

CONTEMPORARY WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN NORTH-CENTRAL NIGERIA, 1988-1989: AN X-RAY OF OTUKPO-NJIRIV RELATIONS

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Abstract

The article examines the diplomatic relationships that evolved between the Idoma people of the Otukpo clan and Njiriv-Masev communities in the Gwer-East Area of Tiv land. The paper reveals that the former was the traditional headquarters of the Idoma kingdom since British colonial rule and independence. The paper examines the Otukpo relations with their Tiv borderlands counterparts, especially the Njiriv (Taraku) Tiv, who are of the Masev clan. The Tiv community is one of the closest interlocked boundary communities of the Tiv group with the Idoma group before the war. Even up to the present day, the distance from Edikwu-Otukpo, being the last major Otukpo settlement in Entina village, Otukpo and the Njiriv community of the Masev clan in present Gwer-East is not much. The paper is a historical research anchored on the multi-disciplinary approach in historiography. The paper adds credence to the ongoing efforts to encourage intergroup relations between these groups after the war.

Keywords: War, Diplomacy, North-Central Nigeria, Idoma, Tiv

Brief History of Otukpo Clan in Idomaland

The present Otukpo people are believed to be the descendants of Oko who had two sons - Ona (Onah) and Odaji, regarded as the founders of the present generation referred to as 'Otukpo'¹. The combination of the two ancestors further procreated six recognised kindreds – Ai'Odoju, Ai'Ogwuche, Ai'Ono, Ai'Okopi, Ai'Ode, and Ai'Agbooko.² These six sub-kindreds were later amalgamated into three major kindreds (*Ipoma*) for political convenience as Ai'Agbooko with their headquarters at Otukpo-Upu, Ai'Odaji with headquarters at Otukpo-Nobi (black Otukpo) and Ai'Ogwuche with their headquarters at Otukpo-Icho.³ All the Otukpo people were Kwararafa emigrants who moved along with other Idoma clans from 1600-1750, as suggested by Erim O. Erim.⁴

Their exodus was a tedious journey, just like other Idoma clans when they crossed Wukari, Abinsi, Otia, and Ochekwu land (now Apa Local Government Area), Adoka, Ugboju and finally Oglewu land when they pitched their tents at the present site, Upu. The territory that the people occupy today was originally Oglewu land. The bequeathment of the territory was legalized with a royal diplomatic exchange when the then leader of the Otukpo

clan, Ona Odaji, gave out his only daughter, Princess Owufe Ona Odaji, to the king of Oglewu as a wife and with this development, the Oglewu people decided to shift northwards for their fellow Kwararafa emigrants to have space for their expeditions.⁵ From oral traditions, the present 'Amla village' and farm have become the home of 'Ameh yam' but the Tiv are seriously encroaching into the land that belonged to the Oglewu people for over four hundred years before the gradual but steady influx of the Tiv groups.⁶

Brief History of the Masev Clan in Tivland

The various Masev kindred visited pointed to one historical fact that they are all of the Masev clan in Tivland who, at one historical epoch or the other, moved out of the then central Tivland somewhere around Gboko and Katsina-Ala in search of greener pastures. The search for lands for hunting and farming and for available water for fishing and other domestic activities close to the Idoma settlements necessitated their movement from the central region along the Eastern boundary of present Nigeria.⁷ The Tiv clans in Benue State and in Taraba and parts of Nasarawa States have close consanguinity with them.⁸ The kindreds of Masev that shared boundary with these Idoma clans include: Njiriv and Taraku⁹. For this paper, the historical detailed background is not the concern. Much has already been said in the historiography about Tiv origins and migrations, which serves the purpose of who the Masev in the present-day Gwer-East are.

