

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES [IJLSSS]

ISSN: 2584-1513 (Online)

Volume 3 | Issue 6 [2025] | Page 198 – 208

© 2025 International Journal of Legal Studies and Social Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://www.ijlsss.com/>

In case of any queries or suggestions, kindly contact editor@ijlsss.com

SELF-DETERMINATION IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA: HOW AFRICAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND COMMUNITIES RESPECTED OR ASSERTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION BEFORE THE ADVENT OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM

-Peter Chekwube Abugu¹

ABSTRACT

So much has been written about the role played by the concept of self-determination in Africa's decolonization struggle. What remains largely unknown is whether precolonial Africa practised any form of self-determination. Most existing studies focus on Western political history e.g. the American and French revolutions which have repeatedly been cited as the major historic events which shaped the development of the concept of self-determination. This study intends to look away from the West for political events which could be linked to idea of self-determination in precolonial Africa. It specifically employs the historical analysis to investigate the various systems of governance or societal organisation practiced in precolonial Africa with the view to finding out if there existed any form of self-determination. The study finds that some ethnic/indigenous nationalities or communities practised or asserted the principle of self-determination in the way they organised themselves and in the way they resisted colonial rule.

Key Words: Precolonial Africa, Self-determination, Secession, Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights

¹ 2nd year masters' student, Human Rights and Democracy, Stockholm University College, Sweden.

1.0. INTRODUCTION (THIS INTRODUCTION ENCOMPASSES LITERATURE REVIEW)

There is a consensus among scholars that the concept of self-determination became important in Africa only during decolonisation (particularly after the second world war when former colonies in Africa began to demand self-government from their European colonial masters).² This consensus is borne out of the assumption that the idea of self-determination never existed in Africa before the advent of European colonialism in the continent. It does not help that the story of the origin of the concept of self-determination has always been told from a Western perspective alone.

Previous studies around the topic tend to focus on the West as the place where the concept was birthed and developed. While some literatures begin the history of the concept from the Westphalia Treaty (which was made by some European countries in 1648),³ others begin from the enlightenment era (1685 – 1815)⁴ with specific focus on the West. Even beyond the enlightenment era, the focus has always been on historic Western political events like the American Revolutions (which culminated in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776) and the French Revolution which the likes Nguyen refer to as early instances of the ‘assertions of the right to national and democratic self-determination’.⁵ Similarly, other writers like Arrous allude to the rise of European nationalism which inspired the call for the disintegration of ‘the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires into their ethnic and linguistic components’ as a significant historic event which contributed to the emergence of the concept of self-determination.⁶

²Andrew Small, ‘An Unintended Legacy: Kwame Nkrumah and the Domestication of National Self-Determination in Africa’ (African Human Rights Law Journal vol. 17, 2017) 70; Okeke Charles, ‘The Right to Self-Determination And Secession in Africa: The Case Of South Sudan and Lessons for the Region.’ (The Law Brigade (Publishing) Group, 2020) 204; Amy Maguire, ‘Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World’ (Law Text Culture, 2008) 18; Jenny Nguyen, Whose Self-determination? a Critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 13

³Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 8

⁴Amy Maguire, ‘Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World’ (Law Text Culture, 2008) 13; Shelley Wright, ‘International Human Rights: Decolonisation and Globalisation: Becoming Human’ (Routledge, 2001) 28; Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 8

⁵Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 9; Arrous B. Michel, ‘African Studies in Geography from Below’ (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2009)169;

Lynn Hunt, ‘Inventing Human Rights: A History’ (Norton & Co., 2007) 21.

⁶Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 10; Arrous B. Michel, ‘African Studies in Geography from Below’ (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2009)169;

Also too Eurocentric or Western-focused is the glossary of the individuals (prominent political figures) who played crucial roles in the development of the concept of self-determination. For instance, many writers credit Woodrow Wilson, former US President, as the person who popularised the use of the term 'self-determination' in modern times.⁷ According to Maguire, Wilson declared at the end of the first world war that self-determination is 'an imperative principle of action' that should guide the 're-drawing of the maps of Europe'.⁸ Apart from Wilson, the likes of Lenin and Stalin are also credited with the development of the concept of self-determination.⁹

As a consequence of this pro-Western approach to the topic, there has been little or no scholarly attention to the political situation in precolonial Africa. This is however not peculiar to the concept of self-determination; the story of other principles/concepts of human rights or democracy has always been told from a Western point of view which often ignores the precolonial history of Africa.¹⁰ Africa's engagement with democracy has always been treated as a product of the continent's encounter with European colonialism.¹¹ In this study, we shall interrogate the truth of this assumption with specific focus on the concept of self-determination. Using the historical analysis approach, this study revisits the history of precolonial Africa to investigate the question: did any of the precolonial societies in Africa practice any form of self-determination?

