

BIAFRAN SECESSION AND THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: LESSONS FOR ECOWAS IN MANAGING SEPARATIST CRISES

Dr. Ikechukwu Emmanuel Uvere

**Department of History and International Studies, Gregory University, Uturu,
Abia State, Nigeria**

+2348063240375, +2348121298775

i.uvere@gregoryuniversityuturu.edu.ng

Abstract

The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), ignited by the secessionist declaration of Biafra, stands as a pivotal moment in African post-colonial history, reflecting the complex dynamics of ethnic tensions, state sovereignty, and regional stability. This paper examines the historical and socio-political roots of the Biafran secession and explores the lessons it holds for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in managing contemporary separatist crises. Employing a qualitative research approach rooted in secondary data analysis, the study draws upon conflict management literature and applies the theory of Post-Colonial State which highlights the enduring impact of colonial legacies on governance, ethnic tensions, and institutional weaknesses in newly independent states. Findings suggest that the Biafran conflict underscores the importance of inclusive governance, socio-economic equity, and effective regional mediation in preventing and resolving separatist conflicts. For ECOWAS, these insights offer valuable lessons on proactive crisis management, conflict prevention, and the integration of marginalized communities to foster regional peace and security.

Keywords: Secession, Civil War, Regional Diplomacy

Introduction

The Biafran secession and the ensuing Nigerian Civil War constitute a pivotal moment in African history, emblematic of the intricate challenges that accompanied post-colonial statehood. Emerging in the wake of Nigeria's independence from British colonial rule, the war underscored the difficulties of fostering national unity amidst deep ethnic, political, and economic divisions¹. On May 30, 1967, the southeastern region of Nigeria, predominantly inhabited by the Igbo ethnic group, declared itself the independent Republic of Biafra. This declaration was rooted in feelings of marginalization, ethnic persecution, and economic inequality, which resonated with other post-colonial states struggling to consolidate their identities.

What followed was a brutal three-year conflict that inflicted devastating human and material losses. The Nigerian Civil War, commonly referred to as the Biafran War, resulted in an estimated one to three million deaths, primarily due to starvation, disease, and warfare. The international community watched as humanitarian crises unfolded, exposing the vulnerabilities of a fledgling African state navigating the dual pressures of internal dissent and external interference². The conflict not only tested the resilience of Nigeria's federal structure but also highlighted broader themes of separatist agitation and the quest for self-determination in Africa.

In the decades since the war, its legacy has remained a reference point for understanding the challenges of managing separatist crises in the African context. Regional organizations, particularly the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), continue to grapple with similar tensions across West Africa. Contemporary separatist movements, such as those in Mali, Senegal, and Cameroon, echo the dynamics of the Biafran secession, reflecting ongoing struggles with inclusive governance, economic inequality, and ethnic marginalization.

The Biafran experience offers valuable lessons for ECOWAS in addressing these crises. As a regional bloc committed to fostering peace, stability, and integration, ECOWAS can draw upon the insights from the Nigerian Civil War to devise strategies that prioritize diplomacy, inclusive governance, and conflict resolution. By engaging with the historical antecedents of separatist movements, the organization can strengthen its approach to sustaining national cohesion while respecting the rights and aspirations of diverse communities.

This study, therefore, seeks to explore the intersection between historical experiences and contemporary policy frameworks, using the Biafran War as a lens through which to examine the complexities of separatist agitations. In doing so, it aims to contribute to the ongoing discourse on regional diplomacy and governance in Africa.

Conceptual Clarifications

To adequately address the topic, Biafran Secession and the Nigerian Civil War: Lessons for ECOWAS in Managing Separatist Crises, it is essential to clarify the key concepts: secession, civil war, and regional diplomacy. These terms form the foundation for understanding the dynamics of separatist crises and the role of regional organizations in conflict management.

Secession

Secession refers to the act of withdrawing from a political union or federation to establish an independent state. It is often driven by grievances related to political marginalization, ethnic or cultural identity, and economic inequities³. In the context of post-colonial Africa, secessionist movements have frequently emerged as reactions to perceived failures of governance, uneven resource distribution, and lack of inclusivity in state-building processes. The Biafran secession, declared on May 30, 1967, exemplifies such dynamics, as it was primarily motivated by the southeastern region's perception of systemic exclusion and insecurity following a series of political and ethnic crises in Nigeria. The concept of secession continues to shape debates on sovereignty and self-determination across Africa, posing challenges for maintaining national unity while respecting regional and ethnic identities.

