CONFLICTS BETWEEN TRIBES IN SOUTHERN KADUNA: A COMPARISON TO EAST UKRAINE

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Abstract

The goal of this study is to investigate the ethnic conflict in southern Kaduna in connection to eastern Ukraine, which has now spread internationally as a result of major countries' action on Ukraine's behalf. The Hausa-Fulani are Muslims, whereas indigenous Christian communities make up the bulk of the population in southern Kaduna. Although the root causes of the situation in southern Kaduna are multifaceted given their theological and sociopolitical undertones, they are primarily cultural and patriotic in the case of Ukraine. The special status of the Russian language is a subject of heated debate among those on the side of Ukraine's government and opposition nationalists who are pro-Russia. The study's purpose dictated that premordialism theory be used as a working model. Ethnic activists and nationalists commonly employ primordialist ideas to explain and defend ethnic wars, like the ones under study (in southern Kaduna and eastern Ukraine). In addition to hoping that the United Nations is permitted to fulfil the purpose for which it was established so that peace can return to Ukraine, we also hope that the same can be achieved in southern Kaduna if the recommendations of the state and federal governments assigned to investigate the crisis are dusted off and implemented. In conclusion, it is hard to discuss peace in an environment rife with injustice and nepotism. More peace advocacy is needed from the main international political powers, but they can only do that if they allow the United Nations (UN) to function freely. Primordialist theories are frequently used by ethnic activists and nationalists to explain and justify ethnic conflicts, such as those in southern Kaduna and eastern-southern Ukraine, which is why this research supports the use of the primordial theory of ethnic conflict despite its flaws.

Keywords: southern Kaduna, ethnic, indigenous, Ukraine, Donbass, Russian language, Nigeria

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Introduction

It was once thought that ethnic identities would fade in the face of capitalism and scientific socialism. Ethnic identities were not rendered obsolete by the reconstruction of societies' prevailing social norms, economies, and political structures.[1] Any country's multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups hold the key to its greatness. The United States of America, India, and Russia are examples of nations that benefit from diversity. India alone has over a thousand different ethnic groups, while the modern Russian Federation is a strikingly diverse country with about 185 different ethnic groups.[2]

When Russia was an imperial power in the nineteenth century, it slowly but steadily expanded into neighbouring regions, which is when this ethnic diversity first appeared. Russia's current state is a reflection of its imperial conquests. In comparison to other imperial powers that lost or abandoned their imperial holdings in the early twentieth century, Russia has worked harder to assimilate non-ethnic Russians into its national identity through political and military consolidation.[3] Conflicts are a natural part of life.

It became intolerable when people died and things were destroyed because the parties couldn't work out their differences. Inter-tribal conflicts, particularly in Southern Kaduna, are one of the scourges of Nigeria's peaceful coexistence and national integration. As is well known, southern Kaduna is situated in the Middle Belt. It shares borders with Bauchi in the north, the Plateau, and Nasarawa in the east. Twelve of the twenty-three local government areas are located in the south. Kaduna State has experienced numerous forms of conflict since the early 1970s, which the military and civilian governments of Nigeria have ignored or failed to end.[4] When the Babangida military government tribunal found southern Kaduna native general Lekwot Zamani guilty of murder and sentenced him to death for his alleged role in the violence that resulted in the deaths of over 80 people, mostly Hausa and Fulani traders, during the 1992 Zangon-Kataf crisis, the inter-tribal conflicts in that region came to the attention of the nation and the world. There are reportedly more than 45 ethnic nationalities with equally diverse languages and varying

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[1] Higgins, Andrew. "A Ukraine City Spins beyond the Government's Reach". New York Times. February 15, 2014. Available from: [https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/16/world/europe/a-ukraine-city-spins-beyond-the-governments-reach.html?_r=0]. Accessed on 26 Oct. 2022.
[2] Mirovalev, Mansur. "Donetsk and Luhansk: What You Should Know About the 'Republics". Aljazeera.February 22, 2022. Available from: [https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/22/what are-donetsk-and-luhansk-ukraines-separatist statelets] Retrieved June 12, 2022
[3] *Ibid*.
[4] Barkindo, Atta. "Nigeria: Southern Kaduna and the Atrocities of Hausa-Fulani Muslim Herdsmen." *Technical Report*, May 2016.