Otukpo – Njiriv War 1988

According to the oral traditions of the Otukpo clan in Idomaland, they have been living in harmony with groups that share boundaries with them since their arrival from Apa, their ancestral home. Besides this claim, they also admitted that during their migrating odyssey to their present abode, they have had intra-clan conflicts with the Ugboju and the Adoka clans, respectively. While the Otukpo–Ugboju War¹⁰ was over passage and hunting expedition and its clashes; that of Otukpo–Adoka was a dispute over the confiscation of their ancestral masquerade (*Alekwu 'k' Agbooko*) by the Adoka clan, which was returned after peace settlement.¹¹ They had never had any other conflict with any other Idoma group, but their relationship with the Masev Tiv to the east of their borderlands has been marred by countless clashes which had led to some wars since their contact with the Tiv, but the 1998 encounter was the most explosive.¹²

Remote Causes of the Njiriv War

Land disputes were agreed by the two groups as the remotest cause of the war.¹³ The Idoma group of Otukpo claimed that originally, they inherited their territorial lands and waters through the pre-colonial gift exchange relationships they practised with their Idoma clan brother, the Oglewu people,

whose acclaimed territory extended beyond a certain River Obaya. This included all the lands that the Njiriv community today occupies down to Owuu, and this claim can be authenticated with the initial settlement of a fragment of the Ai'Ode kindred till the arrival of the European colonialists in the early 20th century. Subsequently, the arrival of the Tiv group in the late 19th century changed the position and the relocation of the group.¹⁴

In the present assessment of this Otukpo claim, it can be argued that the extent of this piece of borderlands terminates in the present Taraku settlement. The Otukpo people claim that they were not related to the Masev clan until the advent of colonialism in the Benue Valley with the introduction of taxation among the two groups. These Tiv boundary groups were poor because they were in transit, and also, the nature of their scattered and sparse settlements greatly affected them in terms of defense and economic activities. A situation re-echoed in the lamentation of the late *Tor-Tiv*, Dr. Alfred Akawe Torkula as mentioned in the foregoing.

Consequently, the Otukpo people started hiring their labour and on completion, the Tiv workers or better still, labourers, were duly paid. This claim could also be deduced from the following assertion: "The effect of monetized Tiv economy among Colonial Administrators in Tivland and Nigeria generally compelled many to migrate ¹⁵... Gradually, the Tiv requested settlements closer to their hosts to easily access them; and the requests were granted by the then *Och'Otukpo*, *Odu* and his Cabinet along with the Council of Elders. This was during the reign of *Och'Otukpo*, *Odu*, *Ogbole* as from the 1930s. He was the first district head of Otukpo installed by the colonial authority.¹⁶

Informants reveal further that, "when you apportion land to the Tiv, after two to three years they move beyond the agreed boundary and before we (Otukpo) realised, we began to have fracas and disputes over land with these Tiv communities", and this warranted the colonial extension of the Idoma–Tiv Native Authorities boundary demarcation in 1934 to Otukpo and the Masev lands. During the demarcation exercise, the Tiv sent their delegates, and the Idoma as well sent theirs, and they all met with the Colonial Masters at River Obaya and the boundary was delimited for the first time, and the River henceforth was agreed upon as the new boundary.¹⁷ Consequently, a Native Authority well was dug for the Idoma group that was headed by the Eimonye Ichana, the grandfather of the present *Och'Otukpo*, Chief Dr. John Eimonye and the well duly carried the inscription of Idoma Native Authority. Though part of the structure has been destroyed but remains of the well are visible to date.¹⁸

The Otukpo clan again claims that the habit of stealing among some bad Tiv youths, especially amongst the people of Njiriv community, who shares boundary with the present settlements of Otukpo-Nobi, Amla, and Otukpo-Icho, was a major remote cause of the war between Otukpo and the

Njiriv. According to these informants, stealing and any other acts of theft were highly refuted among the Idoma groups of Otukpo and the penalty before the arrival of Christianity and colonialism was death by strangulation, using the *AiUta* constabulary as the enforcer of the law.¹⁹ Over time, the Idoma discovered that the Tiv groups had some elements that were engaged in this unwholesome attitude. An informant summarized the development this way:

