

PROPAGANDA AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

Inwang Benson Utin Ph.D

Department of History and International Studies

Akwa Ibom State University, Obio Akpa Campus

Abstract

This article set out to examine the roles played by propaganda in the period before and after independence in Nigeria. The paper examined the different propaganda strategy employed by Nigerian politicians and military leaders during the period of this study. Scholars have given much attention to conflict in the pre and post independent Nigeria but less attention to propaganda and hate speech and its effects in post independent Nigeria. This work fills the gap by dealing extensively on the subject. The work discovered that propaganda was used by both the print and electronic media even before it was widely employed during the Nigerian civil war. The studies examine the different propaganda stroke adopted during the conflict years in Nigeria. The study proffered that lessons can be learnt from history especially today where hate speech and fake news are the order of the day.

Introduction

The word propaganda appears in Edward Farrorw's dictionary of military terms. The word was used during the First World War and became widely used in the years leading up to the second world war¹. Macropaedia Britannica defines propaganda as the more or less systematic effort to manipulate other people's belief, attitudes or actions by means of symbols, (words, gestures, banners, movements, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyle, designs or coins and postage stamps and so forth)². A propagandist set a specific goal or target and to achieve the goal or target, carefully select facts, argument and displays of symbols and present them in ways he think will have effect on the target people. Sometimes the propagandist may direct the attention of the people from every other thing and focus on his own propaganda. Therefore, propaganda is the manipulation of information in order to have an edge over the opponent and achieve victory. It may consist of psychological warfare, censorship, lies, distortion or omission, or being economical with the truth³. All these are designed to arouse the emotion, sensitivities and sensibilities of the targeted public.

Propaganda has been a military strategy used right from the early times most especially during major conflict. President Abraham Lincoln Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 was a masterful propaganda stroke which became a crusade against slavery.

Adolf Hitler used propaganda during the Second World War. He stated that "in war, words are acts ... our strategy is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself. Mental confusion, contradiction of feelings, indecision, panic, these are our weapons". Propaganda was employed during the gulf war in 1991. In the war, the American propaganda machine used television, radio, leaflet and rumours of impending cataclysm in Iraq, this may have caused several thousands of desertion from the Iraqi frontline. It destroyed the enemy even before the first shots were fired.

Propaganda was also employed during the civil war in Yugoslavia in the 1990's when parties

to the conflict were trying to capture the attention of the world⁴. Propaganda featured prominently during the late colonial period in Nigeria. It should be noted that Nigeria is made up of over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups and linguistic groups. During the colonial era, these ethnic groups were divided into Northern and southern protectorates. With the ease of Administration, the two protectorates were amalgamated in 1914 by Lord Lugard. The amalgamation of 1914 has been critically criticized and blamed as the cause of the conflict in the country. This is because the amalgamation took place without due consultation with the people who constituted the area. With proper negotiation, it is believed that an agreement would have been reached with a concrete philosophy laid down for the take off of the new nation. That philosophy based on truth, integrity and loyalty would have held all the ethnic groups together. People would have looked onto that guiding principle as the foundation of the nation. Therefore, with no concrete agreement reached between the colonialist and the people who constituted the area, the people became loyal to their ethnic groups instead of loyalty to the nation even before independence. For instance, political parties were formed under ethnic lines. All the three ethnic groups-Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo had political parties which promoted ethnic interest. The creation of regions was also on ethnic basis, also, the media agencies were also established in each of the regions, which also promoted ethnic differences⁵.

Propaganda has been the tool employed by each ethnic group to promote its superiority and also stir ethnicity in the country. This resulted in conflict even before independence in 1960. This later led to an attempt at secession and eventually, the civil war. During the period of the civil war, propaganda was employed fully by both Biafra and the federal forces. Today propaganda has taken a different dimension in the country, this is hate speech. Therefore, the aim of this research is to analyze propaganda and the rise of conflict in Nigeria. This paper is divided into the following sections: one is the abstract, second, the introduction, third, propaganda in Nigeria during the colonial period, fourth, propaganda after independence in 1960, fifth, propaganda during the Nigerian civil war, sixth, lessons from history and conclusion.