cultures in southern Kaduna alone.[5] The conflict is a result of issues with farmer-herders, banditry, and religious and ethnic tension.[6]

One of Nigeria's most diverse states, Kaduna has about seven million residents, with the northern and southern regions of the state being dominated by the country's two major religions, Islam and Christianity.[7] In Taraba and Nasarawa states, as well as Benue state, there were inter-tribal conflicts between the Tiv and Jukun-speaking populations. However, the conflict in southern Kaduna received more international criticism. Researchers would agree that the events between these groups are about cultural supremacy and religious differences if they took a critical humanistic perspective on the situations in southern Kaduna. Peaceful coexistence has long been elusive for the residents of southern Kaduna, who are further divided into indigenous and settler residents due to those who intentionally regarded themselves as the original inhabitants' ongoing conflicts with their Muslim Hausa/Fulani neighbours.[8]

On the other side, the uninterrupted shelling by the Kiev military has made it difficult for the ethnic Russians in Donbas to sleep soundly. The dispute between Russia and Ukraine may have started as an indirect battle over Ukraine's desire to join the western military alliance between the United States, which is supported by NATO and other allies, and Belarus, Iran, China, and Russia. What sympathisers in the west fail to see is that Russia is engaged in an existential struggle to keep ethnic Russians in Donbas and other parts of Ukraine from becoming less Russian. Ukrainians believe that it is time to abandon Russian language, culture, and civilization in favour of a more European approach in all aspects.

The Kiev authorities are currently focused on destroying Russian orthodoxy while also accepting homosexuality as a lifestyle that Russians view as sacrilege or against their religious views. Given that the Bolsheviks artificially constructed the state of Ukraine, only Moscow, in the eyes of Russians, can ensure security in Kiev. To condense this discussion, it can be said that the Muslim and Hausa populations of southern Kaduna are relying on Uthman Danfodio's historical exploits of 1804 as well as their political connections to the state's ruling elite to dominate southern Kaduna natives. At the same time, the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine is looking to Moscow's assurance of security to maintain and sustain their way of life. Many people are still unable to

[5] International Crisis Group. "We Are Ready to Rise Up – Just Give the Order." In *Rebels without a Cause: Russia's Proxies in Eastern Ukraine*, (Page 2-7). International Crisis Group. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep31330.5] Retrieved June 10, 2022
[6] Barkindo, Atta., *Op.cit*.
[7] International Crisis Group., *Op.cit*.
[8] *Ibid.*

determine how long this policy will last. In addition to discussing the tribal disputes in southern Kaduna, Nigeria, this paper also makes analogies to the crisis in Ukraine.

Southern Kaduna: A Review of Related Literature

According to primordialism, ethnic identities are derived from nature and have been passed down to the current generations of people by their ancestors (they were either biologically determined in the past or they were constructed by individuals in the distant past). Ethnicity has long been considered to be a crucial aspect of our social reality, much like gender or sex. Everyone in the world either chooses an ethnicity for themselves at birth or is subsequently assigned one. Contrary to gender, ethnicity has been used frequently to justify conflict—both violent and nonviolent—with both external and internal rivals who are allegedly a threat to the group's existence and/or vitality.[9] Ethnic conflicts in southern Kaduna have been extensively discussed by academics such as Atta, Hassan Wuyo and Jeffrey[10,11,12] among others. While some of them hold the opinion that it involved ethnic cleansing, others hold a different view and assert that it involved politics and religion.

Conflicts have increased in frequency since the early 1980s, particularly in northern Nigeria.[13] Almost all 19 of the states that make up Northern Nigeria have experienced some sort of conflict at some point.[14] Violent conflicts in Kaduna state started in the 1970s, but the southern region has evolved into a hotbed for heinous crimes committed in the years 1987, 1992, 2000, 2001, and 2022.[15] It is espoused that in March 1987, theological disputes between Christian and Muslim students at the Kafanchan Teachers College in southern Zaria's Jema'a Emirate quickly escalated into a brawl that spilled into Kafanchan town.[16] The theological misunderstanding rekindled long-standing conflicts between the politically powerful Muslim Hausa-Fulani settlers in the town centre and the numerically larger, primarily Christian and/or animist, non-Hausa-Fulani natives living in

