THE STATE AND NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA, 1967 – 2007: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

BY

FALODE ADEWUNMI JAMES

MATRICULATION NUMBER: 069015028

A THESIS IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

MAY, 2012

THE STATE AND NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA, 1967 – 2007: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

BY

FALODE ADEWUNMI JAMES

MATRICULATION NUMBER: 069015028

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS.

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the thesis submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies, University of Lagos for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in History and Strategic Studies is a record of original research carried out by FALODE ADEWUNMI JAMES, MATRICULATION NUMBER: 069015028

AUTHOR'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
1ST SUPERVISOR'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
2ND SUPERVISOR'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
1ST INTERNAL EXAMINER'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
2ND INTERNAL EXAMINER'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
EXTERNAL EXAMINER'S NAME	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES' REPRESENTATIVE	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the good Lord Jesus Christ and to my parents, Elder and Mrs. Joseph Idowu Falode.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In writing this thesis, I am indebted to many. First, I wish to thank my primary supervisor, Dr. Ademola Adeleke, for his invaluable guidance, criticisms and suggestions. His enthusiastic encouragement and support provided the necessary stimulus that helped me complete this dissertation. I am immensely indebted to him for being a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to my second supervisor, Dr. David Aworawo. I owe him many thanks for sparing time from his busy schedule to read through my dissertation. His instructive commentaries and constructive criticisms helped me to fine-tune my work.

I wish to thank the entire members of the Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, for their assistance and guidance throughout the duration of my studentship. I also wish to express my profound gratitude to my brother Joseph Adeyeye. He was a constant source of strength and encouragement.

Finally, I wish to express my immense and sincere gratitude to my wife Omonigho, and my children, Oluwatobi, Oluwadara and Oluwatosin. Their constant care, affection cooperation and understanding made it possible for me to complete this thesis.

Table of Contents

Title Page	ii
Certification	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Table of Contents	vi-x
Lists of Abbreviations	xi-xiv
Abstract	xv
CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction and Background to the Study	1-14
Statement of the Problem	14-16
Justification for the Study	16-17
Significance of the Study	18
Scope and Limitations of the Study	19-20
Aims and Objectives	20-21
Research Questions	21
Operational Definition of Terms	22
Theoretiocal Framework	23-38
Methodology	38-40
Literature Review	40-47
Endnotes	48-55
CHAPTER TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF THE NIGERIAN STATE TO 1967	**56-60**
British Conquest of Nigeria, 1861	60-62
The Indirect Rule System	62-64
The Almalgamation of 1914	64-67
Nigerian Political Development to 1960	67-72
The Independence Era to 1970	72-88
Endnotes	89-94

CHAPTER THREE: THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1967-1975 95-97

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Gowon Administration in the Nation-Building Process 97-104

Institutional Mechanism Used by the Gowon Regime in the Nation-Building Process 104-106

Praetorian Mechanism of the State during the Gowon Regime 106-109

Endnotes 110-114

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ERA OF SOCIAL RE-ENGINEERING: 1975-1985

Murtala/Obasanjo Regime, 1975-1979 115-122

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process 122-123

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime In the Nation-Building Process 123

- Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC), 1975 123-124

Institutional Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process 124-126

Praetorian Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process 126-127

Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Administration, 1979-1983 127-133

The Nation-Building Efforts of Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Administration, 1979-1983 134

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Alhaji Shehu Shagari Regime in the Nation-Building Process 134-135

Buhari/Idiagbon Regime, 1983-1985 135-137

The Nation-Building Efforts of the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime, 1983-1985 137

The Conceptual Mechanism used by the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime in the Nation-Building Process 138

Praetorian Mechanism used by the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime in the Nation-Building Process 138-139

Endnotes 140-143

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ERA OF TRANSITION, 1985-1993 144-151

The Instutitional Mechanism used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process 151

- The Political Bureau, 1986-1987 151-154
- The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), July 1986-1994 154-157
- Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), 1987 157-158
- National Electoral Commission (NEC), 1987 158-159

Constitutional Mechansim used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process 159-162

The Praetorian Mechansim used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process 162-163

Endnotes 164-167

CHAPTER SIX: THE ERA OF CIVIL RESTRUCTURING, 1993-1999 168

General Sani Abacha's Regime, 1993-1998 168-175

The Preatorian Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process 176-177

Institutional Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process 177-178

- Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), 1994 178
- National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), 1995 179

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process 179-180

Civil Society Groups (CSGs) and the Nation-Building Process in Nigeria 180-186

- Typologies of CSGs in Nigeria 186-189
- CSGs and The Nation-Building Process in Nigeria, 1967-1985 189
- CSGs and the Babangida Regime, 1985-1993 190-191
- CSGs and the Abacha Regime, 1993-1998 191-192
- CSGs and General Abdulsalami Abubakar's Regime, 1998-1999 192-193
- CSGs During the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007 193-195

Endnotes 196-201

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE DEMOCRATIC ERA 1999 – 2007 202-210

Institutional Mechanism used by the Obasanjo Administration 210

- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Inde-Pendent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) 210-213
- Niger Delta Deveploment Commission (NDDC), 2000 213
- National Political Reform Conference, 2005 213-214

Conceptual Mechanisms used by the Obasanjo Administration 214-215

- Power-Sharing 215-216
- Zoning 216
- National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), 2004 216-217

Constitutional Mechansims used by the Obasanjo Administration in the Nation-Building Process 218

- Federal Character Principle 218-219

Endnotes 220-224

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE CHALLENGES OF NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA 1967-2007: AN OVERVIEW 225-226

Challenge of Federalism 226-228

Challenge of Distribution 228-230

Challenge of Democracy 231-232

Challenge of Governance 232-233

Challenge of Aggressive Ethno-Regionalism 233-236

Challenge of Religion 236-238

Challenge of Corruption 238-239

Challenge of Ideology 240-241

Challenge of Autarky 241-242

Endnotes 243-248

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

Conclusion	249-255
Recommnedations	255-260
Contributions to Knowledge	260-261
Bibliography	262-300
Appendix	301-307

