African Company).** Goldie was an imperialist. He lobbied London for a **Royal Charter for a British controlled commercial empire in West Africa. The UAC Port of Akassa became the beachhead of the British colonial occupation of the Niger Delta and eventually of Nigeria itself.** **By 1884, Goldie has signed thirty-seven treaties – many of them were forgeries – with local chiefs and maintained a fleet of twenty gunboats to punish any African who challenged the authority of the U.A.C.** People in **Brass, Patani, and Asaba** tasted the power of Goldie cannons.

The European scramble for Africa and her resources was in full swing. Goldie attended the Berlin Conference of 1884 –5 as a delegate. The treaties were used to support **British claim of effective control of the Niger Delta at the Berlin Conference.** Much of the Delta was declared **Oil Rivers Protectorate by the British.** Karl Maier said:

“The chiefs who signed treaties with Goldie and the British Consul of the day, Major Edward Hewett, often did not understand that they were effectively surrendering their sovereignty to the British Crown. Sometimes their signatures or marks were forged or obtained under duress. Other times, the British simply lied to them.”

When **Treaties with identical wording** were sent by **Consul Hewett to King Jaja of Opobo, King Jaja refused to sign but asked the Consul to explain what the British Government meant by “Protectorate”.** In a letter of July 1, 1884, Consul Hewett wrote to King Jaja:

“Dear Sir,

I write as you request, with reference to the word protectorate as used in the proposed treaty that the Queen does not want to take your country or your Markets but at the same time is anxious no other nation should take them. She undertakes to extend her gracious favour and protection which will leave your Country still under your Government. She has no wish to disturb your rule, although she is anxious to see your Country get up as well as the Countries of the other tribes with whom her people have so long been trading.

Faithfully yours,

(sgd) Edward Hyde Hewett, Consul”

Also, in a Cabinet Paper of January 3, 1885, **Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor with reference to international law** explained the difference between “annexation” and “protectorate” as follows:

“The Law Officers do not expressly advert to the distinction, which I think important (and which appears to me to be well elucidated by Sir E. Hertslet’s Memorandum of the 24th April 1883) between annexation and Protectorates. Annexation is the direct assumption of territorial sovereignty. Protectorate is the recognition of the right of the aboriginal or other actual inhabitants, to their own country, with no further assumption of territorial rights than is necessary to maintain the paramount authority and discharge the duties of the protecting power.”

Thus, in the case of **Annexation**, that is, a Crown colony, the **Radical Title to the Territory** was vested in the **Crown** but in the case of a **Protectorate**, the radical title remained vested in the original owners and inhabitants of the territory.

In 1886, Goldie received his coveted Royal Charter which gave the company political authority over the chiefs with which he had concluded treaties. The charter specifically ruled out the establishment of a trade monopoly in the region, but Goldie ignored this stipulation and deliberately sabotaged the business dealings of independent African merchants. Communities that remained outside the charter's authority, like Brass were forced by Goldie to pay exorbitant duties for the privilege of engaging in palm oil trade in their own country. African traders operating within the area covered by the charter had to accept miserly prices for their products or they were undercut altogether by using company boats travelling up-river to make purchases at the source in the interior. **Stronger Chiefs who resisted were King Jaja and Chief Nana. Chief Nana was deported by Goldie to the Gold Coast (Ghana) colony, King Jaja was exiled to the West Indies until 1891. He died (murdered?) on the way home when he was released.**

Major Lugard moved from Akassa up the Niger River into the interior. By 1903, Lugard's West African Frontier Force subjugated Kano and Sokoto, killing the Caliph. The British abolished the Caliphate replacing it with the title of "Sultan". The policy of indirect rule in the North, both marked the subordination to an alien power and effectively handed them control of areas in the Middle Belt that they had never been able to conquer.

RESOURCES CONTROL

The Scramble for Africa aptly describes the frenetic, and sometimes obscene, struggle by the European powers for the control of the resources of the continent of Africa by the Europeans for the Europeans. Power is indeed, delicious.

From the time of the "silent trade" to the advent of Goldie and his cousins into the scene, the Africans were the masters, and in total control, of their resources. **But after Goldie not any more. Take cocoa as an example.** Over ninety per cent of the world cocoa are produced by the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroons and Brazil. **All are developing countries. Former European Colonies. All those countries, combined, earn annually a total of three billion United States Dollars from their cocoa sales to the industrialised nations.** The added value cost the industrialised nations another one billion dollars.