[9] Laura Yeghiazaryan. "Which of the three main ethnic conflict theories best explains the Ethnic Violence in the Post-soviet States of Azerbaijan,Georgia, and Moldova". *Undergraduate Journal of Political Science* Vol. 3, No. 1, spring 2018, Pp. 46–64. Available From: [https://www.cpp.edu/class/political science/participate/undergraduatejournal/vol3/yeghiazaryan-3.pdf] Retrieved September 18, 2022
[10] Barkindo, Atta. "Nigeria: Southern Kaduna and the Atrocities of Hausa-Fulani Muslim Herdsmen." *Technical Report*, May 2016.
[11] Ibrahim, Hassan Wuyo. "Death toll in Southern Kaduna killing rises to 34, Including 2 military personnel". Vanguard newspaper, March 23, 2022, pg 5
[12] Burds, Jeffrey. "Ethnic Conflict and Minority Refugee Flight from Post-Soviet Ukraine". *Kennan Institute.* March 1, 2004. Available from: [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/ethnic-conflict-and-minority-refugee-flight-post-soviet-ukraine]. Access 26 Oct. 2022.
[13] Ibrahim, Hassan Wuyo., *Op.cit*.
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] Barkindo, Atta., *Op.cit*.
[16] Mustapha, Salihu: "A Review of Ethnic Conflict in Kaduna State, Nigeria".

the suburbs. Kafanchan's natives hated the Hausa rule because it stripped them of their wealth and power, effectively turning them into outsiders in their own country.

Therefore, the hostile rejection and physical assaults by the native Kafanchan elements on the Emir of Jema'a, Alhaji Isa Muhammadu, when he attempted to intervene in the Kafanchan College of Education imbroglio, served as a manifestation of ethnic minority opposition to the emirate rulership.[17] According to Robert[18] and others, inter-tribal conflicts in Southern Kaduna are caused by a variety of factors, such as territorial disputes, hate speech, accusations, and denials, as well as escalating economic, social, and political disparities between ethnic groups. Robert provided his own account of inter-tribal conflicts in southern Kaduna; most crises there begin with land disputes before turning into full-fledged religious wars.

The destruction of the College of Education in Kafanchan in 1987 served as a sign of the animosity that existed between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna. According to Zwahu Bonnat, the Muslim Students' Society attacked College of Education students, which caused the crisis to worsen along religious lines.[19] Additionally, it was noted that both micro and macro levels of the issue exist in southern Kaduna.[20] On a broad scale, "farmers and herders have long had harmonious relationships." But as the population grew, land and water resources became scarcer, and herders' traditional routes started to be replaced. In the distant past, Plateau State—particularly the Barkin Ladi region—was the epicentre, followed by Nasarawa State and Benue State. Many lives have been lost, entire towns have been uprooted, and many farmers have been unable to produce and harvest for years in these places. Historical tensions in southern Kaduna have risen as the focus of this violence shifted from the North Central to the North Western states.Cattle rustling is still a big issue in Birnin Gwari in the Kaduna Central Zone, but the situation has gotten much worse in the Kaduna South Zone, especially since the victims are people rather than cattle.[21] The "Miss World Beauty Pageant" that Nigeria hosted in 2002 had also sparked violent Muslim protests in some areas of Kaduna, and perhaps most notoriously, political unrest following the 2011 presidential election in Zaria, Kaduna, Zonkwa, and Kafanchan resulted in the burning of churches, mosques, homes, the Kafanchan market, and a high

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] McMahon, Robert. "Background Briefing: What you should know about Ukraine crisis. PBS. March 7, 2014. Available from: [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/background-briefing-ukraine-crisis]. Access Oct. 26, 2022.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Ajibade, Tunji. "The Things I Saw in Kafanchan, Southern Kaduna (Part 2)." *Punch Newspapers*, November 5, 2021. Available From: [https://punchng.com/the-things-i-saw-in-kafanchan-southern-kaduna-part-2/]. Retrieved 13 July, 2022
[21] OCHA. "A Critical Look at the Southern Kaduna crisis" March 2nd, 2017. Available From: [https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/critical-look-southern-kaduna-crisis]. Accessed Dec. 3trd, 2022.

death toll. There were at least thirteen different reports of ethnic and religious confrontations in southern Kaduna in the same year.