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABN - Association for Better Nigeria
AG – Action Group
AFRC – Armed Forces Ruling Council
ANC - All-Nigeria Congress
ANPP - All Nigeria People's Party
ASUU – Academic Staff Union Of Universities
BYM – Bornu Youth Movement
BDPP – Benin Delta People Party
BMPIU – Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit
CAN - Christian Association of Nigeria
CDD - Centre for Development and Democracy
CNC - Congress for National Consensus
CSGS – Civil Society Groups
CLO – Civil Liberties Organization
CD – Campaign for Democracy
CA – Constituent Assembly
CRC – Constitutional Review Committee
CDC – Constitutional Drafting Committee
CDS – Centre for Democratic Studies
CBDS – Community Based Organizations
CDHR – Committee for The Defence Of Human Rights
CFCR – Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform
CRD - Centre for Research and Documentation
CRP - Constitutional Rights Project
DPN - Democratic Party of Nigeria
DFRRI – Directorate of Foods, Roads, And Rural Infrastructure
EPD – Enterprise Promotion Decree
EFCC – Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
ERN – Electoral Reform Network
FEDECO – Federal Electoral Commission

FMG - Federal Military Government

FEM – Foreign Exchange Market

FEC – Federal Executive Council

GDP - Grassroots Democratic Party

GNPP – Great Nigeria People's Party

INEC – Independent National Electoral Commission

ING – Interim National Government

IPP - Ideal People's Party

IYC - Ijaw Youth Council

JAMB – Joint Admission Matriculation Board

JACON – Joint Action Committee

LC - Liberal Convention

LHR - League for Human Rights

MAMSER – Mass Mobilization for Self-Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice

MOSOP – Movement for the Struggle of the Ogoni People

MAN - Manufacturers association of Nigeria

MASSOB - Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra

MEND - Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

NCCI - Nigerian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

NCPN - National Centre Party of Nigeria

NDLP - National Democratic Labour Party

NDP – National Development Plan

NMA - Nigerian Medical Association

NNC - Nigeria National Congress

NRC – National Rehabilitation Commission

NYM – Nigerian Youth Movement

NNDC – Nigerian National Oil Corporation

NNDP – Nigerian National Democratic Party

NPC – Northern People's Congress

NCNC – National Council Of Nigeria And The Cameroons
NYSC – National Youth Service Corps
NADECO – National Democratic Coalition
NALICON – National Liberation Council Of Nigeria
NDDC – Niger Delta Development Commission
NPP – Nigeria's People's Party
NPN – National Party Of Nigeria
NRC – National Republican Convention
NNDP – Nigerian National Democratic Party
NNA – Nigerian National Alliance Party
NEC – National Electoral Commission
NCS – National Council of States
NECON – National Electoral Commission of Nigeria
NHRC - National Human Rights Commission
NCC – National Constitutional Commission
NGOS – Non-Government Organizations
NLC – Nigerian Labour Congress
NLP - Nigeria Labour Party
NBA – Nigeria Bar Association
NUP - National Unity Party
NUJ – Nigeria Union of Journalist
NANJ – National Association of Nigeria Students
NDVF – Niger Delta Volunteer Force
NPRC - National Political Reform Conference
NPWP - Nigeria People's Welfare Party
NEED – National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
OIC - organization of Islamic Conference
OPC – Oodua Peoples Congress
PAC - Presidential Advisory Committee
PPA – Progressive Parties Alliance
PDP – Peoples Democratic Party

PFN - People's Front of Nigeria
PNP - Patriotic Nigerian Party
PPP - Progressive Peoples Party
PPP - People's Patriotic Party
PRC - Provisional Ruling Council
PRP – People's Redemption Party
PSP - People's Solidarity Party
PTF – Petroleum Trust Fund
PRONACO – Pro-National Conference
RPN - Republican Party of Nigeria
SDP – Social Democracy Party
SAP – Structural Adjustment Programme
SGN - Solidarity Group of Nigeria
SFEM – Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market
SMC – Supreme Military Council
SNC – Soverign National Conference
TIN – Transparency In Nigeria
TMG – Transition Monitoring Group
UDFN – United Democrctic Front of Nigeria
UNCP - United Nigeria Congress Party
UNDP - United Nigeria Democratic Party
UPN – Unity Party of Nigeria
UAC – United African Company
UMBC – United Middle Belt Congress
UNIP – United National Independent Party
UPGA – United Progressive Grand Alliance
UPE – Universal Primary Education
UAD – United Action for Democracy
WAI – War Against Indiscipline

ABSTRACT

Nigeria became an independent state in 1960. The political system that Nigeria operated at independence was given to her by the British colonial authority. It was the imperfections in the political system that led to the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in 1967. The end of the civil war in 1970 gave Nigeria the opportunity for a national rebirth. This is because the civil war destroyed the political system that was inherited from the British. From 1970 onward, Nigeria then had the opportunity to create a political system that was suitable to the country's peculiar geo-political environment. Thus, work is about the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. The work analyzes the various efforts of the state in the country's nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. By adopting the historical narrative and analytical approach, the study has carried out a chronological analysis of the different nation-building initiatives of both the civilian and military administrations that ruled Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. The thesis analyzes the administrations of General Yakubu Gowon, 1967-1975; Generals Murtala Muhammad/Olusegun Obasanjo, 1975-1979; Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1979-1983; Generals Muhammadu Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon, 1983-1985; General Ibrahim Babangida, 1985-1993; General Sanni Abacha, 1993-1998, and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999-2007. The research is predicated on the assumption that there is no historical and holistic analysis of the different mechanisms, programmes and initiatives the state used to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges. Additionally, the study highlights the neglected role of the Civil Society Groups (CSGs) in the country's nation-building process between 1967 and 2007.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Nigeria was a creation of the British in 1914. The country came into being as a result of the amalgamation of the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria. The country is made up of about 250 ethnic groups with 350 spoken languages.[1] Since independence in 1960, efforts have been made to promote national integration among the numerous ethnic groups. The different administrations in Nigeria have sought to transform the country into a fucnctional and united society enjoying the benefits and opportunities offered by its diverse and heterogeneous population. This has remained an impossible dream however. In spite of the efforts that have been expended, such as the establishment of a unitary political system in 1966 and the introduction of the federal character principle in 1979, Nigeria has failed to significantly address her challenges of nation-building.

