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#### **Research Article**





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# Once Upon a Time in Biafra: War Time Caucus, Hate Crime and Ethnic Violence in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*

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#### **Abstract**

A study of wartime literature also serves the function of documenting and preserving the stories and key experiences which the victims have witnessed through their forbearance in such events. While hate crime, caste conflicts, communal violence and ethnic violence are indispensable discourses in the study of criminal justice system, a parallel study of hate crime and ethnic

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violence through the kaleidoscope of contemporary Nigerian literature would be equally influencing. For any civil war, citing one cataclysmic reason is never justifiable. In the late 1960s the political and social climate in a multi- ethnic country like Nigeria was brimming with religious and tribal differences, the immediate reason that triggered the unfortunate civil war in Nigeria was 'hate speech' of the political leaders and military commanders. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, a third-generation Nigerian woman writer reminisces this civil war through her novel *Half of A Yellow Sun* (2006) in which the scarring memoirs of genocide, war time rapes, ransacking of houses and property, mass killings, forced conscription and forced prostitution of young girls are captured with the intent to highlight the menacing minds of war driven humans. It is true that Hate crime is more destructive and dangerous when it finds such secessionist atmosphere as would ignite ethnic violence and deeper still into a full-blown civil war. Through this paper an evaluation and analyses of the hate crime during the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War would come under scrutiny through the literary promontory of Nigerian novel *Half of A Yellow Sun*.

**Keywords**: Hate Crime, Genocide, Civil War, War Time Caucus, Ethnic Violence, African Literature, Postcolonial Studies, Ethnic Identity

Literature and human life are interconnected since times immemorial as the human actions and their consequences are re-lived through literature. While literature is also inclined to re-creating the writer's experience or that of a given people as memoirs, this kind of art may work is also required to help the human race reflect upon the past and how they could transform their lives in future. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* is one such literary works that incorporates the history of the secessionist state of Biafra and at the same time. Adichie's work seems more inclined to echoing the Igbo sentiments which of course is the re-presentation of the Biafra voice.

Such historical events are not only etched in the realms of human psyche, but there exists varied shades of cultural consciousness and collective memory which are inherent to the natives from common cultures, common community and identical clans. Similarly in historical fiction, the use of appellation is unavoidable (in case of *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the appellation is the Biafra flag) and it is here that the literary piece of work coalesces with the period of its historical occurrence (Nnolim 196). In the understanding that the era in focus is adjudged to be the darkest moments of Nigerian history, this paper focuses on the war time caucus, hate crime and ethnic violence meted out at the Igbos as depicted in *Half of a Yellow Sun*. The objective here is to interrogate how Adichie has been able to re-create, with a certain degree of success, the cause of Biafra through this novel.

In Adichie's historical fiction, the characters are majorly from Igbo community who transcend all social and economic status and stand together for the self determination of their Igbo identity. While the elite include the Ozobias, their twin daughters Olanna and Kainene, the academia is re-presented by the revolutionary Prof Odenigbo and his university colleagues with their varied ideology on society and humanism. Ugwu also comes early into the scene with

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his rural make-up as servant and provide the platform for interactions with the other servants like Jomo and Harrison.

As the narrative unravels this wartime Nigerian historical events of late sixties, one also gets to rendezvous with military leaders like Colonel Madu and Major Udodi and British characters like Richard and Susan portray the western voice in the unfolding postcolonial conflict situation in Nigeria. All these characters imbibe the attributes of the polarities – victims and the perpetrators of violence as they take the narrative ahead, showcasing the inside story of the ethnic violence. The descriptions involving supporting characters during the episodic violence narrations suggest that the impact of the civil war in Nigeria has stretched beyond 1970 civil war ceasefire, and appears to have become a part of the collective cultural consciousness of the Igbos as horror, violence and bloodshed loom large in this civil war narrative.

