IGBO MARGINALIZATION AND IPOB AGITATION IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This work discussed IPOB and the issues of marginalization in the southeast Nigeria. The study cruised from the ordinary meaning of marginalization to the origin of marginalization in Nigeria. It further delved into the meaning of marginalization, its origin in Nigeria and areas of marginalization of Igbo as perceived by IPOB. It raised questions such as what is the true meaning of marginalization? What are the issues of marginalization held by IPOB group against Nigerian government? Who are IPOB members? It held that the causes of militancy in the region included political, economic and tribal marginalization, which have resulted to the wanton destruction of lives and created fear among the inhabitants of the region. Marginalization of Igbo did not start today; it was traced back to the Nigerian civil war. Since then, Biafrans have been a great threat and has been looked on with a suspicious eye. To keep the nation together, Nigerian Government has tried in every way to subdue the Igbo using the weapon of marginalization. Some of these well pronounced areas of marginalization as perceived by IPOB in particular and Igbo in general are; unfulfilled transitional justice program promised by Gowon and his government at the end of the civil war, the failure of Igbo to produce a president since independence, injustice in the creation of states for allocation of revenue, insensitivity in the appointment of military and paramilitary personnel, etc. The paper submitted that there is the need for the practice of true federalism and implementing the resolutions of the 2014 national conference, for restructuring. The descriptive case study method of enquiry was be employed for the purpose of this research.

Keywords: IPOB, Issues, Marginalization, Marginalization in Nigeria, South-East, Igbo, Nigeria

Introduction

The phenomenon of ethnic conflict has existed for hundreds of years and in every region of the world. One of the major conflicts in Africa is civil conflicts. A Civil conflict arises mainly over issues of participation, distribution, and legitimacy in the politics and governance of a nation. In civil conflicts, a region of a nation may engage in hostilities because the people (or a group) believe the social structure is designed to exclude or marginalize them and want to change the circumstance. When researching African ethnic strife, the Biafra War, commonly referred to as the Nigerian Civil War, serves as an instructive example. Nigeria won independence from Great Britain shortly after the Biafra war started, and as a young, undeveloped nation, the ethnic war swiftly consumed the developing nation. Cooperation, discrimination, aggressiveness, mistrust, and conflict have all been characteristics of the social interactions between various multi-ethnic and multicultural communities in Nigeria.

The problem all started during British rule, when the northern region of Nigeria was largely secluded from the southern and eastern regions. The distribution of wealth was skewed, as the Igbo people of the southeast region had greater prosperity due to palm oil and petroleum resources (Meert, 2016). In contrast to the Hausa people who occupied the north and Yoruba who occupied the southwest, the southeastern Igbo were geographically isolated. As a result of their decentralized location, wealth, and religion, the Igbo people were marginalized and labeled as outsiders. "In 1966 after the Coup of the Five Majors, Nigeria was thrown into a bloody civil war, and the Hausa-controlled government mobilized drastic measures to eliminate the Igbo population, which had chosen to secede and form the nation of Biafra" (Uchendu, 2007, p.395). The civil war soon evolved into an ethnic cleansing, as over 1 million Igbo were starved to death in a systematic procedure known as Kwashiorkor (Meert, 2016).

The recent upsurge in the demand for a separate Biafran State calls for an inquiry to understand why the agitation has persisted, over 60 years after the end of the Nigerian civil war. The descriptive case study method will be used to describe the cases of marginalization in the region, which have resulted to the agitation and protests of IPOB members, leading to loss of lives and created fear among the inhabitants of the region. Thus, the consequence are the various insurgencies, rebellions and public revolts that seem to have been entrenched in the multicultural nature of the Nigerian state and these have metamorphosed into a number of ethnic militias like the O'dua People Congress (OPC), the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Niger Delta militants, Boko Haram and most recent of all is the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). The emergence of these militia groups has made ethnic and religious intolerance more violent. The existence and violent activities of IPOB militia group, hovers around the issues of marginalization of the eastern region by the Nigerian government.

