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Rivers State: The Struggle for its Creation and its Aftermath

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ABSTRACT: Saturday, the 27th of May, 1967, represents a significant milestone in the history of Nigeria. On that day, General Yakubu Gowon, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, had proclaimed a structural change in the geopolitical configuration of Nigeria. He announced the creation of twelve states to replace the four existing regions of which Nigeria had been composed. Of the twelve states that were created, Rivers State epitomized the fulfilment of a longstanding struggle that predated the creation of the state by nearly three decades. This treatise shall therefore be a concise narrative of the nature of the struggle for the creation of Rivers State. In it, we shall explain the dynamics of the struggle for self-determination of the River's people based on the geopolitical and economic conditions that were prevalent at the time. In doing so, we shall highlight the various movements that worked towards the actualization of the state, and emphasize the aftermath of its creation expressed in, amongst other consequences, the birth of another related state named Bayelsa, with the prospect of more states to be created in the future.

KEYWORD: Struggle, Creation, Aftermath, Rivers State.

INTRODUCTION

Preamble to the Struggle for Rivers State

The agitation for Rivers State has its causal roots in political developments that became prevalent in the midtwentieth century. Prior to that era, the first political party in Nigeria being the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), founded by Herbert Macaulay in 1923 had, to some extent, a national agenda but was essentially a Lagos party. It subsequently became weakened however, by a number of factors and would be gradually but effectively displaced by a more radical nationalist organization, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), which was founded in 1934 as the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM), but became the NYM in 1936 with a more extensive nationwide membership (Olusanya, 1980:556-558).

With young educated elites such as Professor Eyo Ita, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Hezekiah Oladipo Davies, Dr. James Churchill Omosanya Vaughan, Samuel Akisanya, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Adeyemo Alakija, Chief Samuel Akintola, Dr. Kofo Abayomi, Ernest Sisei Ikoli, Mallam Jumare and others in its ranks, it existed effectively for a few years with its mantra of developing a united nation out of the diverse elements that constituted Nigeria, until it was paralysed by internal crisis in 1941 (Coleman, 1958:227). Clearly, the collapse of the NYM gave room to the emergence, in 1944, of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) which later became the National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), following the detachment of the Southern Cameroons from Nigeria.

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However, the NCNC itself had a number of factors that militated against its ability to remain as a unifying political organization on a national scale. From the onset, it had been founded not strictly as a political party, but as a conglomeration of various political, economic, and ethnic-based groups situated largely in Lagos, but albeit, founded with the objective of providing a platform for securing political freedom from the British colonizers. Thus, it had only group, but not individual membership, a factor that explains its weakness based on the lack of personal commitment that group membership largely impelled (Olusanya, 1980:566).

Indeed, this weakness and other emergent factors such as inter-ethnic rivalry within the NCNC leadership; the widespread political awareness engendered by the Second World War; and very significantly, the enactment of the 1954 Oliver Lyttleton Constitution that forged Nigeria into three geo-political regions, namely, the Northern, Eastern, Western Regions, all led to the emergence of new region-based and ethnically biased political parties in Nigeria. They were the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the Action Group (AG), and the reformed National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) which had become converted into a typical political party with individual membership that had been hitherto non-existent, and a clearly defined manifesto for action (Olusanya, 1980:536; Siollun, 2009:12).

Consequently, the AG, founded in 1950 (but launched in 1951), became the first lasting regional political party in Nigeria. With its leadership and membership drawn mainly from the Yoruba western Nigeria, its major inspiration and support was derived from the pan-Yoruba ethnic socio-cultural group, the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* or Descendants of Oduduwa. Similarly, when the NPC was founded in 1951, following the example of the short-lived Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), it drew its sustenance from the northern Nigeria-based largely Hausa/Fulani socio-cultural organization, the *Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa* or Northern People's Congress, which was formed in 1949 but effectively became the regional party of northern Nigeria in 1951, with its motto of "One North, One People, irrespective of religion, rank or tribe." With regards to the NCNC, the case was much the same. It became more dominated by the Igbo with an increasingly stronger affiliation and support from the Igbo Union of Lagos, especially from 1950, following the emergence of other parties (Siollun, 2009:12).