Propaganda in Nigeria during the Colonial Period

The British colonialist made very little effort to unite the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in Nigeria apart from the false amalgamation of 1914 which only served their interest. Their interest was to pool the resources of the relatively richer territories of the south to meet the cost of running the administration of the north and therefore reduce the burden on the British tax payers. Even with the amalgamation, people were still loyal to their ethnic groups, it did not alter people's loyalty and commitment to their ethnic nationalities. The promotion of regionalism by the colonialist also fueled ethnic sentiment in Nigeria. Regionalism became official policy of the colonialist since the colonial period. The Clifford constitution (1922), Richards' (1946) and Macpherson's (1954) constitution drafted by the British and used for the administration of the amalgamated Nigeria entrenched regionalism and the manipulation of ethnic sentiments as official policy⁶. Right from this period, propaganda featured prominently in the actions and utterances of ethnic groups in Nigeria leading to insecurity, mutual suspicion and distrust among the different nationalities.

Nigeria was divided into three regions which comprised of East, West and the North. Each of the regions had its media, utterly independent of the other. These were the western Nigeria

broadcasting service, Eastern broadcasting service and radio Kaduna. They were apparatus used by each regions to promote ethnic differences in Nigeria. Propaganda was employed by these regional media during census in the country. Census was conducted in Nigeria in 1953-1954, The census figures was rejected by the people of the east and western Nigeria. The media in all the regions accused the federal government of distorting figures in favour of the North to attract more amenities to the area. Radio Kaduna also responded to the accusation aggressively⁷. The propaganda was very inciting and confrontational.

Propaganda was equally employed during the federal election in 1959. The coalition of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens(NCNC) during the 1959 federal election led to reactions by the media during the period. For example the Eastern Broadcasting services and Radio Kaduna accused Chief Awolowo, leader of the Action groups and Premier of Western region of tribalism, since he refused to join the coalition. The Western Nigeria broadcasting service reacted by extolling Chief Awolowo as saviour of the Yoruba and the only saviour of Nigeria. It also mocked Nnamdi Azikiwe as an opportunist Igbo leader, selfish and interested only in becoming the governor general of Nigeria. The western broadcasting service also described Ahmadu Bello as not wanting only the unity of Nigeria but also interested in spreading islam in the southern part of the country and also the whole country. Tafewa Balewa was caricatured as a stooge while Chief Awolowo was described as a pillar of strength and a paragon of intelligence. Propaganda of edification, conjecturing, brainwashing, coercive and manipulative persuasion was highly promoted. The alliance between NPC and NCNC was later strained leading to Ahmadu Bello declaring that the Northerners were friends of the Igbo people. Radio Kaduna accused the east of tribalism. Eastern Nigeria broadcasting service responded and described northern leaders as bigoted leaders of the North⁸.

The utterances and statements by national leaders of the period was also propaganda of edifying ethnic groups as superior to others. For instance Abubakar Tafewa Balewa in support of the Hausa/ Fulani stated that "He decided to make it clear to all that if the British quitted Nigeria now at this stage, the Northern people would continue their conquest to the sea. Also in response to Balewa's statement, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe stated that;

It would appear that the government of Africa was specifically created for the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages... the martial prowess of the Igbo nation at all stages of human history has enable them not only to conquer others, but also to adapt themselves to the role of preserver... the Igbo nation cannot shirk its responsibility⁹.

The propagandist statements indicated that Nigerian leaders right from the colonial period expressed strong ties to their ethnic group instead of commitment to the nation. The culture during the colonial period was the establishment of electronic media (print and electronic) by the federal and regional government, the outcome of all these was the emergence and outburst of war of words between regions that were not in tune with each other or at variance with the federal government.

Propaganda in Nigeria after Independence in 1960

Conflicts in Nigeria started with independence in 1960. Regionalism introduced by the colonialists resulted in intimidation and violence during the period. Even the parliamentary system where the real governmental authority resided in the Prime Minister instead of the President was strange to the country. The coup of January 15 1960 was regarded as an ethnic

coup laid and hatched by Igbo military officers. Victims of the coup were leaders and military officers of the north and west. This in effect created and fuelled regional acrimony in the country.