There are such descriptions of Nigeria as "a mere co-existence of groups"[2], or as an "accident and artificial creation of British colonial rule".[3] It was Obafemi Awolowo, a Nigerian nationalist, who said in 1947 that Nigeria

> is not a nation: it is a mere geographic expression. There are no 'Nigerians' in the same sense as there are 'English' or 'Welsh' or 'French', the word Nigeria is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria and those who do not.[4]

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who was the Prime Minister of Nigeria at independence in 1960, made the same observation in 1947 when he stated that "since the amalgamation of southern and northern provinces in 1914, Nigeria has existed as one country only on paper… It is still far from being united."[5]

Fifty years after independence, Nigeria is still battling to turn the mere 'geographic expression' into a united, cohesive, functional and democratic polity. This problem, of building a viable and cohesive nation, has been with Nigeria even before independence in 1960. To show the seriousness of this, the British, who were Nigeria's colonial masters, set up the Wilink Commission in 1957.[6] The aim of the Commission was to look for ways to assuage the fears and ensure the survival of all ethnic groups, particularly the minority groups, in a larger Nigerian state.[7] Moreover, in the post colonial period, successive governments have attempted to fashion political systems and institutions that can accommodate the country's ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. Attempts have been made, with little success, to ensure a sense of national unity. Communities throughout the country increasingly feel marginalized by and alienated from the Nigerian state.[8]

Nigeria owes its name to Flora Louisa Shaw, the colonial editor of *The Times*, a British newspaper. The newspaper was the first to use the appellation 'Nigeria' to describe an amalgamation of the "Niger River and the surrounding area" in

1897.[9] Historically, British colonization began in 1861 with the establishment of the Colony of Lagos.[10] This process concluded with Britain's 1900 declaration of the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria.[11] The Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and the Colony of Lagos were amalgamated in 1914; and from then untill 1954, Nigeria was formally governed as a unitary state.[12] The Clifford Constitution marked the beginning of the formation of political parties in Nigeria.[13] It is remarkable that it was the constitutional provisions inherent in the Clifford Constitution that enabled the formation of the first political party in Nigeria in 1923, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). The Clifford Constitution was followed in 1946 by the Richard's Constitution that gave Nigerians the opportunity to deliberate with the British on issues that affected Nigeria.[14] MacPherson and Lyttleton Constitutions of 1951 and 1954 marked significant departures from the decades of British colonial rule that followed the formal amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria into a single state in 1914. The Lyttleton Constitution turned Nigeria into a federation of three regions.[15] These are the Northern, Eastern and Western regions. Each region had a dominant ethnic group: the Hausa-Fulani in the Northern region; the Yoruba in the Western Region; and the Igbo in the Eastern region. The remaining ethnic groups, especially the Tivs and Nupe in the North, the Ijaw and Ibibio in the East and Benin in the West, were squeezed in between this powerful tripod. Thus, in the run-up to independence, three major political parties consolidated their regional bases.[16] In the north, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello led the government

thanks to his control of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) formed in 1949.[17] The NPC was a political offshoot of Jam' Iyyar Mutanen Arewa, a predominantly Hausa-Fulani elite organization. In the West, Obafemi Awolowo ascended to the Premiership of the Western region through the Action Group (AG), a party that was formed in 1951. The AG was the offshoot of the pan-Yoruba cultural organization, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, formed in London in 1945.[18] In the East, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the leader of the Igbo dominated National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) formed in 1944.[19] Nigeria achieved Independence in 1960 under this political and ethnic situation.

The British bequeathed to Nigeria what has been called a "federal trinity".[20] This trinity comprised the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria – The Hausa, Yoruba and the Igbo. The remaining ethnic groups, such as the Tiv, Urhobo, Ijaw, Ibibio, Kanuri, Nupe and Edo, had their identities submerged into these three. Thus, it was the desire of the British colonialist to create a political system that would neutralize the latent threats posed by Nigeria's heterogeneity that made them to turn the country into a federal state. This is because federalism is often recommended for ethnically diverse countries in the hope that it will foster greater socio-political integration among populations.[21] This explains, to some extent, why the British adopted the federal system for Nigeria at independence. The British needed a political system that could turn the country's heterogeneous mixture into a cohesive and functional entity.

Thus, Nigeria's federalism was meant to be a nation-building mechanism for the country.

Although, the British adopted the federal system of government to make Nigeria governable in the short term, subsequent events showed that the "flawed federalism" so adopted was to be the beginning of Nigeria's challenges with nation-building.[22] Among other things, colonial administration encouraged vertical relations between colonial centres of power and periphery districts, divisions, provinces and regions.[23] It did not encourage horizontal integration and interaction among groups. At independence in 1960, Nigerian political elites copied and used this vertical administrative style to govern the country. This was particularly true for military regimes in Nigeria from 1966 to 1979 and 1983-1998; and for the civilian administration during the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007. Thus, the flawed political system the British created for Nigeria was the first nation-building hurdle that confronted the country at independence in 1960. Nigeria's federalism was flawed at independence because it gave a preponderance of the state to particular ethnic groups within the Nigerian federation. It was also flawed because it operated with utter disregard for Nigeria's distinct geo-political and social terrain.

The 1952 census was another factor that skewed Nigeria's federalism right from inception in 1960. Based on the census figure, the Northern Region had 53 percent of the whole federation.[24] The East, West and the minority Groups

shared the remaining 57 percent. This translated into a dominant position in the National Assembly for the NPC. The 1957 constitutional settlement, which the British negotiated with Nigerian nationalists, allotted representation in the federal legislature based on regional population. This view of a dominant North vis-à-vis the rest of the federating units was subsequently enshrined in the 1960 Independence Constitution and the 1963 Republican Constitution of Nigeria.[25] By the same token, all the attempts aimed at ascertaining the total number of Nigerians in the post independence period has faltered because of mutual suspicion and ethnic distrust. The north was never ready to countenance any challenge to the prevailing view of its numerical superiority. While, the east, west and other minority groups were interested in altering this *status quo*.