As a consequence of the creation of regions as the federating units of Nigeria, the Rivers peoples, most of whom share a common history and identity either by filial affinities or by inter-group relationships, became affiliated with either the Eastern or Western region, and later for some groups, the Mid-western region after it was created in 1963. The affiliation of the River's peoples with the aforementioned regions, and especially with the Eastern region, (under which they automatically became a numerical and therefore a political minority, in an administrative setting that hardly understood their histories, peculiarities and problems), was the major and immediate reason that led to the demand for administrative autonomy that would eventually culminate in the creation of Rivers State.

Purpose of the Struggle for a Rivers State

Just as has been indicated above, the peoples that would consequently come to be identified as the people of Rivers State (being the Abuloma, Andoni, Bonny, Degema, Egbema, Ekpeye, Eleme, Engenne, Epie/Atissa, Etche, Ikwerre, Izon, Kalabari, Ndoki, Ndoni, Nembe, Nkoro, Odual, Ogoni, Okrika, Opobo, Ogba, Ogbia, Oyigbo and Tai people), have had filial or other forms of socio-economic and political affinities from earliest times. Although they inhabit slightly varying geographical environments, their shared habitation in the Niger Delta and its immediate hinterland enabled the forging of longstanding socio-economic, political and cultural bonds through historical time. Thus, while maintaining their respective distinctiveness, they, for the most part, forged a common identity as neighbors and exercised that bonding to a significant effect as a people living in the Niger Delta and its immediate hinterland, struggling against similar forces and factors bestowed on them by the peculiar environment of the Niger Delta and by its external and internal colonizers.

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The purpose or resolve to have a Rivers State was therefore to gain an internal independence that would translate into cultural, political and economic self-realization and actualization as Rivers People. Of course, as had been stated, they had, by their lesser population, become obvious minorities in the Eastern Region under which they had, to a large extent, been classified after the partitioning of Nigeria into regions in 1954 by the British colonial establishment. Accordingly, Naanen (2002:341-342), observed that, "the establishment of regional governments and their control by political parties which identified themselves closely with the aspirations of the dominant ethnic groups in each region, intensified the minorities' sense of insecurity and neglect."

As Rivers people, they observed that their position as subordinates in the prevalent political and constitutional structure had resulted in the neglect of their people, towns and villages in every sphere of influence, be it the political, social or economic sphere. Evidently expressing their experiences, they contended that both the Federal and Eastern Regional governments lacked adequate understanding of the Niger Delta, their natural abode, and the peculiarity of their needs. They cited several instances in which their aspirations have been scuttled by the discriminatory tendencies of the Igbo dominated Eastern Regional Government. This was in the areas of political appointments, employment opportunities, awarding of contracts and scholarships, as well as the provision of social amenities and other benefits.

They also conveyed their grievance over the massive migration of Igbos into their towns and their consequent domination of the respective Rivers communities into which they had migrated. Most indigenes of Rivers State felt humiliated and aggrieved by the very idea of being ruled by a people over whom they had always felt superior, having come in contact with the Europeans and their education thereof, before the Igbo and other hinterland people-groups. The foregoing and other geo-political, economic, social and cultural conditions that were prevalent at the time no doubt led to the filing of various petitions advanced by some emergent movements that championed the cause for the creation of Rivers State.

Petitions in the Struggle: The Rivers State Movement

Scholars have identified three movements that petitioned and struggled for the creation of Rivers State. These were the main Rivers State Movement; the Calabar, Ogoja, Rivers (COR) State Movement; and the Revolutionary Movement of the Niger Delta Volunteer Service. The main Movement for a Rivers State actually began with the founding of the Ijaw Peoples League in 1941. The first organization of its kind in the lower Niger region of Nigeria that would eventually constitute the Rivers State, it advocated the separation of the river's territory from the Owerri Province, by sending a petition to the Governor-in-Council of the Eastern Provinces. That petition was granted in 1947 with the creation of the Rivers Province comprising Port Harcourt, Ahoada, Brass, Ogoni and Degema, jointly designated by the acronym – PABOD (Alagoa, 1999:2-3; Zuofa and Odondiri 1999:238-239).

