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INTER/INTRA STATE COMMUNAL CONFLICT AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN CROSS RIVER AND EBONYI STATES OF NIGERIA

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Abstract

Inter/intra-state communal conflict between Cross River and Ebony States of Nigeria has been on the increase with adverse consequences on the destruction of lives and properties. The most adverse effect is that, as a result of it frequency, many people have been rendered homeless while the effort to return back to their society of ancestry has been ruined. Several resolutions by both states through judiciary proceedings and National Boundary Commission are still ineffective and even when such subsist; it is usually a temporal solution to the problem. This paper aims to examine inter/intra-state communal conflict in Nigeria with focus on Cross River and Ebonyi states of Nigeria. The study specifically examined the strategies put in place to resolve communal conflict between Adadama in Abi and Ipolo community in Yala Local Government of Cross River State and Amagu in Ikwow and Ndiagu in Izzi Local Government Area of Ebonyi state to provide remedial alternative for sustainable peaceful coexistence among these disputant areas of the two states. The paper is an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon under study. Primary data was collected and used for the study. The paper examined causes of communal conflict between the two states, role of NBC, INEC and NPC, internal conflict resolution between the two states, role of religious leaders, effect of the conflict of lives and property and way out of these frequent conflict. From the study, it was recommended that NBC should revisit the Surv. Akinyemi-led JFT report of 2000 and use the GPS positions of the ten (10) pillars found on ground to retrace and re-established the Adadama/Ikwow boundary as it has been observed the Amagu people have destroyed the remaining pillars during the recent crisis even at the Okpitumo axis which had been intact. The same Report should be applied to re-establish the Cross River /Ebonyi Inter-state boundary at other sectors namely: Obubra/Ikwow, Obubra/Abakaliki and Yala /Izzi. Through these measures, conflict can be resolved and managed in the two states.

Keywords: Conflict Management, security committee, Communal Conflicts, mediation, Dialogue, Cross River, Ebonyi

Introduction

Conflict is an ever present process in human relations. It is the social process in which individuals or groups seek their ends by directly challenging the antagonist by violence, dialogue or threat of violence (Umoh, 2013). As a process, it is the anti-thesis of cooperation. Almost any human action is likely toward the hopes or interferes with the plans of someone else. Such action becomes conflict, however, only if the deliberate attempt is to oppose. World over, conflicts are inevitable in human life and existence and are a necessary part of life. Conversely, conflicts are necessary for change in human society since they help to build relationships in groups, establish a group's identity, build internal cohesion and can lead to balance of power in society as well as create new rules and laws (Coser, 1956). However, when conflict are violent, and depending on the nature and type of intervention schemes used, they remain unresolved and can become protracted disrupting policy-making and development since attention is diverted from issues that will otherwise improve the lives of people to the conflict (Osisioma, 2004).

Conflict remains one of the major problems bedevilling Nigeria as it threatens constantly the security of the country and most importantly the security of the people. Lewis (1990 in Omah, 2013:2) states that conflict "is pervasive and inevitable because whenever people interact, there is always the possibility of the emergence or manifestation of conflicts. Put differently, "a constant factor about conflict is that it is an ever present phenomenon in social relations" (Alimba, 2014:180)

Conflict in the other hand is an inevitable factor of social existence. Its occurrence affects social order which requires many institutions and agencies to stem it down. In ancient times, religious leaders organized themselves in councils to manage conflict within their domain, such as: Incest taboo, land dispute, communal clashes and marital disputes (Umoh, 2013). In the same vein, the modern era was characterized by religious leaders who use their religious influence to exert control on the political leaders or the noble class. This is because these leaders were seen as God's representative here on earth. But in the contemporary era, religious leadership is concerned more with the increasing number of social ills and crisis that rocks our social system, such as: communal land disputes, ethno-religious crisis, divorce, insurgency, interfaith crisis etc. All this affects societal growth and makes conflict management a difficult task for religious leaders (Gidden, 2015, Otite&Ogionwe, 2012).

Consequently, it is important to resolve violent conflicts to prevent these conflicts from diverting attention from issues of development. Historically, the first and second world wars resulted in massive destruction of property and human life and a decrease in levels of socio-economic development in poor nations (Blattman& Miguel, 2008). During the Second World War, for instance, about 60 million people died, a new wave of arms race arose and nations like Germany had many properties destroyed (Blattman& Miguel, 2008). Then came the Cold War with its manifestations of proxy and quasi conflicts in developing countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and America. Through conflict, one party attempts to destroy or annihilate or at least reduce to a subordinate position of the other party. Further, though normally violence is associated with conflict, it can occur without it.

In Nigeria, the endemic effect of conflict is detrimental to economic, social and religious wellbeing of a people. The effort to curb or reduce its impact in society is a way of managing conflict. Conflict management which is seen as the application of resolution and stimulation techniques to regulate the level and impact of disruptive conflict within an entity, while harnessing the more positive and constructive aspects of collaboration, cooperation

and compromise has been an issue of concern since human history. It is a process that seeks to remove cognitive barriers to agreement and group synergy. It often covers an array of measures of conflict resolution: problem solving, negotiation, mediation, establishment of security committees, thereby employing super-ordinate goals, expansion of resources, avoidance, smoothing, compromise, authoritative command, and altering the human and structural variables to change the state of most conflict areas (Robbins, 2001: cited by Osisoma, 2004). This has been the case and situation among the Ebonyi and Cross River State over the past 100 years in Nigeria under study. The frequent inter/intra communal conflict between this to two states has been a call for concern as it has disrupted the peace and serenity of inhabitants of rural communities near colonial boundaries. It is hoped that this paper will exhaustively give an in-depth analysis on the causes, effect and provide recommendation for policy formulation

Statement of the problem

In recent times, conflict across communities in Nigeria has assumed a worrisome proportion. As has been observed from empirical evidence that, some peculiar pattern of frontier and boundary-related conflicts exists in some states where such conflicts involve communities from different areas but sharing frontiers and borders as neighbours. States, like Kogi, Anambra, Akwa Ibom, Benue, Enugu, Cross River and Ebonyi, are amongst the states with such communities. In many of such cases, hitherto friendly communities suddenly go up in arms against each other when natural resources are discovered over contestations on whose land such resources are found.

In Nigeria, increasingly becoming are conflicts regarding inter-communal relations, and a common attribute of these conflicts has to do with their confrontational, violent and destructive dimension with attendant consequences on the security of the people. It is however imperative to note that “there is a radical shift from the idea of security that is state-based to that of security that is focused on the people’s welfare, hence, human security” (Adedoyin, 2013:455). This is to say that, ‘security’ has gone past protection of the lives and properties of the people against threats of external aggression, but now includes the protecting of citizens from the threats of diseases, hunger, unemployment, drug abuses and trafficking, psychological disorders, violations of human rights, displacements and shelter problems, conflicts, political repression and environmental degradation. This study of conflict between Amagu in Ikwo Local Government in Ebonyi and Adadama community of Abi Local Government Area in Cross River State, has left in its wake, devastating and grievous consequences that infringe on the human security of the people of these communities and the state in general. Thus, the focus of this paper is to examine the impact of inter-communal conflicts on human security in Ebonyi state, using the Amagu inter conflict and Ipulo community/Ndiagu/Ndukuwe/ Okumeryi intra conflict as case study with the view of proffering viable recommendations imperative to engender peace between these communities and guarantee the security of all human lives.