This researcher readily supports the Crisis Group's assertion that Nigeria operated a 'flawed' federalism between 1967 and 2007. Scholars such as Eme O. Awa, Gregory Mahler, Ademola Adeleke, Jide Osuntokun, and J. I. Elaigwu had all arrived at the same conclusion. Writing on Nigeria's federalism, Gregory Mahler has this to say:

> One of the traditional problems frustrating Nigerian national integration has been the notion of a tribal or ethnic identity. A federal structure permitted these sub-national forces to survive. This was characteristic of the British traditional desire to federate all colonial territories, making possible interstate divisions into intrastate divisions.[26]

For Eme O. Awa:

> The development of a federal political structure was significant for Nigeria's political future because it meant that each of the regions of Nigeria could retain some degree of authority and identity. This served to weaken many of the forces that were leading to the development of a national political identity.[27]

Ademola Adeleke's conclusion in his *Evolution of Party Politics in Nigeria* asserts that a return to "true federalism" is an important key to the resolution of Nigeria's nation-building challenges.[28] By inference, what he meant was that what was obtainable in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 was not a reflection of pristine federalism. This situation is what the Crisis Group has called "flawed federalism".[29] The flawed federalism which Nigeria inherited at independence and the superstructural issues that arose therefrom precipitated the collapse of the First Republic in 1966. The military intervened in national politics in January 1966. A counter-coup followed in July and by June 1967, the country had descended into a fratricidal civil war. Thus, the different Nigerian administrations, which this thesis refers to as the 'state', that ruled Nigeria between 1967-2007 battled to correct the structural anomaly that made it impossible for the emergence of a functional and cohesive Nigeria.

In its bid to create a functional and integrated Nigeria, the state injected various mechanisms into the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967-2007. This researcher has classified these mechanisms as institutional, constitutional, conceptual and praetorian mechanisms. The use of these

mechanisms, sometimes individually or in combination, was noticeable in the country's nation-building process between 1967-2007. For instance, Olusegun Obasanjo's administration made use of the institutional mechanism to tackle specific challenges of nation-building between 1999 and 2007. This was the rationale behind the formation of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2003. It was an institutional response meant to tackle the challenge of corruption.[30] General Yakubu Gowon establishment of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973 was another institutional programme meant to help the nation-building process in Nigeria.[31] Other administrations adopted the constitutional mechanism to overcome some aspects of Nigeria's nation-building challenges. A particular challenge that confronted Nigeria at independence was the search for a viable political system. Due to Nigeria's cultural heterogeneity and ethnic diversity, federalism was adopted at independence. The different administrations saw the Nigerian constitution as an important avenue through which some of these nation-building challenges, especially that of a viable political system, could be resolved. Hence, the state felt compelled to amend and alter the various Nigerian constitutions and insert provisions that were designed to make Nigeria politically and socially cohesive. This, for example, was the rationale behind the insertion of the federal character principle and principle of fiscal federalism into the 1979 Nigerian Constitution by General Olusegun Obasanjo's regime in 1979.[32] This insertion was done, it must be noted, to ensure that all the ethnic

groups are represented at the centre and to also ensure the equitable distribution of federal resources.

Praetorian mechanism was the favoured tool of the different military administrations that ruled Nigeria from 1966 to 1999. This tool involved the use of decrees and edicts to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges. For example, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi used decrees 33 and 34 of 1966 to turn Nigeria into a unitary state.[33] This was done to tackle the problem of unity in the country's nation-building process. General Yakubu Gowon used the Enterprise Promotion decree No. 4 of 1972 to tackle the challenge of economic insufficiency.[34] And, General Ibrahim Babangida used decree to establish Mass Mobilization for Self Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice (MAMSER) in 1987.[35] MAMSER was designed to make Nigeria socio-economically and politically viable.

Conceptual mechanism was the preference of civil society groups (CSGs) in resolving Nigeria's nation building challenges during the period understudy. By structural compositions, CSGs include a wide range of institutions including non governmental organizations, faith based institutions, community groups, professional associations, pro-democracy groups, trade unions, media organizations and research institutes.[36] In contrast to the vertical approach adopted by the state in Nigeria, CSGs adopted the horizontal approach to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges during the period. This approach

fostered interactions and the exchange and dissemination of ideas across the socio-cultural and political spectrum of Nigeria. The approach further afforded the CSGs the opportunity to play pivotal roles in Nigeria's nation-building process during the period. The CSGs are of two types. There are those that were involved in the nation-building process from within the country; and those whose efforts were channelled from outside the country. Some of the CSGs that played prominent roles in the period under consideration include Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) formed in 1987;[37] Campaign for Democracy (CD) formed in 1991;[38] and National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) formed in 1994.[39] All these are from within the country. The National Liberation Council of Nigeria (NALICON), formed in 1995, and United Democratic Front for Nigeria (UDFN), formed in 1996, are two examples of those from outside the country.[40] The CSGs injected such important concepts as democracy, human rights, transparency, accountability and rule of law into the Nigerian nation-building process.

Three important characteristics defined the Nigerian state between 1967 and 2007. They are an enduring colonial legacy, lack of institutional autonomy and a flawed federalism.[41] At independence in 1960, the new Nigerian state could not be distinguished structurally from the old colonial state. This is because the new state was governed with structures inherited from its colonial days. Colonial rule in Nigeria was characterized by authoritarianism and elitist control of the state's resources and wealth. Post-colonial Nigeria also continued

with these practices. Between 1967 and 2007, Nigerian rulers adopted this administrative style to govern the country. This was particularly true for all the military regimes that governed the country between 1967 and 1998. Besides, the federal government centralized all the resources accruing to the state. this is what was obtainable during the colonial period. The British controlled all the resources that accrued to the Nigerian state and disbursed it as they saw fit. This had important implications for the country's nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. It ensured, among other things, a patron-client network.

A more important impact of the country's colonial legacy on its socio-political development was the 'alienation' it created between the citizen and the Nigerian state. The Nigerian state was a creation of the British both in 1914 and in 1960. Nigerians viewed the Nigerian state as an inorganic and foreign structure that was grafted and imposed by the British. This alienation persisited into the post-colonial period and became more pronounced between 1967 and 2007. It ensured that the Nigerian citizen had no affinity whatsoever to the Nigerian state. This has created an important schism between the rulers and the ruled in Nigeria. The ruled only saw the state as an instrument of oppression to be resisted and subverted. While, the ruled saw the state as the tool that it must use to mould the ruled into the image of the state. This disconnect between the two has led to great socio-political upheavals within the Nigerian state. It made the nation-building endeavours of the state onerous between 1967 and 2007.