#### Nigerian civil war

The Nigerian-Biafran war was a civil war between the federal government of Nigeria and the then proclaimed Republic of Biafra. With the backdrop of anti-Igbo actions in post independence Nigeria, the demand for secession of Biafra could be understood as a movement for self determination and actualization. As we reflect upon the state formations, it has been observed that states are created on the basis of commonality of language and cultural similarity. At the same time, there are nations where several cultures and ethnicities co-survive in harmony and peace. However, the demand for separate state could be the outcome of biased treatment in situations where there are incessant threats to one particular ethnic group from the others. In this case, one can say that ethnic identity is greater than the state because many times unrest has been observed within democratic nations due to misunderstandings between ethnic groups. Oftentimes due to such ethnic community feelings, ethnic identity or clan affinity assumes a greater shape than that of the nation or the state.

The execution of Col. Ironsi and the headship of a northerner Col. Yakubu Gowon instilled in the Igbos a fear for their lives and identity. The coup led by five Igbo military leaders created more volatile situations in the already inflamed multi-ethnic canvas of Nigeria (Heaton and Falola 173,174). The demand for secession and creation of a separate Igbo state in the southern part of Nigeria led to violence and genocide of the Igbo population. While Lt. Col Odumegwu Ojukwu led the secession for Biafra, General Yakubu Gowon headed Federal Nigeria during the 1967-1970 civil war. While Igbos believed that their safety and welfare was at stake under the leadership of Muslim dominated Hausa –Fulani Northerners, the immediate reasons for the depth in the feelings of insecurity of the Igbos was the anti- Igbo pogroms in northern states.

Major A Atofarati describes the economic reasons for ethnic clash in Nigeria. He states that, "There was division, hatred, unhealthy rivalry and pronounced disparity in development of all the four major ethnic regions". (Global Security n. pag). In the midst of ethnic tension, any one particular ethnicity gaining power would have changed the entire economic and social fabric of Nigeria. Matthew Heaton and Toyin Falola are of the opinion that in the wake of four clashing ethnicities the federal government made all efforts to abort the demand for secession:

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Secession was a major threat to the federal unity of Nigeria, allowing Biafran secession can cause a major threat of secessions by other minority 54 groups and third major reason was that the lands claimed by Biafra contained 67% of the known petroleum resources of Nigeria (175).

While it is true that during any internal conflict the violation of human rights is present as an undercurrent to submission and suppression, violence against women and children becomes an exponential weapon in the hands of the oppressors. The literary promontory of Nigerian novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* is one such narration where ruthless inhuman behaviour is realistically depicted. The Biafra secession is one of the greatest episodes of human genocide and civil unrest in the independent Republic of Nigeria.

#### Ethnic Violence, Hate Crime and Genocide:

While violence has been the major tool for suppression in colonial times, in the post colonial era, it has become the decisive factor as to who among the people would rule over the rest or which majority will overpower the minority. Critic Pramod K Nayar feels the necessity for a discourse on violence as violence has deep roots in the history of commonwealth countries (1). So when violence foregrounds the newly independent countries the probability of civil violence is more due to multi ethnic groups clashing with each other on matters of capture of resources (Jha 59). The menacing outcomes of ethnic violence could be witnessed in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's war fiction *Half of a Yellow Sun*. The narrative is inclined to presenting the tragedies of this civil war where the readers can witness how political machinery is misused for personal motives.

Due to political unrest in post independent Republic of Nigeria, the already existing ethnic clans started the scuffle for power and resources even before October 1, 1960 independence inauguration. Being a multi ethnic country there were Yoruba and Hausa Muslims along with Igbo Christians and Tiv people of the middle belt.