Through the rise of recent and different forms of inter/intra communal clashes, it is perceived that both state government (Cross River and Ebonyi states), National Boundary Commission, INEC, NPC, traditional leaders, Christian organizations and governments effort have failed overtime in their attempt to induce force toward conflict management in the area. The nature of the conflict often becomes delicate to handle because, in many instances, solving or managing conflict, one of the questions may not bring about a resolution to the

other two. This is made more difficult by the fact that, many local communities may have been marginalized politically, hence any attempt to resolve clashes that revolves around land and boundaries, might be adjudged partial to the benefit of communities with political power or relevance.

However, it may also been seen that INEC in recent times conducted election in the Igbo communities living around Cross River State perimeter boundary in favour of one state(Ebonyi) and the NPC who in 2006 conducted census in Igbo communities living in Perimeter boundaries of Cross River State still in favour of Ebonyi. This has generated more conflict as indigenes feels both INEC/NPC are in collaboration National Boundary Commission to shift the perimeter boundary of Cross River State against the Macpherson boundary of 1926 and Cooks 1933 AB Award in favour of Cross River State boundary lines as lamented by community members. In the same vain, it could be seen that the disputed land between Amagu community in Ebonyi state and Adadama in Cross River State who have been at the zenith of crises may have belong to Cross River State (Adadama community) but effort by NBC to have shared the land into three, awarding two parts to Cross River while one to Ebonyi did not favoured the principle of 'Give And Take' a claim by Cross River State. The claim is in line with agreement Pillars of 1920 by Mr G. G. Shute, an Assistant District Officer of the Old Afikpo Division. It may be seen that, the lopsided judgment of NPC, INEC and NBC may have contributed to the constant inter/intra communal conflict between these two states.

Furthermore, in order to curb the ever increasing conflict among rural communities in the two states, religious leaders have made several efforts setting up internal security committees across the disputant communities in the area which involves around religious leaders from the Christian Faith and Traditional religious leaders to address these increasing menace. Furthermore, other techniques or measures such as reconciliation, negotiation, mediation and dialogue had often been adopted. In recent times, due to the reoccurrence of communal conflict in the area, a collective group of religious leaders/traditional leaders adopted the deterrence theory per individual in a way to curb the increasing wave of communal conflicts. In spite of these punitive measures, there is still increase in communal unrest in the area. Between these two states, ten local government had been of this constant inter/intra communal conflict. These local government areas such as Izzi in Ebonyi versus Yala in Cross River, Abakiliki in Ebonyi and Obubra in Cross River, Ikwo in Ebonyi versus Obubra in Cross River, Ikwo in Ebonyi versus Abi in Cross River State and Afikpo in Ebonyi versus Biase in Cross River State.

It is against this backdrop the research seeks to investigate different conflict management techniques and measures adopted to solve such increasing problem between the two states. As such, the study seeks to answer questions such as; what are the main causes of communal conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi State? In what ways does National boundary Commission, Independent National Electoral Commission and National Population Commission mediated to end the communal conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi State? What effort has the two states made internally to resolve this conflict? What has been the role of traditional religious leaders in conflict resolution among these two states? These questions shall be provided answers at the end of the study.

Objectives of the study

The broad objective of the study is to investigate Inter/intra state communal conflict and conflict management in Cross River and Ebonyi States of Nigeria. Specifically, the study sought to:

1. Examine the causes of communal conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi states of Nigeria
2. Examine the role of National Boundary Commission on conflict management between Cross River and Ebonyi States
3. Evaluate the internal efforts by Cross River state government and Ebonyi to end the conflict between warring communities
4. Examine the role of traditional religious leaders in conflict management and resolution between Cross River and Ebonyi States
5. Examine the effect of communal conflict on human lives and property
6. Provide recommendations that will help address the long lasting conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi states

Structural strain theory

Robert Merton developed the structural strain theory as an extension of functionalism. Deviance is traced to tensions caused by the gap between cultural goals and the means people have available to achieve the goals (Andersen & Taylor, 2009). Societies are characterized by both culture and social structure. Culture sets goals while social structures design ways to attain goals. In a well-integrated society, people adopt accepted and appropriate strategies to attain societal goals. Here, the goals and means of the society are in balance. When both goals and means are not balanced, deviance occurs. This imbalance between cultural goals and structurally available means lead individual into crime or act of violence. In Nigeria, economic success is a goal that everybody strives for. The legitimate means to economic success are education and jobs. The youth and other socially disadvantaged groups do not have equal access to these means because of their socio economic status. The result is structural strain that produces conflict. They experience these strains because they aim for the same goals as the rest of society, but their opportunities for success are blocked due to poverty and unemployment. Thus, they turn to conflict and deviance as a way to achieve economic success.

In the two states, the structural strains in most rural communities cause by high level of youth unemployment, lack of vocational skill training for sustainable youth employment as well as high level of youth illiteracy result in incessant communal conflict and wars in the area. This negates the very essence of collective consciousness and a peaceful society for social and economic development.

Causes of Communal Conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi States

Nigeria since pre-colonial times has witnessed series of inter-kingdom dynastic feuds and inter-communal conflicts due to her complex socio-cultural structure defined by a high number of ethnic nationalities and language groups. Inter/intra-communal conflict is thus, not a new phenomenon; only that there has been a rising wave of this conflict in the last two decades in different areas of the country, and as Alimba (2014: 179) states, "there is no part of the country that is spared from its ugly deficiencies".

Generally in Africa and particularly in Nigeria, the causes of inter-communal conflicts are often land, chieftaincy and boundary disputes. However, Alimba (2014: 188) summarily avers that the causes of communal conflict are economic, social, political, ecological and colonial. For Albert (2001) community conflicts are caused by four possible factors- competition for inadequate (or perceived to be inadequate) resources; contradicting values systems (religious beliefs, ideological positions and general worldview); psychological needs of groups and individuals; and manipulation of information. The consequences of violent communal conflicts are most times far-reaching; cutting across all spheres of the human live. Massive loss of lives and destruction of properties are often recorded, displacement of people, breakdown of economic activities and indeed, disruption of the individual and the community's daily pattern of life are usually experienced.

Since the creation of the two states (Cross River and Ebonyi), there has been series of conflict and inter/intra communal boundary disputes. This conflict often leads to destruction of lives and property and poses a threat to the development of warring communities. This is exemplified in 2012-2013. This period ignited the long-standing land disagreements in Abi sometimes turned violent. In January 2013, Amagu community in Ikwo LGA in neighboring Ebonyi State reportedly clashed with Adadamacommunities in Abi. Notable among the numerous inter-communal conflicts witnessed across the nation are the Cross Rive- Ebonyi and Cross River State. The following are remote cause of the problem

- i. Boundary dispute/Expansion of Land Policy
- ii. Indigene-settler conundrum;
- iii. Politics; economic resources;
- iv. Biased historical information;
- v. Inter-personal conflict;
- vi. Abuse of power;
- vii. Socio-cultural factors;
- viii. Political marginalization;
- ix. Boundary adjustment;
- x. The state position on the matters;
- xi. Self-determination by both state and tribes culminated to the prolonged conflict (Oji et al, 2014; Onwe et al, 2015).

