

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE DE LITTÉRATURES,  
LANGUES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES



Université Alassane Ouattara

Two large, curved, light-brown objects, possibly tusks or horns, are positioned symmetrically on either side of the title. They curve upwards and inwards, framing the text. The objects have a textured, slightly mottled appearance.

# LETTRES D'IVOIRE

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# LETTRES D'IVOIRE

## PROTOCOLE DE RÉDACTION

### I- Critères généraux

**Lettres d'Ivoire**, Revue de Littératures, Langues et Sciences Humaines, est une revue scientifique de l'Université de Bouaké. Sa parution est semestrielle. Elle alterne numéro libre et numéro thématique.

Le comité de rédaction de la revue ne publie que des articles originaux de haut niveau qui se rapportent aux Lettres, aux Langues et aux Sciences Humaines et rédigés selon les instructions du présent protocole de rédaction. Tout article qui ne respecte pas les exigences de présentation du protocole ne fera pas l'objet d'examen même si le contributeur s'est acquitté de ses droits.

Chaque article est soumis à un comité de lecture scientifique. Le manuscrit n'est accepté définitivement qu'à la suite d'une évaluation et sous réserve d'une prise en compte des recommandations faites.

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### II- Caractéristiques paratextuelles des articles

Le titre de l'article, le nom de l'auteur, son adresse électronique ainsi que l'université de provenance de l'auteur sont indiqués en début de texte.

Le corps du texte comprend nécessairement une introduction, un développement et une conclusion.

L'article, accompagné de résumés en français et en anglais d'environ 100 mots chacun et de 5 mots-clés, n'excède pas 5000 mots.

### III- Paramètres de présentation des articles

#### III-1 : Mise en forme du texte et typographie

Le texte dactylographié en Arial Narrow 12 justifié est à interligne 1,5.

L'article ne comporte aucun caractère souligné.

Les phrases ne sont séparées que d'un espace.

Les titres et sous-titres sont en petits caractères d'imprimerie gras et la numérotation romaine continue est de rigueur (I- ; I-1 ; I-2 ; II ...).

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Il n'y a pas d'interligne entre les paragraphes qui débutent par un alinéa de 0,75 cm.

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Le nombre de cartes, de photographies, de tableaux et de figures complexes doit être réduit pour des questions de logistique.

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Elles ne sont pas en italique.

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passage dans la langue d'origine qui est alors donné entre guillemets en notes infrapaginales, suivi de la référence bibliographique complète et de la mention : *notre traduction*.

**III-2-6** : Toute modification typographique apportée à une citation doit être signalée par une modification en fin de citation : nous soulignons.

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L'appel de note est en exposant et suit immédiatement, avant les guillemets fermants et toute autre ponctuation, la citation ou le mot auquel il se rapporte.

Les titres d'œuvres prennent l'italique, de même que les expressions en langue autre que le français.

La première fois que l'on cite un titre ou un texte, une note donne sa référence bibliographique complète.

Pour un ouvrage, la note se présente comme suit : Prénom Nom, *titre de l'ouvrage*, ville d'édition, maison d'édition, année d'édition, pagination.

Pour un ouvrage collectif, n'inscrire que le premier auteur du collectif suivi de l'abréviation latine *et al.* en italique.

Pour un article, la note se présente comme suit : Prénom Nom, « titre de l'article », *titre de la revue*, ville d'édition, année d'édition, n°, pagination.

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Il est conseillé d'écrire tout le nom en caractère d'imprimerie suivi de tous les prénoms entre parenthèses.

Le volume et le numéro sont en chiffres arabes.

##### **III-3-2-1 : Dans le cas d'une thèse ou d'un mémoire**

NOM (Prénoms), *Titre*, nature du document (Thèse, Mémoire), Université de soutenance, année.

Exemple :

ANOH (Adjé Joseph), *Jeu et enjeux du discours rapporté dans l'œuvre romanesque d'Ahmadou Kourouma*, Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat, Université d'Abidjan, 2011.

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NOM (Prénoms), « Titre » ou « Titre. Sous-titre » de l'article, titre de la revue en italique précédé ou non de la mention in ou dans, volume et/ou numéro, mois et année ou saison et année, pp. x-y.

Exemples :

JACQUEY (Marie-Clotilde), « Entretien avec Massa Makan Diabaté : "Etre griot aujourd'hui" », in *Notre Librairie : Littérature malienne*, n° 75-76, 1989, pp. 72-86.

SENGHOR (Léopold Sédar), « Femme noire », in *Poèmes*, Paris, éditions du Seuil, 1964, pp. 14-15.

##### **III-3-2-3 : Dans le cas d'un ouvrage à auteur unique ou d'un collectif**

NOM (Prénoms), *Titre* ou *Titre. Sous-titre*, Lieu d'édition, maison d'édition, collection s'il y a lieu, année.

NOM (Prénoms), « Titre », dans Prénoms NOM [dir.], *Titre*, Lieu d'édition, maison d'édition, collection, année, pp. x-y.

Exemple :

PAILLIER (Magali), *La Katharsis chez Aristote*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004.

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NOM (Prénoms), « Titre de l'article » ou « Titre. Sous-titre » de l'article, *Titre de la revue* en italique, numéro : Titre du numéro en italique, date de mise en ligne s'il y a lieu. Adresse électronique complète précédée de la mention URL : et suivie de la date de consultation entre parenthèses.

Exemple :

DOMINICY (Marc), « L'évocation discursive. Fondements et procédés d'une stratégie opportuniste », in *Semen* n°24 : *Linguistique et poésie : le poème et ses réseaux*. Mis en ligne le 17 mars 2008. URL : <http://semen.revue.org/6623>. (Consulté le 5 août 2011).