They were engaged in stealing our farm produce in the night. Produce like yams and even seed yams; stealing of guinea-corn arranged in the storage in the farm; the worst was when we planted our seed yams in the morning, in the night those suspected bad elements amongst the Tiv go on to use their spear or javelin which they throw into the heap to harvest this newly planted yams. Another one was the theft of our domestic animals like goats and fowls. These developments seriously infuriated our people; even when appeals were made for investigation, no meaningful efforts were made, and then our people resolved to tame these acts.²⁰

The above assertion or claims was refuted by the Tiv communities that argued that it was a mere allegation and thus, was unfounded during interview but recent Thesis by Nyuima Vitalis²¹ in the Department of History Benue State University historical attempt to clear the air on some claims by the Otukpo and Adoka groups of some bad elements among the Tiv as criminals, and thus, ready to violate contracts and treaties which their forefathers might have entered with the Idoma people before this era. This source illuminates further on this claim of theft among the Iharev and the Masev, and he writes that they were:

Characterised and made up of people who were perpetual criminals, gamblers, witches and wizards and adventurers. These groups of people were on the run for the reasons of one crime or the other committed in their various villages and sought to escape to an unknown destination or place.²²

On the side of the Tiv informants, they tend to agree with some of the positions of the Idoma group of Otukpo, but some alleged remote causes that triggered this war, as claimed by the Idoma people, were rejected or rather denied.

Immediate causes of the Otukpo–Njiriv War, 1988

This war, according to the Otukpo informants, was referred to as the “Entina War” but the Tiv refer to it as the *Akate* War. The last incident that led to the war, according to the Idoma, was an event of theft. One Tiv farmer was caught stealing yams from a farm which belonged to an Otukpo man, and when he was approached to stop, he took to his heels, and the Idoma man ran after him with the hope of arresting him. Ironically, in the process of this

chase, the two of them crossed into the Tiv farms and territory. Informants added that, instead of the Tiv kinsmen stepping in and iron out the differences with them and resolving the matter, they (the Tiv) decided to take arms against the Idoma man and, in the process, he was murdered. It was the fall-out of this scenario that culminated in the one-week war, highly blood-bathed, the informants added.²³

Again, the Otukpo people refer to this war as “Entina war” because the person killed in the above incident was one Elijah Odumu, who was the head of the community of the Idoma village near his father’s School, Entina Memorial College, Entina village, Otukpo. The territory in question belongs to the Otukpo-Icho, including the Entina village, where the present *Och’Otukpo* hails from HRH, Dr. John Eimonye. This war was executed under the *Ocheship* or rather under the kingship of HRH, Ellah Okpani (c. 1983-1995).²⁴

The Tiv informants narrated the causes of the war which they referred to as the “Njiriv or *Akatte* war.” They claimed that they had shared boundaries with the Idoma and the Otukpo people since the pre-colonial era. They submitted that they had been living in peace with the Otukpo people, but occasionally, disputes arose over borderland and land disputes. The informants illuminated further when they postulated thus:

Land disputes, for example, in 1954 when this open confrontation first began during the reign of their chief, Ter Zua-Aho, and there was a prompt colonial intervention headed by the then Colonial District Officer, Martin Dent, who was in charge of the Taraku district. To put a stop to this lingering crisis, both Zua-Aho and his Idoma counterpart were arrested and detained and were later released but were consequently relieved of their duties on the ground of incompetence.²⁵

The war started on the 28th March, 1988 and was called the *Akatte* war in the Tiv language. From oral evidence, the war broke out due to a land dispute. The Tiv informant’s position countered the allegation of theft as accounted by the Idoma informants. Those two families of both Idoma and Tiv clashed over a piece of land, and the result of this skirmish was the last straw that set the two communities on fire and subsequently tore the peoples of the communities apart. They argued further that, while the Idoma wanted to continue the ownership of the land based on history, the Tiv groups, on the other hand, encroached, expanded and occupied the land; hence it was not habitable at the time of the occupation. In fact, this is just the crux of the matter, these informants added.²⁶