However, the genesis of the conflict can also be subdivided into remote and immediate causes. A common denominator in all of these colonial boundaries and Decree No. 23 of 1985 Boundary Line is that certain Ibo communities were officially ceded into Administrative Native Authorities or Local Government Areas that today constitute Cross River State. These Ibo Communities officially ceded into CRS situate mainly in Osobong Clan of Obubra LGA and South-Ukelle Clan of Yala LGA.

To be specific and in respect of Ibo villages in Osobong Clan, the Federal Military Government's Views on the Report of the Boundary Adjustment Commission of 1976 in Sections 34 & 35 @ pp 8 — 9 clearly spelt out how and why these Ibo villages were ceded into Osopong Clan of Obubra LGA; and I quote:-

Section 34:

The Osopong Clan consisting of twenty-two villages claim to be Mbembe tribe in Obubra Division. The Commission was urged that the Osopongs owned the land in all the villages and had a common history and origin with the people of Cross River State which the Clan already belonged. To merge it with Anambra State would be undesirable for it would place the clan in an untenable minority situation vis-a-vis the Ibo majority. In favour of Anambra State, the Commission was informed that three Izzi villages, now in Cross River State wanted to be merged with Anambra State.

They are:-

- (i) Ofena-Edda in Edda*
- (ii) Offia Oji in Ikpuitame*
- (iii) Obeaju/Ibon in Amchia*

There was rioting in this explosive area in 1974. In the interest of peace, they should be transferred to Anambra State. Besides the boundary between the two states should be at Anyiem River.

Section 35

The Commission found that the Osopongs of Obubra Division and Ikwo in Ezzikwo Division in Abakaliki had a known boundary which had been accepted for over fifty years. It (is) recommended that this boundary which puts the three Izzi villages in Cross River State should continue to be the accepted boundary.

Government accepts this recommendation.

Whereas, the Izi Communities in South-Ukele, Yala LGA of CRS are:-

- i. Ndiagu*
- ii. Ndukwe*
- iii. Okumenyi*

The sad reality is that these Ibo communities within Cross River State perimeter boundary polygon are presently seeking self-determination, as well as a geographical and administrative union with their kit and kin across the border in Ebonyi State.

The immediate causes of boundary crises are discussed under following sub-headings. Presently, the agitation for self-determination has taken a militant colouration drawing its energy from Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) Movement. To further compound the situation, the agitation for self-determination is receiving active support from the Government and people of Ebonyi State.

Support from Government of Ebonyi State for self-determination agitations is hydra headed and presents itself in various forms, namely:

- (i) Ebonyi State Govt dangerously meddling in the internal politics and administration of Cross River State by way of creating phony villages, clans, chiefdoms and council wards for the Ibo villages officially ceded into Cross River State previously mentioned above.
- (ii) The refusal of Govt of Ebonyi State to condemn the activities of marauding armed Izzi militias who invade and take over public infrastructures built, owned and funded by Cross River State Government such as primary & post-primary schools, hospitals & clinics, Police Posts etc. Example, Cross River State Govt Primary and Post-Primary Schools in Ndiagu, Ndukwe and Okumenyi villages in South-Ukelle Clan of Yala LGA.
- (iii) Govt of Ebonyi State giving official recognition to Cross River State Govt public infrastructures invaded and occupied by Izzi armed militias

These outline reasons are the root causes of the everlasting and unresolved conflict between Cross River/Ebonyi. The factors are constant contributions to the loss of lives and properties in the two states

Role of National Boundary Commission in Conflict Management between Cross River and Ebonyi States

Proposed Alignment of Cross River/Ebonyi Inter State Boundary

1. Your Excellency would please recall the concerted efforts on the part of the Federal Government and the States to resolve the lingering Cross River/Ebonyi interstate boundary dispute. You would agree with me that whatever needs to be done should be done to allow peace return to the border communities
2. The last Joint of Official held at Abuja on 30th June, 2006 could not agree on the grey areas. The meeting resolved that the National Boundary Commission should take cognizance of previous deliberations and available records to propose a boundary line for the consideration of the States
3. Accordingly, I am pleased to forward the proposal on the boundary for your consideration as follows:

The proposed boundary starts from the tripartite point of Benue. Cross River and Ebonyi States and runs along the Anyim River up to an un-named Creek opposite CR 23 coordinates which are 06° 17'N, 08° 28'E, in the (Obubra/Abakaliki-Ikwo sector), thence it follows the Creek to point CR 023, thence the boundary follows the tracing from CR 23 to CR 67 (at the confluence of Ogborogbo Creek and the Cross River), see annex I (map A) thence the boundary follows the Cross River to CR 071 in the (Abi/Ikwo sector), thence the boundary follows a straight

line joining CR071 to CR078, thence the boundary follows CR079 to the end as delineated. See annex II (map B).

NB: This proposed line puts the three Izzi villages in Cross River State as recommended by Justice Mamman Nasir Boundary Adjustment Commission Commission in 1976 and accepted by Federal Government white paper The proposed line shares the disputed farm land in the Abi/Ikwo sector between the States.

- 4 As Your Excellency may wish to note, the solution to the boundary dispute must imbibe the spirit of give and take to attain a lasting peace. The people must be enlightened on the essence of boundaries and the need to allow peace to reign amongst the communities.
- 5 It was also agreed at the last meeting, that the reactions of the States to this proposal to be submitted to the National Boundary Commission shall
- 6 Please accept, Your Excellency the assurances of my highest esteem, always.

DAHIRU BOBBO, OFR
Director - General

CC:

The Deputy Governor
Government House
Calabar.

Above for your information and necessary action, please.

DAHIRU BOBBO, OFR
Director - General

DRAFT REPLY

**The Director General,
National Boundary Commission,
The Presidency, Ague Ironsi Street,
Maitama-Abuja**

Re: Proposed Alignment of Cross River/Ebonyi Interstate Boundary

I write in reference to your letter dated 13th July, 2006 on the above subject matter. Your proposal for the alignment of Cross River/Ebonyi interstate boundary is not acceptable.

The National Boundary Commission in an attempt to resolve this dispute has rather complicated the issue. The spirit of give and take as far as this dispute is concerned does

not arise since Cross River State all along has provided proofs of her claims backed up by screened documents which have never been in doubt.

You will recall our misgivings and protests over the handling of assignment by the Joint Field Team.

Perhaps it is necessary at this point to take you through memory lane and remind you of our earlier submissions on the dispute. The Cross River State boundary claim against Ebonyi State is backed up by many documents was submitted to National Boundary Commission. These documents, most of which were obtained from the National Archives were subjected screening by the joint field team and finally accepted for use in the determination of the boundary.