There was a mass unrest among people especially the Igbo military officers because of the failure of the first republic under the headship of Prime Minister Balewa. On Jan 15, 1966, five majors namely Kaduna Nzeogwu, E. Ifeajuna, D. Okafor, C.I. Anuforo and A. Ademoyega led the military coup in Nigeria, the first of its kind. All the regional leaders were arrested and killed especially the Prime Minister Balewa, Premier S.L. Akintola of the Western Region and Premier Ahmadu Bello of the northern region. Though many politicians were killed in this coup but it was not successful. (Heaton and Falola 174)

The coup-de-tat took place because the nationalists were firm on the idea of demolishing the corruption. At one instance one of the guests at Odenigbo's house quips at the news of coup, "This is the end of corruption! This is what we have needed to happen since that general strike" (HYS 158).

But the lofty dreams of the Nigerians were never fulfilled. The coup led to a trigger of anti-Igbo sentiments that further worsened existing ethnic differences. It precipitated the mass exodus of Igbos from north to south and the genocide of 1966. Igbo genocide that took place between May 1966 and September 1966 was led by the Nigerian army and resulted in the death

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of Igbos in North and more than one million fled into the eastern areas of the country. Kirk – Greene even compares the Igbo massacre with the holocaust.

Stremlau has a different opinion about the genocide and ethnic violence against the Igbos:

There were reports of continued killing of Igbo sergeants and enlisted men by Northerners within the army. Although there has been no suggestion that Gowon knew of the purges in advance, or in any sense condoned such actions, he appeared powerless to stop the carnage and this further undermined his pretense of authority. (37)

In the novel Adichie depicts the characters and how ethnic violence affects them in an unsparing manner. Critic Chaim Kauffman states that under no circumstance an innocuous term like cleansing could be used for ruthless violence and bloodshed (145) as such acts are vengeance ridden and complete eradication of the other party. In *Half of A Yellow Sun*, the first instance of ethnic violence is witnessed by Olanna in Kano where she goes to bring her pregnant cousin Arize but instead sees the dead bodies of her aunt Ifeaka and uncle Mbaezi and Arize is missing. The next door neighbour Abdul Malik has killed both of them in a cold blooded manner. There is a juxtaposition between the before and after behaviours of this Muslim neighbour who used to be friendly but he appears possessed as he brandishes his weapon and is looking for more Igbos to be killed:

The street looked strange, unfamiliar; the compound gate was broken, the metal flattened on the ground. Then she noticed Aunty Ifeka's kiosk, or what remained of it splinters of wood, packets of groundnuts in the dust... She stopped when she saw the bodies. Uncle Mbaezi lay face down in an ungainly twist, legs splayed. Something creamy white oozed through the large gash on the back of his head. Aunty Ifeka lay on the veranda. The cuts on her naked body were smaller, dotting her arms and legs and legs like slightly parted red lips. (HYS 185-186)

Adichie leaves this episode open ended as Olanna's pregnant cousin Arize is never found and the only passing reference that the readers get is that one pregnant woman was killed in Kano violence. The situation of religious riot in Kano is so alarming that Olanna is rescued by her former lover Mohammed, "They drove in a frenzied silence, past policemen in blood-splattered uniforms. . . until he parked at the train station and shoved her onto a crowded train." (187)

For Adichie the war had been a personal loss as she lost both her grandfathers for the cause of Biafra. When she describes the 'woman in the calabash episode' the narration takes a turn where trauma will be enmeshed with bloodshed and concomitant ethnic violence:

Olanna looked into the bowl. She saw the little girl's head with the ashy-gray skin and the braided hair and rolled-back eyes and open mouth. . . She thought about the plaited hair resting in the calabash. She visualized the mother braiding it, with her fingers oiling it with pomade before dividing it into sections with a wooden comb. (188)

The civil war not only eradicates the idea of democratic coexistence of ethnic communities but in such a volatile situation political misgiving take violent twist. In Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* the juxtaposed situations of before and during the war clearly indicate the

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central ideas of homelessness within the homeland and the unthinkable idea of seeking refuge in one's own nation. When political ambitions grow out of bounds and human efforts take ugly turn, the outcome is menacing. Critic Kharoua states that violence becomes the cause of psychological trauma for Olanna so much so that she is able to narrate the 'head in the calabash' episode only belatedly (299).