General Aguiji Ironsi who became Head of State made attempt to unify the country by abolishing the federal system and replaced with a unitary government. But this was seen by the northerners as an attempt to strengthen the eastern hold on power. Gen. Ironsi also failed to prosecute the coup plotters even though they were arrested. The arrested coup plotters were mostly military officers of Igbo origin, and Gen Ironsi too was of Igbo origin. The general public in the North concluded that Gen Ironsi was part of the coup plotters by refusing to prosecute or execute arrested coup plotters. This fuelled chaos and conflict in the country especially in the northern region against the Igbo¹⁰.

Another military coup took place in July 29 by military officers of Northern origin in revenge of the "Igbo coup" of January 1966. Immediately after the coup, conflict escalated in the north against the Igbo in revenge of the January 15 1966 killings of the Northern leaders. People of eastern region especially the Igbo were killed in the Northern region. It is estimated that about 50,000 people were killed immediately after the 29th July 1966 coup, most of the victims were of Igbo origin. In revenge, Col. Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern region expelled most northerners from the eastern region. The Igbo people were massacred in the North without the northern government intervention. An account of the killing is captured thus; A sergeant ordered that all Easterners should raise up their hands the sergeant asked us whether we could remember what happened on January 15th when the premier of the North lost their lives and the Igbos were all very happy. We said No, sergeant. Paying no heed to that he asked us to give our names and addresses and send any message we have for our people because we were going to die... they drove us 5 miles away to the Katsina road, brought us down and started shooting us. I felt my leg shattered and I fell down ... i manage to crawl into the bush¹¹.

This shows the magnitude of Massacre of the Igbo in the north. The conflict reached a crisis point when in March 1967 about half a million Igbo had left their homes across Nigeria to their home land in the East. At this time the east was prepared for secession. The Igbo who returned home from the North related their ugly experience. Horrors of the Massacre related by the refugees were another propaganda that fuelled ethnic antagonism. This is captured thus;

In Igbo land such stories removed what was left of the feeling of unity with the people of the Northern region. These events had greatly reduced the attractiveness of the federation to the Igbos- most Igbos regarded their very existence outside the eastern region as threatened. A large number of well established Igbo bureaucrats had left their federal positions to flee to the eastern region¹².

There was an attempt to resolve the conflict and still maintain the unity of the country.

This took place following the invitation of the conflicting parties by President Ankrah to Aburi, Ghana for negotiation and resolution of the conflict. The Supreme Council of Nigeria met on 4th and 5th January 1967. Present were Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon, the four regional military Governors Colonel Robert Adebayo, Lt Col. Katsina, Ojukwu and Ejoor.

Four others from Nigeria were also in the council representing the navy, lagos territory and

two from the federal police. The main discussion was among the five colonels. They agreed to restructure the military and renounce the use of force to solve the crises. Also discussed was the issue of compensation for the easterners who fled the north. Gowon also promised to apologize for the killings in the North¹³. The agreement reached in Abuja was however not implemented.

PROPAGANDA DURING THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

The mass exodus of easterners from the north following the massacre and the failure of Gen Gowon led military government to implement the Aburi accord prompted Col Chukwuemeka Ojukwu to declare the secession of eastern region from the republic of Nigeria. Col. Ojukwu was the military governor of eastern region. Propaganda played significant role in the declaration of the secession. The report given by Easterners who returned from the north was one of the triggers of the declaration of secession and subsequently the civil war. The images and sight of the returnee from the north was a very strong propaganda that fanned the embers of hate and the urge to secede.

It is in this regard that Davies state,... not only the Igbos suffered, though they were undoubtedly in the majority, Efiks, Ibibios, Ogojas and Ijaws were also singled out for butchery. As they come home and told their tales, a waves of rage swept across the east, mingled also with despair and disillusion. There was hardly a village or town, family or compound in the region that did not take into its fold one of the refugees and listen to what he had to say. Thousands of refugees were marred for life either mentally or physically, by what they had gone through... there is no better propaganda coup than the images and actual sights of the exodus of the suffering, the married, the homeless, the penniless. Col Ojukwu use all these as a tool and impetus to campaign for all easterners to publicly demand for a constitutional change for confederation or else secession¹⁴.

