

Conflicts between Two Religious Cultures: Achieving Reconciliation

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Abstract

*Frustration over the delay and misconceptions about the need for promoting African Christianity resulted in two waves of African Independent Church Movements (AICM) within the Protestant Churches in Africa. The first wave resulted in the rise of the Ethiopianist churches, while the second gave rise to the spiritist churches. The first, however, was a protest against failure to indigenize church leadership, while the second was a protest against failure to inculturate the spirituality and liturgy of the church in Africa. In the Catholic circle, discontent over the “Roman Church”, found expression in the book: *Les Pretres Noire se Interrogent; Black Priests* asked themselves questions (about the foreignness of their church). The issue is really whether Christianity in the West should continue as it is at present as a culturally manocentric church, churches based exclusively on Graeco-Roman European culture, or a polycentric church. In Africa, life comes from God and is communicated through the ancestors. Thus Jesus as the Christ is our Brother-Ancestor. All this is an effort to insert the Christ in the very origins of human life in Africa in order to underline in an African way the new kind of life of an African Christians. It is the aim of this paper to unravel the causes of the conflict and to proffer solutions towards reconciliation between the two religious cultures.*

Introduction

Ikenga-Metuh is quoted as saying that religious bigotry and spiritual arrogance are the key causes of conflicts (Olupana 1992). The illusion among some religionists, he continues, is that they uphold the truth and others have a lesser form of God’s revelation. At times, he said, religious conflicts are often caused by the use of religion to further non-religious interest (Olupana 1992), which was applicable during the missionary era even till date. Nwosu (1993) avers that nationalist protests against the religio-cultural genocide which the missionaries perpetrated against Africa took various forms, such as the rise of African independent churches, the introduction of some indigenous cultural practices into some mission churches, the rejection of European names by some church leaders and laity.

African ancestral cult, as a part of these views, have been rejected by Western missionaries, but they have found recognition some of the Independent Churches, while many African members of older churches also adhere to traditional beliefs and rituals relating to the ancestors. Ekpunobi and Ezeaku, (1990), agreeing with Nwosu stated that African traditional religion and its philosophy is, “The religious beliefs and practices of the Africans which were handed down from generation to generation”. (p.3). The

missionaries who did not understand it made it to appear a morass of bizarre beliefs and practices.

This paper is aimed at unraveling the issues involved in the religio-cultural conflicts as considered by some scholars in Nigeria and the way forward in reconciling the beliefs and practices.

Clearing Definitional Problems

Nmah (2004) citing Bouquet observed that religion is an English word. But, a Roman writer Cicero holds the view that the word religion came from a root “leg”-meaning to take up, gather, count, or observe, that is “to observe the signs of divine communication”. Another Roman writer, services, on the other hand, held that it came from another root “lig”-meaning to bind. According to Nmah, Karl Bahner described the term religion as something derived from three Latin verbs namely relegare, religare and religere. Relegere means “constantly turn to” or “conscientiously observe”, or “to study closely”. Religare means “binding oneself back to one’s origin and goal”, or “to bind oneself fast to God”, while religere means to choose and select again. The possible derivation from the three verbs thus offers converging perspectives, which are more than an etymology, since they describe possible religious attitudes.

Many scholars have given different definitions of religion, each defining it from his area of study. Nmah quoting carpenter defines religion as the “whole group of rites performed in honour of the divine being”. This definition seems too restricted because religion does not consist only of rites or ritual worship. The definition failed to say anything about total commitment of the individual and his internal religious experience.

Emile Durkheim in Nmah (2004) sees religion as a social fact par excellence. Religion, he emphasizes, is a “social fact” in contrast to the theologians who regard it as something supernatural. The social facts are empirical facts, which are open to scientific investigations. He then concluded that law, contract, morality and education have religious foundations. Indeed, he defined religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices, which is relative to sacred things, things set apart or forbidden – belief’s and practices that unite one single moral community called a Church and all those who adhere to them. As for Durkheim the reason that religion is necessary for the very existence of

the society is *raison d'être*" (Nmah 2004). There are a lot of other scholastic definitions of religion, but the latter definition will be appropriate for this paper.