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Couverture: photographie des défenses d'éléphant (Musé National de Côte d'Ivoire)

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**EUROPEANS' RESPONSIBILITY IN AFRICA'S POLITICAL  
AND ETHNIC WARS: THE CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR  
AS SEEN THROUGH CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE'S *HALF OF A YELLOW SUN***

Constant Yélian AGUESSY\*

E-mail: aguessico@yahoo.fr

**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this study is to point out the Europeans' responsibility in the Africans' political and ethnic wars. It shows the way Europeans behave since they have set foot in Africa. The study has been conducted through the character of Odenigbo, a revolutionary Mathematics lecturer at the University of Nsukka, Nigeria. In fact, the present paper raises the problems created in Nigeria by the British colonial administration through the Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*. In this literary fiction, Odenigbo the core protagonist's will which has been to end up with his country's mismanagement due to the incompetence of the then authorities failed. The mismanagement has been characterized by tribalism and regionalist choices in the appointment of the members of the government which negatively affects the Nigerian living conditions. His protests against the Northerners' government which he has considered as inefficient and set by the colonial masters to take advantage of Nigeria's wealth turns into ethnic hatred between the people of North and those of the South-East, the Igbo and hatred of the Igbo toward the British. These protests result in a Coup undertaken by Igbo officers and the counter Coup of the Federalists followed by the wholesale massacre of the Igbo which leads to their secession from Nigeria and the creation of a new nation, Biafra. The territory retrieval campaign undertaken by the governmental forces plunges the country into a bloody civil war known as the Biafra war with the participation of international powers. Furthermore, the article satirizes the Europeans' negative contribution to the underdevelopment of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. The study focuses on the dangers of tribalism and the lack of education to awaken the new elites' and the masses' consciousness for a peaceful Africa.

**KEY WORDS**

Political and ethnic war, responsibility, consciousness, European, tribalism.

**RÉSUMÉ**

L'objectif de cette étude est de montrer la responsabilité des Européens dans les conflits politique et ethnique en Afrique. Elle montre comment les actes posés par les Européens depuis leur arrivée en Afrique ont directement ou indirectement joué un rôle dans les conflits du continent d'après les indépendances. L'étude est faite à travers le personnage d'Odenigbo, un révolutionnaire et professeur des Mathématiques à l'Université de Nsukka Nigeria. En réalité, le présent article met en relief les problèmes créés au Nigeria par l'administration coloniale Britannique à travers *Half of a Yellow Sun* de la romancière Nigériane Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. Dans cette fiction littéraire, le souhait du personnage principal de finir avec la mauvaise gestion du pays due à l'incompétence des autorités échoua. Cette mauvaise gestion est caractérisée par les nominations régionalistes des membres du gouvernement qui affectent

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\* Université de Parako, Bénin.

négativement les conditions de vie des Nigériens. Ces protestations contre le gouvernement Nordique qu'ils considèrent incompetent et mis en place par les colons pour piller les richesses du pays se transforment en une haine entre les peuples du Nord et ceux du Sud-est, les Igbo et une haine des Igbo à travers les Britanniques. De ces protestations naissent un Coup d'Etat entrepris par des officiers Igbo et un contre Coup des forces Fédérales suivies du massacre collectif des Igbo qui les a conduites à se séparer du Nigeria pour créer une nouvelle nation, le Biafra. La campagne de recouvrement de l'intégrité territoriale du pays entrepris par les forces gouvernementales bascule dans une sanglante guerre civile connue sous le nom de la guerre de Biafra, avec la participation des puissances internationales. En outre, l'article fustige la contribution négative des Européens au sous-développement de l'Afrique en général et du Nigeria en particulier. L'étude se focalise sur les dangers du tribalisme et le manque d'éducation pour éveiller la conscience des nouvelles élites et des peuples pour une Afrique pacifique.

### MOTS CLÉS

Politique, ethnique, guerre, responsabilité, tribalisme, conscience.

### INTRODUCTION

As literature and history are intimately related, they generally deal with the issues of humanity. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* reveals not only the Biafra war but Africa's new intellectuals' conflict with their government. But as politics is assimilated to religion and ethnic groups division in Africa, there seems to be a religious and ethnic war among Nigerians. I have decided this research work in order to clarify some points as to what can be the reasons of such fratricide conflicts that oppose Africans who were formerly united before the arrival of the white man. My aim is to highlight Europeans' responsibility in Africa's political, ethnic and religious wars and point out that of African authorities. So far, for the above considerations, it becomes vital to ask the following questions: how have Europeans manipulated Africa's people into conflicts? What are the aftermaths of these conflicts? Eventually what is the African authorities' responsibility in these conflicts? It appears necessary, in order to examine and provide an answer to these interrogations, to probe into Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's literary universe, through *Half of a yellow Sun*. It is in this regard that I have chosen to work on the topic "Europeans' Responsibility in Africa's Political and ethnic wars as seen through Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*" these questions must be addressed with a great interest so as to find suitable and adequate remedies to the crises that affect Africa.

For this, I want to clarify some concepts such as war, ethnic group, responsibility and political related to the context of the novel. According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, "war" is defined as a "situation in which two or more countries or groups of people fight against each other over a period of time."<sup>1</sup> "Ethnic" is "connected with or belonging to a nation, race or people that shares a cultural tradition."<sup>2</sup> As for "Responsibility", it is "a duty to deal with or take care of somebody/something, so that you may be blamed if something goes wrong." Finally it defines "Political", as "connected with the state, government or public affairs."<sup>2</sup>

In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie satirizes the Biafra war, a fratricide and deadly conflict among Nigerians. As a matter of fact, a deep analysis has brought out the hidden hands behind the Nigerian conflict. Professor Noel Dossou-Yovo in *Individu et société dans le roman négro-d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986* Here is it obvious that Nigerians were

not the only owners of their destiny. This means that they were manipulated by these super Western Powers.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* has well-described that large international conspiracy as if the Nigerian writer were born at that time. Adichie is heralded by the Washington Post Book World as "the 21<sup>st</sup> –century daughter of Chinua Achebe".<sup>1</sup> Concerning her, Achebe declared what follows "We do not usually associate wisdom with beginners, but here is a new writer endowed with a gift of ancient story tellers. Adichie knows what is at stake and what to do about it. She is fearless or she would not have taken on the intimidating horror of Nigeria's civil war. Adichie came almost fully made".<sup>2</sup> *Half of a Yellow Sun* is presented as if Adichie were present when the events happened though she was born seven years after the war ended. The story is told through the protagonist Odenigbo, a professor of Mathematics at the University of Nsukka Nigeria.