It was this unending encroachment, hence their claims (the Masev/Ngochor and Njiriv), especially that commenced these insurgencies and clashes in the twilight of the 20th century. Even before the end of the Colonial Rule in Nigeria in 1960, these hostilities had already surfaced severally. The complaint was contained in this report by the then Colonial District Supervisor

of the then Benue Province as he brought it to bear after an incident along the Masev-Otukpo and Ito Districts boundary as attempted in 1916 by Captain Gordon, arising from tax payment, land disputes and jurisdiction control or better still administration which led to the abduction of four men of Ityogu village, the names which were given as Ordanyi, Udi, Acheku and Ishi who were working in the farm by some Igede men believed to be in the legion of 100 men as the adopters. This occurrence was in 15th February, 1934, when Ajene Okpabi was the District Head of Ito, and Aruse was the head of Ngohor/Masev District respectively²⁷. This development, Captain Maddocks reported thus:

This trouble has been going on for some time, and it seems clear that a serious disturbance is probable unless the matter is *settled without delay*. I would ask that an officer be detailed to meet Mr Maddocks on the boundary and go into the matter at an early date as it is convenient to you. Meanwhile, I should oblige if you would kindly take steps to prevent a repetition of such action²⁸...

The Otukpo gave names of some of their leading war characters as Adayi Fidelis and Omachi Alechenu, all of Upu-Otukpo.²⁹ The normal *Ohebai* and the crawling technique of the conventional Army, introduced by some retired military personnel, was tactically the turning point against the Njiriv to withstand the firepower as they were too coordinated when launching attacks. The greatest technique employed by the Otukpo warriors against the Njiriv warriors and people was the brutal night attack.³⁰

Weapons used in the course of the war included firearms, cutlasses, machetes, spears or javelins, to say the least. The Otukpo people claimed these were the weapons used from their front, but the Tiv informants made bold to say that the Otukpo informants have lied because they (Idoma) used modern and military hardware like machine guns, AK-47, and MG One. The Tiv informants reported that single-barrel and double-barrel guns were seriously unleashed on our people, and this accounted for high casualties on the side of the Njiriv⁶¹. Again, more than the Tiv, the Otukpo used massively well-trained members of the Nigerian military who were mostly retired personnel; it was crystal-clear that their top military brass, as the war occurred in the era of military regimes in Nigeria, supplied them with arms and ammunition and even personnel. This source disclosed further that they even managed to kill a serving Army Major (name was withheld by both parties) who came home to assist his people against the Njiriv people.³¹

Both parties came to terms that both conventional and non-conventional military tactics were deployed in the execution of this one-week war. The Otukpo people agreed that they attacked the Njiriv both day and night; whilst the Njiriv people, because of their war tradition, only attacked the Otukpo group in daylight.³² The Njiriv warriors were very tactical in their hit-

and-run tactics, which proved very decisive for them, whilst the Otukpo effectively used the crawling, taking cover and then surprising their targets tactics. The Otukpo also claims that if the Njiriv warriors were coming for an attack, they were always exposed because of their war chants. In addition, the ability of many Otukpo-Icho people and other Idoma boundary groups in Otukpo to speak Tiv fluently further compounded the problem for the Njiriv warriors and people; that the Otukpo understood and Tiv language better than Tiv ability in the Idoma language gave the Otukpo a better advantage over the Njiriv. This possibility was used by the Otukpo border communities to eavesdrop in the Njiriv strategies as they (Otukpo) had spies everywhere.³³

Resolutions and Aftermaths of the Otukpo –Njiriv War

At the end of this war, many representatives of the government, traditional rulers and distinguished personalities intensified efforts towards peaceful resolution and also to avert future occurrences. These steps taken had lasting effects on the relationships between these communities after the war and at the moment formed the findings of this section of the paper.