These included the following:

1. Arbitration Ordinance (Cook's Arbitration Award of March, 1933) on Izzi — Ntrigom — Osopong Boundary (Appendix I)
2. Boundary description of Izzi (Igbagu-Amachi) — Ntrigom — Osopong Arbitration Award of March, 1933. (Appendix H)
3. Map showing the Izzi (Igbagu — Amachi) — Ntrigom — Osopong boundary line from Abe River (pillar A) to Amachi (pillar B) (Appendix III)
4. Letter from District Officer, Abakaliki to District Officer, Ogoja on "Awkum Land" Ref. No. AB:330/10 of 5th June, 1942 (Appendix IV)
5. Extract of Intelligent Reports on the Izzi Clan, Abakaliki Division, by Mr. J.G.C. Allen, A.D.O. Ref. No. OG: 719 (Appendix IVA)
6. Re: "Izzi people in South Ukelle" (a letter from the District Officer, Ogoja Division to the Resident, Ogoja Province. Ref. No. 0/367/58 of 6th November, 1937" (Appendix V)
7. Letter from Ukumenyi-Izzi Community in Yala L.G.A. confessing the removal of boundary pillars by unknown persons (Appendix VI)
8. Newspaper (Nigerian Chronicle: 15th Feb; 1976) publication affirming the position of Izzi communities in South Eastern State (Appendix VII)
9. Tenancy agreements and receipts of payments, rents/tributes in land transactions between South Ukelle (landlords) and the Izzi (tenants). Appendix VIII)
10. Map of Anambra Division (1976) and South Eastern State (1968), map of Eastern Nigeria, 1966)
11. Gazetteer of Place Names on map of Nigeria (colony and protectorate of Nigeria), 1949 Ed (This shows Mfuma, Ijama and Benekaba all of South Ukelle as being in Ogoja Division and Province. See pp. 21, 59 and 93 respectively) (Appendix X)
12. Federal Military Government's view on the Report of the Boundary Adjustment Commission. Justice Maman Nasir's Report (Appendix XI)
13. Cross River and Akwa Ibom States population Bulletin (1983 — 90). See pp. 90, 113, and 114 (Appendix XII)

14. National Population Commission: Final results of 1991 population census of Nigeria (CRS). This document shows South Ukelle villages to be in Cross River State (Appendix XIIB).
15. Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette No.56, vol. 77 of 25th September, 1990 (Local Government: Delimitation of Electoral Wards Notice 1990.) (Appendix XIII)
16. The Report on the Duncan Boundary Demarcation of 1910 (National Archive document (No.AB:68/1937/33).
17. Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria Judgment in Suit No. FSC 210/1959.
18. High Court of Eastern Nigeria Judgment in Suit No. E13/57.
19. The Report of Mr. Cook, A. E. (A.D.C.) Boundary tracing of 1933 (see National Archives Document (No.AB:68/1937/33).

All these documents and others not listed here were screened and accepted for the field tracing exercise.

It is worthy of note to re-emphasise to you that the villages of South Ukelle which you propose to cede to Ebonyi State have always been part of Cross River State. Various court judgements have confirmed the Cook's Arbitration Award of 1933 which has never been upturned at any time. The State's hospitality to accommodate the Izzi people on our land should NOT be used to rob of the land. The ownership of the land by the Ukelle people has never been doubt. The Izzis has confessed to this. Payment of ground rent is enough proof of this fact. It should be noted here that South Ukelle had been part of Mbebe group of villages right from colonial era. Ukelle had also been rightly placed in the former Ogoja Province. The people of South Ukelle have all along been administered from Ogoja Province even before the creation of states in Nigeria in 1967. In fact this has been so from 1933. The creation of states in Nigeria became necessary in order to solve the problem of minorities in the country. South Ukelle being a minority in the then Eastern Nigeria could NOT have been put in the same state with the Ibo majority in the former East Central State. South and North Ukelle were even constituted into a Touring Area in the former South Eastern State and later upgraded to a Local Government status in Cross River State in 1981. This Local Government Area, unfortunately, was dissolved by the Military in 1983. South Ukelle, just as the Osopongs of Obubra Local Government, has always had a known boundary with the Izzis of Ebonyi State. This has never been in doubt. The Izzis living in Cross River State have confirmed this with the attached tenancy agreements with their South Ukelle land lords. To change this boundary, as the National Boundary Commission is trying to do, would bring unprecedented unrest ever witnessed in this state. The arbitrations based on which the boundary was determined by the colonial masters have never been challenged and cannot be brushed aside by the Commission. To suggest that South Ukelle should be conceded to Ebonyi state is, to say the least, a travesty of justice.

CROSS RIVER STATE/EBONYI POSITION

The import of the proposal is that nothing has been done to resolve the dispute. This takes us back to square one. This action is a clear bias with which National Boundary Commission had handled the dispute and which we had complained of several times in past.

To suggest that South Ukelle should be ceded to Ebonyi "in the spirit of give and take" would mean giving up more than 30 villages of Cross River State for no reason. In any case, which villages has Ebonyi given to Cross River State?

The state stand is that National Boundary Commission must be seen to be an impartial arbiter and not to create more problems for the states. We stand by our submissions. However, Ebonyi State firmly agrees to the ceding of South Ukelle to her state

Governor's Office Calabar
Cross River State
July, 2006

A Memorandum on the internal efforts by Cross River State Government and Ebonyi State to end the Conflict between Warring Communities and Local Government Area

The agreement as focused on Adadama Community in Abi Local Government Area (LGA) of Cross River State which had a common inter-state boundary with Ikwo LGA of Ebonyi State. The boundary was demarcated in 1920 with concrete pillars during the British Rule in Nigeria as an inter-tribal/Divisional boundary between Agbo clan (made up of Adadama, Itigidi and Ekureku communities, the Legbo-speaking people) in the Old Afikpo Division and Ikwo Clan (which comprised Okpitumo and Amagu Communities, the Igbo-speaking group) in Abakaliki Division. Both Divisions were under the administration of the Old Ogoja Province. Presently, Ogoja is a Local Government in Cross River State.

Subsequent administrative changes/transitions from Regional Governments to State administration following States' creations never altered the inter-tribal/Divisional boundary between the Old Agbo Clan (now in Abi LGA of Cross River State) and the Ikwo Clan (presently named Ikwo LGA of Ebonyi State). At the Adadama/Ikwo axis of the colonial boundary, the Adadamas and the Ikwos had co-existed as friendly neighbours for many decades with mutual respect for the ancient Divisional boundary. While the Okpitumo-Ikwo people maintains the cordial relationship with Adadama till date, the Amagu-Ikwo people (who had expanded their territory by conquering and settling on part of the Okpitumo land along the border) have in recent years disputed the ancient boundary which has existed for over ninety (90) years in attempt to further expand their territory this time, to Adadama. These expansionist tendencies of Amagu people have resulted in sporadic clashes between them and their Adadama neighbours necessitating interventions by Government to restore peace.

However, the peace had never been long-lasting because of inherent fraudulent, hostile and expansionist propensity of the Amagu people. The National Boundary Commission (NBC) mandated by Law to retrace and re-establish existing boundaries using available instruments/evidences appears to have failed in its responsibility. The NBC has over-

stepped its mandate by attempting to create a new boundary, ceding part of Adadama farm land to Amagu without evidential justification. Disregard of facts presented by Adadama/Cross River State by the NBC and intrigues of Amagu people vis-à-vis Ikwo Local Government Council and Ebonyi State Government to fraudulently expand their territories, have prolonged the resolution of the boundary dispute and restoration of peace. Also, changes in the leadership of the two States and NBC, infrequent meetings by stakeholders as well as improper record keeping are militating factors.