Ethnic violence in *HYS* gets a foreign perspective when Richard, the British lover of Kainene witnesses the shooting of Igbo bartender at Kano airport:

There were more soldiers now, more shots, more shouts of "Nyamiri!" and "Araba, araba!" The bartender was writhing on the floor and the gurgle that came from his mouth was guttural. The soldiers ran out to the tarmac and into the airplane and pulled out Igbo people who had already boarded and lined them up and shot them and left them lying there, their bright clothes splashes of colour on the dusty black stretch. (HYS 192-193)

In another episode of Igbo genocide in northern army barracks of Nigeria is narrated by Col. Madu Madu who narrowly escaped from the mass murder of Igbo soldiers. He recalls the horrific sight of northerners chasing the Igbo soldiers from the barracks at midnight. Those who were able to escape disguised themselves as Fulani nomad (Madu) or civilians but the pogrom was so target specific that they checked the feet of the civilians before shooting the soldiers from their crowd:

You know we soldiers wear bots all the time so they examined the feet of each man, and any Igbo man whose feet were clean and uncracked by harmattan, they took away and shot. They also examined their foreheads for signs of skin being lighter from wearing soldier's beret. (177)

In this novel Adichie is able to bring out the truth about how political machinery is misused for personal gains and ethnic cleansing is given a political angle. Stremalau describes the exact figure of the 1966 September genocide in his book International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War:

On what is now referred to in Nigeria as "Black Thursday", Sept. 29, 1966, mob violence broke out against the tens of thousands of Igbos who until then had been shopkeepers, civil servants and service workers throughout the North. Estimates to the number of deaths range from 5000 to 50,000 and the number of Ibos who subsequently returned home as refugees from around the federation may have ranged from 700,000 to 2,000,000. (38)

Civil war in itself is a state of anarchy and so there is a visible trend of spike in hate crime. The very prop of polarization is hatred, so ingraining the masses with hate speech during the internal conflict flares up the magnitude of violence. As Nigeria was brimming with religious differences and hate speeches of political leaders led to the immediate reaction in the form of civil war outbreak. The characters in *Half of a Yellow Sun* are typical citizens of Nigeria and Adichie pulls them into war kaleidoscope in order to highlight the gravity of the civil violence in Nigeria during the late sixties. This showcases how the attempt of secession and the concomitant civil violence not only destabilized the common public but it also equally affected the military and business elites who were fervently devoted to the cause of Igbo identity.

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Sara Lipton in a scholarly article highlights the impact of hate speeches while recollecting the religious hatred against the Jews:

Heightening of rhetoric against a certain group can incite violence against that group, even when no violence is called for. When a group is labelled hostile and brutal, its members are more likely to be treated with hostility and brutality. (1)

During the late sixties, the Igbos were not only faced with instances of violent attacks but they were also made to forcefully conscript in the army. Able bodied young men were pushed into the army truck and were made to serve as soldiers for, "slaps and kicks and meagre wraps of garri and thin soup" (HYS 450). Children were also made to do hard work like cassava grinding till their hands would bleed. Olanna could not protect Ugwu for a very long time and finally he is taken away in the truck (356,441).