Immediate Resolutions

The first major step taken in the process of restoring peace was the peace-keeping support of the State Government called the “Police Actions.” The then Military Governor, Lt. Colonel Fidelis Attahiru Makka (1988-92) through the Police Commissioner who adequately drafted in the Nigeria Police Forces unit called the ‘mobile police force’ from ‘MOPOL 13 Squadron’ based in Makurdi waded into some of these wars and it led to the gradual restoration of peace and normalcy amongst the warring parties who consequently sheathed their swords and a cease-fire was achieved.

From the various interviews conducted, the two parties agreed that the set of Mobile Police Officers deployed to bring the war under control were, to their best, impartial and were highly professional in the discharge of their constituted duties. One informant lucidly described the performances of the Police and the law enforcement agencies involved in the restoration of peace in the Otukpo–Njiriv war, this way:

Both the Nigeria Police Force and any other law enforcement agency that were conscripted in the restoration of the dispute and quelling of the situation unimaginably contributed their quotas positively to nipping the matters in the bud.³⁴

Traditionally, the late *Och’Idoma* His Royal Highness Dr Abraham Ajene Okpabi, (OON, OFR, *Agaba Idu* II) and his Tiv counterpart, the late Royal Highness James Akperan Orshi, (*Tor-Tiv* III) met and had crucial meetings with the district heads of the warring communities before they proceeded to

meet with the Government. They recommended that the Government set up a *Committee of Inquiry* to ascertain the remote and the immediate causes of the wars and proffer comprehensive suggestions and recommendations that would avert future skirmishes.³⁵

At the end of its exercise, the “Committee” advised the Government to embark on re-delimitation of the existing boundary, which would alter the previous *Colonial Boundary Demarcations* in 1934, which the Njiriv community had rejected. Consequently, within the present Otukpo Local Government Area, a demarcation of the Otukpo and Adoka–Tiv boundary was marked for the U-Ur stream for Otukpo, and this left River Obaya in Tivland and Okpeje in the Adoka–Mbabuande boundary. River Onaje was left in present Tivland, and this development has temporarily forestalled clashes for the time being. The consequences of these demarcations placed the contested Entina village by the Njiriv community under Otukpo land and put the boundary of the land that belonged to the Njiriv at U-Ur River.³⁶

Present Realities and Effects of the Wars

The Government set up committees of Inquiry into this matter and found possible and tenable solutions to lasting peace and security of the affected areas. One such committee was the *Ochogwu Commission of Boundary* demarcation between Idoma and Tiv boundaries. This development went a long way to quell the volatile situations hitherto. The delegates of the two parties went home with the position of the Government and penalties placed on violating the curfew placed on the inhabitants of the warring communities. The Committee, according to sources consulted³⁷, interrogated and did their cross-examinations, stated their findings and articulated their recommendations within the stipulated time, and the reports were accordingly forwarded to the Government for implementation. It was the Commission as well as the Committee that re-demarcated the “Colonial Boundary Demarcation of 1934” between the Idoma people of Otukpo, whereas Tiv Masev in Njiriv and Taraku areas gained some territories and lost some. The details have been captured in the foregoing.³⁸

Intermarriage was a common phenomenon amongst the Tiv and the Idoma of Otukpo before the war but was temporarily halted because of the breach in their inter-group relations during and after the war. The development in inter-group marriages made the other Idoma clans feel that the culture of the Otukpo and Adoka has been bastardised by the way and manner in which they intermarried with the Tiv. Around Otukpo-Icho, Otukpo-Nobi and Oduda’aje they are so many Idoma men that legitimately married Tiv women, as well as Idoma women that got married to Tiv men of Njiriv, Taraku and other Masev boundary groups with the Idoma. This practice cemented their relationships over time. The war detached these groups from one another and created mistrust and fear in their trans-border relationships.

Recently, with the gradual return to normalcy, this aspect of their intermixture is beginning to gain prominence. Oral interviews during the fieldwork gathered that the marriage between Miss Ene from Otukpo-Icho and Prince Tali Friday, the son of the District Head of Njiriv District, is bringing this inter-group intercourse to life again.³⁹ One painful aspect of any war and particularly, this war is the destruction of lives and property worth millions of naira.