Accordingly, the confidence gained from the success of creating the River's Province inspired the idea of a separate state for the rivers people. That idea consequently led to the formation of the Council of Rivers Chiefs in 1953. Its president was King Benjamin Wari of Bassambiri, Nembe, and its vice president – Chief D. Davies Manuel – who was mandated to represent the Rivers people at the Nigerian Constitutional Conference of July, 1953 in London.

Sequel to the 1953 London conference, numerous correspondences were written by the Council of Rivers Chiefs to the British Colonial establishment. Expectedly, preeminent amongst those correspondences was a memorandum addressed to the Colonial Secretary requesting that the question of the creation of Rivers State be included in the resumed sitting of the London Constitutional Conference in January, 1954.

Shortly afterwards, the Council of Rivers Chiefs which had hitherto led the struggle was soon reorganized and named the Rivers State Congress in 1954. By its manifesto, it became the first indigenous political party

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of the rivers people. Assuredly endeavoring to fulfill its mandate, the Rivers State Congress was itself soon redesignated the Rivers Chiefs and Peoples Conference with Chief Francis Osamade Joseph Allagoa, Mingi X, King of Ogbolomabiri, Nembe, as chairman. (Zuofa and Odondiri 1999:239).

Composed of recognized chiefs, members of the House of Representatives, the House of Assembly, the County Councils, and officers of recognized ethnic unions, the Rivers Chiefs and Peoples Conference was markedly well organized. It held a general congress on the 4th of July, 1956, where most of its members voted for the actualization of a separate Rivers State. But there were also dissenting voices. At the general congress, a few members of the Chiefs and Peoples Conference who were affiliated to the Action Group refrained from pledging their support. Besides, some groups of non-Ijaw origin such as the Ikwerre, Ekpeye and Ndoki, all of whom speak variants of Igbo related languages, opposed the inclusion of the Western Ijaw people in the proposed state. Their argument, Naanen (2002) observes, was that including the Western Ijaw would defeat the purpose for the creation of the state as the Ijaw would emerge a dominant group in the new state, and they, a minority.

However, motivated by the longstanding petition for a state, the Rivers people soon came together again to forge a formidable common front. Drawing inspiration from ancient treaties signed with the British Crown by their forbears, they prodded on with a high sense of self-determination petitioning that even the Rivers State should at best be granted independence and designated a sovereign entity from the rest of Nigeria. In this regard, we must refer to the role of Chief Harold Jeneibiwari Dappa-Biriye. Being the secretary of the Rivers Chiefs and Peoples Conference, he toured several parts of Rivers State canvassing for support for the Rivers State Movement, thus winning back those who were once aggrieved due to one reason or the other.

Subsequently, Chief Harold Dappa-Biriye was nominated by the Rivers Chiefs and Peoples Conference to represent and tender the petitions of the Rivers people at the 1957 Constitutional Conference in London (Etekpe, 2003:14-18). At the conference, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies was asked to impanel a commission of inquiry that will examine the fears of minority groups all over Nigeria and propose measures that would alleviate those fears. That directive resulted in the inauguration of the Sir Henry Urmston Willink Minorities Commission.

The Willink Commission as it became known, did not recommend the creation of states. Rather, it submitted that creating states would not solve the fears of minorities and could lead to the disintegration of Nigeria. It therefore recommended the declaration of the Niger Delta as a Special Area; established the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB); and instituted a special scholarship programme for indigenes of the areas covered by the statute establishing the NDDB. Although, the objective of the NDDB which area of operation consisted the Rivers Province (with exception of Port Harcourt and Ahoada Divisions), Opobo Division and Western Ijaw Division was lofty, it could not achieve much. This was because the board lacked executive authority and was inefficiently funded. Unlike the Federal and Eastern Regional Governments, it had no powers to initiate or fund projects. These reasons certainly explain why it ultimately failed and why there have been several not-so-successful or even failed palliative measures in the Niger Delta since then.