As the propaganda rage on and the refusal of Gen. Gowon to heed to the Aburi Accord and Col Ojukwu's demand, dissolved the house of Assembly and set up a consultative Assembly of 335 members from all ethnic groups existing in the then Eastern region of Nigeria. The consultative Assembly met on 26 may 1967 and gave Col. Ojukwu the mandate to declare eastern region as a free sovereign and independent State by the name and title of the Republic of Biafra. Owing to the demands of the consultative members, Col Ojukwu declared the Republic of Biafra on 30th May 1967 in the State house, Enugu which was later renamed Biafra Lodge¹⁵.

The media also played a key role in the propaganda that triggered the declaration of the republic of Biafra. The Eastern media engaged in the caricature of Gen. Gowon while edifying Col. Ojukwu. For example, it was stated that Col. Ojukwu was highly educated in Oxford University which enhanced his fluency in English while Gen Gowon could not understand or comprehend since he had only military training from Sandhurst. Also, Gowon accused Col Ojukwu of betrayal and arrogance. The slogan "on Aburi we stand" was adopted by almost all the media in the eastern region of Nigeria. It was a propaganda play that was used by the eastern media to bargain for the implementation of the Aburi agreement which the Gowon regime never implemented. After the declaration of the republic of Biafra by Col. Ojukwu, the radio propaganda by radio Nigeria and television in

Lagos described the attempt carried out by Gowon led federal military government as “police action” against Biafra in order to bring it back to the Nigerian fold. Similarly, two stations of radio and television also use the slogan “to keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done”. Gen. Gowon with clear determination to crush the Biafra Republic launched the federal troop using the slogans devised by the radio and television stations. Such slogans were “one Nigeria” to preserve the territorial integrity of Nigeria and crush the revolt, the Biafra Republic use a counter slogan device by the radio Biafra and television tagged in the price of liberty is eternal vigilance¹⁷.

The media propaganda continued when the media in Lagos announced that the army had been instructed to enter the eastern Nigerian territory to regain the area in a police action and capture Col. Ojukwu dead or alive and took him to Lagos. The conflict at this stage had reached a tension stage; therefore, both sides were in full and serious preparation for a full scale war. Biafra was in self defense while waiting for Gowon led federal force to strike first. The federal force offenses or first gun short over Biafra was on 6th July 1967. this escalated the conflict to the last stage of conflict, war.

Two wars were fought in Nigeria during the civil war. First was the military offensive in which the federal military government won, the second was the media war won by the Biafrans intoto¹⁹. The success of the federal side was a result of superior military weapons. This was procured from both Britain and the Soviet Union through the open market. Britain supplied the federal forces heavy weapons and ammunition because of its interest to preserve the country it created in Africa. The heavy supply of weapons by Britain was the biggest factor that determined the outcome of the war. Biafra on the other hand procured its own military hardware through the black market, covert assistance from some friendly nations and also from local manufacturers of weapons²⁰.

The Biafran side was limited in many areas. There were problems of new recruits without adequate training and also problem of transportation and logistics in regard to the operation. There was also lack of support from the outside world and also the decline in morale of the soldiers as a result of deteriorating famine situation. In the face of all these hindrances, the biafran side had to adopt propaganda in the execution of the war.

Propaganda ensured the continuity and elongation of the war. It equally boosted the morale of the Soldiers and the people of eastern region. It was mostly carried out by the Biafran media, mostly the voice of Biafra and the radio Biafra. Through drama and cartoons, it praised and edify Col. Ojukwu and the new nation, the republic of Biafra, on the other hand; caricatured Col. Gowon and the people of Northern region. Even though the Nigerian troops captured nearly all part of the then eastern region such as Enugu, Ikot Ekpene, Port Harcourt, Umuahia and others, the media praised the bravery, intelligence and forthrightness of the Biafran forces and commanders. Through this the confidence and morale of the people of the region was enliven, it gave them hope that they were being sufficiently defended and protected from annihilation. Some war and troops commanders were praised for having mystical powers in which no bullet can penetrate them by the enemy forces. For instance, there was the claim that Col Archibong was invincible and impervious to enemy bullet, he was described as indestructible and even when he was finally killed and buried, most people of the Biafran side did not believe it. Similarly Ahmadu Bello was portrayed by the northern people that he was

beyond human destruction²¹.