The lack of institutional autonomy is also an important feature of the Nigerian state between 1967 and 2007. Again, this has its roots in the country's colonial history. The rulers failed to separate the state's institutions and structures from their own personal interests. Rather than create institutions that were free of partisan influences, the rulers individualized and personalized such structures. This negatively affected the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. Institutions that should have helped the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007, due to these pervertions, became albatrosses to the whole process. A good example is Olusegun Obasanjo's creation and pervasion of the powers of the EFCC during the Fourth Republic. The EFCC, an institution set-up to specifically tackle corruption, became a tool of oppression in the hand of the Obasanjo's administration between 1999 and 2007.

The final character of the Nigerian state between 1967 and 2007 was its flawed federal structure.[42] Nigeria's federalism was inherited. The British turned Nigeria into a federal state in 1954. However, instead of devolving political powers to the regions, the British concentrated political powers in their hand. This federal anomaly was noticeable in post-colonial Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. It has ensured for Nigeria a politically unstable polity. For example, conflicts, both communal and etnnic, that would have been resolved at the local levels, thereby freeing the federal government to tackle other crucial developmental issues, were pushed to the national arena. This has the

disadvantage of distracting the federal government from tackling issues of more central and national significance. Besides, the flawed federal structure has led to the 'fracturing' of the Nigerian state. Dogged with the fear of disintegration because of the activities of the three major ethnic groups, the state consequently resorted to the creations of statelets and local governments. This was done to reduce the numerical base of the of all the major ethniuc groups and to make seccession a very unattractive venture. Although, it was a policy designed to guarantee the survival of the Nigerian state, the fragmentation however accentuated the flawed character of Nigeria's federalism. This is because since the regions had become miniaturized and have no viable economic bases, they have now been forced to rely on resources emanating from the centre. This in essence meant that power and resources has now been concentrated in the hand of the federal government. This situation was in direct contradiction to the tenets of true federalism. In retrospect, the nation-building programmes between 1967 and 2007 was meant to correct these perceived structural anomalies that inhere in Nigeria's federalism. The nation-building process was meant to make the Nigerian state more organic; to bridge the gulf that existed between the ruled and the ruler. The state hoped to achieve this by creating a functional, cohesive and viable polity from the one it inherited from the British.

From 1914 to 1959, the "geographic expression" called Nigeria was held together by British-inspired federalism. The Nigerian federation all but

collapsed in 1967 with the outbreak of the Civil War. The end of the War in January 1970, offered Nigeria the opportunity to fashion for itself a more suitable political arrangement. According to Ademola Adeleke, the end of the civil war "offered Nigeria the opportunity for a national rebirth."[43] Professor Lawal arrived at the same conclusion when he stated that "the end of the civil war gave the state the opportunity to create a socio-political system that was best suited to the Nigerian geo-political terrain."[44]

Thus, this work is a historical analysis and evaluation of the efforts of the state, on the one hand, and that of the CSG at the other, to overcome Nigeria's nation-building challenges between 1967 to 2007. The work critically analyzes the various programmemes, initiatives, mechanisms and approaches that were adopted during the country's nation-building process in the period understudy.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Nigeria became an independent state in 1960. Since 1967, the country has faced series of daunting nation-building challenges. These challenges include, among others, the challenge of autarky, the challenge of corruption, the challenge of governance, the challenge of democracy, the challenge of federalism and the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism. The negative impacts of Nigeria's inability to resolve these nation-building challenges were seen in the manifestations of symptoms such as kleptocrazy, political godfatherism, lopsided or flawed federalism, religious crisis, ethnic conflicts

and lacklustre leadership within the Nigerian socio-economic and political milieu.

The different administrations that ruled the country from 1967 to 2007 devoted considerable energy toward making Nigeria politically viable and ethnically cohesive. Various mechanisms and programmees were used by the state to tackle the country's nation-building challenges between 1967 and 2007. This researcher has classified these mechanisms into institutional, conceptual, praetorian and constitutional mechanisms. These mechanisms were used by the state in the various stages of the nation-building process in Nigeria. For example, General Yakubu Gowon, 1966-1975, used a combination of these mechanisms to resolve specific nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria during his administration. His preference was for both institutional and praetorian mechanisms. Gowon praetorian predilection was amply demonstrated when he used decree No. 14 of 1967 to establish a 12-states structure for Nigeria.[45] Another was Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999-2007, who preferred the use of conceptual, institutional and constitutional mechanisms to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges. Obasanjo used institutional mechanism to create Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000.[46] The NDDC was created to tackle the challenges of distribution and aggressive ethno-regionalism in the Niger Delta. Besides, the administration used the conceptual mechanism to create National Economic Empowerment and

Development Strategy, (NEEDS). NEEDS was designed to tackle the nation-building challenges of corruption, distribution and autarky.

Thus, in the course of the study, the researcher has discovered that:

1. There is no unbroken historical analysis of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.
2. There is no historical analysis of the mechanisms the state used in the nation-building in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.
3. There is no historical analysis of the contributions of the CSGs to the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.
4. There is no theoretical paradigm that underpins the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.
5. There is no critical study on the place of ideological and philosophical platforms in the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

It is these important lacunae that this study hopes to fill.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

There is no major, systemic and scholarly work on the individual programmemes the different civilian and military administrations used to tackle the country's nation-building challenges between 1967 and 2007. This researcher has been able to identify, in the course of the research, that rather than analyze the regimes holistically, with a view to providing a single

unbroken historical narrative of the various programmemes, initiatives and mechanisms that were used in the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967, the extant literature had only used the regimes and their programmemes as reference points in their analysis. In concrete terms, the state's efforts at nation-building had only been used by scholars as an adjunct in their analysis of the nation-building process in Nigeria. Larry Diamond et al., *Transition Without End*, is a good example of a scholarly work that adopted this approach in its analysis of socio-political development in Nigeria during the Babangida era.[47] The work, which is meant to highlight the travails of democracy in Nigeria, only used the policies and programmemes of the Babangida regime to contextualize the analysis. It did not provide a holistic picture of nation-building efforts during, pre- and post-Babangida's regime.

Thus, the study will analyze the following:

(i) The strategies and mechanisms the state used to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges between 1967 and 2007.

(ii) The inputs of the CSGs in the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007.

(iii) The role of ideology in the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007.