2.0. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts an analytical historical research method. It analyses some historical events in precolonial Africa with a view to finding out if there existed the practice of self-determination before the advent of European colonialism in Africa.

Lynn Hunt, 'Inventing Human Rights: A History' (Norton & Co., 2007) 64

⁷Amy Maguire, 'Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World' (Law Text Culture, 2008) 13; Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 10

⁸Amy Maguire, 'Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World' (Law Text Culture, 2008) 13; Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 10

⁹ S. James Anaya, 'A Contemporary Definition of the International Norm of Self-Determination' (3 Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems journal (1993) 134 - 134; Jenny Nguyen, A critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation (LUP Student Paper, 2016) 10

¹⁰ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, 'African Traditional Democracy' (Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2015) 1

¹¹ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, 'African Traditional Democracy' (Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2015) 1

3.0. MEANING AND ORIGIN OF THE TERM ‘SELF-DETERMINATION’

The term ‘self-determination’ is etymologically coined from two German words ‘selbst’ (self) and ‘bestimmung’ (determination).¹² The German coinage ‘selbstbestimmung’ originally referred to the willpower of an individual to control the affairs their life i.e. the freedom to self-determine one’s life.¹³

In the 19th and 20th centuries, however, the meaning of the term devolved from the original individualistic sense into being understood as a collective freedom of a group to ‘determine their political future and to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.’¹⁴

Today, as simply put by the International Court of Justice in Western Sahara case, self-determination means the ‘the freely-expressed will of the people’.¹⁵ Such will of the people could be expressed in different forms, including seceding from an existing state, revolt against colonialism, demand for some level of internal autonomy within a state, voluntary union or merger with another group, etc.¹⁶

Self-determination could either be internal or external. It is internal when it is demanded or exercised within the territory of a state i.e. when a group seeks control over some aspects of their destiny (cultural, economic or political) within state.¹⁷ It is external where a group demands or exercises an autonomy which tampers with the territory of the state.¹⁸ External self-determination could be expressed in different forms, including separating from an existing state (secession), voluntary union or merger with another state, etc.¹⁹

¹²Umozulike U Oji, *Self-Determination in international Law* (Hamden, Anchor Books, 1972) p. 1; Okeke Edwin Chika, ‘Implementation of Self-Determination in Africa through Secession: An Appraisal of the Legal Hurdles’ (African Journal of Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, Vol. 6, 2021) 166

¹³Umozulike U Oji, *Self-Determination in international Law* (Hamden, Anchor Books, 1972) p. 1; Okeke Edwin Chika, ‘Implementation of Self-Determination in Africa through Secession: An Appraisal of the Legal Hurdles’ (African Journal of Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, Vol. 6, 2021) 166

¹⁴Okeke Edwin Chika, ‘Implementation of Self-Determination in Africa through Secession: An Appraisal of the Legal Hurdles’ (African Journal of Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, Vol. 6, 2021) 166; Kone Elizabeth M. Jamilah, ‘The Right of Self-Determination in the Angolan Enclave of Cabinda’ (Sixth Annual African Studies Consortium Workshop, 1998) 1.

¹⁵Western Sahara (Advisory Opinion) (1975) ICJ Reports 81

¹⁶Frederic L. Kirgis, ‘The Degrees of Self-Determination in the United Nations Era’ (American Journal of International Law No. 88, 1994) 307; Amy Maguire, ‘Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World’ (Law Text Culture, 2008) 15

¹⁷O.O. Ikubanni & M.O.A Alabi, ‘The Right To Self-Determination And Territorial Integrity Conflict: a Conundrum For Secession In Post-Colonial African States’ (Makerere Law Journal, Vol. 54 No.2, 2025)33

¹⁸Ibid. 33

¹⁹Ibid. 33 -34; Frederic L. Kirgis, ‘The Degrees of Self-Determination in the United Nations Era’ (American Journal of International Law No. 88, 1994) 307; Amy Maguire, ‘Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World’ (Law Text Culture, 2008) 15

Having understood the meaning of self-determination as well as the different forms that the concept could be asserted, we shall now proceed to find out if any of the precolonial societies in Africa practiced any form of self-determination. For the purposes of this study, precolonial period should be understood as the period before the advent of European colonialism in Africa.