Moving on with its struggles towards the creation of a Rivers State, the main Rivers State creation movement worked towards the realization of yet another milestone. That was the formation of the political party designated the Niger Delta Congress. Unlike its precursor, the Rivers People's Congress, (founded in 1954), the Niger Delta Congress was more organised and effective as a political party with a wider coverage. Led by Chief Harold J.R. Dappa-Biriye, it gained its first and only victory when its candidate, Chief Melford Okilo (who was later to become the first civilian governor of Rivers State) won the 1959 parliamentary elections to represent the Brass Federal Constituency. Certainly, that victory which informed the pronouncement of Chief Melford Okilo as Parliamentary Secretary, and subsequently, as a junior Federal Minister (in the coalition government of the Northern People's Congress and the National Council for Nigerian Citizens), was

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occasioned by the alliance between the Niger Delta Congress and the Northern People's Congress. But besides that, alliance, victory came for the Niger Delta Congress because of its very effective Ijaw-friendly fish symbol and campaign strategy organised by Mr. Rodger William Obubo, the first Secretary-General of the Ijaw State Union (Izonebi Obubo, A written Narrative).

Upon its victory and progress, the main achievement of the Niger Delta Congress was that its efforts ultimately contributed to the creation of the Rivers State. And that besides, the party stalled a planned abrogation of the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) and the Special Area status. The latter achievement would prove very useful to the developmental future of the Niger Delta as several more palliative establishments have been fashioned after the NDDB, a precedent that would certainly not have been, or would have been very difficult to achieve in later years, if the NDDB had been abrogated back then as was being proposed by some elements at the 1963 Republican Constitutional Conference.

Prior to the actualization of the creation of Rivers State however, the symbol of the struggle for the state being the Niger Delta Congress had weakened considerably due to internal strife and squabbles. Thus, it lost its lone seat at the federal level, but nevertheless remained, as has already been stated, an inspiring instrument, by and large, to the creation of Rivers State amidst other movements and factors.

The Role of the Rivers Leaders of Thought

One such movement which was actually an extension of the main Rivers State Movement was the "Rivers Leaders of Thought" which came to limelight early in 1966, in the twilight of the struggle for the actualization of Rivers State. Constituted by an array of personalities drawn from all the Divisions of River State, the "Leaders of Thought" submitted the document they titled the Rivers State Memorandum to the Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, petitioning him to create the state by a degree and afterwards by a constitutional provision. Amongst the signatories of the Rivers State Memorandum were its chairman, Barrister S.N. Dikibo; Barrister N. Nwonodi for Ahoada and Port Harcourt Divisions; Barrister R.P.G. Okara for Brass Division; Dr. I.J.M. Fiberesima for Degema Division; Mr. E.N. Kobani for Ogoni Division; and Mr. G.B.C. Otoko for Opobo Division. Not done with the efforts towards the realization of the Rivers State, the "Leaders of Thought" again put out some of their best minds as a delegation to re-present the Rivers State Memorandum which they had presented earlier to the Head of State, General Gowon, to the proposed summit on constitution review billed to hold in September of 1966. This time, the delegation comprised Chief Harold Dappa-Biriye as leader; Chief E.J.A. Oriji and Chief W.O. Briggs. And their efforts certainly paid off when Rivers State was eventually created in 1967.

The Calabar, Ogoja, Rivers State Movement

The Calabar, Ogoja, Rivers State or COR State Movement has become the acronym for describing the state creation movement that emerged after the constitutional conference of 1953. The proponents of this movement had become pessimistic about the possibility of a separate Rivers State especially when the terms of reference of the minorities commission specified that only one state could be created from each region. Thus, in order to strengthen their opportunity of having a state, they advocated an alliance with the Calabar and Ogoja people, a move which the main Rivers State movement saw as faulty, holding the view that such an alliance will still make the Rivers people a minority group.

Although the COR State Movement, composed primarily of people from the Action Group, did not succeed in the actualization of their desired state, their movement, Naanen (1999:346) holds, still promoted the significance of the state question.

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Protests: The Radical Approach to State Creation

It was not only the constitutional approach that prevailed in the struggle for the creation of Rivers State. There was also, ample evidence abounds, the radical or revolutionary approach to the struggle. Characterized by the taking up of arms, the protest led by Major Isaac Adaka Boro is the classical precedent.