Marginalization in Context

Marginalization is the social exclusion, social disadvantage and relegation to the fringe of society. It is the exclusion of some people or group from mainstream social, economic, educational, and/or cultural life of the people. The term "marginalization" was initially used in France in the late 20th century and has since then gained widespread use throughout Europe. Gordon Marshall (2018) in A Dictionary of Sociology opines that marginalization became a major topic of sociological research in the 1960s, largely in response to the realization that while certain developing countries demonstrated rapid economic growth, members of these societies were receiving increasingly unequal shares of the rewards of success. The term "marginalization" is used in a variety of academic fields, including sociology, psychology, politics, and economics. It is the process in which individuals are blocked from (or denied full access to) various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group, and which are fundamental to social integration and observance of human rights such as; housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and due process within that particular group. One of the problems of marginalization is that it constitutes the violation of human right and human dignity of the people affected. Marginalization is usually tied to that of equal opportunity, as some people are more subject to such exclusion than others. In many economically developing nations where the majority of the population enjoys significantly greater economic and social prospects than others, marginalization of particular group is an issue. Baah, Teitelman and Riegel (2019) give the following as examples of marginalization, groups excluded due to race, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, language, and/or immigration status. Marginalization frequently occurs due to unequal power relationships between social groups.

Marginalization in Nigeria: A Southeastern Experience

In the cities of Lagos and Port Harcourt, Igbo unions began to grow throughout the 1930s. Later, a unified pan-ethnic group known as the Igbo Federal Union (renamed the Ibo State Union in 1948) arose. This union was intimately linked to the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, which Nnamdi Azikiwe co-founded with Herbert Macaulay, at the time he took over as its head. Achebe (2012) narrates that:

The postwar era saw an explosion of political organization. Newspapers, newsreels, and radio programs were full of the exploits of Nnamdi Azikiwe and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC, which later became the National Council of Nigeria Citizens) that was founded in 1944. Azikiwe built upon lessons he had learned from earlier forays in political activism and successfully persuaded several active members of the Nigerian Youth Movement to form an umbrella group of all the major Nigerian organizations. (pp. 44-45)

The aim of the organization was the improvement and advancement (such as in education) of the Igbo and their indigenous land and included an Igbo "national anthem" with a plan for an Igbo bank (Bah, 2005). From 1967, separatists in Nigeria's southeast declared the formation of the independent state of Biafra. The subsequent Nigerian Civil War lasted two and a half years, led to over a million dead, and ended with the defeat of Biafra and the ban on independent political activity. In 1978, after Olusegun Obasanjo's military regime lifted the ban on independent political activity, the Ohanaeze Ndigbo organization was formed, an elite umbrella organization which speaks on behalf of the Igbo people (Agbu, 2004). Their main concerns are the marginalization of the Igbo people in Nigerian politics and the neglect of indigenous Igbo territory in social amenities and development of infrastructure. Other groups which protested the perceived marginalization of the Igbo people are the Igbo People's Congress (Agbu, 2004).

Mannir posits that, over the following decades, Nigeria continued to suffer from regional instability and revolts, but Biafra separatism was mostly dormant until the 2000s (2015). From the 1990s, a growing number of people in southeastern Nigeria such as Igbo and Niger Delta natives felt marginalized by the Nigerian central government. This resulted in the violent conflict in the Niger Delta, and previously anti-Biafran communities such as Ijaw began to re-evaluate their commitment to Nigeria (Kathryn, 2009). Coupled with disaffection among the youth due to high unemployment, this contributed to a resurgence of Biafran nationalism in the entire southeast. While most of the local political leaderships distanced themselves from separatism, radical Biafran nationalists organized the secessionist group IPOB (Mannir, 2015) as a show of their dissatisfaction and means of pursuing the Igbo interest.

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is a nationalist separatist group in Nigeria that seeks to re-establish the Republic of Biafra. The Republic of Biafra split from Nigeria prior to the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970), but later re-joined Nigeria after being defeated by the Nigerian military (Allison, 2017). The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) was founded in 2012 by Mazi Nnamdi Okwu Kanu who was born on 25th September 1967 in Umuahia, Abia State. Mazi Nnamdi Kanu is a British-Nigerian political activist well-known for his support of the current Biafran independence movement. Mazi Nnamdi Kanu made the decision to use the new forms of communication, including social media and online radio, to recruit millions of pro-Biafra independence activists, supporters, and sympathizers to his Biafran cause out of

concern that the dream for the independence of Biafra would not be realized through the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB).