Other shocking narrations in *Half of a Yellow Sun* are those that deal with war time rapes and molestation of Igbo women and children by the soldiers. Adichie narrates how the newly inducted army officers like Prof. Ezeaka practice unruly behaviour. They ransacked the houses and even raped the women. Special Julius states:

They are even looting toilet seats! Toilet seats! A man who escaped from Udi told me. And they choose the best houses and force people's wives and daughters to spread their legs for them and cook for them. (358)

The protégé of Olanna and Odenigbo along with another conscripted soldier Hi Tech gang rapes a bar girl only to realise later that Ugwu's own sister Anulika has been beaten and faced the same situation at the hands of soldiers. This fill deep self hatred and regret in Ugwu:

Later, Ugwu took a walk around the village, and when he got to the stream, he remembered the line of women going to fetch water in the mornings, and he sat down on a rock and sobbed. (256)

The atrocities on women and children were not only limited to the army barracks but even in the refugee camp, young girls were raped by a missionary priest. It is Kainene who discovers the reason for young girl's swollen abdomen. She is infuriated:

Can you believe who is responsible for that small girl Urenwa's pregnancy?... Her eyes bulged out of her angular face, filled with rage and tears. Can you believe it is Father Marcel? Apparently, I've been blind; she's not the only one, Kainene said. He fucks most of them before he gives them the crayfish that I slave to get here! (498-99)

In the similar corollary the story of Eberechi also brings home the bitter truth of how poor parents gave away their daughter to an army officer for prostitution (250). Women and children remain the worst suffering parties during an internal conflict because they are vulnerable and cannot fend for themselves. Another reason for such inhuman practice in broad daylight is women are easy targets that are pushed into prostitution. This behaviour pinpoints the sexual and gendered violence on the powerless beings i.e. the women folk. Adichie being a fierce feminist describes this instance in very few words because she wants to make her think about the condition of women in a third world nation where making them sexual bait is easy and this atrocity committed by the army officer goes unopposed.

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#### War Time Caucus -

Caucus could be defined as political groups or organisations with common interest. In a civil war situation the people with vested interests come together with common objectives like arm dealers, political leaders supporting ethnic violence, groups propagating hate speeches, war mafia, ration and medical suppliers to name a few. In HYS the characters who support the cause of Biafra are met with strong opposition from all these aforementioned groups as the readers witness shortage of food, weapons, and medical supplies in the Biafra territory.

In the book within the novel- The Book: The World was Silent When We Died, Adichie makes Ugwu, the house help, her mouthpiece to comment and expose the international interests in the making and unmaking of Biafra. In the excerpt number 6, it is clearly stated how global powers like Britain, Soviet Union and even China supported the Biafra secession. All these countries made meagre contributions by only stoking the war but never recognising Biafra as a country:

The Soviet Union sent technicians and planes to Nigeria, thrilled at the chance to influence Africa without offending America or British....Communist China denounced Anglo-American-Soviet imperialism but did little else t support Biafra. The French sold Biafra some arms but did not give the recognition that Biafra needed most. (324)

The instance of currency change is also referred to in the 'Late Sixties' and due to this the struggle for Biafra was almost over because the money Biafra supporters had amassed to support their cause of secession suddenly became worthless. Matthew Heaton and Toyin Falola state major reason for economic and food crisis in Biafra:

In 1968 January, Gowon announced that the Nigerian currency would be changed. This meant that any Nigerian currency that the Biafrans had amassed to fund the war and their government quickly became worthless. Food became increasingly scarce and high inflation made even existing goods prohibitively expensive within Biafra. For example, the price of beef rose from 3 shillings a pound to 60, dried fish from 5 shillings a pound to 60 and a chicken which went for roughly 15 shillings before the war, cost as much as £ 30 by its end. (176)

The shortage of ration and medicine is also described by Adichie when Olanna and Odenigbo fall short of funds to meet their daily needs as the Directorate had blocked all salaries:

He did not notice how a cup of salt cost a shilling more each week and hw chickens were chopped into bits that were still too expensive and how nobody sold rice in large bags because nobody could buy them. (HYS 328)

The war caucus is once again highlighted when a voice resonates on Radio Biafra. The voice clearly said that states like Nigeria have fallen prey to the British-American conspiracy of weapon supply thus reducing African countries to the verge of neo-colonialism (334).