The purpose of this study is also to clarify how colonialism has impacted Africa. The fact is clearly perceptible through the Africans daily life. Africa has then faced (or is still facing) a lot of problems among which slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the loss of cultural identity, manipulation added to political and ethnic wars. In a bid to eradicate the above evils, I have questioned the responsibility of the Westerners in the plight of the African continent today. The reasons for my interest in this topic are threefold: personal, literary and societal. Why do most Africans fail to hold their real identity? The societal and literary levels are revealed by the close link of the University of Nsukka Nigeria community's life with the real fact. The Biafra war where "others where Sad. Others gay Others with friends. Others lonely. Some died. Some were born."<sup>3</sup> Also note the protagonists of the Biafra war's names' resonance with some characters of her book such as Madu, Ojukwu, Gowon and even Mohamed a Muslim name to draw the readers' attention to the name that sounds northerner's.

It is important to mention that my research has been described into three axes. The first axis, addresses the factors favouring the religious and ethnic wars in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the second axis tackles the manifestation of the Westerners in conflict. In the last axis, I have examined the aftermaths of the conflict and the reconstruction efforts of the country. During this study I have used documentary research which consists of running the reference books relevant to the topic I have selected. I have also made the webliographical investigation. The postcolonial literary approach which examines how authors deal with the issues and contradictions of life in formerly colonized culture.

#### **I- FACTORS FAVOURING THE RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN *HALF OF A YELLOW SUN*.**

Before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa, Nigeria was a peaceful and upstanding land where some varieties of ethnic and religious groups were living without any noticeable problem, each of them having their own way of living and culture as African culture generally promotes solidarity and mutual love. Though war existed, it is very rare to see conflict involving people from the same community. It means that Nigerians could avoid things pertaining to the act of killing

<sup>1</sup> [www.powells.com/book/half-of-a-yellow-sun-9781400044160](http://www.powells.com/book/half-of-a-yellow-sun-9781400044160), July12, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> [www.powells.com/book/half-of-a-yellow-sun-9781400044160](http://www.powells.com/book/half-of-a-yellow-sun-9781400044160), July12, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Aboudou Houndefo, *Post-Independence Despair and Hope in Ayi Kwei Armah's The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, Mémoire de Maitrise, FLASH-UAC, DELLCE, Unpublished, 2010, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 17.

one's brother or sister. An evidence to that is Odenigbo's changing attitude toward the remaining community (white and Yoruba) of the University staff. Even Professor Ezeka knew that differences among the Africans have been reinforced by the white man and his politics. "But you became aware that you were Igbo because of the white man. The pan-Igbo idea itself came only in the face of white domination. You must see that tribe as it is today is as colonial a product as nation and race."<sup>1</sup>

Here, in Africa, people are likely to settle somewhere on the ethnic and religious roots. This means that religion and ethnic group govern the whole being of the people and dictate the type of life they are to develop. That was the case of Nigeria where the Hausa-Fulani were in great number in the North of the country and practiced Islam as religion. The Igbo and Yoruba were in the South; the first ones are Christians while the latter practice either Islam or Christianity. For colonial matters the British decided to partition the country without any account of its demography, which would later become one of the Nigerian conflict sources. This arbitrary partition of the country creates the social inequalities and reinforces the misery and poverty of the populations. All said above constitutes the primary root-causes of the fratricide conflict one reads in *Half of a yellow Sun*

Like in most of the African countries, throughout the novel the British grouped people in Nigeria just for governance sake. The religious, ethnic and linguistic differences among those people should be considered, but there was already mixing settlements. Grouping these people was not the easiest solution for Nigeria, knowing that the Igbo's population cannot favor their politicians in terms of general elections. Elections are factors which favored hatred among the people who were formerly partners. All these groups had their political organizations. The Semi-feudal and Islamic Hausa-Fulani in the North were traditionally ruled by a feudal, conservative Islamic hierarchy consisting of Emirs who, in turn, owed their allegiance to a supreme sultan. This sultan was regarded as the epitome of all political power and religious authority.

The Yoruba political system in the Southwest like that of the Hausa-Fulani, also consisted of monarchs, the Oba. They were however less autocratic than those in the North, and the political and social system of the Yoruba allowed for greater upward mobility based on acquired rather than inherited wealth and title. The Igbo in the Southeast, in contrast to the two other groups, lived mostly in autonomous, democratically organized communities, although there were monarchs in many of these ancient cities such as the kingdom of Nri<sup>2</sup>

The differing political systems among these three groups of people reflected and produced divergent customs and values. These tradition derived differences were perpetuated and even perhaps enhanced by the British system of colonial rule in Nigeria. In the North, The British found it convenient to rule directly through the Emirs, thus perpetuating rather changing the indigenous authoritarian political system. Christian missionaries were excluded from the North, and the area thus remained closed to European cultural imperialism, in contrast to the Igbo, the richest of whom sent their sons to British Universities. "The North at the time of independence in 1960, was by far the most underdeveloped area in Nigeria with an English literacy rate of 2 as compared to 19.2 in the East"<sup>3</sup> The west enjoyed a much higher literacy level, being the first part of the country to have contact with western education in addition to the

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.ljeakuNnandi./ google books.org](http://www.ljeakuNnandi./google%20books.org), August26, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> [http://www. Oluwyin// Historical analysis of Nigeria-Biafra conflict.org](http://www.Oluwyin//Historical%20analysis%20of%20Nigeria-Biafra%20conflict.org), August 28, 2016.

free primary education program of the pre-independence Western Regional Government. Frederick Forsyth wrote in his Biafra Story:

The North had developed very differently from the rest of the country, for it lagged far behind the South in terms of European-educated population. Hence, Northerners feared that incorporation in an independent and unitary Nigeria State molded according to European standards would cause their cultural and political submission to the South.<sup>1</sup>

Even only such disparities suffice to generate conflict in a society due to the jealous nature of the human beings that we are. In the South, the missionaries rapidly introduced the western form of education. Consequently, the Yoruba were the first group in Nigeria to adopt western bureaucratic social norms and they provided the first African civil servants, doctors, lawyers, and other technicians and professionals. In Igbo areas, missionaries were introduced at a later moment because of British difficulty in establishing firm control over the highly autonomous Igbo communities. The Northerners names such as Mohamed, Abdou Malik and Ibrahim in *Half of a Yellow Sun* immediately show their religion, Islam. Madu's complaints to Richard also prove those disparities and the Northerners lack of qualification. "The problem was the ethnic balance policy. I was part of the commission that told our GOC that we should scrap it, that it was polarizing the army, that they should stop promoting Northerners who were not qualified. But our GOC said no, our British GOC."<sup>2</sup> For Madu, Promotion in the public administration is done according to geographical origin of the people.