From this definition of religion, we turn now to the task of defining culture. Culture, in a general sense, is the sum of all that have spontaneously arisen for the advancement of material life, and as an expression of spiritual and moral life – all social intercourse, technologies, arts, literature and science (Nmah 2004). It is indigenous and a way of life of the people in a particular environment.

In other words, culture is the work of man's minds and hands. It is said to be that portion of man's heritage in any place or time which has been given us designedly and laboriously by other men not what has come to us via the meditation of none human beings or through human beings in so far as they have acted without intention of results or without process; hence it includes speed, education, tradition, myths, science, art, philosophy, government, law, rite, beliefs, invention's and technologies. Culture includes kinship, marriage and affinity, social control such as political organization, law and social sanctions, economic and property relations.

Culture distinguishes man from other creatures, or animals; and one group from another (Obot 1987). It is the totality of human action and its products, which is socially transmitted from one generation to another. It is what man inherits through being a member of a particular society or group-social heritage. From another perspective, culture according to some anthropologists, exists only in the mind; to others it consists of observable things and events in the external world. A classical definition of culture was given by Tylor (1871), who conceives of culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society". Culture is the name of all things and events peculiar to the human species.

Normative aspect of culture emphasizes the practical principles directly governing human conduct personally and socially such as the sanctity of human life etc. Niebuhr's defines culture as the "artificial, secondary environment" which man superimposes on the natural, which comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes, and values (Niebuhr 1956). This definition forms the bedrock upon which this paper lies. This "social heritage", this "reality *sui generis*",

which the New Testament writers frequently had in mind when they spoke of “the world”, which is represented in many forms but to which Christians like other men are inevitably subject, is what we mean when we speak of culture.

Enwerem (1995) cited Kalu as saying, ‘Religion dominates the roots of the culture area of Nigeria (p.13). Little or no distinction existed between the profane and the sacred dimensions of life. Thus, all activities, and instruments of governance and survival are clothed in religious ritual, language, and symbolism. Anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists have their concepts about culture. To some anthropologists, culture exists only in the mind while to others it consists of observable things and events in the external world (Obot 1987: 35). It may comprise beliefs, attitudes, moral norms, rules and laws which may be described as normative aspect of culture or even the aesthetic aspect which consists of values and ideals that include music, dance, art forms, literature etc, or language, speech gestures and gesticulations which is called communicative aspect of culture. Others may be the products and technical knowledges of man in a given environment. Carving, weaving and leather tanning belong to this group which may be classified as materials or empirical aspect of culture. It is also manifested in the clothing, shelter, tools, weapons, implements, utensils the people make.

As people with different backgrounds, points of view, values, needs, religions, and personalities interact, a variety of conflicts often develop (Nmah 2004: 228). Organizational change also contributes to conflict, because it realigns relationship among people. There are about four types of conflicts namely functional conflicts, dysfunctional conflicts, a person versus person conflict, and person versus group. Dysfunctional conflicts are destructive conflicts characterized by cold wars. A person versus person conflict involves two persons who are odds over personality differences. Functional conflicts are constructive conflicts. Conflict in any organization is an event, issue, occurrence or situation that could be described as a turning point for better or worse (Nmah 2008). It is a process that begins when one person sees that another person has damaged – or about to damage – something that the other person cares about. The latter definition shall be relevant to this research work. Conflict, if properly managed, can create development, tolerance, love and lasting peace. But when mismanaged, it could result to violence, blood-letting, mayhem and tremendous destruction.

In conflict analysis, anyone wishing to manage a conflict should begin by looking closely at what is really happening. When strong emotions are involved, people are often tempted to jump to conclusions before examining the interests of both sides and their own interests as well. In managing conflicts, one needs to consider the contents of conflict, the values of conflict, the negotiation of selves conflict and institutionalized conflict. The contents comprise the source, disagreement on items of contents, or “rightness” of ideas. The issues involved in this context are cultural and religious ideas. That is the encounter between western culture and its religion (Christianity) and African culture and its religion. If a culture has both consistency and equity, all are treated the same under all conditions (Nmah 2008). Second, values of conflict involve disagreement on the basic values and beliefs. Value conflicts occur when one set of values clashes with another, and a decision has to be made. In this case, there is the need to tolerate value differences, listen and communicate properly to each other.