The people continue to reminisce over the loss of their loved ones and their property like landed property, room appliances, abandoned abodes and closures of educational centers in Otukpo and Gwer Local Government Areas, particularly the Entina Comprehensive Secondary School, Otukpo. The devastating effect of this development was not only because this College was for Otukpo people, but as it equally served the educational aspirations of the youths of the two warring communities. The school is located on the Makurdi – Otukpo road after Taraku and just before the Otukpo burnt bricks limited. The location of the Entina College was very strategically positioned to meet up with its target of promoting education amongst the Otukpo and Njiriv youths across the boundary; but this was destroyed by the conflict. Looking at this million-naira institution, it is an eyesore as it clearly depicts a war-torn zone. Aside from this, the closure of Entina due to the tension and fear of impending attack was the closure of the Local Government Education Authority Primary School located in Ikyor, Njiriv District. These two locales are just forests and hide-outs for hoodlums and wild animals at the moment.⁴⁰

The fall in the volume of trade across their frontiers, especially as it concerns commercial centers is another major issue. Examples of this development were the question of the former “Tiv market” along the Railway in Ighanomnaje-Otukpo. This market in Otukpo was a prominent commercial center where businesses flourished before the war. After three to four years, the markets were ground to a halt for lack of Tiv patronage, most especially the one christened after the Tiv in Otukpo as “Tiv Market”. The Otukpo market was mostly designated for raw farm produce; bush meats, livestock, foodstuffs like vegetables, fruits of all kinds and processed local foodstuffs like starch, also called *Akpu*, Gari and other cassava and yam powder stuff.⁴¹ This development seriously affected the economy of the Otukpo and Njiriv groups. An informant added that it was due to the effect of the war that the Otukpo people and Council sat and re-christened the hitherto *Olihi’k’Emechi* (Tiv market) to *Olihi ole Ellah* literally interpreted as “market of trouble” in the Idoma language.⁴² The rationale behind the change in name was as a result of the Tiv communities laying claims to even what clearly does not seem to belong to them.

This safeguards against such development in the future, in case they make a U-turn tomorrow and begin the process of claiming a market that is situated in the heart of Otukpo; in fact, the market is behind the Otukpo post

office.⁴³ The good thing is that the market has started gaining the momentum that it was known for; that is to say, the *Olihi ole Ellah* markets in Otukpo have started witnessing an increase in Tiv patronage amidst the relaxation of conflict tension.

Finally, in the forgone the paper brings to bear recent discoveries that led to some of the issues that arose from the Otukpo–Njiriv war that contributed to the rise in the crime waves, partly due to the bad inter-group relationships across the borderland. This development stopped the age-long relationship between the two parties. At a point in their relationship, one of the push and pull factors that propelled the Iharev and the Masev closer to the Idoma was the abolition of marriage by exchange, the introduction of taxation by the colonial administration and the chasing of some fugitives amongst the Tiv whilst in central Tivland somewhere in the Gboko and Katsina-Ala axis⁴⁴.

Fortunately, some of these fugitives who pitched their tents and shared border communities with the Idoma were gradually accepted as good neighbours.⁴⁵ These communities condoned and abetted the criminal tendencies of the strange characters in their midst. The good news is that the Tiv groups that are still into this business have resumed, and the Idoma farmers in Otukpo–Amla that are Idoma from different clans but mostly the elite farmers like chiefs, civil servants and politicians are currently giving them (these Iharev and the Masev labour workers) farming jobs as the twenty-first century *Kulumi* in Amla instead of the usual Western Nigeria. This is an indication of the gradual return of peace and more importantly, trust.⁴⁶

Conclusion

This paper, however, has discussed the war fought between the Otukpo clan and District (in the present Otukpo Local Government Area) and the Masev group led by the Njiriv community. It revealed that hostilities in this part of Idoma and Tiv land started from the early 1930s, leading to the ultimate extension of the northern part of the demarcations of the Agbaduma–Iharev boundary, which also covers the Ochekwu lands to the part of Idoma central. Again, it brings to the fore that the Otukpo–Njiriv War of 1998 is also known as *Akatte* War in Tiv and the ‘Entina War’ in Idoma, respectively. The paper concludes by taking a critical look at the causes of the war on both fronts and how the war was executed, the leading warlords and examining the tactics that were deployed by the two groups, the resolution efforts of the Government in this war, the role of the traditional rulers and that of some well-meaning personalities. It also explored the gradual return of peace and the recent cultivation of trust which had eluded these groups for long now.