However, the Igbo people took to western education actively, and they overwhelmingly came to adopt Christianity. Population pressure in the Igbo homeland combined with aspirations for monetary wages drove thousands of Igbo to other parts of Nigeria in search of work. By 1960s, Igbo political culture was more unified and the region relatively prosperous, with tradesmen and literate elites active not just in the traditionally Igbo south, but throughout Nigeria<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, by 1966 the ethnic and religious differences between Northerners and Igbos had combined with additional stratification of education and class. This unbalanced division is done in such a way that the North is slightly higher in population than the two other regions combined. Though less educated than the others, the northerners had advantage of their great number and was allocated a majority of the seats in the Federal Legislature established by the colonial authorities. It happened that less qualified people worked while the qualified ones remained without a good position where they could justify their abilities and skills. The fact goes along with this declaration of Odengbo in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*. He said: "The new Nigerian upper class is a collection of illiterates who read nothing and ate food they dislike at overpriced Lebanese restaurants and have social conversations around one subject: How is the new car behaving?"<sup>4</sup>

In this quotation, he has exposed the intellectual limit of the Nigerian government which was not composed on qualification basis but on regional one. As access to position in the public administration is unfortunately based on belonging to a region, the most educated were left aside.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.Oluwyin//Historical analysis of Nigeria-Biafra conflict.org](http://www.Oluwyin//Historical%20analysis%20of%20Nigeria-Biafra%20conflict.org), August 28, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.BiodunJeyifo.org//Journal of Asia and African Studies](http://www.BiodunJeyifo.org//Journal%20of%20Asia%20and%20African%20Studies), August 30, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 64.

Most of the high functions were held by Northerners. The Igbo people customized to Western culture and education broke the myth of Westerners supremacy over them and introduced their aspirations to independence. To do so, they denounced the evils that characterized the country's governance among which: corruption, and racial discrimination. But the country's geographical division is also an important factor which is not to be neglected as Basil Davidson pointedly puts it, "The nation that follows colonialism is usually not much of a gift, throughout Africa, in fact, it has been more akin to the black man's burden, a problematic assemblage of people who frequently enough have little more in common than proximity"<sup>1</sup> The complaints of the people resulted in endless protests that took ethnic and religious dimensions, ethnic and religion being associated to region.

## II- THE MANIFESTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL POWER'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT AND AFRICAN PASSIVITY.

Defending their own interests, the former Nigerian conquerors, French and British played an important role in the Biafra's war. The two powers were supporting either Nigeria for the British and allies or Biafra for the French and some of their African colonies. The Biafra war protagonists could not resist racism brought by the white men in their country, they did not understand that it was a basis of conquest and that it is always easier to conquer more human people.

The Europeans' interference in African conflicts is twofold: the ones willing to divide Africa in small pieces so as to easily take control of each part while the others' is against their alike. They may somehow have common interests. Some African were then used against their neighbors, this weakened them and facilitate the conquest.

In the specific case of the Biafra war, the French not only aimed to weaken Nigeria but also wanted to limit the British Empire in Africa that is why they supported Biafra. Nigeria was one of the countries to protest the French nuclear test at Reggane in Algeria in December 27<sup>th</sup>; 1960. It was followed by the cancelling of the French ambassador Raymond Offroy. Many years later, Pierre Messmer, minister of Armies at that time admitted:

Je ne pardonnais pas au Nigeria son attitude après nos tirs nucléaires à Reggane. Ça permettait (le soutien au Biafra) de lui faire payer ! Il avait été à la fois provocant et ridicule. Provocant en essayant de soulever les gouvernements Africains contre les tirs nucléaires français. Et ridicule en disant : « Nous, Nigeria, nous aurons la bombe atomique », ce sont des grotesques. Je ne leur ai pas pardonné<sup>2</sup>.

This aforementioned means that the French involvement in the Biafra war was not by accident, it was planned. Taking side for Biafra was to punish Nigeria, to take revenge on it for protesting against their nuclear test. To succeed in doing so, they ordered their African colonies such as Ivory Coast and Gabon to support Biafra. Some African countries like Tanzania and Zambia also supported Biafra. The Biafran in *Half of a Yellow Sun* named their bar "Tanzania bar" and played Tanzanian music on Radio Biafra to praise Tanzania for its support. Olanna,

<sup>1</sup> Hawley C., John, *Biafra as Heritage and Symbol : Adichie, Mbachu, and Iweala*, Indiana University Press, Research in African Literatures, Volume 29, number 2, 2008, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> [https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/guerre\\_du\\_Biafra](https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/guerre_du_Biafra), la France in Histoire secrète de la 5e République, Jean Guisnel, La Découverte, 6 Avril 2016. (My translation: "I did not forgive the Nigeria's attitude toward our nuclear shots at Reggane. It allowed (Biafra's support) to take revenge over it! It has been at the same time challenging and foolish. Challenging by trying to raise the African governments against the French nuclear shots. And foolish by saying: "We, Nigeria, we will get the atomic bomb". These are ridiculous. I did not forgive it to them."

Odenigbo's wife heard the Tanzanian support from the radio first and called her husband "Odenigbo! Odenigbo! Tanzania has recognized us!"<sup>1</sup> (H.O.Y.S, p. 295) Though they did not officially recognize their military support to Biafra, they sent Special Forces for training and even for action on the ground. These forces helped Biafra Army to resist the federal soldiers led by General Gowon. Michel Honorin, a pressman wrote in *Jeune Afrique*: "De trois à six avions arrivent chaque soir à Biafra [...] une partie des caisses, embarquées au Gabon, portent encore le drapeau tricolore et l'immatriculation du ministère français de la guerre ou celle du contingent français en Côte d'Ivoire"<sup>2</sup>.