This dream for an independence of Biafra started with the declaration made by Colonel Chukwuemeka Ojukwu immediately after Nigeria gained her independence in 1960. Although, the issues of secession have been there far before the independence of Nigeria with the tensions of killing of Igbos in the major cities of the North like Kaduna and Jos. Colonel Ojukwu made the proclamation, declaring the region Republic of Biafra on May 30, 1967 (Daly and Fury, 2020) and became the first Head of State of the newly formed nation, in his speech, Colonel Ojukwu cited the killing of Igbo in the post-coup violence as reason for the secession. After the declaration, the Nigerian government didn't like the secession idea and fought to restore the unity of the nation.

The reason for this idea of unity is nothing but the large quantity of oil in the Biafran region, because at that time, oil was becoming a major source of economic revenue for the country. The civil war (Nigeria-Biafran war) was fought in Biafran land for three years and because Biafrans were not well equipped for the war; with few untrained personnel and less equipment (Omoigui, 2007), the Nigerian army defeated the Biafran soldiers. Killing millions of Igbo, destroying their homes, schools and hospitals. With these, Biafran forces under the motto: "No Victor, No Vanquished" surrendered to the Nigerian government and were re-absorbed into the country (Minogue and Judith, 1974).

Not being satisfied with the way post war issues of justice were handled and the continuous marginalization of the Igbo, in 1999, Chief Ralph Uwazuruike reawakens the struggle for an independence Biafra with the formation of Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). Smith (2015) asserts that since the creation of MASSOB, there have been several conflicts between its members and the Nigerian government, resulting in the death of members. In 2009, when Chief Uwazuruike, the founder of MASSOB reestablished Radio Biafra in the United Kingdom, he made Mazi Nnamdi Kanu his radio director; later Mazi Kanu was said to have been dismissed from MASSOB because of accusation of him supporting violence. He broke off and formed his own group; The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). IPOB criticizes the Nigerian federal government for poor investment, political alienation, inequitable resource distribution, ethnic marginalization, and heavy military presence, extrajudicial killings in the South-Eastern, South-Central and parts of North-Central regions of the country (Mahr, Oluwatosin Adeshokan, Krista, 2019). The group gained notoriety in the middle of the 2010s and is currently the largest Biafran independence group in terms of membership. It has received a lot of media attention lately because the Nigerian government has been targeting it frequently with political repression. Additionally, it has a large number of websites and communication channels that act as the only reliable social infrastructure for educating and instilling current events in the minds of its members. IPOB enjoys membership and fellowship across the five (5) states that make up the South-Eastern Nigeria with members spreading to some other neighbouring states in Nigeria, also strong Igbo members in diaspora and foreigners.

Since 2021, IPOB and other Biafran separatist groups have been fighting a low-level guerilla conflict in southeastern Nigeria against the Nigerian government. In accordance with the Nigerian Terrorism Act, the Nigerian government designated it a terrorist group in 2017. Due to this proscription, starting in May 2022, the United Kingdom began refusing asylum to IPOB members who violated human rights, though the U.K government has come out strongly to clarify that IPOB had not been designated as a terrorist organization (Elusoji, 2022). The

group's worldview is based on the message of nonviolence that was spread by Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi.

IPOB and Igbo Marginalization

1. Transitional Justice

Prominent of all the issues of marginalization IPOB accuses the Nigerian Government is the issue of transitional justice. Kritz (1995), describes transitional justice as the processes, mechanisms and strategies that countries in transition adopt to deal with past human rights abuses, crimes and injustices perpetuated by previous regimes or by warring factions in armed conflict. For David (2014):

Transitional justice is a holistic approach to reconcile or re-unite deeply divided and polarized societies with a legacy of wars, armed conflict and gross violations of human rights. Transitional justice embraces issues of justice, truth, reconciliation, reparation, memory and forgiveness (p.29).