The uncomfortable queuing for the limited ration made Olanna 'blemished' (339). Episodes where shortage of ration and medical supplies are described with utmost horror and uneasiness as one can observe that the shortage was made deliberately to suffocate the revolutionaries and their demand for separate state of Biafra. The hunger is so widespread that a group of hungry soldiers robbed Olanna of her ration basket:

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She moved a few steps back. In a flash, done so quickly that she didn't realise it until afterward, the one wearing a blue beret grasped her basket, took the tin of corned beef, and ran off. Others followed. The last stood there watching her, his slack mouth hanging open, before he turned to run too, but in the opposite direction, away from the others. The basket lay on the ground. Olanna stood still and cried silently because the corned beef has never been hers. Then she picked up the basket, dusted some sand from her bag of cornmeal, and walked home. (342)

The Biafran zeal soon loses its sheen because there is shortage of food in the relief center and the federal forces had deliberately cut down food and medicine supplies. Adichie describes the grim situation at one of the relief centers:

The refugee women and children arrive at the Umuahia relief center and they are ready to work so that they can get something to eat, The refugees: Ugwu saw them, more and more each day, new faces on the streets, at the public borehole, in the market. Women knocked on the door often to ask if there was any work they could do in exchange for food. They came with their thin naked children. (358).

The food crisis in the refugee centre is so grave that one child Adanna has malnutrition and has developed Kwashiorker and here the writer makes an ironical remark that this disease has been named after the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson:

Olanna touched her face with the back of a palm, to check for a fever, although she knew there would be none. She should have realised it earlier; Adanna's belly was swollen and her skin was a sickly tone, much lighter than it was only weeks ago. (425)

It is here that the food crisis reaches at such a critical stage that later on in the novel Olanna learns that Mama Adanna had killed and given the meat of a dog to baby Adanna (430). Even Kainene goes missing after she crosses the Biafra border in order to get the food and medical supplies. These instances prove that the deliberate shortage of food supplies in the Biafra territory was the result of corrupt Federal government and it cost the Igbos their lives.

The global powers supplied the weaponry to both Nigeria and Biafra so that the country would always be in the quagmire of a civil war. During one of the discussions Madu tells Richard that there is unrest in Port Hartcourt and he is worried about Richard's safety as, 'Britain had supplied five warships to Nigeria, so youth have been burning British shops and houses all over Port Hartcourt today' (394). This depicts the meddlesome diplomatic policies of the global super powers in a third world nation like Nigeria.

#### Conclusion

According to critic Fearon, the insurgent forces have been counter acted by the counter insurgent forces even before 1945. Nigeria is one such country where the low per capita income combined with ethnic difference creates a breeding ground for violence. In such situations the villagers become ready saboteurs for barter of food and money (1,2). During the Biafra Nigeria civil war the large scale destruction and the huge death toll of Igbo population proved that Gowon used deprivation as a weapon to suffocate and annihilate the cause of Biafra where millions of Igbos succumbed to hunger and malnutrition (Falola and Heaton 177). The Federal Military Government of Nigeria not only banned The Red Cross from supplying food supplies

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and medical aid but allowed only medicines to be sent to the Biafra territory but till the end of civil war did not result in eradication of the ethnic violence in Nigeria.

Adichie, described by the legendary Chinua Achebe as a writer who has the art of an ancient story teller (Tunca 108), also gives succinct perspectives on the gender and sexual violence as they had been experienced during the civil war situation. Her take on the widespread corruption and struggle for power and resources by the global superpowers is also palpable as critics Falola and Heaton's opinion coincide with the soul of the narrative of *Half of a Yellow Sun* that, had it not been the corrupt endeavours of the FMG, and international interference of global powers Biafra would have seen the light of the day (175). It could be deduced that Adichie's consciousness as a writer are reflective of the aggregate Igbo sentiments. She seems inclined to demonstrating the measure of her responsibility as a writer in sharing her perspective of the Biafra Nigerian Civil War with the global readership.

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