He not only confirmed the French support to Biafra but also that of Gabon as the French army loaded its war materials from there to easily reach Biafra. This too is a fact that would draw the African people's attention to all the Europeans behavior toward the Dark Continent. In the same article, Francois-Xavier Verschave has declared "Le soutien militaire (Mercenaires, armes et munitions) et financier apporté secrètement par les autorités françaises aurait prolongé le conflit durant 30 mois, provoquant indirectement 2 à 3 millions de morts."<sup>3</sup>

From his analysis, the French support to Biafra made the conflict last longer than it could be, for thirty more months indirectly increasing the number of dead people to around two to three millions.

As far as the British are concerned, they took part to the conflict supporting the federal republic of Nigeria. Why should white people be paid to fight our war anyway? Odenigbo has complained. They did not need to support Biafra due to their own interest. They did not have any interest in supporting Biafra as they were considered as accessories by the Nsukka University community in the country's mismanagement. It is clearly understandable through their sayings. While Miss Adebayo was defending a white man called David hunt in front of her colleagues of University of Nsukka Nigeria, a voice raised "The man should go home. Why is he coming to tell us how to put out fire, when it is he and his fellow British who collected the firewood for it in the first place?"<sup>4</sup> In his book, *The World Was Silent When We Died* Richard clearly stated it "Colonialism state was authoritarian, a benignly brutal dictatorship designed to benefit Britain. What the economy consisted of in 1960 was potential raw materials, human beings, high spirits, and some money from the marketing board reserves left over from what the British had taken to rebuild their post-war economy. And there was the newly discovered oil."<sup>5</sup> In this quotation he shows the British intention in taking part to the conflict and siding with the Nigerian government who was stronger than Biafran.

In Nsukka University, doctor Okeoma said that the British had their interest at stake. As a matter of fact, unlike most or all the Westerners' involvement in the conflict in the remaining part of the world, the British had their own interest through their oil companies such as Shell and British Petroleum (BP).

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<sup>1</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> [https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerre\\_du\\_Biafra/](https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerre_du_Biafra/) *Jeune Afrique* du 23 Décembre 1968, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (My translation : "At least three or six air planes come each evening to Biafra... , some of the boxes, loaded in Gabon, still bear the three-colored map and the French ministry of war registration or that of the contingent in Ivory Coast."

<sup>3</sup> [https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerre\\_du\\_Biafra/](https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerre_du_Biafra/) *Jeune Afrique*, 23 Décembre 1968, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (My translation: The military support(mercenaries, weapons and ammunitions) and financial support secretly brought by the French authorities had extended the conflict for 30 months, indirectly provoking two to three millions dead.)

<sup>4</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 205.



The British spent all their time extracting oil while the Nigerians were killing one another. They placed high priority on maintenance of oil extraction and refining operations. Forced to choose side, Shell-BP & the British government threw in their lot with the Federal Government in Lagos, apparently calculating that this side would be more likely to win the war. As the British High Commissioner in Lagos wrote to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth affairs on July 27, 1967.

Ojukwu, even victorious, will not be in a strong position. He will require all the international help and recognition he can get. The Federal Government would be much better placed both internationally and nationally. They would have a cast iron case for the severest treatment of company which has subsidized a rebel, and I feel fairly convinced they would press their case to the lengths of cancelling the company's concessions and nationalizing their installations. I conclude, therefore, if the company does change its mind and asks the British Government for advice, the best that could be given is for its chamber to hastily back on the Lagos side of the fence with cheque book at the ready<sup>1</sup>.

Shell-BP took this advice and supported Nigeria, provided them with weapons, supplied military intelligence and may have also helped to hire mercenaries. The human losses were not at all their concern. They should know that supplying a party in a conflict with war materials is not assistance. If they really wanted the development of Africa, heavy weapons would not be what they supply them to kill themselves. War comes in as a strategy to divert people's attention away from the essential.

The remaining super powers, USA and Russia seemed to show neutrality during the conflict while supplying Nigeria with weapons and even air planes bombing. Isaac Chika, the main character of *Divided We Stand* (1980) by Cyprian Ekwenzi, a reporter of Consolidated Press reported "In their two thousand and thirteenth raid over buHt-up Biafran towns, two Russian-built Ilioyshin planes today bombed, rocketed and machine gunned the quiet Biafran town of Umuro, a terror raid in which 103 were killed and 213 injured, many of them seriously."<sup>2</sup>

Interference and taking side in favor of a given party is what the international powers are used to doing. They never officially recognize their support to a party, but engage themselves as peacemakers. In fact, they are hypocrites who support in hiding. The local people have already understood it and even though lacking medium to show it to the face of the world. It was the case of this Ibo man in Cyprian Ekwenzi's *Divided We Stand* who complained by saying:

Hell on earth was unleashed on the people of Biafra. In answer to Nigeria's call for more arms, Britain, while responding secretly, told the world that a quick military solution would save thousands of lives. On the other hand, Russia with her donkey-like silence made no statement, simply supplied the instruments of death<sup>3</sup>.

The Russian airplane is what this man qualified as instrument of death. They did not officially announce any support to this or that party in the war but made their calculations and understood that Nigeria was likely stronger than Biafra.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.en-wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigeria>, April 7 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Noel, Dossou-Yovo, *Individu et société dans le roman negro africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986*, Paris, L'Harmattan, Tom1, 1997, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Noel, Dossou-Yovo, *Individu et société dans le roman negro africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986*, Paris, L'Harmattan, Tom1, 1997, p. 178.

In fact, in cases like those of the Nigerian civil war, the matter is not who should be normally supported but interest is what matters.