(iv) The strategies the CSGs used in the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is significant because it provides an unbroken historical analysis of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. The various efforts of the state aimed at resolving the country's nation-building challenges were comprehensively and systematically analyzed. Besides, the study focuses on an important period in the evolution of the Nigerian state. It deals with contemporary Nigeria and the period cogently captures that era in the country's history in which the drive for a viable, cohesive, democratic and functional Nigeria was at its most frenetic. More importantly, the study has shown the deleterious effect the lack of sound ideological and philosophical foundations had on the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. In addition, the study has shown, in concrete terms and through critical analysis, the various nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria and the measures and mechanisms adopted by the state to tackle them.

Finally, the study focuses on the horizontal approach adopted by the civil society groups (CSGs) during the nation building process in the period under consideration. It provides an unbroken historical analysis of the important role the CSGs played in the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The year 1967 is significant in the history of Nigeria because it marked the beginning of the Nigerian Civil War. The Civil War itself is important because it signified the collapse of the political and administrative structures inherited from colonialism and offered the state the opportunity to create a more cohesive and functional alternative. Significantly, the end of the civil war marked the first ever attempt by Nigerians to create a political system that was based on socio-political and economic realities on ground within the country, as distinct for the one prepared for Nigerians by the British. Additionally, the study cogently captured the efforts of different Nigerian administrations to resolve the nation building challenges that confronted the country between 1967 and 2007. These include Murtala/obasanjo regime, 1975-1979; Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration, 1979-1983; Buhari/Idiagbon's regime, 1983-1985, Sani Abacha's regime, 1993-1998 and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999-2007.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, the drive for a functional and cohesive Nigeria was spearheaded by the state. However, from the 1990s, especially during the Abacha period, 1993-1998 and Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, 1999-2007, CSGs, such as religious organizations and pro-democracy associations, emerged on the Nigerian political and social scene. The activities of such CSGs like the CD, NADECO, NALICON and UDFN brought the nation-building process to the public domain.

The point of termination for this research is the year 2007. This period is epochal in Nigerian contemporary history. The year 2007 marked the first time in Nigeria's history that a civilian administration completed two-terms without the military intervening. This allows the researcher to carry out a thorough and critical analysis of the nation-building strategies adopted by the civilian administration from 1999 to 2007.

It must be pointed out here that the scope of this research did not cover the following areas in Nigeria's nation-building process: colonial nation-building process and mechanism, especially, the collaboration between the Nigerian nationalaists and the British; comparative analysis of nation-building process in Nigeria and other countries; and the impacts of Nigeria's nation-building process on her immediate neighbours. The study did not address these issues because they are beyond the purview and time frame of this historical analysis.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main thrust of this study will be:

1. To identify and analyze the challenges of nation-building in Nigeria since 1967.
2. To identify and analyze the processes initiated by the state to promote nation-building in Nigeria since 1967.

3. To discuss the role of civil society groups (CSGs) in the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967.
4. To examine the ideological and philosophical foundations of the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967.
5. To identify and analyze issues that must be tackled to resolve the nation-building challenges in Nigeria.
6. Arising from the foregoing analysis, to recommend appropriate measures that can resolve Nigeria's nation-building challenges.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What factors have challenged the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967?
2. What are the processes the state initiated and implemented to promote nation-building in Nigeria since 1967?
3. What role have civil society groups (CSGs) played in the process of nation-building in Nigeria since 1967?
4. What were the ideological and philosophical foundations of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007?
5. What are the issues that must be tackled to resolve Nigeria's nation-building challenges?
6. How can Nigeria resolve her nation-building challenges?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Nation

The term nation refers to a group of people with a common identity or self-identification. This common identity is normally built upon a common language, history, race, culture or simply the fact that the group has occupied the same territory.

Nation Building

Nation-building is the process of integration that transform a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society into a viable, cohesive and functional political entity.

State-Building

State-building means the creation of political institutions capable of exercising authority and allocating resources judiciously and fairly in a polity.

State

The state is the different federal administrations that ruled Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Civil Society Groups (CSGs)

Civil society groups (CSGs) refers to organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.

Ideology

A continually developing and organized set of ideas that is meant to be a guide to socio-political and economic development within a state.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Nation-building is the theoretical paradigm that underpins this work. However, it will be pertinent for one to explain some other important concepts that are relevant to the analysis of nation-building. These concepts are those of the state, state-building and nation.

State and State-Building

The state can simply be taken to be a territorially-based political unit characterized by a central decision-making and enforcement machinery.[48] The central decision-making body is the government, while, the enforcement machinery is its administrative arm. The state represents the physical and political aspects of a country.[49] A state is expected to perform three core functions. These are that a state is expected to assure security, both internally and externally; that a state is supposed to provide basic welfare services to its citizens; and that a state must be perceived as representative and legitimate by its citizens.[50] The inability of any state to fulfill these basic functions is what normally leads to state-building.

State-building refers to the building of public institutions that enable weak, failing or failed states to gain the capacities to perform the core functions of modern states.[51] These core functions are those of security, welfare services and representation of the citizens. Empowering a state to assure internal and external security, provide basic welfare services to its citizens, and establish

institutions that advance its legitimacy constitutes state-building. It must be pointed out that nation-building need national insfrastrucutres in order for it to be successful. Some of these are transport and communication infrastructure, the development of a national economy from regional or local economic areas and a nationwide media for establishing a national political and cultural discourse. It is state-building that provides these critical infrastructures. This interconnectedness is the crucial link between state-building and nation-building. For nation-building to be successful, it necessarily requires a functional state. A weak or failed state will make the nation-building process onerous.

The peculiarity of the Nigerian state conditioned the federal government to aim for nation-building rather than state-building between 1967 and 2007. Colonial rule had already created a feeling of alienation between the citizens and the Nigerian state. The basis for the legitimacy of the Nigerian state had been eroded in the process. Guaranteeing the loyalties of the different ethnic groups in Nigeria to the state became a herculean task because of this erosion. The citizens refused to give their allegiance to an entity that they considered illegitimate. To build a Nigerian 'state' and a Nigerian 'nation', it is necessary to destroy the attachments of the ethnic groups to local identities and replace these with a single symbol they can all relate to. When this has been achieved, legitimacy, which is one of the critical factor central to the effective functioning of the state, would have been guaranteed. The process of nation-building can

then proceed apace. This explains why the overriding preoccupation of the federal governments in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 was to create a Nigerian 'nation' rather than a Nigerian 'state'. It was assumed that the idea of a Nigerian 'state' had already been discredited and tainted by colonial rule while that of a 'nation' could be sold to the Nigerian citizenry on a platter of originality and indigenousness.