To facilitate objective and speedy resolution of the dispute which had claimed many lives in the present dispensation, it is imperative to furnish the leadership/officials of the two States and NBC (who were not participants of the resolution process from the onset) with facts of the matter and past resolution efforts. This is the essence of the Memo by Adadama Community which had participated in the process over the years at all levels of Government and had presented relevant documents/evidences.

Historical background of Adadama and Ikwo (Abi/Abakelike LGAs)

- i. The Adadama /Ikwo boundary was demarcated with concrete pillars in 1920 by Mr. G. G. Shute, an Assistant District Officer of the old Afikpo Division. The demarcation was sequel to an Agreement endorsed by the Elders and Chiefs of Adadama and Okpitemo at the instance of Mr. Shute "to accept the boundary as permanent and final" in case of future dispute. The Agreement was counter-signed by the Resident of Ogoja Province, Mr. S. W. Sprooton. The Shute boundary Map, the Agreement and pillars on ground are evidence.
- ii. Mr. Shute demarcated the boundary during creation of Divisions and Provinces (for administrative convenience) by the Nigeria Colonial Masters (the British Government). The Shute boundary was the Divisional Boundary between Afikpo Division (inclusive of Agbo Clan made up of Adadama, Itigidi and Ekureku Communities) and Abakaliki Division (which included Ikwo Clan comprising Okpitemo and Amagu Communities) and both Divisions were in the then Ogoja Province. Map of Agbo Clan in Afikpo Division showing the Divisional boundary with Ikwo Clan in Abakaliki Division is an existing proof. Another evidence is an Intelligence Report on the Agbo Clan, Afikpo Division written by an Assistant District Officer, T. G. Connell in 1936; it was reported that under British Rule, "in 1920, Mr. G. G. Shute, Assistant District Officer with the assistance of a half company of troops, settled and demarcated the boundary between Ikwo and Agbo".
- iii. Records show that in the 1920 when the Shute boundary Agreement and demarcation was made, Amagu people never settled at the border area of the Divisional Boundary now in dispute. Okpitemo (Ikwo) people were the inhabitants of the area on the Ikwo Clan side of the Divisional Boundary, while, Adadama people inhabited the Agbo clan side of the boundary, hence, Mr. Shute caused the Agreement to be made between the

two neighbours (Adadama and Okpitumo). As at then, the Amagu people only possessed a small forest called Ekerikwo lying towards a creek of the Cross River called the Ledumazi creek from which Mr. Shute took the bearing of the boundary survey. The Adadama/Ikwo boundary has existed for over ninety (90) years without any protest from Amagu people. They did not attempt to challenge it even in their native court which is an indication of the acceptability of the boundary to both the Adadamas and the Ikwos in general.

- iv. Also, available records show that in 1936, Amagu people conquered part of the Okpitumo land through an inter-communal war. Following the partial displacement of Okpitumo, the Amagu people set up farm settlements on the conquered Okpitumo land which in recent times, transformed to villages called Ochienyim, Akahufu, ObeaguOmege, Umu-Omara and Ekerikwo collectively called Ndiagu Amagu autonomous community of Ikwo LGA. These new settlements did not trespass the Shute boundary instead, they established friendly relationship with their Adadama neighbours.
- v. The displacement of Okpitumo and forceful occupation of her land by their Amagu brothers resulted in a protracted Court case in the Ikwo Clan Court. One of the exhibits tendered in the Court was a Survey Plan of the land in dispute between Okpitumo and Amagu. The plan was made in 1939 by a Licensed Surveyor who depicted the Shute boundary line of 1920 with concrete pillars points in the Survey Plan as the Southern limit of the land in dispute between the two Ikwo Communities: Okpitumo and Amagu. Also, the survey plan indicated the locations of Okpitumo land and Amagu land on one side of the Shute /Divisional Boundary and Adadama land on the other side of the boundary. The ten (10) pillar points of the Shute Boundary were clearly depicted on the boundary line terminating at the Ledumazi creek of the Cross River States.
- vi. Initially, the Amagu people, on their new settlement, were friendly to Adadama as they served as the main source of farm labour to their already established Adadama neighbours. Adadama men married some of the Amagu women for their industry in farm labour. Cross-border trade and cultural activities existed harmoniously. Leasing of farmland by the Adadama landlords to their Amagu in-laws was a common practice. Palm wine, kola nuts and tubers of yam were offered as tribute to the Adadama land owners. At this period, the Shute/Divisional boundary with its pillars remained intact and were respected by both the Okpitumo and Amagu Communities.
- vii. The harmonious relationship between Adadama and Amagu existed up to 1986; but, by 1987, the relationship began to strain due to surreptitious destruction of the Shute boundary pillars and encroachment by resident of Amagu at the boundary axis between Adadama and Amagu (Ikwo) while the Okpitumo (Ikwo) axis remain peaceful and intact. The destruction of pillars and encroachment became more pronounced in 1996 sequel to the creation of Ebonyi State from Enugu and Abia

States whereas the State creation did not alter the ancient boundary between Agbo clan and Ikwo clan.

Attempts made to Maintain Peace between Adadama and Amagu (Ikwo)

- i. In 1987, the then Obubra LGA of Cross River State in which Agbo Clan was placed initiated peace meetings with Ikwo LGA of the old Anambra State (when Ebonyi State was not created) to maintain peace between Adadama and Amagu following skirmishes due to encroachment into Adadama farmland by the Amagu people. Records show that the meetings were always well attended by Officials and Leaders of the two LGAs and communities. Trespassers into Adadama farmlands were sanctioned. A case in point as recorded in one of the minutes of meetings was that of one Mr. Philip Nwite of Ochienyim village (Amagu) who was convicted at Obubra Court and sentenced for one year (with option of one hundred naira, N100) fine for trespassing into Adadama farmland. He paid the one hundred naira (100) option of fine.
- ii. In 1996, following the creation of Ebonyi State the peace meeting became institutionalized by the paramount chiefs of Adadama and Amagu, their Royal Highnesses, Eval Fidelis I. Addu, Lezekpakor V. of Adadama and Eze Dominic I. Aloh, the Erim-Ogwudu III of Amagu-Ikwo who are still alive till date. They jointly founded and became patrons of an Association called Adadama-Amagu Development Association (abridged ADAMADA) with a mandate to maintain peace between Adadama and Amagu Communities. The ADAMADA Peace Committee held regular meetings with a lot of festivities indicative of peaceful co-existence; and venues were rotated between Adadama and Amagu villages. Recalcitrant members of the communities especially the Amagu people who destroyed boundary pillars or engaged in other criminal activities were made to pay fines which became a source of income for the Association. The "ADAMADA Peace Committee" significantly maintained peace between the two communities. Minutes of meetings kept in a Minutes Notebook are evident.
- iii. Subsequently, the "ADAMADA Peace Committee" became dormant due to absence of funding by the local government authorities. Amagu people took advantage of the inactivity of the ADAMADA to perpetrate crimes including destruction of pillars, encroachment, indiscriminate bush burning, forest destruction, stealing from farms and ponds. We have copies of our official reports to Government on these criminal activities of Amagu on Adadama land. Many of the cases were incidented in police records.
- iv. In 2001, the "ADAMADA Peace Committee" was revived by the Chairmen of Abi LGA, Cross River State and Ikwo LGA, Ebonyi State with a mandate to restore peace sequel to a clash between the two communities. The Committee was jointly chaired by the Vice Chairmen of Abi and Ikwo LGAs and was instructed to retrace the existing Adadama/Ikwo boundary and to return pillars that were removed during the crisis to their original positions. Like the previous ADAMADA, meetings

were held regularly in convivial atmosphere with the venues in rotation between the two communities. Proceedings, reports, communiqué and fieldwork during which pillars were returned were covered in long-hand minutes and video which are still available as evidences. In all the ADAMADA Peace Committee meetings, police and the State Security Service Officials were always in attendance.