From the 23rd of February, 1966, to the 7th of March of the same year when he was arrested, Isaac Jasper Boro took up arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria in a twelve-day epic battle. He was drawn to revolutionary action by the discriminatory tendencies of the Eastern Regional Government, and by the negligence of the Shell British Petroleum Company towards developing the Niger Delta from which it derived its crude oil and its enormous profits. Isaac also remotely drew inspiration from the story his father told him about the able warrior ancestors of his native Kaiama and other parts of the Ijaw Ethnic Nationality. They had, for centuries, survived the menace of natural and human forces prevalent in the often geographically intemperate Niger Delta. Isaac Boro founded the militia group called the Niger Delta Volunteer Service and declared the Niger Delta an independent Republic of Nigeria on the 26th of February, 1966 (Boro, 1982: 96-105).

Isaac Boro's radical approach which was a contrast from the political and intellectual tactics of the progenitors of the existing political movements for the creation of Rivers State, unequivocally turned out to be one of the factors that facilitated the creation of Rivers State. This is certainly because Isaac Boro's movement caught even more attention as he demanded not just a state but an independent republic, the first of its kind in independent Nigeria, coming even before the more organized and long-lasting Biafra of Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu.

Proclamation of Rivers State and its Aftermath: A Case of Struggles and Destiny

Rivers State was created on Saturday the 27th of May, 1967. Proclaimed alongside it were the North-Western, North-Eastern, Kano, North Central, Benue-Plateau, Kwara, Western, Lagos, Mid-Western, South-Eastern, and East-Central states. Evidently, the state had been, as could be observed from the narrative above, created by an agglomeration of remote and immediate factors. The remote factor is typified by the struggle of the founding fathers in the various state creation movements narrated above, and the immediate factor, symbolized by the urgent need on the part of the Head of State, General Gowon, (especially in the face of the Nigerian political crisis of 1966, and the Civil War that followed), to build the confidence and win the support of the minority groups nationwide. These minority ethnic groups, the Rivers people prominently inclusive, have, it is well known, had their shared experiences of being dominated by the major ethnic groups, and therefore welcomed the creation of states, (Rivers State being one of the several), for which they had struggled for nearly three decades.

At creation, Rivers State covered an area of 15,786 square miles with a population of 1,800,000 people. The state was composed of the former Ahoada, Brass, Degema, Ogoni and Port Harcourt Divisions. Beginning on a fledgling note at Number 24 Queen's Drive, Ikoyi, Lagos, the first Military Governor, Lt. Commander Alfred Papapreye Diete-Spiff eventually relocated to Port Harcourt on the 20th of January, 1970, to continue the activities of governing the state. His legacies are quite visible and well known in Rivers State. Prime examples include projects and programs that have been adjudged excellent and enduring. The PABOD Group and other state-owned companies, educational institutions such as the Rivers State College of Science and Technology, and the secretariat complexes Podium and Point Blocks in the old Port Harcourt city centre, are just a few to be mentioned here.

Lt. Commander A.P. Diete-Spiff was succeeded by the Military Governor – Colonel Zamani Lekwot, who was subsequently succeeded by Commander Suleiman Saidu and others afterwards, including the first democratic governor of the state, Chief Melford Obiene Okilo who became governor at Nigeria's return to

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civil rule in 1979. Chief Melford Okilo's drive towards rural or grassroots development in Rivers State has been adjudged phenomenal and certainly advanced the legacies of the founding fathers of Rivers State to sublime heights (Organ, 2012: 67; Okorobia, unpublished manuscript).

A notable precedent that testifies as an aftermath of the creation of Rivers State was the emergence of radical personalities who strove to ensure that Nigeria, threatened by the Biafran secession, remained united as a country. This was indisputably so that the fledgling Rivers State could survive and prosper. These personalities were young men from the Rivers area who were either in the Nigerian Army before the Nigerian Civil War or joined the army during the war. They joined the army and fought, undoubtedly, in order to help liberate the Niger Delta and the Rivers area from the domineering influence of the Igbo that had been their 'internal colonizers', as was the case, under the Eastern Regional Government within whose jurisdiction the Rivers area was situated.