Nation-Building

Nation-building is referred to as the process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller ethnic groups, villages or petty principalities to the larger central political system.[52] The process of nation-building is the cultivation of a people of political attitudes, beliefs and values.[53] Its emphasis is on the congruity of cultural and political identities.[54] Within the Nigerian context, it is the progressive acceptance by members of the polity of the legitimacy and the necessity for a central government, and the identification with the central government as the symbol of the nation.[55] This is the vertical dimension to nation-building. The horizontal dimension involves the acceptance of the other members of the civic body as equal members of a corporate nation.

The term 'nation-building' came into vogue among historically oriented political scientist in the 1950s and 1960s. Its main proponents included such leaders of the American academic community such as Karl Deutsch, Charles Tilly and

Richard Bendix.[56] Nation-building theory was primarily used to describe the processes of national integration and consolidation that led up to the establishment of the modern nation-state. This is distinct from the various form of traditional states such as feudal and dynastic states, church states and empires.[57] The term covers conscious strategies initiated by state leaders, as well as, unplanned societal change.[58] It has also been described as an indispensable tool for detecting, describing and analyzing the "macrohistorical and sociological dynamics" that have produced the modern states.[59] Nation-building is, on the one hand, a process of socio-political development which allows loosely knitted communities to become a common society with a nation-state corresponding to it.[60] It also connotes the different dimensions through which diverse segment of the society is fused into a functional whole. It has within it economic integration, cultural integration, political centralisation, bureaucratic control and democratisation, and establishment of common citizenship.[61]

Elements of Nation-Building

There are three elements of nation-building: ideology, integration of society and functional state apparatus.[62] As regards ideology, nation-building will only be successful if it stems from an integrative ideology. Fundamental restructuring of politics and society requires special legitimation with regard to justification of policy, as well as, social mobilization for its ends. This is the important purpose that ideology serves in the process of nation-building. The second

crucial element in the nation-building process is what has been termed societal integration. This simply means the integration of a society from the loosely associated groups that existed previously. For instance, the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Igbo must be convinced that they belong to a common nation and this notion must be grounded in the social reality. To achieve this integration, the pattern of communication between the social groups will be intensified to the extent that communication does not principally take place within the groups. That is, the pattern of communication will be inter-groups rather than intra-groups

Finally, the third element in the nation-building process involves the development of a functional state apparatus that can control its national territory. This implies that the corresponding society has constituted itself as a political society with its own self-awareness. In this way, the state becomes the political organisational form of a society that is able to act.

Theories of Nation-Building

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, the different Nigerian governments have tried to turn the heterogeneous and multiethnic Nigerian state into a functional and integrated polity. The process that is involved in becoming a nation is what is referred to as nation-building. The theory of nation-building will be the theoretical bedrock of this research work. Specially, Ernest Gellner's Modernisation theory and Benedict Anderson's Imagined

Communities theory of nation-building are relevant to this thesis. The theories are especially suited to the processes of nation-building in a society that had experienced colonial rule like Nigeria. Besides, the theories also capture the essence of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

At this point, it is important to define and explain the term 'nation'. This is because of its significance to the analysis of nation-building. Peter B. Harris asserts that a nation is usually a product of the emotions of tribal or family feeling, to which "we give our loyalty, while a state is a political and administrative body".[63] James Danziger defines a nation as a set of people with a deeply shared fundamental identification.[64] Burgess defines a nation as a population with ethnic unity, inhabiting a territory with geographic unity.[65] In a similar vein, Leacock says that a nation is a body of people united by common descent and common language.[66] Bryce and Smith defines a nation from the political perspective. To Bryce, a nation is a nationality which has organized itself into a political body.[67] And Smith's nation is that of a single inclusive group whose members share common traditions, history, institutions and ethnic identity.[68] Gabriel Almond's definition of a nation is quite illuminating. The definition captures the essence of nation-building in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state like Nigeria trying to create ethno-cultural unity. According to Almond, a nation simply refers to "a group of people with a common identity".[69] This common identity, according to him, could be a

common language, history, race, culture or simply upon the fact that these groups had occupied the same territory.

In the course of this study, the researcher has been able to identify six theories of nation-building. They are Deutsch's Systems Theory;[70] Hechter's Internal Colonialism Theory;[71] Rokkan's Theory of Regionalism;[72] Gellner's Modernization Theory;[73] Anderson's Imagined Communities Theory;[74] and Anthony Smith's Ethnie Theory.[75] Out of all these theories, Gellner's Modernization Theory and Anderson's Imagined Communities theory are of particular relevance to the nation-building process in Nigeria. The theories cogently capture and explain the processe of nation-building in not just a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society but a colonized state like Nigeria.

Deutsch's System Theory

Karl Deutsch argued that communicative facility is crucial to the success of every nation-building endeavour.[76] Deutsch measured and quantified the elements of nationality using what he has called social communication. This social communication include common language and interpersonal transactions of all kinds.[77] It is the complementarity or relative efficiency of communication among individuals within the polity that spurs the nation-building process. Thus, the Deutschian tradition meant assimilation into the larger society and eradication of ethnic peculiarities.[78]

For obvious reasons, one of which is the multi-lingual and multi-cultural nature of the Nigerian society, Deutsch's theory would have been unable to capture the dynamics of the nation-building process within Nigeria. Another is the theory's emphasis on the eradication or total assimilation of ethnic identities.

Hetcher's Internal Colonialism Theory

The kernel of Hetcher's theory is that modernisation and increased contact between ethnic groups within a state are the two key concepts to a successful nation-building effort. To him, internal colonialism, that is the subjugation of 'lower' or 'weaker' ethnic groups by a more powerful ethnic group, is crucial to the nation-building process. This is what he calls internal colonialism. In a situation of internal colonialism, there will be a social stratification of cultural or ethnic groups, with the core groups occupying the best class positions and the peripheral groups the inferior position.[79] This corresponds to a colonising nation and colonised nations. The end result of this is what he has called "cultural homogenisation" or national unity.[80] Thus, nation-building in such a situation can only be possible when the dominant or culturally superior ethnic group is at the helms of affair within the particular state.

Hetcher's theory did not reflect the essence of the nation-building process in Nigeria. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state, as opposed to poly-ethnic, with over 360 ethnic groups. The country's federalism, since independence in 1960, is

anchored on ethnic equality and interdependence; not exclusivity or particularity.