As the war raged on, the Biafra adopted religious propaganda. The Muslim north was accused by the Biafra of planning to exterminate all Christians from the then eastern region. This was presented at the international stage and attracted the attention of the world council of churches and the Vatican. This resulted in relief materials being shifted to Biafra from the Caritas²².

The voice of Biafra and the radio Biafra played key roles in the propaganda of propagating the civil war. The stations reached out to neighboring African countries seeking for sympathy. Such African countries include Cameroon, Congo DRC. (Zaire), Tanzania, Zambia and Ivory Coast. Other countries such as Portugal, France, and Israel were sympathetic to the Biafran course.

The emergence of famine in the early 1968 was also used as propaganda to attract the attention of the outside world. No other Biafra propaganda attracted the outside world as the famine propaganda. Concerning this, Davies captured it thus "Biafra's early propaganda thrust were three fold- pogroms and genocide, religious warfare and oil and economic war". All three relatively impacted on the world stage, but as it has been, despite strong words, did not motivate any external mobilization in aid of Biafra. But, famine and the pictures of kwashiorkor children, women and men achieved what religion, genocide and pogrom, and oil did not²³. The pictures of the Biafran children, with their bellies swollen from malnutrition gave the situation an immediacy that would not be ignored²⁴. The economic blockade by the federal military government resulted in decline in foreign goods entering the Biafran area. There was extreme famine resulting in poor nutrition. This led to a disease condition known as kwashiorkor. It was a protein deficiency disease which affected the children more. The Biafran area (Eastern Nigeria) with abundant farmland was noted for the cultivation of food crops while importing only salt, meat and stock fish from other countries. The Biafran led government accused the Nigerian military government of trying to starve the Biafran people so that they may surrender. Therefore starvation was adopted as a war strategy by the Nigerian led government. Also, Biafra did not have a hard currency to exchange for goods and other product from foreign countries. All shipping line going beyond Lagos port were denied insurance cover. The Biafra propaganda in this regard played a frontline role in bringing the world attention to the high number of people especially children who were starving and suffering from Kwashiorkor. The Biafran media played a key role in the display of propaganda during the civil war. They mounted the most successful public relations campaign of all time²⁵

Lessons From History

This work x-rayed propaganda employed in Nigeria before and after independence. Nigeria is a multi ethnic society with over 250 ethnic groups and over 400 language groups. Some of the ethnic groups were powerful kingdoms and empires even before the amalgamation of 1914 and independence of 1960. The amalgamation of 1914 was conceived and borne by the British colonialist without the consent and general agreement of all the component parts. It is believed that even with the amalgamation, people were still loyal to their ethnic groups. This is because the amalgamated Nigeria did not take off with a unifying philosophy in which all the components parts would have looked up to as a tripod stand or guiding philosophy of unity and patriotism. This resulted in ethnic acrimony and discord right from the period before independence. The acrimony and discord among the ethnic groups resulted in the use of

propaganda to heat up the polity resulting in war of words, hate speech, libel, conflicts, attempt to secede, violence and a civil war which claimed the lives of millions of Nigerians. Great lessons can be learnt from the effect of propaganda in Nigeria since its inception. This becomes very expedient in today's Nigeria where hate speech and fake news has been strongly entrenched in the polity. Just like propaganda, hate speech refers to any speech, gesture, conduct, writing or display which could incite people to violence or prejudicial speech²⁶. Similarly, hate speech may also refer to all communication (whether verbal, written, symbolic) that insult a racial, ethnic and political group, whether by suggesting that they are inferior in some respect or by indicating that they are despised or not welcomed for any other reason²⁷. Propaganda leading to the civil war was perpetrated by the media, the then radio and television of the different regions of Nigeria.