Costing the industrialised nations a total of four billion United States Dollars. **What is the annual gross earning by the industrialised nations from their four billion dollars investment? Answer: Sixty billion dollars. A profit of fifty-six billion dollars yearly from an investment of four billion dollars!** Not too bad? Is it? At the same time they dictate the cost of their manufactured goods that we import from them. **These are some of the consequences and legacies of colonialism and Goldie!**

Immediately, Fredrick Lugard effected the Amalgamation of the Northern and the Southern Nigeria in 1914, the first thing that followed in 1914 was the enactment of the **Mineral Ordinance 1914 which invested all the mineral in Nigeria in the British Crown – repeat British Crown – not in Nigeria for Nigerians. Nigeria will never know the value of minerals, disclosed and undeclared, taken away from the Plateau State over the years.**

The Ghanaians Cedi used to be two to one USA dollar but today the Cedi is 8000 (eight thousand) Cedis to one Dollar. **Thanks to the IMF and the World Bank – The Bretton Wood Institutions!** What happened to Ghana? The World and the IMF advised Ghana to privatise the Ashanti Gold Mines – Ghana's greatest national asset and that **nation's family silver** – and that all Ghana's economic problems will be solved. Offload about 80 per cent of the shares mostly to foreign interests. **Ghana promptly obeyed.** Ghana retained about 20 per cent of the shares and received USD350,000,000 (Three hundred and fifty million Dollars) from the sale. **During the first year of privatisation, the Ashanti Gold mines sold gold worth 1.2 billion USD (One billion and two hundred million USD).** But when the BP (British Petroleum) was privatised, Kuwait bought 22 (twenty-two) per cent of the share, but the **British authorities, rightly, forced Kuwait to off load and sell 12 per cent and retain only 10 per cent of the shares on the ground that the BP is too important to the British economy for foreign interest to hold 22 per cent in it.** But in terms of need, the Ashanti Gold Mine is more important to Ghana than the BP is to Britain.

The price of cocoa is the unspoken root cause of the current political instability in the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire). France wants cheaper cocoa. The Ivory Coast Government and Cocoa farmers refused to cooperate. That refusal provoked the overthrow, engineered from abroad, of the Ivory Coast government. Thereafter, the foreign cocoa importers had their way. The Ivory Coast lost out.

If the truth must be told, the slave trade is indeed abolished, but slavery is alive and kicking.

SHORT CURRICULUM VITAE

CHIEF RICHARD AKINJIDE, S.A.N, FCIArb

Served as Arbitrator or acted as Counsel in Arbitrations for

- (i) International Oil and Gas Companies
- (ii) Construction Engineering Firms
- (iii) Insurance Companies etc. in Domestic or International Arbitration matters.

Acting actively in Arbitration matters since 1972. He is in large Oil and Gas legal practice.

Member: English Bar (1956), Nigerian Bar (1956), The Gambian Bar (1987).

President, Nigerian Bar 1970-73.

Life Bencher Nigerian Law School since 1972 and its former Chairman.

Took Silk and was Called to the Inner Bar 1978 as Senior Advocate of Nigeria (1978).

Member of the Committee that drafted the 1979 Nigeria Constitution.

Attorney-General and Minister of Justice in Nigeria (1979-83)

Member: International Law Commission of the United Nations 1981-1986.

Editor of Nigerian Monthly Law Report for about ten years.

Author 2nd Edition: "Africa and The Development of International Law" (Publishers: Martinus Nijhoff – Netherlands, 1986).

Practices extensively in civil and criminal Matters in Nigeria. Also practices at the English and The Gambian Bars.

Currently Co-Agent and a Counsel for Nigeria at I.C.J. in the action, Cameroon v Nigeria, an International Boundary Dispute at The Hague.

Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Arbitration U.K.

Acted as Arbitrator or Counsel in many Arbitrations for the past thirty years in USA, Europe and in West Africa

Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of Council, University of Jos 1976 – 79

Former Member, University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo), Governing Council

Took part in Seminars and played Golf in Indonesia, Japan, India, Europe, U.S.A., Australia and in many African countries

Member of the Committee that drafted the Law of the Sea Convention – the biggest convention ever sponsored by the United Nations.

Five of his children are lawyers – studied in Nigeria, London, Cambridge and Harvard.

Hobbies: Golf, Travelling, Reading and Art Appreciation.

EPILOGUE

We should not go on blaming the colonialist forever for all our problems. It is true they set us the system, but it is us who have been unable to change it. Whenever any of my children was starting at the university, I advised him or her:

You are entering university to do two things. First, to be educated, second, to have degree. Both are important. But the first is more important than the second.

Shakespeare is certainly right to proclaim:

“The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings.”

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