Endnotes

1. Jonah I. Elaigwu, "Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society: Integration and Order in Pre-Colonial Otukpo of Nigeria", a *Monthly Newsletter* of Information Division, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Information, (No.11 Vol.5, Jos, 1975) 13.
2. Jonah I. Elaigwu, "Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society: Integration and Order in Pre-Colonial Otukpo of Nigeria", a *Monthly Newsletter*) 17.
3. Jonah I. Elaigwu, "Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society: Integration and Order in Pre-Colonial Otukpo of Nigeria", a *Monthly Newsletter*)16-17.
4. Erim. O. Erim, "Crises in the Institution of Chieftaincy among the Idoma 1600-1900", (an unpublished paper)133-135.
5. Oche Agbidu, a Historian and Educationist retired, he is the present spokesman of the *Ojila k'Otukpo* an interview in his family compound in Otukpo, language: English and Idoma; qualification: NCE, B.ED History/ English; age: 74 years, May, 2011 and *Ameh* yam is one of the latest varieties of yam in the Benue valley especially amongst the Idoma and the Tiv. The yam was imported from Yoruba land by one Mr. Ameh in the early 1980s and before 1995 it began to gain prominence in Idomaland and amongst farmers because of the economic value and its ability to yield good tubers and seedling in any soil type in the shortest time of investment. This development made the Idoma people christen it after the man Ameh, which is literally interpreted as *ehameh*: poverty is over.
6. Oche Agbidu, a Historian and Educationist retired, he is the present spokesman of the *Ojila k'Otukpo* an interview at his family compound in Otukpo, language: English and Idoma; qualification: NCE, B.ED History/ English; age: 74 years, May, 2011.
7. Atinge J. Akula, a community leader and a Teacher, age 45 years, in Taraku village but a native of Njiriv community, 15th March, 2013.
8. Damien Lorhemen, a farmer and a community leader, age 59 years, at his family compound in Njiriv community, 15th March, 2013, an interview.
9. Damien Lorhemen, a farmer and a community leader, age 59 years, at his family compound in Njiriv community, 15th March, 2013, an interview.
10. Jonah I. Elaigwu, Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society) 13-14 and see NAK/MAK/PROOF/ "Anthropological Investigations, Otukpo District) 2-5.
11. Jonah I. Elaigwu, Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society) 13-14.
12. Oche Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist, he is the present spokesman and HRH Dr. Samuel Onuh, *Alegwu* of Adoka and Chairman.
13. HRH Dr. Samuel Onuh, *Alegwu* of Adoka and Chairman...and A. Ajokor, a farmer and a hunter, age: circa 68; language...
14. O. Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist, he is the present spokesman and A. J. Akula, a community leader and a Teacher, age: 45 years.
15. Vitalis Nyiuma, "Tiv Labour Migrations to Oyo State of South Western Nigeria, 1930-2010, a Study of the Iharev People of Western Tivland, Benue State")1-3.
16. O. Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist; he is the present spokesman...