Today, hate speech is perpetrated by Nigerians through the social media such as Face book, twitter, Whatsapp, Youtube and other online networks. It is usually targeted against public office holders with the aim to discredit the government and create ethnic, religious and political sensitivity in the country²⁸. It is also targeted at political opponents during election. It leads to manipulation during election and creates chaos and could provoke violence. Legal frameworks abound that prohibit hate speech and favour free speech and are contained in the constitutions of nations. Some developed Countries with long years of democracies attached certain restrictions on freedom of speech. Article 10(2) of the European convention on Human rights states that the exercise of freedom of expression... may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law... the interest of national security... for the protection of the reputation or rights of others." In Nigeria some doctrines that recognize freedom of speech and expression added a clause to guard against hate speech, promote human dignity, cohesion and peace. Also, section 39(1) of the 1999 constitution as amended in 2011 provides that every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression..." section 45 provides that nothing in section 39 shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society in the interest of public order, public morality and for the purpose of preventing the rights and freedom of other persons. Section 95 and 96 of the 2010 electoral acts proscribed the use of any language in sales promotion or politically motivated campaigns that will incite tribal, religious and/or sectional sensitivity.

The Nigerian senate has also rise against hate speech. In March 2018 a bill was introduced that seek to penalized persons found guilty of hate speech. The bill prescribed death by hanging for any person found guilty of any form of hate speech that result in the death of another person. It also seeks the establishment of an independent national commission for hate speech. The proposed commission is expected to enforce hate speech laws in the country and ensure the elimination of hate speech. For offences such as harassment on ground of ethnicity or race, the offender shall be sentenced to not less than a five year jail term or a fine of not less than N10 million or both. The bill did not make it through to the third reading. However, the bill has been re-introduced following the senate reintroducing a bill to regulate the use of social media.

Propaganda and hate speech arises as a result ethnicity and ethnic sentiment and it remained inimical to any meaningful development. It creates hatred, discord, conflict, violence and war.

The history of Nigeria is abounding with propaganda and hate speeches most especially after the amalgamation in 1914. Most conflict in Nigeria before and after independence in 1960 arose due to ethnic sentiment fuelled by propaganda and hate speeches by notable Nigerians. Propaganda employed after the first coup in January 1966 resulted in ethnic bigotry and pogroms which resulted in the massacre of people of eastern region in the north. It culminated into secession and subsequently the civil war which resulted in the death of at least a million Nigerians. It resulted in famine in the entire eastern region which was the civil war theatre. The effects of the civil war should not be forgotten hastily. Therefore, the use of or promotion of hate speech should be abhorred in its entirety, the effects are multifarious than its advantages. Nigeria has gone a long way on the journey of nationhood, therefore to keep Nigeria one should be the watch word of all Nigerians for all round progress and development of Africa's largest and most populous black nation.

ENDNOTES

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⁶Inwang Utin, Amalgamation and the Rise of ethnic militias ... p46

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¹⁰Max Siolun, *Oil, Politics and Violence, Nigeria's military Coup culture (1766-1976)* (New York. Algora Pub). Pp141-142

¹¹Roy Doron, *Forging a Nation while losing a country: Igbo Nationalism, Ethnicity and Propaganda in the Nigerian civil war 1968-1970* Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Faculty of the Graduate school of the University of Texas at Austin, August 2011. p. 30

¹²Roy Doron, *Forging a Nation* ... p. 36

¹³Patrick Davies, *use of propaganda in civil war, The Biafra experience..* Pp148-150

¹⁴Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* Pp 146 -147

¹⁵Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* Pp.155-156

¹⁶Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* p. 151

¹⁷Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* Pp 157-158

¹⁸Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* P. 186

¹⁹Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* P. 186 ²⁰Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* p162.

²¹Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* p. 163

²²Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* p 165

²³Patrick Davies, *Use of Propaganda in civil war* p168

²⁴Roy Doron, *Forging a nation while losing a Country Igbo Nationalism, Ethnicity and Propaganda in the Nigeria Civil war 1968-1970...* p122

²⁵Patric Davies, *The use of propaganda in the Nigerian civil war...* p186

²⁶Olanrenwaju Ajaka et al 'Hate Speech and Fake News: A Study of Meaning and Perceptions in Nigeria Political Culture' in *International Journal of Scientific and Engineering Research*. Vol.10, issue 5 may 2019. P13