4.0. SELF-DETERMINATION IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA

While the term 'self-determination' may not have been used by any of the ethnic nationalities or indigenous peoples in Africa to assert their right to control their political or economic destiny in the precolonial era, there are some historic precolonial events which suggest that the norm i.e. the idea of self-determination was practised or asserted by some of ethnic/indigenous nationalities or communities in the way they organised themselves or related to one another. We shall look at a few examples.

4.1. PRECOLONIAL CONFEDERACIES IN AFRICA (KWARARAFI, ARO, ETC.)

Long before the advent of European colonialism in Africa, there existed some confederacies in Africa which were formed, organised and operated in a manner that respected the autonomy of confederating communities. One of such confederations was the Kwararafa Confederacy which was a multi-ethnic confederacy formed along the River Benue valley (today's central Nigeria) by a number of independent ethnic communities like Jukun, Igala, Idoma, Igede, Goemai, Kuteb, Etulo, etc.²⁰

The confederacy which existed between the mid-13th century and the late 18th century observed some norms of self-determination in the way that it was formed and organised. For instance, the formation and the expansion of confederacy was achieved not through conquest but through voluntary alliances of the various ethnic communities who saw the need to form the bloc to defend their territories from invaders and to enhance their shared economic interests. Also striking is the fact that the confederacy did not undermine the autonomy of the ethnic communities that formed it as each of the communities

²⁰Joy Yusuf, 'Kwararafa Confederacy: How a Diverse Confederacy Defied Empires and United Nations in Pre-Colonial Nigeria' (Historical Nigeria, 2025), available at < <https://historicalnigeria.com/kwararafa-confederacy/> > accessed 10th November 2025; Michael W. Young, 'The Divine Kingship of the Jukun: A Re-Evaluation of some Theories' (Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1966) 135-153; Erim O. Erim, 'The early foundations of the Kwararafa confederacy 1331-1902 A.D.' (Nigerian Magazine vol 55 No. 3, 1987) 35 - 41

continued to practice their separate systems of governance. This is why some describe the confederacy as 'a confederation with many centres of power'.²¹

Apart from Kwararafa, there were other confederacies in precolonial Africa like the Aro Confederacy which was formed by some Igbo communities from Eastern Nigeria,²² Fante Confederacy which formed by some Ghanaian communities in 1868,²³ the Oyo empire (which had some characteristics of a confederacy with separate cities united by a common military),²⁴ etc.

4.2. PRECOLONIAL DEMOCRACIES IN AFRICA (IGBO, GAADA/OROMO, ETC.)

Contrary to the popular belief that all precolonial societies in Africa were monarchies and that democracy originated in Europe (Greece), from where it was imported into Africa by the West, there are well documented historical evidences of the existence of some democratic societies in precolonial Africa.²⁵ For instance, the Igbo people in Western Africa practiced a village-level democracy in the precolonial which was founded on principles of egalitarianism.²⁶

The precolonial Igbo society (with the exception of few communities) had neither monarchs nor aristocrats. Most communities in Igbo land were governed by the consensus of their people.²⁷ Decisions on any issue which affected the community were made by the village assembly comprising of at least one male representative from each of the families/clans that made up the community.²⁸ Even though constituted on patriarchal lines, the precolonial Igbo society had a space for the participation of women in governance through the Umuada institution.²⁹ The Umuada - a forum of

²¹Erim O. Erim, 'The early foundations of the Kwararafan confederacy 1331-1902 A.D.' (Nigerian Magazine vol 55 No. 3, 1987) 35 - 41

²²Ndu Life Njoku, 'The Dual Image of the Aro in Igbo Development History: An Aftermath of their Role in the Slave Trade' (Journal of Retracing Africa 2, no. 1, 2015) 30; Chimdindu Ken-Anaukwu, 'The Role of the Aro Confederacy in Igbo History' (30th September, 2025), available at < <https://www.nkenne.com/blog/the-role-of-the-aro-confederacy-in-igbo-history>> accessed 10th November 2025

²³Dennis Heinz Laumann, 'Compradore-in-Arms: The Pan-African Confederation Project (1868-1872)' (Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 21(1-2), 1993) 120 - 136

²⁴Roes Peter M. & Dmitri M. Bondarenko. A Popular History of Benin: The Rise and Fall of a Mighty Forest Kingdom (P. Lang, 2003)

²⁵Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, 'African Traditional Democracy' (Igwebuiké: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2015) 1

²⁶Ibid. 1, 5 -7

²⁷Ibid. 5-7

²⁸Ibid. 5-7

²⁹Ifeyinwa Emejulu1 and Mmesoma Umeagudos, 'Changing Patterns In The Roles Of Umuada In Igbo Social Formations' (Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, vol. 4, no. 4, 2020) 75 - 75

adult females in the old Igbo society - were entitled to question or even challenge any unjust decision taken by the male-dominated village assembly.³⁰