It is based on the view that justice cannot be limited only to retribution and rectification, but also the need for truth telling and reconciliation. Transitional justice also focuses on perpetrators as well as victims, and tries to reconcile both the victor's justice and the victim's justice.

At the end of the civil war in Nigeria, General Gowon promised to rehabilitate and reintegrate the defunct Eastern region with its infrastructures that were destroyed back to the country on equal footing, with the declaration: "No victor no vanguished". Attesting to this, Ugorji (2017) said, included in this declaration was a transitional justice program popularly known as the "3Rs" - Reconciliation (Reintegration), Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. This postwar transitional justice program was inefficient, and failed to address the human rights abuses and genocidal crimes committed against the south easterners during the war, the painful memories of the war are still fresh in the minds of many Biafrans even after sixty years. This program some have perceived as merely cosmetic since they were never implemented. Unfortunately, there were no trusted investigations into the gross violations of human rights and other atrocities and crimes against humanity committed during the war. Instances where communities were completely massacred during the Nigeria-Biafra war, for example, the Asaba massacre at Asaba located in the present-day Delta state, nobody has been held accountable for these crimes against humanity (Ugorji, 2017). War survivors and their families are still suffering from inter-generational trauma which is one of the many reasons for IPOB agitation.

2. No Igbo President

In addition to the trauma and yearning for justice, IPOB members feel that the Igbo in the southeast is completely marginalized by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Since the end of the war, there has not been an Igbo president in Nigeria. Nigeria has been ruled for over forty years by the Hausa-Fulani from the north and the Yoruba from the southwest. At least, since the return of democracy in 1999 to date, Nigeria had had two presidents from the North, one from southwest and one from the South-South, the South-East are yet to be given that opportunity. This is the reason why IPOB agitators feel that Igbo are still being punished because of the aborted secession of Biafra. Given that people vote along ethnic lines in Nigeria,

it is highly unlikely that the Hausa-Fulani that constitute the majority in Nigeria and the Yoruba (the second majority) will vote for an Igbo presidential candidate.

The issue of population has been heavily criticized by IPOB and Igbo in general. Metz (1991) argues that even the demographers found the 1973 population census incredibly manipulated. The need to maintain a very high population figure advantage by certain regions over the others was intense. The census exercise confirmed that Nigeria's population grew by 44 percent in 10 years, while, Northern Nigeria's population jumped to 64 percent compared to 53.7 percent in 1963 (Metz, 1991). This makes the Igbo feel frustrated. Because of these issues, and given that the federal government has failed to address the issues of development in the southeast, IPOB agitators have called for another Biafran independence from the Nigerian state. IPOB group which claim to be the mouthpiece of the marginalized Igbo, says the Nigerian politics and politicians feels that given a Biafran son president will lead to Biafran independence. This is one of the strong positions against Mr. Peter Obi and his presidential ambition.

3. State Creation

The bloated population advantage has consequences for the creation of states, local governments and the sharing of accrued revenues at the center since in practice; Nigeria runs a unitary system as against the federal system on paper. Aribisala (2015) agrees with this position adding that the creation of states and local government areas were deliberately made to favor Northern Nigeria. The Southeast zone is the only political zone among the six political zones that has only five states, while, the rest of the other zones have six states each. The IPOB agitators argue that the creation of more states and local governments in favor of the Northern states was an injustice against the southeast. Aribisala concluded that this has consequently led to Southeast being the only zone with the least amount of revenue allocation from the Federation. This injustice as perceived by IPOB is based on the lopsided size of revenue allocations from the federal government that goes to the northern states. It is not only the lopsided revenue allocations being channeled to the northern region that is perceived as injustice, but the political inequities acutely manifest in addressing the national issues. Achebe (2012) avers that:

The key, as I see it, lies in the manner in which the leadership of the country is selected. When I refer to leadership I am really talking about leaders at every level of government and sphere of society, from the local government council and governors right up to the presidency (pp. 244-245).