The number of violent incidents between various groups in the country has steadily increased since 2010.[22] Hassan Wuyo[23] acknowledged that there have been conflicting relationships between the two dominant religions (Islam and Christianity) in southern Kaduna in the socioeconomic and political affairs of the state, which further reveals that subsequent clashes between the groups, frequently referred to as "ethno-religious conflicts" from 1980 to the present, have political, social, ethnic, and religious overtones and have resulted in the loss of lives and property worth millions of naira in some towns. Ethnic-religious, economic, and political disputes could all be considered subsets of the tribal wars in southern Kaduna. Because the main characters come from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, it is both ethnic and religious. It is political because the war began following an election in 2011, and it is economic because the primary driver of the deadly conflict is related to means of subsistence.[24] Given the aforementioned, it is safe to say that Southern Kaduna's inter-tribal conflicts are complicated by divergent viewpoints. These viewpoints are: environment, ethnicity, political conflict, population, and ethnic rivalry or superiority.[25]

The Theoretical Approach

The origins and intensity of ethnic attachments have been described by the idea of primordialism in the literature on ethnicity for the past thirty years. Geertz developed it after Shils first used the term in the 1950s. Ethnicity develops naturally over time, or at the very least organically. It can be argued that much of the early primordialist discourse, produced by nationalists themselves, lacked sophistication and frequently had no factual support.

However, this school of thought has recently produced two noteworthy viewpoints that have helped to give it much more credibility than it previously had. These viewpoints are, respectively, socio-biological primordialism and cultural primordialism. The inter-tribal conflicts in southern Kaduna are, on the one hand, associated with social-biological primodialism, which describes ethnic groups as "populations" bounded by the rule or practise of endogamy that is driven by a shared belief in the uniqueness of the group and thus a primordial desire to maintain its purity.[26] While many ethnicities are bound

[22] *Ibid.*
[23] Ibrahim, Hassan Wuyo., *Op.cit.*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Barkindo, Atta., *Op.cit.*
[26] Laura Yeghiazaryan. "Which of the three main ethnic conflict theories best explains the Ethnic Violence in the Post-soviet States of Azerbaijan,Georgia, and Moldova". *Undergraduate Journal of*

together, as in the other ethnic Russians and Slavs that constitute the defunct Soviet Union, on the basis of what they are not, it is perhaps more troublesome to agree on what actually constitutes an ethnic group and what it is that gives them uniqueness. It is believed that even the most ethnically homogeneous groups would find it difficult to prove that their members share one or a set of genetic or physical traits that are unique to them.[27] The discovery of the ancient past of the people played a vital role in facilitating the emergence of a sense of community and identity, such as that being debated amongst groups of Russian and Ukrainian nationalists in the east and south of Ukraine.[28] An ethnic Russian thinks only of Russian as a sign of nationalism and patriotism. Any attempt to force them to assimilate could be too catastrophic.

Ukraine's eastern and southern regions: The catalyst

The two largest cities in the Donbass region of eastern Ukraine, according to the Economist, are Donetsk and Luhansk. The majority of people there speak Russian.[29] The Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which together make up the Donbas, include both territories governed by Ukraine and those held by splinter organizations. These areas were known in Ukrainian as the "Wild Fields" for many centuries. In east Ukraine, there are numerous ethnic groups, the majority of which are Russian.

The region included the eastern border with Russia to the Black Sea and Dnieper lowlands; the southern shores of the Sea of Azov; and the southern part of the Russian uplands to the northern shores of the Sea of Azov. With a combined pre-war population of about 3 million, the three largest cities in Donbas are Khakiv, Dnipro, Donetsk-Makiivka, Zaporizhzhia, Mariupol, Luhansk, Lysychansk, Sievierodonetsk, Krasniya-Lyman, and other places not mentioned in this article. Ukraine has a diverse ethnic population and is multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multicultural.