Christian Religion and Cultural Conflicts: A Paradoxical Issue in Nigeria nationalism

Nwankwo (1992) defined nationalism as a policy designed to achieve national self determination. Again, nationalism is defined as a protest against colonial power. It is the identification of a people with the aspirations and interests of their nation, especially in matters related to their independence and sovereignty. In this, nationalism should be seen as a protest against religio-cultural dominance by the missionaries.

With other definitions already done on the advent of European missionaries, the labelled A.T.R. with many derogatory terminologies such as primitive or “lower” than that of paganus, heathen, fetish, magic, polytheistic, animistic and idol worship. To Nwosu (1993), the rise of nationalist oriented movements and agitations in the church was a direct result of missionary attitude towards the indigenous cultures and peoples. In their evangelical campaigns, in their sermons, in their utterances during meetings with the indigenous agents, the missionaries and their converts condemned everything African, including their religion of the various peoples of Africa. Using Igboland as his case study, he stated that the refusal of the early missionaries to allow the Igbo converts to seek initiation into the various cults and societies in Igbo traditional society greatly embarrassed the Igbo evangelists and majority of the Igbo Christians. This action led them to employing every force of argument to convince their European counterparts that

these social customs, including naming ceremonies, second burials and so on which were fabrics of society did not conflict with Christian belief. To the Igbo converts, preventing them from getting initiated into their cultural pattern of life was automatically excluding political, cultural, religious and social participation and hitherto a denial of their right of citizenship. This evokes religio-cultural nationalism in Igboland.

Citing Ayandele, Babalola (1988) avers that Christianity seemed a much greater disturber of the African society especially its denunciation of polygamy and other important African customs and institutions that could be tolerated with the impression that Africans could not become Christians unless they become Europeanised or Latinized. That is to speak English or Latin, dress like them and behave like them. In their mission schools, the missionaries intended to produce a group of people who were Nigerian only in blood but European in culture, thought, habit and religion.

According to Nwosu (1993), to become a Christian, the proselyte had to abandon his old ways mostly his culture and religion and to become an European in every way including abandoning his wives as a polygamist and renouncing his indigenous name for a European name obviously at baptism. This was a reminiscence of the behaviour of the Jewish Christians towards the gentile proselyte. This European attitude of condemnation of the entire gamut of innocent African religio-cultural and social practices evoked nationalism. (spirit of brotherhood) among the Nigerian populace.

During this period, many African cultural nationalists including some African church catechists and pastors especially in Igboland tried to convince their European counterparts that most of their customs such as naming ceremonies, second burials, new yam festivals, initiation rituals, title –taking, polygamous marriage, traditional music, African style of dressing among others which they condemned were not entirely bad nor did they conflict with Christian values and practices. This was because most of these cultural practices were in consonance with European and Old Testament customs and values. Idowu (1965) affirming the above statement questioned whether the church's purpose in Nigeria is not to serve as an effective tool of imperialism, a veritable means of softening up Nigerians for the purpose of convenient exploitation by Europeans. To him, while accepting Christianity, Nigerians did not need to throw away that which is good and valuable in their own culture. And so, for the gospel to have impact on the lives of

Nigerians, it must take cognizance of the cultural background of the society and preach in clear accents rather than commending her saviour to Nigeria in strange tongues.

The nationalists, especially the African church leaders, created African theology that has cultural nationalist dimension. That is to say that the Africans who are Christians can now interpret the gospel within the context of their culture such as in music, art and dance. Christ will be real to Nigerians only when the church in this country develops a distinctive theology in consequence of their own personal knowledge of God of God and a personal appropriation of the Lordship of Christ. It is wrong to condemn indiscriminately as evil everything connected with our cultural life style.

King Jaja of Opobo was one of those powerful rulers who forbade missionaries from entering his kingdom in order not to distort his culture. He described the advent of the missionaries as British factor for cultural, political, religious and economic imperialism. Determined on preserving indigenous religion and institutions at all costs, even when it began to show that he was resisting the irresistible, he spared no effort to oppose the Christianization of the Niger Delta (Anyandele 1966). Okonkwo, in the "Things Fall Apart" Achebe (1966), did not mince words against the missionaries' attitude towards his people's culture.