Another example of a precolonial democracy in Africa is the Gaada democracy that was practiced by the Oromo people in Ethiopia long before the 16th century.³¹ The Gaada democracy was a transitional government where leaders were elected for an eight-year tenure.³² It had three tiers of government - national, regional and local - as well as a legislative assembly.³³ Just like the Igbo system, the Gaada democracy gave room for checks and balances through the siqqee institution which was conducted by women.³⁴

Apart from the Oromo and the Igbo people, another African people who imbibed some democratic processes in the traditional system of governance were the Yoruba people.³⁵ Though the Yorubas were led by Kings (Alafins), the authority of their kings were limited as they i.e. the kings had no authority to take any action without consulting with the 'Oyomesi' council - a representative of the people which comprised of the heads of every non-royal clans/wards in the community.³⁶ Also democratic in nature was the selection process for Yoruba Kings. The process usually began with the nomination of candidates by the heads of families,³⁷ after which the candidates were presented to the 'Oyomesi' council for a thorough screening process and voting.³⁸

The existence of these democratic societies in precolonial Africa are historic proofs that the people in such precolonial societies were governed by their freely expressed will in recognition of the right to self-determination.

³⁰Ifeyinwa Emejulu1 and Mmesoma Umeagudosi, 'Changing Patterns In The Roles Of Umuada In Igbo Social Formations' (Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, vol. 4, no. 4, 2020) 75 - 75

³¹Safa Jalata and Harwood Schaffer, 'The Oromo, Gadaa/Siqqee Democracy and the Liberation of Ethiopian Colonial Subjects' (An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 9(4), 2013) 278-279

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵ Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, 'African Traditional Democracy' (Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2015) 3

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

4.3. RESISTANCE TO COLONIAL RULE (ETHIOPIA, MANDINKA (MALI), NANDI (KENYA), BENIN EMPIRE, EKUMEKU WAR, ETC)

Another evidence of the assertion of the right to self-determination in precolonial Africa could be seen in the way that some precolonial African societies resisted the entry of European colonisers into their lands. The Ethiopians, for example, defended their right to self-determination by defeating the Italian army who had attempted to invade their territory during the battle of Adwa.³⁹ Apart from the Ethiopians, other instances of such opposition to colonial rule in Africa included the Nandi people revolt against Britain's colonial intrusion in Kenya,⁴⁰ the Mandika/Wassoulou Empire revolts against France in Mali (which lasted for many years before they were overpowered by the French in 1892 due to lack of advanced war weapons),⁴¹ the Ekumeku war waged by some Igbo communities in today's Nigeria against the British colonial invasion of their territories,⁴² the Benin Empire war with the British colonial administrators, etc.⁴³

These historical evidences of resistance to colonial rule show that claims for self-determination predated the advent of European colonialism in Africa. This fact debunks the claim that the idea of self-determination only became important in Africa during the decolonisation period when the various colonies in Africa began to demand self-government from their European colonial masters.

5.0. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above discourse that the history of the concept of self-determination as presented in previous studies has been too Western-focused and Eurocentric in nature that it ignores the contributions made to the development of the concept of self-determination by some precolonial events in Africa.

Contrary to the claim that the idea of self-determination only became important in Africa during the decolonisation period, there are historical evidences which show that some precolonial societies in

³⁹ Yerasework Kebede Hailu, 'Did Ethiopia Survive Coloniality?' (Journal of Decolonising Disciplines, vol. 2(2), 2020) 1;

⁴⁰ Ng'etich, B. K & Tanui, P, 'Effects of Colonial Rule on the Reconstruction of Nandi Inter-ethnic Relation 1895 – 1918 (Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies, vol. 7(9) 2023) 95 – 98

⁴¹ Getz Trevor, 'African Resistance to Colonialism', (World History Project, 2024) 3

⁴² Daniel Olisa Weze, 'The Role of Indigenous Collaborators during the Anglo-Ekumeku War of 1898-1911' (Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 39(1), 2016) 87 - 107

⁴³ O.J. Eborieme, Ph.D and Dawood Omolumen Egbefo, 'The 1897 British Conquest of Benin Kingdom and its Impact on Benin-Esan Intergroup Relations' (Journal of Arts and Education, Volume 7, No.1, 2014) 218-232

Africa practiced some norms of self-determination in the way they organised themselves and in the way some of them resisted colonial rule.

It is therefore recommended that these instances of precolonial assertion of self-determination should be accorded the same scholarly attention and importance that past Western political events like the American and the French revolutions enjoy as far the development of the concept of self-determination is concerned.