Russians make up the largest group, accounting for 17% of Ukraine's total population, and are mainly found in the country's east and south.[30] Jeffrey Burds asserts that the term "Donbas" is an acronym for "Donetsk Coal Basin." The historical coal mining region also

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Political Science Vol. 3, No. 1, spring 2018, Pp. 46–64. Available From: [https://www.cpp.edu/class/political science/participate/undergraduatejournal/vol3/yeghiazaryan-3.pdf] Retrieved September 18, 2022

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Coakley, J. "Primordialism" in nationalism studies: theory or ideology? *Nations and Nationalism,* 2017.

[29] Burds, Jeffrey. "Ethnic Conflict and Minority Refugee Flight from Post-Soviet Ukraine". *Kennan Institute.* March 1, 2004. Available from: [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/ethnic-conflict-and-minority-refugee-flight-post-soviet-ukraine]. Access 26 Oct. 2022.

[30] Bugayova, Nataliya. "How We Got Here With Russia: The Kremlin's Worldview". *Institute for the Study of War.* January 27, 2019. Available from: [https://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20Report_The%20Kremlin%27s%20Worldview_March%202019.pdf]. Access Oct. 26, 2022.

included parts of southern Russia and the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.[31] In the past, Charles Gascoigne, an Englishman, was credited with constructing a metal factory in what is now Lugansk. After Tsarist Russia and the Crimean Khanate, an Islamic vassal state of Ottoman Turkey annexed Crimea and eastern Ukraine from Ukraine, and Luhansk was established in the year 1795. Years later, in 1869, Welshman John Hughes founded a steel mill and a coal mine in what is now Donetsk; until the Soviet era, the city bore his name, Hughesovka or Yuzovka (1917–1991).

Following the Czarist government's push to develop the massive coal and iron ore deposits of what is now eastern Ukraine, both cities were founded and experienced rapid growth.[32] Tens of thousands of ethnic Russians moved there, further accelerating the region's development and making urban areas almost entirely Russian-speaking.[33] Alongside hillocks made of spent ore, coal and mines grew deeper, and the area was dotted with foundries, chemical plants, and power plants. During the Czarism era, the entire eastern Ukraine was referred to in Russian as "Novorossiya," which roughly translates to "the new Russia."

Religious and racial minorities in Ukraine experienced severe and pervasive discrimination during the first ten years of independence. Minorities in post-Soviet Ukraine have been marginalised and used as "scapegoats" as a result of the economic crisis.[34] According to census data, in the first ten years of its independence, Ukraine's population declined by about 7 percent, or 3.4 million people, with substantial decreases among Jews and ethnic Russians (more than 3 million, or 26.6 percent, 383,000, or nearly 79 percent of the 1989 level). More people left Ukraine than any other former Soviet republic in the first ten years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and about a third of all post-Soviet immigrants to the United States came from Ukraine.[35]

What Jeffrey Burds found most concerning was that few Ukrainian refugees relied on family ties to immigrate to America; more than 80% of Ukrainian emigrants entered the US seeking asylum from ethnic or religious persecution in Ukraine. Between 1992 and 2001, 518,607 former Soviet citizens immigrated to the United States. Ukraine accounted for 162,272 (31.3 percent), with 120,869 fleeing as genuine victims of persecution.[36]

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[31] Burds, Jeffrey. "Ethnic Conflict and Minority Refugee Flight from Post-Soviet Ukraine". *Kennan Institute.* March 1, 2004. Available from: [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/ethnic-conflict-and-minority-refugee-flight-post-soviet-ukraine]. Access 26 Oct. 2022.
[32] Inter. "Yanukovych Signs Contentious Russian Language Law into Force". Kyiv Post. May 6, 2012. Available from: [www.kyivpost.com/article/content/language-billukraine-leader-signs-contentious-russian-language-law-into-force-311237.html] Retrieved June 15, 2022
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Burds, Jeffrey., *Op.cit.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*

Shchetinina v. INS (1997), Korablina v. INS (1998), and Kraitman v. Canada were three significant instances from the 1990s when federal courts recognised the prominent significance of the persecution of ethnic minorities in Ukraine as grounds for asylum in the West. The asylum seekers claimed they were being attacked and beaten by groups of men while police ignored their cries for help. They also spoke of losing their jobs due to their ethnicity.[37]

Burds also asserted that Canadian and American courts have determined that these actions constitute persecution rather than isolated and random crimes because of their systematic nature and the state's failure or unwillingness to stop them. Burds explained that American and Canadian courts frequently disregarded State Department country reports as inaccurate depictions of the current circumstances in post-Soviet Ukraine. Since many years ago, there has been a problem among the ethnic minority.