Here we remember Isaac Boro's men – Captain Samuel Owonaru and Lieutenant Nothingham Dick. The former survived the Nigerian Civil War, while the latter died in action. We also recall very significantly, the duo of Major Boardman Nyananyo, holder of a Master of Science degree in Mathematics and Education from St. Andrews University, Scotland, United Kingdom, and Captain George Amangala, a graduate of History and Politics from Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. Although, the both of them had enlisted in the Nigerian Army on the 1st of September, 1967, barely four months after the creation of Rivers State on the 27th of May of the same year, their contributions in prosecuting the war and dying in the process like many of their compatriots, helped significantly in stabilising the fledgling state especially in the face of the ferocious civil war. And it is moreover safe to assert that Rivers State would possibly have been abrogated had Biafra won the war. For it was common knowledge, at the time of its creation and after, that the Eastern Region which Odumegwu Ojukwu seceded as Biafra, never wanted Rivers State created or sustained (Olali, unpublished manuscript; Okara, An interview).

Another aftermath of the creation of Rivers State is the challenge that emanated soon after its creation, being the incidence of upland/riverine dichotomy. It was a schism expressed along political lines, with the upland group alleging that the riverine group was taking advantage of the strategic positions they held in the government of the state to actualize their longstanding aspiration of the creation of a wholesome Ijaw state. Accordingly, the upland group held the opinion that the Ijaw, who became the majority group in the Rivers State were advancing the welfare of their kith and kin at the expense of the non-Ijaw groups, especially by the incorporation of several Western Ijaw communities of the then Midwest State into Rivers State (as Sagbama Local Government Area), following the creation of Local Government Areas in 1976 (Naanen, 1999:350).

Consequently, the foregoing schism and other antecedents led to the demand for a Port Harcourt State that would comprise the old administrative Divisions of Ahoada, Ogoni and Port Harcourt. Although expectations for the actualization of Port Harcourt State was high when General Murtala Muhammed created the initial twelve states into nineteen states in 1976, that dream was not realized but rather threw up the old question of who owns Port Harcourt again. Thus, perhaps for that and other reasons, the Port Harcourt State was not created. Instead, the Rivers State had more areas ceded to it upon the boundary adjustment that ensued from the process of creating the country into nineteen states. The territories were Egbema, Ndoki, Ndoni, Opobo, Andoni, Nkoro, and as stated earlier, some parts of Western Ijaw, were ceded to become parts of Rivers State then.

Yet another precedence which could also be rightly described as an aftermath of the creation of Rivers State was the rise of the bayelsa and Bayelsa State Movements, and the adjourning Oloibiri and Niger Delta States Movements, leading on to the eventual creation of Bayelsa State on the 1st of October, 1996. But the creation of the state came after several years of waiting and persevering struggles resulting from the controversies

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arising from the upland/riverine dichotomy stated earlier. And such controversies engendered and expressed very deep prejudices and sentiments about issues as boundary adjustments, the siting of capital cities and the creation of new local government areas. Bayelsa State was created nevertheless, and remains one of the greatest consequences of the creation of Rivers State.

Since the creation of Bayelsa State however, there have been more consequences in contemporary demands for more states by such groups as the Ijaw Foundation in the United States of America. They, in 2008, had advocated the creation of Beni-Ebe, Toru-Ebe, Kengema and Abaji states, as well as thirty-two local government areas for Bayelsa State. This was similar to the earlier demand, in the early 1990s, of the Ijaw National Congress for Toru-Ibe, Oil Rivers and Bayelsa states before the latter was created.

With the emergence of Bayelsa State and the consequent severance of the old senatorial district of Brass, Yenagoa and Sagbama to constitute it, Rivers State became comprised of twenty-three Local Government Councils. They are Abua/Odual, Ahoada East, Ahoada West, Akuku-Toru, Andoni, Asari-Toru, Bonny, Degema, Emohua, Eleme, Etche, Gokana, Ikwerre, Khana, Obio-Akpor, Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, Ogu/Bolo, Okrika, Opobo/Nkoro, Omuma, Oyigbo, Port Harcourt and Tai local government areas.

Conclusion

Thus far, this chapter has been a historical narrative of the struggles and fate that led to the creation of Rivers State. In it, we have concisely examined the geopolitical and economic conditions that engendered the quest for state and its eventual creation. We have also explained the aftermath of the creation of Rivers State as consequential to the emergence of Bayelsa State and the demand for even more states that may possibly be created in the foreseeable future.

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