17. Oche Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist; he is the present spokesman... and see NAK/MAK/PROOF/ "Anthropological Investigations, Otukpo District,) .3-6.
18. An interview with Dr. J. Eimonye *Och 'Otukpo Odu* (the clan and the District Head of Otukpo), a trained Veterinary Doctor and a retired public servant; age: 65 years; language: Idoma and English; in his palace at Otukpo-Icho, 12th July, 2012; an interview.
19. Jonah I Elaigwu, "Self-Regulation in a Traditional Society,...),17.
20. Oche Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist; he is the present spokesman and O. D. Alapa, a Traditionalist and the custodian of *Ai-Agbooko* in Otukpo clan.
21. Vitalis Nyiuma, "Tiv Labour Migrations to Oyo State of South Western Nigeria, 1930-2010") 7.
22. Vitalis Nyiuma, "Tiv Labour Migrations to Oyo State of South Western Nigeria, 1930-2010") 7.
23. An interview with Dr. J. Eimonye *Och 'Otukpo Odu*, the clan and the district head of Otukpo...and O. D. Alapa, a Traditionalist and the custodian of *Ai-Agbooko* Alegwu.
24. An interview with Dr. J. Eimonye *Och 'Otukpo Odu*, the clan and the district head of Otukpo...and O. D. Alapa, a Traditionalist and the custodian of *Ai-Agbooko* Alegwu.
25. Innocent Terwase, a student of history, farmer, youth leader and a husband with children, age: 39 years; language: English; in his family compound at Taraku-Mramar-Mbamondo-Tsekyado community, 15th March, 2013; an interview and see, NAK/MAK/PROOF/416B: "Masev/Ngohor –Idoma Boundary") 1-7.
26. Innocent Terwase, a student of history, farmer, youth leader and husband with children.
27. NAK/MAK/PROOF/416B: "Masev/Ngohor –Idoma Boundary",) 1-7.
28. NAK/MAK/PROOF/416B: "Masev/Ngohor –Idoma Boundary",) 5.
29. Oche Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist, is the present spokesman...
30. An interview with Papa Shaibu Ogbole cited in Obeya N. Bernard, "Odugbo-Mbapa War, 1963) 14.
31. O. Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist; he is the present spokesman and G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language: Tiv; in his family compound at Njiriv community; 15th March, 2013; an interview.
32. G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language: Tiv; in his family compound at Njiriv community; 15th March, 2013; an interview.
33. O. D. Alapa, a Traditionalist...
34. G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language...
35. O. Agbidu, a Historian and Educationist retired; he is the present spokesman and G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language: Tiv.
36. NAK /MAK/ PROOF/"The Adoka District Administration"), 22-23.
37. An interview with Chief John Owoicho Adole, PhD, a retired Permanent Secretary, Government House Makurdi and a historian who was a Deputy Director at the time

of this war in his office, June 13-15 in house residence at Ankpa Quarters, Makurdi.

38. O. Agbidu, a retired historian and educationist; he is the present spokesman and G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language: Tiv...and NAK /MAK/ PROOF/“The Adoka District Administration”), 22-23.
39. Papa Abah Enenche, *Adu’Joko* (3rd in command in *Ojila k’Otukpo*) of Otukpo, age: 78; language: Idoma; in his family compound in Otukpo-Nobi; 13th July, 2013; an interview.
40. Papa Abah Enenche (now of blessed memory), *Adu’Joko* (3rd in command in *Ojila k’Otukpo*) of Otukpo and G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language.
41. Late Papa Abah Enenche, *Adu’Joko* (3rd in command in *Ojila k’Otukpo*) of Otukpo...
42. Olihi ole’Ellah literary connotes: *Olihi* in the Idoma language is market, while *Ellah* is trouble or conflict. Therefore, Olihi ole’Ellah is simply a market of trouble or a troubled market.
43. Late Papa Abah Enenche, *Adu’Joko* (3rd in command in *Ojila k’Otukpo*) of Otukpo...
44. Vitalis Nyiuma, “Tiv Labour Migrations to Oyo State of South Western Nigeria, 1930-2010”) 7.
45. Ngbede Okpachu, a Community Leader in Aune-Adoka, age: circa 78...and an interview with Papa Shaibu Ogbole cited in Obeya N. Bernard, “Odugbo-Mbapa War, 1963...
46. Papa Abah Enenche, *Adu’Joko* (3rd in command in *Ojila k’Otukpo*) of Otukpo and G. D. Lorshagh, a farmer and a hunter, age: 53years; language.