4. Federal Character Principle

IPOB agitators hold that the interests of the Southeast are never adequately represented, protected and defended in the federal level because the States and Local Government Areas created by military fiat were done to the detriment of southeast, hollows their ability to be effective. Enshrined in the 1999 Constitution is the Federal Character principle which was first introduced in the 1979 Constitution. Section 14 (3) and (4) of the 1999 Constitution provide for the equitable distribution of positions in the military, paramilitary, police, and all other security institutions, public service, parastatals, and publicly owned companies. But this has deliberately and consistently been ignored and overlooked by almost all the government regimes and worst of all by the present administration. Onyeoziri (1989) argues that:

the Federal Character Principle recommended that composition of the Federal Government and its agencies be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria stressed the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty by ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies. (p.412)

The participation of all ethnic groups in the conduct of government will ensure both that all Nigerians have a sense of belonging in a framework of equality of treatment which will be the result of eliminating domination by ensuring representation of all groups. The President Buhari led administration has often been tagged the worst offender of Federal Character Principle, his insensitivity to other ethnic groups when making political appointments has been clearly visible and widely criticized. This is visible in the fact that the first eight most important political positions of the nation today have nobody from Igbo extraction (Southeast). Onyeoziri (1989) writing about the ultimate goals and objectives of federal character principle, holds that the ultimate goals are loyalty to the Nigerian state and stability for the country while the objectives are national unity, loyalty to the Nigerian state, stability of the political order, elimination of domination and a strengthening of sense of belonging. He concluding by saying, if the federal character principle cannot deliver Nigerians from the ultimate goals, then Nigerians should turn to consociationalism. According him, consociationalism is a model of democracy that avoids the majoritarian and winner-takes-it-all principle.

5. International Air Port

Another area IPOB feels that Igbo is marginalized is on the issue of airport. The sons and daughters of Biafra are found in every nook and cranny of Nigeria, and almost in every part of the world. They are constantly on the move, both domestically and internationally. Most of the times, they must travel to Lagos or Abuja, before they could connect any direct international flights. It was in 2013 that the President Good Luck administration completed the facilities at Enugu airport, now Akanu Ibiam International airport. It is worth noting that the Federal government has not invested in upgrading the facilities at Enugu airport to international airport status. Mikairu and Agbo (2019) describes the pity nature of the airport saying that the runways are very bumpy without the approach lights; there are no water supplies, the cooling systems are not working, etc. The Southeast governors have raised the alarm about the state of the airport, and questioned why the contract that had been awarded for the airport by the present government that it will shut down the airport for security reasons was received with mixed feelings. For a lot of Igbo, such action will impact negatively on the development of the Igbo economy in the eastern region.

6. Sea Port

There is also a well-considered perception that the seaports within the Biafran land, the eastern region are deliberately underused when one considers the fact that Port Harcourt seaport was a bustling port prior to Nigerian independence, up until the Biafran war. The Port Harcourt seaport was the second largest port in the country commissioned together with Lagos seaport in 1913. Today, Lagos seaport is fully congested; lives of residents, business owners, and motorists are impacted negatively due to conditions at the ports. The Pointer (2019) observes that "a recent report based on estimates by terminal operators has it that more than 2 million twenty Tons Equivalent Units (TEUs) of laden containers are awaiting clearance at Lagos seaports" (Para. 1). The Lagos seaports handle over 80 percent of the cargoes that enter the

country (The Pointer, 2019). In spite of these problems, the federal government had refused to dredge the river Niger and improve the Calabar and Warri seaports, or make it friendly to use that of Port Harcourt to ease the economic waste arising from the concentration of activities in Lagos port.

7. IPOB Proscription and security problems

Lastly, IPOB agitators have accused the Federal Government of hatred and unfair treatment of the Southeastern region. They have described their proscription as a terrorist group as part of marginalization of the Igbo. They question the reason why other militant groups in the nation such as Niger Delta militants, Boko Haram, bandits, and Herdsmen who have destroyed more lives and properties have not been proscribed as terrorist groups but only IPOB. Why are soldiers sent to Abia State and other parts of the southeast to kill unarmed people, a group whose agitation is peaceful? The government was very fast to deploy the military called 'Operation Python Dance' to force IPOB members to drop agitation for their right to self-determination; unfortunately they have refused to apply same speed in the development of the South-East.