The cultural awakening among Africans did not have its origins to any external influence, rather it was spontaneous and consequent reactions to the factors aforementioned. The first African voices against the denationalizing methods of Christian missions in West Africa were those of James Johnson and Blyden (Ayandele 1966). Though James Johnson advocated for cultural nationalism during his life time, the most prolific apostle of cultural nationalism was Edward Blyden. His contribution to African nationalism did not lie in the distinctly political, but in the cultural sphere. To him, no greater calamity could befall a race than the loss of its culture; for culture is the soul of every race and to exterminate it is to commit a terrible homicide. An educated African who approximates to a practical cultural nationalist was D.B. Vincent, leader of Native Baptist Church who later in 1899 while in Liberia changed his name to Mojola Agbe and decided to go in African "agbada" as it is being observed every Wednesday for civil servants in Abia State.

In order to create high-sounding or polysyllable names, the educated African nationalists discarded their foreign names such as Rev. J.H. Samuel, secretary of Lagos Institute founded in 1901, became Adegboye Edum; Joseph Pythagoras Haastrup became Ademyiwa Haastrup; while George William Johnson of the Egba Board of Management became Oshokala Tejumade Johnson among others (Ayandele 1966). Today, many Africans desire to answer native names at baptism and confirmation.

According to Barrett (1970), “the African reactions to mission attitude towards African culture are classified into four analyses which represent traditional religion and society namely polygyny, ancestral cult, the earth goddess and the traditional African family”. (pp. 116 – 124). The conflict of missions with polygamy was often in fact violent, and the reaction massive. A polygamist desiring baptism had only to choose one favourite wife; but the fate of the other wives then sent away under the stigma of disgrace was tragic. Neither were those in the church much better off; women were not permitted in the ministry nor in the hierarchy of its executive structure. In numerous other ways, too, the rigidity of institutionalized churches - such as their frequent refusal to baptize illegitimate children – was felt primarily by women. A further cause of antagonism was the hypocrisy of many members of the mission churches ostensibly monogamous but actually living in concubinage.

Closely related to polygamy and kinship is the ancestor – cult, or to use a contemporary phrase, the remembrance of the living dead. Hence in the majority of societies across Africa, as an expression of family and clan continuity and solidarity, the recently – deceased family ancestors (especially those of illustrious personality or any who died with a grievance) are regarded as still inhabiting the family land. Special shrines may be built for them, or masks worn for them to speak through. To Barrett (1970), “the ancestors, the custodians of the source of life, were the reservoir of power and vitality, the source whence flowed all the forces of vigour, sustenance and growth”. (p. 119). In Nigeria, two small independent groups among the Yako combined memberships with respect for, and underlying belief in the spirits of the clan and other shrines.

Another important aspect of African religion for centuries past in many tribes has been ritual related to the earth, regarded as a female goddess or occasionally as a male.

This somewhat impersonal figure is worshipped as the omnipresent, protector of the land, the giver of fertility, the guardian of marriage, family and the home. Such fertility cults, together with the ancestral cult, were responsible during the unstable period of colonial – missionary impact for much of the stability that remained in tribal societies.

What these three preceding factors all have in common is the institution of the African family, extended family or clan, with its customs, rules, taboos, religion, land, productivity and its fertility. Consequently, missionary assault upon any one component part of this complex, whether social or religious, has been readily regarded as an assault upon the whole and ultimately upon the family or clan system itself. The missionary assault on the family complex caused women to act, for they felt the issues at stake far more keenly than men. With more to lose, they vehemently defended their traditional institutions and way of life (Barrett 1970). When, however, disaffection became too potent and the schisms began, it was women in the main who supported the seceding prophets. As a result, women now comprise the majority of the membership of independent church movements across Africa. The renewal gave rise to Biblicalism, Africanism, Philadelphia, an African theology, and an African churchmanship.

To understand the significance in history of African independency and of this whole reformatory complex, a brief excursus is necessary at this point namely, a short review of separatism elsewhere over the centuries including its various forms and causes. Throughout church history there have been rhythms of division and reunion. The first four centuries of the Christian era were marked by many schisms and divisions: the Apostle Paul noted four parties at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:10 – 17), and by the time of Constantine Ephinianus was able to enumerate eighty varieties. In the main, these divisions were nominally theological and internal to the faith, centering on arguments concerning creed, polity, worship and discipline. The causes of all these schisms in the Early Church have been analysed in detail according to Barrett (1970) by the historian Greenslade, who groups them under seven categories: “personality clashes, nationalism, social and economic factors, liturgical disputes, controversies over rivalry of sees, and disciplinary measures”. (p. 187). Underlying them all, he detects a basic common denominator which the Early Church itself recognized when it held that the extreme gravity of schism was based upon the paramountcy of the Christian virtue of agape: as

did Augustine himself, they held that the life of a divided church was a daily sin against agape, and that therefore all schematics were guilty of a failure in love.