REFERENCES

1. Amy Maguire, 'Law Protecting Rights: Restoring the Law of Self-determination in the Neo-colonial World' (Law Text Culture, 2008)
2. Andrew Small, 'An Unintended Legacy: Kwame Nkrumah and the Domestication of National Self-Determination in Africa' (African Human Rights Law Journal vol. 17, 2017)
3. Arrous B. Michel, 'African Studies in Geography from Below' (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2009)
4. Chimdindu Ken-Anaukwu, 'The Role of the Aro Confederacy in Igbo History' (30th September, 2025), available at < <https://www.nkenne.com/blog/the-role-of-the-aro-confederacy-in-igbo-history> > accessed 10th November 2025
5. Daniel Olisa Weze, 'The Role of Indigenous Collaborators during the Anglo-Ekumeku War of 1898-1911' (Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 39(1), 2016)
6. Dennis Heinz Laumann, 'Compradore-in-Arms: The Pan-African Confederation Project (1868-1872)' (Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 21(1-2), 1993)
7. Erim O. Erim, 'The early foundations of the Kwararafan confederacy 1331-1902 A.D.' (Nigerian Magazine vol 55 No. 3, 1987)
8. Frederic L. Kirgis, 'The Degrees of Self-Determination in the United Nations Era' (American Journal of International Law No. 88, 1994)
9. Getz Trevor, 'African Resistance to Colonialism', (World History Project, 2024)
10. Ifeyinwa Emejulu1 and Mmesoma Umeagudosi, 'Changing Patterns In The Roles Of Umuada In Igbo Social Formations' (Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, vol. 4, no. 4, 2020)
11. Jenny Nguyen, 'Whose Self-determination? a Critical Examination on the Right to Self-Determination and its Role During the Process of Decolonisation' (LUP Student Paper, 2016)

12. Joy Yusuf, 'Kwararafa Confederacy: How a Diverse Confederacy Defied Empires and United Nations in Pre-Colonial Nigeria' (Historical Nigeria, 2025), available at < <https://historicalnigeria.com/kwararafa-confederacy/> > accessed 10th November 2025;
13. Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, 'African Traditional Democracy' (Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2015)
14. Kone Elizabeth M. Jamilah, 'The Right of Self-Determination in the Angolan Enclave of Cabinda' (Sixth Annual African Studies Consortium Workshop, 1998)
15. Lynn Hunt, 'Inventing Human Rights: A History' (Norton & Co., 2007)
16. Michael W. Young, 'The Divine Kingship of the Jukun: A Re-Evaluation of some Theories' (Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1966)
17. Ndu Life Njoku, 'The Dual Image of the Aro in Igbo Development History: An Aftermath of their Role in the Slave Trade' (Journal of Retracing Africa 2, no. 1, 2015)
18. Ng'etich, B. K & Tanui, P, 'Effects of Colonial Rule on the Reconstruction of Nandi Inter-ethnic Relation 1895 – 1918 (Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies, vol. 7(9) 2023)
19. Safa Jalata and Harwood Schaffer, 'The Oromo, Gadaa/Siqqee Democracy and the Liberation of Ethiopian Colonial Subjects' (An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 9(4), 2013)
20. S. James Anaya, 'A Contemporary Definition of the International Norm of Self-Determination' (3 Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems journal (1993)
21. Shelley Wright, 'International Human Rights: Decolonisation and Globalisation: Becoming Human' (Routledge, 2001)
22. Okeke Charles, 'The Right to Self-Determination And Secession in Africa: The Case Of South Sudan and Lessons for the Region.' (The Law Brigade (Publishing) Group, 2020)
23. Okeke Edwin Chika, 'Implementation of Self-Determination in Africa through Secession: An Appraisal of the Legal Hurdles' (African Journal of Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, Vol. 6, 2021)
24. O.J. Eborieme, Ph.D and Dawood Omolumen Egbefo, 'The 1897 British Conquest of Benin Kingdom and its Impact on Benin-Esan Intergroup Relations' (Journal of Arts and Education, Volume 7, No.1, 2014)
25. Roesse Peter M. & Dmitri M. Bondarenko. A Popular History of Benin: The Rise and Fall of a Mighty Forest Kingdom (P. Lang, 2003)
26. Umozulike U Oji, Self-Determination in international Law (Hamden, Anchor Books, 1972)
27. Western Sahara (Advisory Opinion) (1975) ICJ Reports 81

28. Yerasework Kebede Hailu, 'Did Ethiopia Survive Coloniality?' (Journal of Decolonising Disciplines, vol. 2(2), 2020)