Civil War

Civil war denotes a large-scale armed conflict between organized groups within a single state, often arising from deep-seated political, social, or economic disputes⁴. The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War, is a quintessential example of this phenomenon. Lasting from 1967 to 1970, it was characterized by intense combat and catastrophic humanitarian outcomes, including widespread famine and displacement. Civil wars typically undermine state stability, disrupt socio-economic development, and exacerbate existing tensions. Understanding the nature and consequences of civil wars is critical for crafting strategies to address their root causes and prevent recurrence. In analyzing the Biafran conflict, its impact on governance structures and its lessons for conflict resolution in multi-ethnic states are particularly significant.

Regional Diplomacy

Regional diplomacy refers to efforts by regional organizations or coalitions of states to address issues of common concern through negotiation, mediation, and policy coordination⁵. In West Africa, ECOWAS has emerged as a key factor in promoting peace and security, often intervening in conflicts and separatist crises through diplomatic initiatives and peacekeeping operations. Regional diplomacy involves balancing the principles of sovereignty and non-interference with the need to maintain regional stability and protect human rights. The Biafran War, though predating ECOWAS's formation, provides historical insights into the challenges of managing separatist crises and underscores the importance of inclusive governance and proactive regional engagement. As separatist tensions persist in West Africa, ECOWAS's ability to learn from past conflicts such as Biafra will be pivotal in navigating contemporary challenges.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of the post-colonial state has been developed and enriched by several scholars, with notable proponents including Frantz Fanon, Hamza Alavi, Samir Amin and Achille Mbembe. These thinkers have explored the impact of colonial legacies on state formation, governance, and societal dynamics in post-colonial contexts.

The theory of the post-colonial state serves as a vital framework for understanding the Biafran secession and the Nigerian Civil War while providing essential insights for ECOWAS in managing separatist crises. Post-colonial state theory underscores how colonial legacies, ethnic divisions, and weak institutional frameworks shape the governance challenges faced by newly independent states. These factors often lead to tensions that manifest in secessionist movements and civil conflicts, as seen in Nigeria during the Biafran war.

A critical tenet of post-colonial state theory is the enduring impact of colonialism on the structures of governance. Colonial powers prioritized economic exploitation and administrative convenience over the cohesion of the diverse ethnic groups within their territories. In Nigeria, the amalgamation of disparate ethnicities—most notably the Hausa-Fulani in the North, Yoruba in the West, and Igbo in the East—created a fragile state. The arbitrary boundaries drawn by colonial administrators ignored cultural and historical realities, fostering a state without a strong sense of national identity or unity. This fragmentation contributed to the Igbo-led secession attempt in 1967, which was driven by feelings of political marginalization and economic exploitation. ECOWAS can draw lessons from this by recognizing the importance of addressing historical grievances and fostering inclusive governance structures to prevent similar crises.⁶

Ethnic nationalism is another significant factor highlighted by the theory of the post-colonial state. The Biafran secession was fueled by a strong sense of ethnic identity among the Igbo, who perceived the Nigerian state as unwilling to safeguard their interests. Post-colonial states often struggle to balance the aspirations of various ethnic groups while maintaining national unity. This dilemma underscores the need for regional organizations like ECOWAS to advocate for policies that promote equitable representation and address the grievances of marginalized groups to mitigate the risk of separatist movements.⁷

Moreover, the centralization of power in post-colonial states often exacerbates tensions. In Nigeria, the concentration of political and economic power in the federal government left regions like the Eastern Region feeling disenfranchised. The resulting struggle over resource control, particularly the oil wealth in the Niger Delta, became a key driver of the Biafran conflict. This aspect of post-colonial state theory highlights the importance of decentralization and federalism as tools for conflict prevention. ECOWAS can promote these governance reforms within member states to address the root causes of separatist agitations.⁶