As Ahmadou Kourouma in *Quand on refuse on dit non* has put "La politique n'a ni yeux, ni oreilles, ni Cœur ; en politique le vrai et le mensonge portent le même pagne, le juste et l'injuste marchent de pair, le bien et le mal s'achètent ou se vendent au même prix."<sup>1</sup> One's behavior doesn't matter, all that matters is personal interest of the people involved. The same support the Nigerians have from most of countries let the Biafran with an impression of having "a battle of superior versus inferior arms"<sup>2</sup>. The similarity of the conflicts is so broad that we can easily notice it. To denounce the international support to Nigeria against Biafra, Madu told Richard:

You can tell them how we continue to stand and prevail even though Nigerian MiG-Seventeens, I1-Twenty-eights, and L-Twenty-nine Delfins flown by Russians and Egyptians are bombing us every day, and how some of them are using transport planes and just crudely rolling out bombs to kill women and children, and how the British and the Soviets are in unholy alliance giving more arms to Nigerians, and how Americans have refused to help us, and how our relief flights come in at night with no lights because the Nigerians will shoot them down during the day...

These words are used by Madu to show the world that they were dying when nobody reacted to stop their slaughter. Long ago, the Africans were shown that they could do nothing by themselves. Every single aspect of African countries' development was decided by the Europeans. Even the African army forces were and are still trained by the westerners. Economy, politics, industry technology, lifestyle, diet, religion and even values were taught to Africans in such a way that they no longer believe in their own civilization and the remaining abilities. Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghana post-independence president points out that "Neocolonialism is the worst form of imperialism. The ruling elites pay constant deference to the neocolonial masters, the needs of the population are often ignored, leaving issues of living conditions like education, development, and poverty unresolved."

The leaders, even aware of those needs, cannot do anything about it, since they are like puppets in the hands of their Whites masters.

The reason which makes African countries' leaders unable to react is now clear. They were like toys and could not take any initiative without the colonial master's assignment. Considering the Nigerian civil war as a departure point, it was evidence to the matter. The French's support to the Biafran easily allowed its former colonies such as Gabon and Ivory Coast to also support Biafra.

Many countries would have taken sides if they had been free in their opinion. Unfortunately, all the decisions were given by the Whites masters.

The weakness of our African institutions is so remarkable that even trials of high importance cannot be organized in Africa. For example, some African leaders are now complaining because they think that since its creation, the International Criminal Court's judgments target only Africans. The United States of America has not even ratified the treaty

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<sup>1</sup> Kourouma, Ahmadou, *Quand on refuse on dit non*, Paris, Seuil, 2004, p. 164 (My translation : Politics has neither eyes nor ears and heart, in politics the true and the untrue wear the same wrapper, the right and the unfair are wrapped alike, good and evil are bought or sold at the same price.)

<sup>2</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 306.

which stipulated its creation. The African Courts are said not to be competent enough to organize such trials. The armies are too weak that the political leaders are obliged to call for help when there is a situation of emergency.

Even today, the great Nigeria, which is known as the "Giant of west" suffered a lot in front of an internal insurgency perpetrated by the Islamic sect of Boko-Haram. A sub-region military coalition led by the Tchadian army forces helped to overcome it. All these incapacities are governed by the lack of adequate training for our soldiers, the lack of sophisticated weapons which can allow them face any danger without fear.

The passivity of the African countries to their neighbors' conflict is that they have to support one of the parties involved in the conflict regarding the side of the colonial master's choice. The Head of State himself being on power through an electoral hold up needs the support of his former colonial power to earn legacy from the international view.

The culpability of being also elected in the dark conditions gives the feeling of weakness to the authorities to denounce injustice. For fear of being denounced too, they prefer silence and hypocrisy. During the Nigerian civil war, if African countries had found purely Africans solutions, there would have not been large number of dead people as they did not have large scale killer weapons.

### III- THE AFTERMATHS OF THE CONFLICT AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS OF THE COUNTRY

The opposition I have witnessed between Odenigbo and Miss Adebayo in their staff room is an illustration of what the ethnic differences consideration created by the colonial master in Nigeria can create. In spite of her being member of this staff of University of Nsukka Nigeria elites, Odenigbo did not trust her because she was Yoruba. The Yoruba were then considered to have been spared by the Hausa or the people of North in the ethnic conflict that opposed them. Some became refugees in their own country. The Igbo were chased from the North of the country and some of them were even killed because considered as "Saboteurs". To escape such massacre one had to show evidence of his belonging to a given ethnic group. Being a northerner automatically meant that you spoke Hausa or one of north side dialects, which was also linked to being a Muslim. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in *Half of a Yellow Sun* mentioned it. On his way to Okija, Odenigbo reached the refugee camp where he saw Olanna who wanted to know how he managed on the road with the Nigerian soldiers, and replied to her by uttering what follows "They did not give me trouble. I spoke Hausa to them. One of them brought out the picture of Ojukwu and asked me to piss on it and I did"<sup>1</sup>.

Nigerian soldiers were given orders to kill Igbo they could find. Unfortunately, all that appears in Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* is not an imagination. They really happened and many people witnessed them. For illustration I can consider Musa Aziz's behavior quoted by Noel Dossou-Yovo in his *Individu et société dans le roman négro-africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986* from Cyprien Ekwenzi's *Divided We Stand*, planning the sending away and slaughter of Igbo people from the North. Here is what he told his people:

The room was packed full with his aids. It was a room at the back of a drinking house and the smell of urine and fermented corn assailed the nostrils sharply... The plates of fowl had long since been reduced to bones and the soldiers have started the Araba operation. We have completed the demonstrations. What is left now is to drive away the Eastern people.

<sup>1</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 413.

Even that has started... You are soldiers, and it is not for me to teach you your work. There are places where these easterners will begin to gather, looking for means of transport to return home.

« As Allah wills! » cried the soldiers.  
« They will gather at the airports».  
« Railway stations...» « Motor parks...». Musa smiled warmly  
« So you know.... ...  
« Ammunition is scarce», said the soldiers.  
« Yes but they have nothing»<sup>1</sup>.

Worse, Musa wanted Eastern people to be killed on their way back home. This state of affairs still exists in Africa's membership to a political party and especially in Nigeria. Though we can see people from different ethnic group sharing a common party, most of their belonging to a party is based on where they come from and the language they speak. Musa Aziz's declaration or order to his soldiers is along with a Federal Republic of Nigeria soldier in Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* "We finish the whole family. It was Alla's will"<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, Madu's confidence to Kainene, his fellow Biafran is an evidence to the Northerners intension to exterminate the Biafran.