In regard to most of the components of love - service, sacrifice, forgiveness, caring, compassion, charity, peace-missions had exemplary records, as is evident from the large and flourishing mission churches that have resulted. But at one small point only – love as listening, sharing, sympathizing and sensitive understanding in depth between equals – missions in many areas appeared to the more critical observers to have failed. There was no close contact, so it seemed, no dialogue, no comprehension, no sympathy extended to traditional society or religion. Instead of Philadelphia, there was competitiveness between a multiplicity of missionary agencies (Barrett 1970). At a certain point the limit of tolerance was reached the break then came with the emergence of a charismatic leader, visionary, seer, prophet or prophetess, often claiming an experience of wilderness, death and resurrection similar to that of Christ, and who came into prominence in some intolerable situation that served as the immediate cause of revolt. Various types of reaction hitherto lying dormant now emerge out of the background anomie.

Unrestricted access to the Bible, with its notions of equality, justice and non-racialism, provided the early converts with a valid weapon which they were not reluctant to employ against the missionaries who brushed these ideals aside in church administration and in their relations with the converts.

What this brief historical review of separatism shows is that there are certain striking parallels and recurring themes in the various waves of protest and renewal over the past centuries Nigeria inclusive. Consequently the literature describing these movements usually sees the causes of specific schisms as unique, local, political, personal, and rooted in the particular circumstances of the day. From this point of view, African independency represents something quite new and unprecedented in the entire history of the expansion of Christianity, a single organic movement of unparalleled size, character and significance extending far through time and space. No doubt also the immediate causes of these contemporary schisms in Africa have striking parallels with the causes delineated in the analyses of Greenslade, Knox and others, and requires a formula for reconciliation.

Incarnation: A Way Forward towards Reconciliation

Those who are the recipients of divine reconciliation have the privilege and obligation of now being God's instruments to proclaim the "message of reconciliation" throughout the world (2Cor. 5: 19).

But in every case, the way to celebrate reconciliation and peace lies through an effective grappling with the root cause of the problem. It is interesting to observe that New Testament passage speaks of Christ as reconciling God to man. It is man's sin that has had to be dealt with. (Eph 2:16; 2 Cor. 5:18-21).

The process may be called African incarnation theology by which what is considered essential in the message of Christ penetrates and takes flesh in a culture. What is incarnated is not just exegete teachings from the Bible, but also the teaching and believing traditions of the people of God. Contextualization necessarily involves two poles – the external, non-negotiable, universal divine aspect which is the word of God on the one hand, and the temporary contextual, contingent reality, which is the context on the other. Or, simply put, it involves the divine universal and the human local (Ikenga-Metuh 1996). God has always been incarnate in human cultures (cf Acts 14: 17). For "at various times in the past, and in various different ways, God spoke to our ancestors through the prophets, but in our own time, the last days, God had spoken to us through his son" (Heb. 1: 1-2). Divine revelation reached its climax in Christ. Thus, historically, Christ the word of God incarnated himself in the Judeo Hellenic culture, and he illuminated, judged and elevated it. Hence, African incarnation theology seeks to incarnate the word of God in African cultures. When incarnation is fully and effectively accomplished, the light of the gospel would radically transform different levels of African life, laws, customs, values and world views. It must address also African experience in terms of situations of hunger, poverty, disease, sick, oppressed and the poor, corruption, election rigging, militancy, piracy, kidnapping, political and economic oppression are contexts fertile enough for this contextual theology.

The unity between the missionary Christian values and African cultural values can further made the Africans obtain social and cultural recognition worldwide with a company of different ethnics, or nations with cultural and creed variations of believers with whom they can share problems. Their unity will serve as a due which binds them

together. It will also enhance social stability among different ethnic groups with different religious ideas by harmonizing their beliefs and practices. It will create also one faith, one fellowship, one constitution (or canon law), one body of laity and to regain the past glories for which the gospel was known. Reconciliation will usher in the growth of evangelism, morality, spirituality, and intellectualism, economic and political development.