Economic disparities further deepen the challenges faced by post-colonial states. In Nigeria, uneven development and resource allocation created a sense of injustice among the Igbo, who felt excluded from the benefits of the country's oil wealth. Post-colonial state theory emphasizes the need for equitable resource distribution to prevent economic grievances from escalating into separatist crises. ECOWAS must encourage member states to implement policies that promote resource-sharing and regional development as part of their conflict management strategies.⁷

The lessons from the Biafran secession and the Nigerian Civil War underscore the importance of addressing the structural deficiencies of post-colonial states. ECOWAS can strengthen its conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms by focusing on the root causes of separatist movements. This includes advocating for inclusive governance, decentralization, equitable resource allocation, and fostering inter-ethnic dialogue to build trust among diverse groups.

Therefore, the theory of the post-colonial state provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing the dynamics of the Biafran secession and its implications for managing separatist crises in West Africa. By addressing the legacies of colonialism and promoting reforms that enhance national cohesion, ECOWAS can better navigate the challenges posed by separatist movements and contribute to regional stability.

Historical Background of the Biafran Secession

Ethnic and Regional Divisions in Nigeria

Nigeria's colonial legacy of "divide and rule" policies fostered divisions among its three major ethnic groups: the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the west, and the Igbo in the east. After independence in 1960, these divisions became more pronounced, with political power concentrated in the north, leading to tensions over resource allocation and political representation⁸. Nigeria's colonial legacy of "divide and rule" policies entrenched ethnic divisions among the Hausa-Fulani in the north, Yoruba in the west, and Igbo in the east, shaping the post-colonial state into a fragmented polity. After independence in 1960, these divisions deepened as political power became concentrated in the north, fueling tensions over resource allocation and political representation. According to the Theory of the Post-Colonial State, this reflects the challenges of building cohesive governance structures in states burdened by colonial manipulation of ethnic identities. The resulting mistrust and competition among regions exemplify the fragility of national unity in post-colonial governance systems.

The 1966 military coup and subsequent counter-coup exacerbated these tensions, creating a cycle of violence that eventually culminated in the Biafran secession⁹. The 1966 military coup, led predominantly by Igbo officers, overthrew Nigeria's civilian government, creating resentment among other ethnic groups, particularly in the north. The counter-coup later that year, dominated by northern officers, targeted Igbos and resulted in widespread massacres of Igbo civilians, especially in the north. This violence heightened ethnic animosities and deepened the Southeast's sense of insecurity and marginalization. The failure of reconciliation efforts, such as the Aburi Accord, further alienated the Igbos, ultimately leading to the declaration of the Republic of Biafra in 1967 and the subsequent Nigerian Civil War.

Economic and Political Grievances

The discovery of oil in the southeastern region added an economic dimension to the conflict. The Igbo population felt that the wealth generated from their region was not equitably distributed, further fueling their demands for independence¹⁰. This perception of exploitation reinforced their calls for independence. Aligned with the Theory of the Post-Colonial State, this reflects how resource control disputes, rooted in colonial-era inequities, can exacerbate regional grievances in fragile states, undermining efforts at national integration and fueling separatist movements.

This economic grievance is critical in understanding the motivations behind the secession and offers insight into how economic marginalization can contribute to separatist sentiment in contemporary conflicts across West Africa. This economic grievance highlights the role of resource control in shaping separatist movements. In the case of Biafra, the southeastern Igbo population viewed the federal government's control of oil wealth as exploitative, deepening their sense of marginalization and driving the push for independence. This dynamic illustrates how economic inequality and the exclusion of resource-rich regions can fuel separatist sentiment. In contemporary West Africa, similar patterns emerge where perceived or actual economic marginalization contributes to unrest, emphasizing the need for inclusive governance and equitable resource distribution to address the root causes of separatist conflicts.

ECOWAS and the Management of Separatist Crises: Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Mediation

One of ECOWAS's primary roles in managing separatist crises is through preventive diplomacy and mediation. The Nigerian Civil War serves as a stark reminder of the dangers of neglecting grievances until they spiral into full-scale conflict. For ECOWAS, early intervention and mediation are crucial to addressing underlying issues before they escalate. ECOWAS's involvement in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia demonstrates its capacity to resolve conflicts and maintain regional stability, showcasing the organization's commitment to peacekeeping and diplomatic intervention. However, when it comes to handling internal separatist movements, ECOWAS faces a delicate balancing act. The organization must respect national sovereignty while simultaneously promoting regional peace, making its approach to separatist crises more complex.