Background to the conflict in Ukraine

Culture is stated to be a natural means for individuals who are linked by blood and traits to preserve their actual identities because language is a part of culture. Following the early 2014 "Dignity" revolution, a number of social, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic issues in eastern and parts of southern Ukraine played a role in igniting discontent and causing the later outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict.[38] A frail political structure, as well as resurfacing historical and cultural differences, hampered the development of a cohesive Ukrainian national identity.[39] Over centuries of Russian control and ethnic Russian colonization, the Russian language became dominant in eastern and southern Ukraine, even among ethnic Ukrainians.[40]

Additionally, since Soviet General Secretary Joseph Stalin drove the native Crimean Tartars out in 1945 during the Second World War, ethnic Russians have made up the bulk of the region's population. As an illustration, portions of western and central Ukraine were formerly under the sovereignty of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Austrian Empire, as opposed to Richard Sakwa.[41] Ukrainian national, ethnic, and linguistic identities were upheld in these areas. After the Orange Revolution in 2004, Russia undertook a decade-long campaign to regain political power in Ukraine by exploiting domestic tensions and weakening the central authority.[42] Conflict between these two diametrically opposed historical and cultural traditions erupted into political and social

[37] *Ibid.*
[38] McMahon, Robert., *Op.cit*.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Sakwa, Richard., "Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands". I.B.Tauris, Dec 18, 2014
[42] Bugayova, Nataliya, *Op.cit.*

unrest during the "Euromaidan," which got its start on November 21, 2013, when the then-president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, refused to sign an association agreement with the European Union.[43] In contrast to the majority of people in eastern and southern Ukraine, who historically preferred closer links with Russia, support for greater ties with Europe was strong in western and central Ukraine. In February 2014, President Yanukovych, who is more popular in the Russian-speaking eastern areas, was removed from power.[44]

The language policy: a recipe for disaster

The language policy, signed by President Viktor Yanukovych on August 8, 2012, was a major recipe for instability that is now threatening to wipe Ukraine out of the group of peaceful nations. Many claim that the "Euromaidan" protest was the catalyst for the outbreak of war in Ukraine; however, it was the signing of the language policy bill that gave Russian more respect in a country where 10% of the population speaks it.[45] A strategist for the opposition, Oleg Medvedev, argued that "everything that the Russian emperors and general secretaries of the Soviet Union regimes were unable to accomplish has been accomplished by Yanukovych." He has sentenced the Ukrainian language to death.

"As a result, the majority of Ukrainians can communicate in Russian." Unfortunately, the old narrative is starting to change after more than 20 years of independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), dominated by Russia, with Ukrainians from western parts unable to speak Russian except as a second language, except English, German, French, or Polish, thanks to what they called "the Soviet era's brutal experience." As you may remember, Viktor Yanukovych, the Ukrainian president at the time, abandoned plans to sign the "Association Agreement" with the European Union in November 2013.[46]

The agreement would have facilitated free trade with Europe and prepared Ukraine for eventual EU membership, according to the group's reports. In the early morning hours of November 21, 2013, a violent protest erupted in the centre of Ukraine, which was orchestrated by the Central Intelligence Agency and resulted in the overthrow of Viktor Yanukovych's democratically elected government. After the demonstration, there was a counter-demonstration in Donbas, during which a number of ardent Russian nationalists

[43] Higgins, Andrew, *Op.cit.*
[44] Sakwa, Richard., *Op.cit.*
[45] Claus, Patricia. "History of Donbas, Donetsk, and Luhansk Regions." *Greek Reporter*, February 22, 2022.Available from: [https://greekreporter.com/2022/02/22/history-donbas-donetsk-luhansk/#] Retrieved June 10, 2022
[46] Coakley, J., *Op.cit.*

demanded that the Donetsk region, where the overthrown president was from, secede from Ukraine.