Proofs in Support of the Existence of the Adadama/Ikwo Ancient Boundary

- i. Written agreement between the Elders and Chiefs of Adadama and Okpitumo (Ikwo) in 1920 at the instance of Mr. G. G. Shute (Assistant District Officer in-charge of Ikwo Boundary Demarcation escort). The Agreement was counter-signed by the Resident of Ogoja Province, Mr. S. W. Sproston on 20th April, 1920. The two communities agreed to accept the boundary as permanent and final farm boundary in the event of disputes that may arise in future.
- ii. G. G. Shute Survey Plan/Map of 1920 which traced, demarcated and monumented the boundary with concrete pillars.
- iii. A survey Plan by a Licensed Surveyor dated 11th October, 1939 which retraced and surveyed the Shute boundary line with concrete pillar points as Southern limit of a parcel of land in dispute between two Ikwo Communities of Okpitumo and Amagu. This Survey Plan was tendered in Ikwo Clan court as an exhibit. The lands of Adadama, Okpitumo and Amagu were clearly delineated on the Survey Plan.
- iv. Map of Agbo Clan (comprising Adadama, Ekureku and Itigidi Communities) in the old Afikpo Division Showing Divisional and Clan boundaries between the Agbo clan in Afikpo Division and Ikwo clan (comprising Okpitumo and Amagu) in Abakaliki Division. The Divisional Boundary was the G.G. Shute boundary of 1920.
- v. Official Gazette of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1985 No. 61 vol. 72 including Decree No. 23 of 1985 which transferred the governance of Agbo Clan (Adadama, Ekureku and Itigidi) from the old Afikpo Local Government Area of the old Imo State to Obubra Local Government Area of Cross River State in accordance with the recommendation of Kaloma Ali Boundary Ascertainment Commission of 1983.
- vi. Technical report of Surv. J. O. Akinyemi-led Joint Field Team appointed by the National Boundary Commission in 1998 to retrace the Cross River /Ebonyi Interstate Boundary. The Field work was completed in 2000 and the Report presented in 2005. The Report stated that ten (10) boundary pillars/controls were found insitu along the Adadama/Ikwo boundary line and their respective positions determined by GPS. Although, some of the pillars were later removed by Amagu people during intermittent Adadama/Amagu boundary crises, NBC can use the GPS data to locate the position of the pillars in re-tracing and re-establishing the boundary.
- vii. Intelligence Report on Agbo Clan, Afikpo Division by District Officer T.G. Connell dated 1936 in which he stated in page 10A that under British Rule, "in 1920 Mr. G.G. Shute, Assistant District Officer, with the assistance of a half company of troops, settled and demarcated the boundary between Ikwo and Agbo"
- viii. A letter, reference NO. AP.468/68 of 14th April, 1938 written by the District Officer of Abakaliki Division to the Resident, Ogoja Province, Ogoja captioned "Petition from

one NgeleEzoka and 4 others of Amagu (Ikwo) re-unlawful arrest and detention"._ In paragraph 2 of the letter which was a report on the Okputumo-Amagu land dispute, the District Officer made reference to the G.G. Shute boundary quoted as "from Mr. Shute Ikwo - Igbo - Adadama boundary - Ukawu Map, compiled in 1920 from which I have taken the boundary line on the map, it is evident that Amagu were already penetrating from the South into the disputed area, though they were not at that time actually living there" this evidence affirms the fact that the G. G. Shute boundary between Ikwo and Adadama existed long before Amagu people settled at the border area after they had displaced the Okpitumo people, the original inhabitants through inter-communal war in 1936.

- ix. Minutes of Peace meetings dated 9th July, 1987 and 25th June, 1987 between Adadama (of former Obubra LGA, Cross River State) and Ochienyim village of Ikwo LGA then in Anambra State (before Ebonyi was created in 1996). In these meetings, at the instance of the Officials of the Obubra and Ikwo LGAs one Mr. Philip Nwite of Ochienyim (Amagu-Ikwo) was found guilty of trespass into Adadama farmland. He was prosecuted at Obubra Court and convicted for one year or to pay option of one hundred naira (N100) fine. The boundary was inspected and beacons were found by the Joint Peace Committee.
- x. Minutes of meetings of Adadama-Amagu Development Association (abridged as ADAMADA) inaugurated in 1996 to maintain peace between Adadama and Amagu. The Amagu people (especially the Ochienyim village) were always guilty of pillar destruction, encroachment and stealing of fishes from ponds in Adadama forest reserve.
- xi. Communiqué of Peace Talk between Adadama (Abi LGA, Cross River State) and Amagu (Ikwo LGA, Ebonyi State) at the instance of the Chairmen of the LGAs held on 26th March, 2001 following a clash between the two communities. The communique was endorsed by the chairmen of the two LGAs, representatives of Ebonyi state Governor, the Area Commanders of Police in both States, Divisional Police Offices (DPOs) and State Security Service in both LGAs as well as Adadama and Amagu community representatives. At this meeting both parties agreed that Amagu people should return the pillars they had removed from the Adadama/Ikwo boundary under the supervision of the ADAMADA Peace Committee chaired by Vice Chairmen of the LGAs.
- xii. Minutes of Series of meetings held by the ADAMADA Peace Committee in 2001 in which issues of encroachment, pillar destruction, indiscriminate bush burning, deforestation of Adadama forest reserve, stealing of farm crops and poaching from Adadama ponds by Amagu people were reported and the culprits sanctioned.
- xiii. Report of the ADAMADA Peace Committee dated 13th September, 2001 indicating the retracing of the Adadama /Ikwo boundary and return of boundary pillars removed by Amagu people. This Report was forwarded to the Chairmen of both Abi and Ikwo LGAs who appointed the Peace Committee.
- xiv. An Addendum to the Report of ADAMADA Peace Committee made in a meeting dated 25th October, 2001 held at Ochienyim playground, Amagu-Ikwo stating that Akahufu

people of Amagu had returned a boundary beacon/pillar previously removed by them. This addendum was signed by Chief Jacob I. E. Smokes (Chairman, ADAMADA Peace Committee) from Adadama community, Chief Andrew Ogar (Vice Chairman, ADAMADA) and Hon. Jimmy Igwe (Secretary, ADAMADA) both from Amagu community. Representatives of both Adadama, Amagu and Security operatives witnessed the return of the pillar and acknowledged it in writing.