This dynamic aligns with the Theory of the Post-Colonial State, which suggests that the legacy of colonialism often leaves states with weak national integration, vulnerable to internal divisions. ECOWAS's challenge in this context is to intervene effectively without infringing on the sovereignty of member states, while also addressing the root causes of separatist movements—such as ethnic, political, and economic marginalization. By acting as a mediator, ECOWAS can help prevent conflicts from reaching the breaking point, thereby promoting stability and avoiding the catastrophic consequences witnessed in Nigeria during the Civil War¹¹.

Importance of Inclusive Governance in Mitigating Separatist Sentiments

The Biafran conflict underscores the crucial role of inclusive governance in mitigating separatist sentiments. In post-independence Nigeria, the lack of political representation for marginalized regions, particularly the southeast, exacerbated ethnic and regional divides. The Igbo population felt politically and economically sidelined, which contributed to their eventual decision to secede. This lack of inclusion fostered deep resentment and a sense of injustice, which became a key driver of the conflict.

For ECOWAS, the lesson is clear: promoting inclusive governance within member states can prevent similar crises. By encouraging countries to ensure that all ethnic groups and regions are represented in decision-making processes, ECOWAS can help reduce feelings of marginalization. Inclusive governance practices—such as equitable resource distribution, decentralization, and respect for regional autonomy—can provide a platform for dialogue and cooperation, addressing grievances before they escalate into violent conflict. This approach not only enhances national unity but also strengthens regional stability by addressing the root causes of separatist movements and fostering a more cohesive, inclusive political environment. This strategy would not only reduce the appeal of separatism but also promote regional cohesion and stability¹².

Socio-Economic Development as a Tool for Conflict Prevention

The economic grievances that contributed to the Biafran secession underscore the need for equitable socio-economic development. ECOWAS should advocate for policies that ensure equitable distribution of resources across regions within member states. Programs focused on poverty reduction, infrastructure development, and access to education and healthcare can mitigate the socio-economic disparities that often drive separatist conflicts¹³. In the long term, ECOWAS could promote regional development initiatives that transcend national boundaries, fostering a sense of shared prosperity and reducing motivations for secession. By focusing on regional development projects, such as infrastructure, trade, and resource management that benefit multiple countries within West Africa, ECOWAS can create economic interdependence, reducing the disparities that often fuel separatist movements. These initiatives can bridge gaps between regions, ensuring that marginalized areas are integrated into broader economic and political frameworks, thus diminishing the sense of exclusion that may drive separatist sentiments.

Aligned with the Theory of the Post-Colonial State, this approach addresses the legacy of colonialism, where arbitrary borders and fragmented governance structures often exacerbated regional inequalities. The theory

emphasizes that post-colonial states struggle with unity and stability due to the absence of integrated national identities and the manipulation of regional and ethnic divisions. By fostering regional development, ECOWAS can promote a more cohesive sense of belonging among different ethnic and regional groups, helping to build shared prosperity that counters the economic grievances that often underpin secessionist movements. This regional approach encourages cooperation and mutual benefit, creating a stabilizing force that can transcend the limitations of individual national agendas.

Biafra War Lessons for ECOWAS in Managing Separatist Crisis

1. Addressing Root Causes of Separatism

The Biafran secession highlights the importance of addressing the root causes of separatist conflicts, rather than solely focusing on military solutions. For ECOWAS, this means recognizing and addressing underlying grievances related to identity, marginalization, and economic disparity. Implementing mechanisms for regular dialogue between the central government and marginalized communities within member states can provide an avenue for grievances to be addressed before they escalate¹⁴.

2. Strengthening Regional Cooperation

The Nigerian Civil War illustrated the challenges of managing separatist conflicts in isolation. The lack of coordinated regional responses to the Biafran crisis delayed peace efforts and prolonged the conflict. For ECOWAS, strengthening regional cooperation in intelligence-sharing, joint peacekeeping, and capacity-building is essential for addressing separatist movements that often have transnational implications. This approach would enable ECOWAS to address security threats that extend beyond individual member states¹⁵.