In retaliation, Russia annexed Crimea, igniting a bloody trench war that has claimed the lives of over 14,000 Russians of all ethnicities.[47] Russian President Vladimir Putin started issuing passports to the locals and sent troops to guard Russian citizens there in order to legally support his actions in eastern Ukraine. Putin claimed that Russia would not stand by while Ukraine killed ethnic Russians and that the crackdown in Donbas was an attempt to outlaw Russian culture. The Russian language and literature were forbidden in some villages that were ruled by Kyiv.

Musicians were publicly flogged for singing in the Russian language, and radio and television stations were forbidden from airing Russian-language programming. No wonder pro-Russian forces erected sign posts during the "Special Military Operation" pleading with people not to "be afraid" to "speak Russian." Moscow announced the establishment of two distinct independent states following the eight-year eastern conflict (2014–2022).[48] The "Minsk Agreements," which would have given the eastern region an autonomous status, have not been implemented by Kiev authorities in Donetsk and Lugansk, who have grown impatient. Russia became aware of Ukraine's preparation to launch a counteroffensive to retake territory held by pro-Russian groups, with support from the US and NATO.

The "Minsk Agreement," which was led by France, came to an end after President Putin's meeting with the Security Council members, when he declared the independence of the Donetsk and Lugansk republics and launched a "Special Military Operation" to "denazify" Ukraine. Unlike the people of southern Kaduna, who are united by religion (Christianity), the same cannot be said for ethnic Russians in Donbass and parts of southern Ukraine, where watching Russian TV channels is frowned upon by Kiev's Ukrainian-speaking government. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is more complicated than has been reported in the media. The cause of the hostility could be attributed to a lack of trust and a failure of diplomacy on the part of the two countries with two different and unique languages and cultures that seek to outperform each other on the international scene.

The complicity

As severe as the attacks in southern Kaduna were, there have never been any instances of a suspect being apprehended by Nigerian law enforcement in recent memory, leading

[47] Burds, Jeffrey., *Op.cit.*
[48] Coakley, J., *Op.cit.*

people to believe that the country's government, which is predominately made up of Muslim northern elites, is responsible for the crimes. Governments at all levels have received their fair share of criticism from the general public over the years for how they have handled the ongoing loss of life, primarily that of indigenous people. In contrast to Ukraine, powerful and politically connected individuals are responsible for the majority of the violence happening in southern Kaduna.

At that time, Zamani Lekwot, a retired army general, was found guilty of taking part in the carnage by the Tribunal established by the Babangida government to determine what led to the Zangon-Kataf massacre of May 1992. That was essentially the only occasion when the government would call a panel and find individuals guilty of participating in the recurrent inter-tribal conflicts in southern Kaduna. Despite government efforts to mediate between the warring parties, lasting peace in southern Kaduna may have been all but impossible due to the claims and counterclaims. For example, as a result of the 2014 Zuokuma peace initiative, the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union (SOKAPU) and the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN) signed a peace agreement. Unfortunately, as the organisers of the peace deal returned to their bases, the combatants also returned to the front lines, violating the peace deal agreement.

In the case of ethnic Russians in the east and south of Ukraine, the Yoruba people say, lizards can access the wall if it hasn’t cracked. The memories of Soviet rule and suppression, in which Russians played a critical role, may have lingered for decades after the fall of the USSR, but both groups (Ukrainians and ethnic Russians) coexisted peacefully until Ukraine's intention to look west and hostile treatment of ethnic Russians.

The parallelism

The ethnic conflicts in southern Kaduna are more about religion, social inequality (economics), and political hegemony than they are in eastern Ukraine, where ethnic Russians are fighting to break away from Ukraine due to oppression, molestation, and sometimes death. In this instance, nomadic Muslim settlers in southern Kaduna are thought to be fighting the natives, who are mostly farmers, over grazing routes with the support of their relatives in the Nigerian government. Looking at southern Kaduna and Ukraine, cultural dominance and ethnic nationalism are on the top burner.