The excessive extortion and harassment at the ubiquitous police checkpoints both within their homeland and routes leading to the Southeast and the activities of the Customs on the highway, particularly, on roads leading to Igbo heartland, from Ore to Onitsha is a pointer to the marginalization of Igbo. Other areas of marginalization as perceived by IPOB are the death of federal infrastructure in Igbo land, absence of railway in South-East as found in other parts of the country and delay in the completion of second Niger Bridge leading to the South-East.

Conclusion

All the points mentioned above and more have created the conditions for the reawakening and revitalization of the old agitation for the independence of Biafra the eastern region by IPOB. IPOB agitators claim that Igbo people are the victims of an unfair relationship and treatment from the center. Therefore, a complete independence from Nigeria is the ideal solution. Although, they may be right in their agitation, but the truth is that the way and manner IPOB is going about it might not solve the problem of marginalization but might create more problems and even contribute in marginalizing the region the more. Borrowing a leaf from colonel Ojukwu, the eastern region is multi-talented and blessed, with sufficient resource to develop the region.

In spite of the fact that Nigerian civil war was fought in the southeast for three years. Yet they have been able to rebuild their region and today poverty is the lowest, literacy is at the highest, mother death at childbirth is at the lowest. But the northern leaders have marginalized their people more than the Igbo. Even with all the infrastructures in the North, they are still backward in almost all ramifications. If Biafra was one of the most developed and fastest growing nation during the three (3) years of the civil war in Africa, then Biafran people only need to look inward to harness the resource buried in her recess. Instead of fighting the Nigerian Government, IPOB should hold the representatives of the people in government accountable for poor governance and bad representation in the region. For if the few from the eastern region in Government are up to their duties, the problems associated with marginalization will be at it minimum.

Recommendations

- 1. To give peace a chance in southeast, there is need to address the issues after the Nigerian Civil War. The Federal government should go back to implement the transitional justice program promised the south easterners after the war. The judiciary should be given the free hand to carry out a since and honest investigation to the war crime committed during the civil war and punishment given to those responsible.
- 2. There should be rotational system of government in Nigeria. Every region should be given a chance to produce a president of the country. This rotational system of government will go a long way to silence IPOB agitators, for it will give them the sense of belonging. Especially now that the country is preparing to go to the polls, it will be a great opportunity to solve the issues of IPOB agitations. Political parties should keep to their initial agreement of zoning the presidency.
- 3. To solve the issue of state creation, the federal government should carve out one state in the southeast region to balance the number of state for all the regions. Or if possible distribute generated revenue equally to the regions instead states as practiced presently.
- 4. There is need for the federal government to revisit the 1999 Constitution on the topic of Federal Character principle. There should be respect for the country's guiding principles, the constitution, with regards to the distribution of positions in the military, paramilitary, police, and all other security institutions, public service, parastatals, and publicly owned companies. This is what Governor Wike of River State is crying and fighting for in People's Democratic Party (PDP), power should not be one sided. Federal Character principle allows for participation of all the regions in government.
- 5. The Akanu Ibiam international airport Enugu should be upgraded with all the facilities to operate as an international airport. The federal government should make provision for the landing and taking off of international flights in the airport.
- 6. It is a common knowledge that Lagos seaport is too congested and can no longer serve import and export needs of the country, to ease the problem of congestion in the Lagos seaport, the Federal Government should dredge the River Niger, making provision for seaport in the southeast. This will in a great deal help the economic situation of the southeast since they are largely business people.
- 7. The speed used in proscribing IPOB as terrorist group is very much uncalled for. It is unfair to the south easterners, considering the fact that there are other groups who are more sophisticated and deadly than IPOB. Federal government should withdraw that proscription and call for amnesty as they did with Niger Delta militant or dialogue with them like they are doing with Boko Haram.
- 8. Above all, the federal government should listen to the clarion call for restructuring, which will be based on equity, fairness and justice. The restructuring would be the ideal for returning the country to the era when the regions managed their economic and political affairs. During the period of the regional government, all the regions thrived at their respective pace. Restructuring is needed now in the country more than before. This may change the orientation of the aggrieved IPOB and all other Biafran agitators to allow peace reign in the Southeast in particular and the country in general.

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