3. Promoting Inclusive Governance

The Biafran conflict demonstrates that the absence of inclusive governance can heighten separatist tendencies. The marginalization of ethnic groups, such as the Igbos in post-independence Nigeria, contributed to the secessionist sentiment that eventually led to the Nigerian Civil War. For ECOWAS, encouraging member states to adopt inclusive governance practices is crucial in preventing future separatist movements. Ensuring that all ethnic groups and regions are adequately represented in political processes, as well as promoting fair distribution of resources, can help reduce feelings of exclusion and marginalization. This could involve pushing for constitutional reforms, power-sharing agreements, and decentralized governance structures that give minority groups a voice in decision-making.

4. Fostering Economic Integration

Economic inequality, especially concerning resource distribution, played a significant role in the Biafran conflict. The southeastern region, rich in oil resources, felt that its economic contributions were not fairly rewarded by the federal government. ECOWAS can learn from this by promoting regional economic integration that ensures equitable development and wealth distribution among member states. By creating a more interconnected regional economy—through trade agreements, cross-border infrastructure projects, and regional economic zones—ECOWAS can reduce the economic disparities that often fuel separatism. Economic integration would also foster interdependence, making the case for separation less appealing.

5. Encouraging Early Diplomatic Intervention

The Biafran secession underscores the dangers of waiting until conflicts escalate into full-scale wars before intervening. ECOWAS's experience in Liberia and Sierra Leone shows that timely diplomatic intervention can prevent a conflict from spreading. Applying this lesson, ECOWAS should prioritize early conflict prevention measures, such as providing diplomatic support and encouraging dialogue between conflicting parties before a crisis escalates. Building early warning systems and deploying preventive diplomacy teams could help identify potential flashpoints and resolve them before they lead to violent conflict.

6. Building National Unity Through Education and Dialogue

The fragmentation in post-independence Nigeria was exacerbated by ethnic and regional tensions, often fueled by historical grievances. For ECOWAS, fostering national unity within member states is critical to preventing separatism. Promoting national identity through education, public dialogue, and intercultural exchange programs can help bridge divides between ethnic and regional groups. By fostering mutual understanding and respect among diverse communities, ECOWAS can help reduce the appeal of separatist ideologies that thrive on division. It is also important to create platforms for national and regional conversations that acknowledge past grievances and work toward reconciliation.

7. Ensuring a Balanced Approach to Sovereignty and Regional Stability

The theory of the Post-Colonial State emphasizes the fragile nature of sovereignty in newly independent states, especially in multi-ethnic societies. ECOWAS must navigate the delicate balance between respecting member states' sovereignty and promoting regional stability. While intervention in separatist movements is often necessary to maintain peace, it must be done in a way that respects the sovereignty of the state involved. ECOWAS can achieve this by fostering regional norms that support peaceful conflict resolution while upholding the territorial integrity of member states. This balanced approach would allow ECOWAS to act effectively in addressing separatist tensions without overstepping national borders or undermining national sovereignty.

8. Developing a Regional Peacekeeping Capacity

ECOWAS's involvement in past conflicts, such as in Liberia and Sierra Leone, has demonstrated the need for a robust regional peacekeeping force capable of intervening in separatist crises. The Biafran conflict could have been managed more effectively with the presence of a regional peacekeeping force that could facilitate dialogue, ensure ceasefires, and prevent the escalation of violence. ECOWAS should work on strengthening its peacekeeping capacity, ensuring that regional forces are adequately trained, equipped, and ready to intervene in potential separatist conflicts across West Africa. This proactive capacity would allow ECOWAS to swiftly manage conflicts and ensure that peace is maintained, even in the face of separatist movements.