He is the station master at the railway, and he told me that Northern soldiers had sealed off Makurdi Bridge. That bridge is a grave. They searched every single vehicle, they delayed passenger trains for up to eight hours, and they shot all the Igbo soldiers they discovered there and threw the bodies over. Many of the soldiers wore disguises, but they used their boots to find them<sup>3</sup>.

There was no more trust between the Northerners who were mostly Hausa and Muslims and the Southerners Igbo who were Christians. Politics and elections in Africa have become ethnic and religious matters.

After many months of killings, hatred and all the evils which follow, the African leaders most of the time seem to find a solution to their problem and then make peace. "No victor and no vanquished"<sup>4</sup>. It was how Yakubu Gowon the leader of Nigeria who led the country during the Biafra war made his speech in 1970, opening then a possibility to peaceful and confident cohabitation between brothers who some days ago fought one another. As Véronique TADJO wrote in *L'Ombre d'Imana*, " De loin la ville semble tout oublié, tout digéré, tout ingurgité. Les rues sont pleines. Le flot des voitures est permanent. Chacun veut se faire une place, tout recommencer." At the end of the war, the Igbos grimly expected their wholesale massacre. However, the leader of the victorious army refused to proclaim victory, declared a general amnesty for all those who fought against him, invited members of the defeated side to join his administration, refused to conduct trials and refused to award medals to his own soldiers who fought for years. Will this act suffice for Nigerians to trust each other? What should be done for a changing Nigeria, Africa?

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<sup>1</sup> Noel Dossou-Yovo, *Individu et société dans le roman négro-africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986*, Paris, L'Harmattan, Tom1, 1997, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi (Adichie), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Lagos, Farafina, 2007, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Véronique Tadjou, *L'Ombre d'Imana : Voyage jusqu'au but du Rwanda*, Tunis, Cérès, 2006, P.19 (My translation : From far, the city seems to have forgotten all, digested all, swallowed all. The streets are full of people. The influx of cars is permanent, everyone wants to make himself a place, have it all.)

<sup>4</sup> Dossou-Yovo, Noel, *Individu et société dans le roman négro-africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986*, Paris, L'Harmattan, Tom1, 1997, p. 181.

Many years after the United Nations resolutions called for them to cease hostilities, the Israelis and Arabs are still at each other threats. Rwandan government is still carrying out war crimes trial after many years of genocide. However, a remarkably sober pragmatism rose from the blood, fire and ashes of the Nigerian civil war. It taught the combatants an unforgettable lesson in the evils of ethnic rivalry. The bitter memory of the war means that Nigeria stumbles through and survives the sort of crises that cause war and disintegration in other countries.

Nigerians became conscious that they did not need to fight against each other; that the war was not to benefit them as shown by this quotation from Cyprian Ekwensi in *Individu et société dans le roman négro-africain d'expression anglaise de 1939 à 1986*:

We were made to believe that we were enemies, and many of us did believe! I never once believed we had ceased to be friends! I could not see this war ending any other way than what we should continue to be brothers! [...] that is the terrible part of civil wars. Making war against your flesh and blood for a cause that is high and mighty, but expensive in lives<sup>1</sup>.

Through these words from the character of James Odugo, I can see how some Africans regret the conflict and open their eyes to understand that they did not need to be involved in any conflict against their relatives.

The Nigerian new authorities have perhaps understood it with people from different areas sharing common political parties out of ethnic and religious consideration. The country's management by at least one of the major ethnic group since 1999 and the reign of Olusegun Obasanjo is a great advance in the process of accepting each other without any ethnic based consideration. He was from Yoruba ethnic group. He was succeeded by Oumarou Yar'Adua a Hausa man and Goodluck Jonathan who was Igbo, all of them belonging to a single and same political party, the People Democratic Party (PDP). Even now the issue of cohabitation is still going on. During an interview to the Nigerian press "Vanguard" the former political leader Olusegun Obasanjo said that the agitation was a platform for the voice of the people of the Southeast to be heard. Still Biafra has ceased to exist. He said that the people will change their direction when the fortune of the region gets better. He said: "I sympathize with people agitating in the country, but what Nigeria needs to do now is to get our economy back on track. When you have a bad economic situation, such is expected. So, I did not see their cause as a threat but I see it as a platform to get their voice heard"<sup>2</sup>.

Olusegun Obasanjo went further and admitted that he had no regrets facilitating the emergence of Goodluck Jonathan as we were able to make a member of the minority rule the country. He said "I believe that Nigeria politics will be strengthened even more if we have the opportunity to allow the minority in its own right to emerge as president, and I do not have any apology for anybody because the purpose I wanted Nigeria to achieve had been achieved."<sup>3</sup>

In the above quotation, he meant that access to the power does no more require belonging to the major ethnic group. He took advantage of the same medium to show that a developing Nigeria is profitable to everybody, and made a call for Easterners to unity. Obasanjo concluded his speech by saying: "Like I said on January 15, the important authentic leaders of the

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<sup>2</sup> [https:// en. m. Wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard\\_\(Nigeria\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard_(Nigeria)), September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<sup>3</sup> [https://en .m. Wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard\\_\(Nigeria\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard_(Nigeria)), September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2016

South East are concerned about economic situation of Nigeria and I believe when the situation changes tomorrow, these young people will sing a new song."<sup>1</sup>

Every Nigerian, whatever their origin, should accept each other and understand the power is not a matter of ethnic group, religion but leadership. Nigeria is showing the steps to be followed to African countries still in conflicts. Goodluck Jonathan would have never become president of Nigeria if his being from South East was taken into account, then member of minority.

After the Nigerian 2015 general elections, Muhammadu Buhari a Hausa from the North was declared president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Medias reported that he received a phone call from Goodluck Jonathan who congratulated him for his election. The appointment of Oleyemi Oluleke Osinbajo, a Yoruba from Lagos as the vice-president of the country is a positive sign of ethnic collaboration. A clearer understanding of the meanders of the world mainstream could bring change. Africa may rely on its new intellectuals, those with good morality. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in his *Weep Not Child* is talking of education as the light of Kenya in the following passage:

Nganga was not selfish; I would soon make a good carpenter. I could be rich and then we could all help you in school. Your learning is for all of us. Father says the same thing. He is anxious that you go on, so you might bring light to our home. Education is the light of Kenya. That's what Jomo says<sup>2</sup>.