- xv. Notice of fieldwork by the ADAMADA Peace Committee dated 11th May, 2001 and endorsed by the Secretary of the Committee (Hon. Jimmy N. Igwe of Amagu) for **ADAMADA Peace Committee** to embark on replacement of removed beacons and re-tracing of the Adadama/Amagu (lkwo) boundary.
- xvi. Video clips showing series of meetings and fieldwork by the ADAMADA Peace Committee in which Amagu people returned removed pillars and their former paramount chief, HRH EzeUkwaOgbu, the Ogudu II of NicliaguAmagu (now late) confessed the existence of colonial boundary with pillars between Adadama and lkwo.
- xvii. A letter from ADAMADA Peace Committee addressed to the National Boundary Commission dated 30th April, 2002 requesting the Commission to retrace the Adadama/lkwo boundary.
- xviii. Court proceeding at the Magistrate Court, Itigidi, Abi LGA, Cross River State in 2004 (Charge No MIT/86/20010) against five(5) Amagu men prosecuted for bailing Adadama fish pond and stealing fishes from the pond owned by an Adadama family called Itobor and located in the Adadama forest reserve (which Amagu is now disputing). The accused persons were Alexander Itumo, Cletus lyowa, IgweOgboji, Mathew Ituno and UcheItumo, all of Amagu, lkwo.
- xix. Report on Out-of-Court settlement by the ADAMADA Peace Committee dated 4th June, 2004 in respect of the case of Bailing of Pond with charge Number MIT/8C/2004 at Itigidi Magistrate court, Abi LGA preferred against Alexander Itumo and 4 others of Amagu community. The ADAMADA Peace Committee mediated out-of Court, found the accused guilty and were made to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand naira (N25,000) to Chief Rivers Imoh Lebo of Itobor family of Adadama who was the owner of the pond. This is evidence to the fact that the land/forest in which the pond was located belongs to Adadama.
- xx. A position paper presented by Amagu community dated 28th January, 2011 during a Peace Talk between officials of Abi and lkwo LGAs. In the paper, the Amagu people admitted having expansionist tendencies and that they displaced Okpitumo-lkwo community from part of the border area. They now canvass for a baseless and an imaginary new boundary premised on a fabricated fairy tale about a fake covenant allegedly made in 1912.
- xxi. Official reports from Adadama community to Government on encroachment, indiscriminate bush burning, beacon/pillar destruction, wanton deforestation of Adadama forest reserve, stealing of farm crops and fishes from Adadama ponds perpetrated by Amagu people on Adadama land. The letters were dated 16th October,

2000, 5th December, 2000, 297-h March, 2000, 24th February, 2003, 23rd January, 2001 and 5th December, 2006.

- xxii. The above mentioned proofs /evidences had been forwarded to the NBC and the Surveyor-General of Cross River State; we are prepared to represent them when required.

Role of Traditional Religious Leaders in Conflict Management and Resolution between Cross River and Ebonyi States

In a related study by Ademowo and Adekunle (2013) they noted that, religious organization and its leadership have made several efforts to managed conflict as they consider conflict management as part of their leadership cardinal responsibility. Their studies maintained that, religious organizations whether in the ancient, modern or contemporary era have never been bereft of these responsibility or role of maintaining social, especially in their host community. Their studies also identified the problem of religious leadership role to be hinged on: lack of unity of purpose and religious dogma guiding their belief.

Similarly, in their findings, they noted that religious leaderships in the setting of conflict management are with among others, the responsibility of maintaining social order through the following medium.

- Distribution of relief materials to affected victims of disasters, either of war, terrorist attached, battered victims, children, etc in Internally Displace Persons (IDP) camps
- Reconciliation
- Mediation
- Resource mobilization
- Peace building and unity

They noted that one key function of religious leaders of cannon effect and impact is the support they render to victim of war, either inter-tribal or fratricidal war, they also render support to victims of terrorism attacks in internally displaced persons (IDPs) camp from the north east. Given the monumental challenge of curbing with the menace of insurgency, religious leadership in Nigeria have made several attempts to stem down these problems in several ways. For instance, the Islamic council of Nigeria, through a joint submit with Christian Association of Nigeria, intervemed to arrest the situation of civil unrest in southern Kaduna. The effort culminated in providing IDP camps and relief materials to the victims. Ademowo and Adekunle (2013) noted that, one key function of religious leadership to managed conflict is through showing concern and raising a voice of action, by donating to the victims to show care and their non approval by condemning the act in totality. They concluded that, silence to a conflict situation is an indication that they have approved the matter or given consent.

Cardinally, in sociological enterprise, the concept of resource mobilization is the central figure in social engineering efforts. Religious leaders in ages past, have took part in resource mobilization so as to empower their members, this will help to engaged them. This is based on the philosophy that, an idle man is the devils workshop. Therefore, one way to resolve conflict is through resource mobilization, which is achievable through support system or welfare scheme. In Cross River and Ebony States, the subject of religious leadership can be x-rayed from the areas of its function to its indigene, which include:

1. Distribution of relief materials to war victims
2. Reconciliation movement by Christian groups
3. Resource mobilization
4. Peace building and unity

They maintained that, in Cross River and Ebony States, conflicts are mostly resolved by traditional and Christian Religious leaders. In recent study by Oden (2014) titled “cultural conflict contemporary Cross River and Ebony States” the study identified the relationship between Christian religion doctrines and the conflict with the cultural heritage or African traditional religion of Cross River and Ebony States. The study analyzed the factors responsible for the conflict to include: The rise in Christian religion, rapid economic growth, civilization, cultural diffusions’, modernization. This factors count heavily on the recent alteration of Cross River and Ebony States cultural heritage, especially with the globalization of new yam festival, projection Cross River and Ebony States in the face of the universe. All these are strange practices that breed conflict in Cross River and Ebony States thereby rendering the religions institutions important to achieve its aims of maintaining social order (Oden, 2014). Therefore, the literature gap between African traditional religion and conflict management is the paradigm shift between religious values and interpretation of doctrines among religions practices. Again, there exist conflict between ATR and existing Western (Christian) religion that is fast sweeping the entire Cross River and Ebony States land.

Effect of Cross River/Ebony Conflict on Lives and Property

Generally, whatever form conflict takes, it endemic and disastrous to humanity. In most cases conflict could lead to famine, Genocide and ethnic cleansing. Through the Cross River/Ebonyi conflict, most residents near the colonial boundaries have been displaced, lives lost in the process and properties worth millions of Naira destroyed. Ema (2018) noted that through the constant conflict in Cross River and Ebonyi state, many lives and properties have been lost. Severally, the conflict has resulted to loss of lives, communities displaced and a threat to human health. In the year 2018, about thirteen persons have reportedly been killed and two villages razed on a Friday raging of inter- communal conflict between the people of Ukele in Yala Local Government Area of Cross River State and their Izzi neighbors of Ebonyi State. The root cause of this conflict was traced to land disputes from the regional boundary or the common border land dispute which has been a recurring decimal particularly during yam and rice planting seasons. Historically, in this period of event or incidence, many lives have been lost to the conflict since 2003 when it first occurred. The endemic effect of conflict is universal as also applied to Cross River and Ebonyi State. The following are the major and close effect of Cross River and Ebonyi States.