Sequel to this, the church should emphasize the integration of religion and culture in order to find all life situation in the Bible. It is a new theology based on the biblical faith and which can speak to the African soul or is relevant to Africa. It is expressed in categories of thought which arise out of the philosophy of the African people. It calls for a “fresh scrutiny of divine revelation as consigned to scriptures”. It goes beyond a fundamentalist approach to the scriptures, and recommends a scientific and critical study of the sacred scriptures. The purpose of the scrutiny, according to Ikenga-Metuh (1996), is to sift and identify “the unchanging good news of God’s self-revelation in Jesus Christ” (p.13) as different from the Judeo-Graeco cultural packaging in which it is presented in the scriptures. Serious theological enterprise should be able to apply latest developments in Biblical studies, exegesis, hermeneutics, biblical theology, and anthropology to reach a deeper understanding of the gospel message and its meaning for Africans in their rapidly changing cultural situation. This is because African culture denotes their customs, outlook on life, and social order.

One needs to mention African traditional religion, for the encounter is in fact between two systems of religious beliefs and faith commitments, each of which is normative to those who accept it. People commit naturally themselves to a system of faith which has its worldview, its philosophy, beliefs, rituals, and so forth.

Recommendations and Conclusion

By way of recommendations, it is hope that special synods of churches on Africa would hasten the full establishment of African Christianity. They should fund the establishment of research institutes, the training of experts, and sponsoring seminars, workshops, and publications in various aspects of incarnation. Sponsorship should be extended to seminars and workshops designed to extend the fruits of this research to the “non-experts” who are responsible for the religious and spiritual formation, pastors,

catechists, teachers, religious, parents, men and women, lay apostolate workers and ordinary faithful.

The curricula of seminaries, formation houses or theological colleges for the religious should comprehensively be revised to inculcate the principles of reconciliation and to foster the practice of inculturation (incarnation). African Christianity is nothing if it does not recognize the right of Africans to give an African response to the gospel message. Citing Iwe, Babalola (1988) suggested that the church should, in respect to polygamy, institute research into the nature, motives and circumstance of the polygamous tendencies among its members instead of condemning it outrightly. Specifically, he wants the church to examine African cultural background; and to find out whether polygamy as an institution is irrevocably, absolutely and irreconcilably opposed to the Biblical data of the New Testament. The investigation should extend to unraveling also the essential nature of the unity of a true Christian marriage. To expantiate his point, Iwe mentioned the factors of childlessness, economic ability and social acceptability to be taken into consideration when examining polygamy in the context of African traditional values. To him, the church should concern itself with promoting human conscience which is the pivot of personality development and political maturity. It must champion the cause for human dignity and values. The people must be imbued with the tradition of religious harmony within the community.

In conclusion, by adaptation, religious scholars understood adopting and adapting elements in African cultural heritage which are compatible with Christian beliefs and values, in order to give this Euro-Christian life an African look and taste. Other African scholars rejected this theology of “adaptation”, which they criticized as simply “nativizing the European church”. They rather opted for the theology on “inculturation incarnation”, which Ukpong described as attempts to make the gospel message challenge African culture. It exposes the one to the other and puts them in dialogue. Culture thus becomes enlightened by the gospel message, and from it emerges an African vision of Christianity (1996).

There is the need to synthesize the apostolic *kerygma* with authentic African insight, based on biblical criteria derived from vernacular translations of the scriptures. As a result, they represent a remarkable new initiative within African society to

counteract the forces of disintegration. Beyond the tragic spectacle of schism after schism, therefore, one can sense the gradual emergence of an unorthodox but genuinely indigenous renewal of Christianity in terms that can be understood by African societies. Independency (as a religious movement) is dearly playing an increasingly vital part in the rooting of the Christian faith in the soil of Africa.

The church in Nigeria should justify her existence in the country; to answer in precise terms the question as to whether her purpose in Nigeria is not to serve as an effective tool of neo-colonialism or imperialism, a veritable means of softening up Nigerians for the purpose of convenient exploitation by Europeans and with the new trends in Nigerian nationalism, these European structures will collapse.

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