Why not apply this idea to Africa and replace Kenya by Africa in the author's saying so as to get our continent change through its children's diversified education? The people who took part in the mismanagement of Africa will see that their dream was not for so long. It will come to an end with the African new elites being able to combine the western civilization with that of Africa without losing their original identity. They should also be aware of their countries' development. No one is strong enough to resist the era of change which is waving over the African continent. This goes with Koomson's end in Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. After the coup happened he found refuge in the man's (the railway employee) house. The man's wife who constantly blamed him for being poor and not being able to get money from bribery to raise their standard of living then understood that it was better for them to live according to their earnings. "That of course was to be expected. New People would use the country's power to get rid of men and women who talked language that did not flatter them"<sup>3</sup>. Hope is what we Africans should put in our mind by the changes that are occurring quite everywhere.

So, the concept of reincarnation and regeneration in Wole Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forests* may help us to part things in balanced way, saying which of our African leaders can be associated with this or that concept.

As we hope for the changing of Africa, I have personally associated most of our African leaders who led the destiny of their country just after the independences with Wole Soyinka's concept of reincarnation. Those leaders being represented through the characters of Rola the prostitute who did not change, Adenebi the Mata Kharibu Court Historian who took bribe and then Demoke the artist and former Court Poet who was very obsessed by earning the queen's good graces. The conversation below explains this:

<sup>1</sup> [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard\\_\(Nigeria\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/vanguard_(Nigeria)), September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Weep Not Child*, London, Heinemann, 1964, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, London, Heinemann, 1968, p. 46.

Madame Tortoise: You return alone. Where is your novice?

Court poet: My pupil Madame? He was so eager to earn the good graces of your Highness

Madame Tortoise: And may no one deserve them but you?

Court Poet: No one Your Highness. No one else.

Madame Tortoise: You have not told me. Where is your pupil?

Court Poet: Being a good pupil Madame, he has learned a new lesson<sup>1</sup>.

Here the Court Poet's behavior is what we should no more see in our African community because for him the end justifies the means.

As far as regeneration is concerned, I want to associate it with the African new elites whom we believe in. It refers to a positive change. Regeneration appears as the basis of human development for man can discover his capacities only when he is moved by the strong will to go forward. The commonest and safest way to regeneration is self-examination which triggers off the strong self-determination feeling that spares the regenerated subject all risks of relapsing.

No doubt that the phrases "torture awareness" and "new beginning" refer to regeneration and that is what we hope for our new Africa for the coming years. Véronique TADJO also gives us the right to hope when she writes "Ceux sont les morts eux-mêmes qui nous demandent de continuer à vivre, de recommencer les gestes, de redire les mots qu'ils ne peuvent plus prononcer. Comment pourraient-ils revenir si nous leur barrons la route avec notre désespoir et nos pleurs?"<sup>2</sup> According to her, Africa's future is in hope and mutual confidence.

## CONCLUSION

At the end of this study it results that Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has the merit to denounce implicitly in her novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the unquestionable responsibility of the colonial masters and African leaders in the different conflicts in Africa and particularly in Nigeria... She has also unveiled the passivity of the African leaders in taking decisions concerning the continent. The study has covered three main axes that is to say factors favouring the religious and ethnic conflicts in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the manifestation of the international power's role in the conflict and African passivity and the aftermaths of the conflict and reconstruction efforts of the country.

No doubt that a country cannot develop on the considerations of tribe, ethnic group and region. The solution is to put the right person at the right place whatever his political coloration and his ethnic group in order to avoid social divide and injustice. Unlike Odenigbo, we Africans must have the courage to denounce the misbehaviors of our leaders. May politics no more be considered as a medium of making rapidly money, an opportunity to amass wealth for their own and personal use. Everyone should keep in mind like Axel Kabou that "C'est la fin d'une époque : la fête est finie. Il va falloir, non seulement se mettre au travail, mais apprendre à se débarrasser du tribalisme économique, établir un ordre économique transparent"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Soyinka Wolé, *A Dance Of The Forests*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Véronique Tadjó, *L'Ombred'Imana : Voyage jusqu'au bout du Rwanda*, Tunis, Cérès éditions, 2006, P.59(My translation : It's the dead themselves who are asking us to continue living, to start again gesture, to say again words they can no more pronounce. How can they comeback if we cross them off the way with our distress and our tears ?)

<sup>3</sup> Kabou Axelle, *Et si l'Afrique refusait le développement ?*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1991, p. 204(My translation : It is the end of a period : It is the end of the party. One must not only set at his work but also learn how to get rid of economic tribalism, establish a clear economic order).

The time has come for the Africans to stop celebrating their independence from the white man's yoke. Better economic situation and social wellbeing are what should characterize the black continent. To succeed in getting them, Africans have to let aside their internal quarrels which set back the continent during the independences till now.

The Nigerian civil war may have come and gone but the legacy of the war and lessons learnt should enable the nation to be able to maintain a balance and focus both politically and socio-culturally. Religious and ethnic integration, tolerance and understanding are to be maintained.

As we have seen in the course of study, the amalgamation of the nation was born out of economic and political interest of the colonial master and not to promote socio-cultural, religious, ethnic and political integration or the unity of the heterogeneous societies. Even after the amalgamation, the policy of divide and rule system adopted in the governing of the southern and northern protectorates did not do to the nation any good but further created a dichotomy between the north and the south in terms of religious and ethnic divergence. This obvious situation led to political suspicious and rivalry during the colonial era and in turn heated up the politics at the time which brought about unhealthy and imperfect competitions in political participations by various ethnic groups during and after colonialism with tribal sentiment at its immediate height after corruption widespread among political office holders, it became clear that the demise of the first Republic was inevitable.

As far as Odenigbo and all the University of Nsukka Nigeria communities are concerned, they should put their expertise learned at school to the country service instead of willing secession. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie point out the minor ethnic group people's ability to fight and free themselves from the yoke of any domination and aspire to the creation of their own country where there will be political correctness, economic development and social wellbeing as the basis of good governance.

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