- 1) Food Security:** In Ebonyi state and indeed in Nigeria where majority of its population reside in rural areas, the main occupation is agriculture. Due to this, inter-communal conflicts have had serious negative implications on accessibility and availability of food. Ebonyi state is essentially dominated by peasant agricultural based communities (Mbah & Nwangwu, 2014:685) of which the Ezza and Ezillo communities are not an exception. Since the conflict began, agricultural land, water and social resources for food production, crops, livestock, harvest and food reserves have been destroyed. Vanguard Metro (2012) learnt that hoodlums went into Ezillo community with guns and machetes and destroyed livestock. Scores of people have

migrated to safe areas, living behind their farms and livestock. Vanguard Metro (2012) further reported that the Ezillo market was burnt down and shops razed down, vehicles burnt and other properties destroyed.

- 2) **Health Security:** Hundreds of people have lost their lives and sustained non-fatal injuries as a result of these recurring conflicts by the Ebonyi and Cross River states communities. Also, due to running long distances, many have experienced cardiac arrests as well as other respiratory complications. The increasing numbers of the injured at different times of the conflict also led to overcrowding of the already inadequate and poorly equipped health care centres and hospitals with so much pressure on machines leading to their breakdown as well as the breakdown of health staff working overtime. As a result of the outbreaks of this conflict, pregnant women have experienced miscarriages, some forced to give birth before full term and others have had complications that have left them permanently damaged. Also, there is destruction of health care centres and facilities that are needed for proper health of the people. Some health workers themselves who live in these communities and around are also victims and thus, have fled from their duty posts and moved to other areas of safety.
- 3) **Economic Security;** Economic security is an important component of human security, and it is often threatened by inter-communal conflicts. The none ending conflict between Cross River and Ebonyi has inflicted damages on livelihoods and fractured social structures, formal and informal institutions in both communities. Thus, people have abruptly lost their jobs and have remained unemployed for years.
- 4) **Environmental security:** Fawole (2010:221) avers that, “environmental security requires a healthy physical environment, security from environmental threats such as degradation of the local ecosystem, air and water pollution”. Inter/intra-communal conflicts between Cross River and Ebonyi are huge threats to the security of the environment. Resource depletion is another environmental problem that is affected by this conflict. These communities are blessed with rich agricultural and mineral resources that have been depleted as a result of this conflict over the years. Without the protection of the environment, the security of the citizens is threatened.
- 5) **Personal security:** Personal security is an essential aspect of human security. The indicators of personal security are fear of violence, level of crime, prevention of harassment and gender violence. Gender violence is often prevalent in warring communities of Cross River and Ebonyi; women and young girls are most affected in times of conflict; they are often raped or sexually harassed by both the parties involved in the conflict.
- 6) **Political security:** **Through the frequent Cross River/Ebonyi Conflict,** there have largely been cases of human rights violations in the disputatnt communities. Also, there has been loss of lives which is a violation of the right to live; destruction of properties which is a violation of the right to property; rape, a violation on personal security, etc.
- 7) **Community security:** In times of conflict, there are violations of the integrity of cultures and traditions, loss of languages and values. The Cross Rive/Ebonyi conflict has violated the integrity of their respective communities and the protection of the indigenous people has been eroded

Wayward/Recommendations

- i. Government should make provisions of basic amenities for both communities or most affected in order to forestall further conflicts arising from development inadequacies.
- ii. NBC should revisit the Surv. Akinyemi-led JFT report of 2000 and use the GPS positions of the ten (10) pillars found on ground to retrace and re-established the Adadama/lkwo boundary as the Amagu people have destroyed the remaining pillars during the recent crisis even at the Okpitumo axis which had been intact. The same Report should be applied to re-establish the Cross River /Ebonyi Inter-state boundary at other sectors namely: Obubra/lkwo, Obubra/Abakaliki and Yala /Izzi.
- iii. Principle of give and take does not favour one party state as fronted by NBC, therefore colonial boundary should be re-established
- iv. A permanent military base be established at the Adadama/lkwo border with road network to ease accessibility and surveillance by soldiers as the Amagu people have vowed to displace Adadama once security is relaxed to achieve annexation of the disputed land speculated to be the area Ebonyi State intends to conduct petroleum exploration.
- v. The Amagu people must accept the truth and facts about the G.G. Shute boundary of 1920 between Adadama and lkwo which had existed for 93 years and they never contested it. They should desist from misleading their Local and State Governments with unfounded fairy tales about an imaginary boundary.
- vi. NBC should re-establish/re-beacon the Cross River /Ebonyi Interstate Boundary at Ekureku (Abi LGA) and Aba Omege (Onicha LGA) axis which was defined by the Justice Kaloma All Boundary Ascertainment Commission in 1983 and passed in decree No. 23 of 1985. This boundary was defined in accordance with the G.G. Shute boundary line which extended to the Adadama (Abi LGA)/lkwo LGA axis.
- vii. The public properties that have been destroyed should be rebuilt in both communities. The houses that were destroyed should also be rebuilt and those who lost lives and properties should be adequately compensated.
- viii. The Adadama people should be allowed by the military troops stationed at Adadama and Amagu border areas to harvest the 2012 planting season crops from their farms which could not be harvested due to the crisis. These farms are located at the Adadama-Okpitumo (lkwo) axis of the boundary that had never been in dispute but, was erroneously included in the Buffer zone created by the soldiers. The crops are wasting in the farms while starvation persists in the Adadama community.
- ix. Settlers in disputant areas should be enfranchise but still remain loyal to the culture of indigenes of the disputed or area of present settlement
- x. NBC should use diplomacy to persuade states that have large expand of land donate to states that have little land than to use force
- xi. The Governors and their Deputy Governors should peruse the Memos thoroughly and subsequently convene a special meeting involving two (2) representatives each from Adadama and Amagu to defend claims in their Community Memo.
- xii. Sequel to the Special Meeting, the Governors may convene an Exclusive Meeting with their Deputy Governors to adopt a common boundary based on evidences which is the Cross River State vis-à-vis Adadama claim line amply supported by evidences. This is the Shute's Divisional/inter-tribal boundary between Adadama and lkwo

demarcated in 1920 and retraced by NBC-constituted JFT led by Surv. Akinyemi in 2000.

- i. Finally, the NBC should be requested to retrace and beacon the boundary accordingly. Then after, the Governors may create a buffer zone around the boundary line to ease the recognition of the boundary by the natives. The ADAMADA Peace Committee may be revived to maintain peace and security among the border Communities under the supervision of Abi and Ikwo Local Government Councils.

Conclusion

This paper examined the impact of Inter/intra state communal conflict and conflict management in Cross River and Ebonyi States of Nigeria. The Cross River-Ebonyi communal conflict has brought grave consequences to these people of these communities and Ebonyi. The long lasting conflicts between Adadama/Amagu over land boundary issues have adversely affect the wellbeing of individual or rural people. As colonial boundaries exist and cut across disputant areas, other areas in the two states like Obubra/Ikwo, Obubra/Abakaliki and Yala /Izzi have been worst hits from the creation of the two states. The frequent reoccurrence of violence in both states has eroded security of the people in all ramifications- food and nutrition, health, personal, economic, environmental, political and community. Hence, the Cross River/Ebonyi inter/intra-communal conflict has negatively impacted on the human security of the people, of which some of these impacts are still experienced till present day. Thus, there is need for a joint problem-solving between the Cross River and Ebonyi together with NBC, INEC and NPC to resolve this ever increasing conflict. However, absence of micro level communal agreement between disputant parties has negatively impacted on the wellbeing of rural dwellers.

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