Conclusion

The Biafran secession and the Nigerian Civil War offer important lessons for ECOWAS in managing separatist crises. The conflict underscores the need for inclusive governance, socio-economic development, and proactive diplomacy to address the root causes of separatist sentiments. By adopting these strategies, ECOWAS can enhance its capacity to manage separatist conflicts effectively and maintain regional stability. As the West African region faces renewed separatist threats, the lessons from Biafra provide a historical roadmap for fostering peace and unity in the face of division. The Biafran secession highlighted the catastrophic consequences of neglecting ethnic and regional grievances, particularly in newly independent African states. In the case of Nigeria, the failure to address the political, economic, and social disparities between regions contributed to the escalation of conflict, ultimately leading to a devastating civil war. This lesson remains highly relevant today, as many West African states continue to grapple with issues of marginalization, economic inequality, and ethnic tensions that fuel separatist movements.

One of the key lessons from Biafra is the importance of addressing the root causes of separatism. The Biafran crisis was not solely about the desire for independence but was deeply rooted in historical grievances related to identity, political exclusion, and economic marginalization. For ECOWAS and other regional organizations, understanding these underlying factors and facilitating dialogue between central governments and marginalized groups is crucial for preventing conflicts before they escalate into violence. Promoting inclusive governance, equitable resource distribution, and political representation can help reduce the appeal of separatism and foster a sense of belonging for all ethnic and regional communities.

Moreover, the Biafran conflict underscores the need for timely and coordinated regional intervention. ECOWAS's previous experience in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone shows the potential for regional cooperation in managing conflicts that may have transnational implications. The inability to mobilize a coordinated regional response to the Biafran crisis contributed to the prolongation of the conflict. Thus, strengthening regional cooperation, sharing intelligence, and enhancing peacekeeping capacity can enable ECOWAS to address separatist movements more effectively and prevent widespread violence.

Also, the Biafran secession serves as a reminder of the need for sustainable economic development that transcends national borders. Economic grievances, particularly the unequal distribution of resources, played a pivotal role in the Biafran crisis. As ECOWAS promotes regional development initiatives that enhance economic interdependence and reduce disparities, it can help create a sense of shared prosperity across West Africa. This regional economic integration can lessen the motivations for secession, as communities that benefit from cross-border development projects will be less likely to view separation as a viable solution.

Therefore, the Biafran conflict provides crucial lessons for ECOWAS and other regional actors in addressing the challenges posed by separatist movements. By focusing on inclusive governance, regional cooperation, early intervention, and equitable economic development, ECOWAS can create a more stable and unified West Africa, effectively mitigating the risks of separatism in the future.

ENDNOTES

- ^{1.} Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe. *Conflict and Intervention in Africa: Nigeria, Angola, Zaire*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- ^{2.} Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- ^{3.} Julius I. Elaigwu. "The Impact of Existing Inter-Governmental Financial Relations on Effective Service Delivery at the Grassroots in Nigeria." *Journal of Academic Research in Accounting, Finance and Management Sciences* 3(1): 1–18, 2013.
- ^{4.} Ladipo Adamolekun. *Public Administration: A Nigerian Comparative Perspective*. London: Longman, 1983.
- ^{5.} Henry Ndehjr. "Good Governance and the Challenges of Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria." *Journal of Public Policy Analysis* 1(1): 1–15, 2007.
- ^{6.} Elaigwu, J. I. (2013). The impact of existing inter-governmental financial relations on effective service delivery at the grassroots in Nigeria. *Journal of Academic Research in Accounting, Finance and Management Sciences*, 3(1), 1-18.
- ^{7.} Iwuagwu, B. (2011). The effect of state interference in local government. *Journal of Politics and Administration*, 2(1), 30-42.
- ^{8.} Emeka Ojukwu. *Because I Am Involved*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1989.

9. Frederick Forsyth. *The Biafra Story: The Making of an African Legend*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2007.
10. R. T. Akinyele. "Ethnic Militancy and National Stability in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Oodua People's Congress." *African Affairs* 102(408): 605–627, 2003.
11. Adekeye Adebayo. *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*. New York: International Peace Institute, 2002.
12. ECOWAS Commission. *Protocol on Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security*. Abuja: ECOWAS Commission, 1999.
13. Olusegun Obasanjo. *My Command: An Account of the Nigerian Civil War 1967–1970*. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980.
14. Abiodun Alao. "ECOWAS and Conflict Management in West Africa: The Case of Sierra Leone." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 32(3): 323–343, 2012.
15. I. William Zartman. *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.