Ukrainians see the previous president's (Yanukovich's) language directive, which favours Russian in Donbas, as an attempt to denigrate and potentially destroy the Ukrainian language. Even if the Communist Party's russification policy did favour Russian over other languages, particularly in Ukraine, this further strengthens our theory. The Hausa/Fulani, whom they accuse of torturing them, are Muslims who are more closely allied with the ruling class, although the bulk of the locals in southern Kaduna are

Christians. The Hausa-Fulani believe they own the land as well because they control the monarchies in numerous parts of northern Nigeria.

With numerous reports of Russian speakers being detained and subjected to torture, the ongoing "Special Military Operations" have only strengthened Moscow's argument that Kyiv, working with the West, is attempting to eradicate the Russian language and culture. Why do performers get publicly shamed for singing in Russian? Why are educators instructed to switch from teaching in Russian to Ukrainian when many of them do not speak Ukrainian? In contrast to the ethnic Russians, the indigenous people of southern Kaduna want to take total control of their land rather than secede from Nigeria.

Recommendation/Conclusion

According to reports, the majority of Lithuanians have always thought of their country as being situated on the coasts of the Baltic Sea. This point of view has been succinctly summarised by cultural historians in relation to contemporary Ukraine, where it was noted that nearly all of her intelligentsia, politicians, historians, and the media think in ways that stem from the nationalist paradigm of history. This viewpoint essentially states that nations are the main subjects of historical studies because they have a national territory assigned to them, which means they constitute lasting entities that have existed at least for a certain amount of time and that they therefore constitute the most important historical objects.

After decades of attempting to bring about peace in southern Kaduna through several committees whose results were never made public, it is now evident that the parties involved in the war are not culturally coherent. The federal government of Nigeria should begin the process of border readjustment by establishing new states in order to divide the twelve local government units that belong to the native Christians of the present Kaduna state. The government should start defining grazing routes in southern Kaduna and places where farmer-herder conflicts have been reported to put a stop to the bloodshed and destruction. The establishment of ranches in the disputed locations is a panacea for peace and tranquility. This measure would reduce ethnic tension and also serve as another way of improving the revenue base of constitutional authority and creating thousands of additional jobs in an economy that is heavily dependent on crude oil exports to the world market.

If Kyiv had followed the "Minsk Deal," a set of international accords aimed at ending the conflict in the Donbass between armed Russian separatist groups and the Ukrainian Armed Forces, the world would not be where it is today. The first, referred to as the Minsk Protocol, was negotiated in 2014 by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Russia, and the Trilateral Contact Group on Ukraine, with mediation provided by the presidents of France and Germany in what is known as the "Normandy Format."

While it may be said that the recognition of the independence of Lugansk and Donetsk may not be a lasting solution because it was forced on Ukraine by the barrels of the Russian Army's artillery, the only realistic way to end the conflict is still the recognition of Lugansk and Donetsk's independence by Kyiv and a commitment to refrain from joining NATO in exchange for security guarantees. Kyiv should abandon retaking Kyiv; the area is no longer under its control, and Ukraine is in no position to obstruct Moscow given that it has lost the vast majority of its territory in a military offensive. With the crisis internationalised between the United States and other allies in the west, the United States is hugely benefiting economically from the hostility with sales of weapons under a "land lease agreement," while at the same time achieving a strategic goal of weaning Europe off Russian natural gas dependence.

Additionally, the standoff between Russia and the west has turned into a competition over sovereignty, contemporary armament, and digital technology. The United States of America is unlikely to want to lose the Ukraine war in the same way that it did in Afghanistan and Vietnam. However, the conflict in Ukraine has now become an avenue for NATO to test its arsenal's effectiveness in order to know exactly what potential areas for future military technology there are.

In conclusion, as the winter weather approaches and Europe and the world economy are on their knees as a result of sanctions on Russia, whose army is at the moment indirectly fighting with the United States-led NATO, the battle is now Russia's to lose because of the enormous resources available at its disposal to prosecute the war.

It is hard to discuss peace in an environment rife with injustice and nepotism. More peace advocacy is needed from the main international political powers, but they can only do that if they allow the United Nations (UN) to function freely. Primordialist theories are frequently used by ethnic activists and nationalists to explain and justify ethnic conflicts, such as those in southern Kaduna and eastern-southern Ukraine, which is why this research supports the use of the primordial theory of ethnic conflict despite its flaws.

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