Rokkan's Theory of Regionalism

Stein Rokkan stresses the significance of economic, cultural and territorial variables to the understanding of the nation-building process in a state. His theory saw nation-building as consisting of four analytically distinct phases.[81] The first phase resulted in economic and cultural unification at elite level. The second phase brought into the system, through such medium as conscription into the army and enrolment in compulsory schools, a large section of the masses. In the third phase, the subject masses were brought into active participation in the workings of the territorial political system. Finally, in the last stage, the administrative apparatus of the state expanded. This, according to Rokkan, was the route nation-building took in 16th century Europe and it eventually culminated into the emergence of the modern nation-states in Europe.

The problem with Rokkan's theory, as regards the nation-building process in Nigeria, is that it is useful in examining the nation-building process in a mono-cultural society. This is why the theory is particularly useful in explaining the nation-building process in Europe. The failings of the model become obvious when one tries to use it to explain the nation-building process in multi-ethnic societies in Asia and Africa.

Smith's Ethnie Theory

The theory focuses on ethnicity as the key to the successful implementation of the nation-building process. For Smith, modern nations simply extend, deepen and streamline the ways in which members of ethnic groups associated and communicated.[82] It is the totality of these association and communication, according to Smith, that is involved in the nation-building process. This theory has an important limitation that makes it impossible for one to adopt it in explaining the nation-building process in Nigeria. This is its emphasis on the retention of ethnic identities in the nation-building process.

A cardinal principle of nation-building is societal integration, especially in multi-ethnic societies. Smith's premium on the importance of ethnicities in the nation-building process makes his theory irrelevant to the Nigerian scene. Nigeria's experience during the First Republic, 1963-1966, had shown that a political association based on regionalism, with ethnicity as its core, would be detrimental to the nation-building process in a multi-ethnic society.

Ernest Gellner's Modernization Theory

Gellner's modernization theory centres on the way in which the role of culture in society changed with modernization.[83] The theory stresses the primacy of material conditions in shaping political thought and social change.[84] It argues that economic reasons are responsible for the rise of nations in most industrial societies. One of these is the development of the industrial society that took

place in certain parts of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. It also occurred throughout most parts of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;[85] and of course in Nigeria during the colonial period.

The strength of Gellner's theory is in its analysis of the transition of traditional societies to industrial societies. The latter, described as 'agro-literate' societies, witnessed a strict division between the categories of those who were educated and governed, and who, by reason of their power and their literacy, had access to a great tradition; and the former, who were those who worked on the land and who bore a 'little tradition'.[86] In addition to the horizontal divide formed by this cultural dichotomy between the agro-literate culture and the mass culture, there were many vertical ones in rural society that were particularly strong on account of the independent way of life in peasant communities. Customs and dialects are two good examples of these. These cultural heterogeneity constituted the main obstacle to the formation of the nation, according to Ernest Gellner.

The emergence of the industrial society goes on to promote cultural homogenization at the end of a long process inherent in the economic logic of this society: based on an evolutionary technology and idea of progress. It involves a permanent growth of productivity; this results for the working population the necessity for extreme professional mobility, and a versatility which implies a solid genetic training.[87] For this industrial society to sustain

itself, it will necessarily require two basic innovations. The first is literacy on a large scale among its population. And, the second is a high level of technical competence. This can only be provided, it should be noted, by something resembling a modern 'national' educational system; a pyramid at whose base there are primary schools, staffed by teachers, led by the product of advanced graduates schools.[88] Such a pyramid provides the criterion for the minimum size for a viable political unit.

The process of national construction thereafter progresses in accordance with the rate of the entry into the educational system of populations living more and more in outlying areas. It is then impressed on them that learning the dominant languages and possessing a basic education are the prerequisites to their social ascent and their ability to defend their rights vis-à-vis the administration of the nation-state in the making. Beyond this, education confers a moral equilibrium by putting the people in step with the values of the society of which they are de facto members as the limits of the culture within which they were educated are also those of the world within which they can morally and professionally breathe. The education that is necessary to produce modern employees must be conducted in one or another official language, according to Gellner. This, for example, was English Language for colonial and post colonial Nigeria.[89] Besides, the emergence of a nation involves the destruction of most of the myriad traditional folk cultures as they are absorbed into a new version suitable to be the official culture of a state.[90] This

breakdown is important because it will allow for the emergence of a centralized authority which is necessary for the development of a nation. It will provide a strong state structure from which a viable and cohesive nation could be shaped. Control by a central political authority will sweep away many local cultures or ethnicities and replace them with one large nation. In this way nation-states will emerge.[91]

Gellner's theory cogently captures and explains the nation-building process in Nigeria from 1967 to 2007. Nigeria at one point or the other has gone through the phases of this theory in her nation-building process. The urge for nation-building came with the advent of colonial rule in the nineteenth century. This drive was given a fillip with the amalgamation of 1914 and received concrete expression with the active participation of the early Nigerian nationalists in the Lagos legislative election of 1923. Colonial rule turned the economy of the different ethnic units living around the River Niger and River Benue area from that of an agrarian and feudal state to a modern industrial economy. With the introduction of the legitimate commerce and commodities, such as cocoa and palm oil by the British, the focus of the economy shifted from its intra-ethnic character, to inter-ethnic and finally to trading relationships that traverse regions. Moreover, it was colonial rule, with the attendant integration of Nigeria's economy into the world economy, which engendered the feeling of nascent nationalism among Nigerians. It gave Nigeria a single official language, the English language. The same colonial rule introduced Nigerians to the

benefit of formal and structured education. It also awoke within the Nigerian psyche that feeling of 'belonging' and tied to a particular geographical environment. The feeling that colonialism stirred later transformed itself into nationalism in 1953 with the subsequent motion by that foremost Nigerian nationalist, Chief Anthony Enahoro, for the independence of Nigeria in 1957. This feeling morphed from self-identification to self-determination and eventually culminated in independence.

By the time of independence in 1960, the Nigerian economy had already been integrated into the world economy. Her agrarian and labour-intensive economy was being gradually replaced by a modern industrial base. Political authority from the centre nominally controls the economy, education and there is a law code that governs the country. The powers of the regional 'sovereigns' have been subsumed within the larger Nigerian state. Nigeria introduced such 'unifying' programmemes like Universal Basic Education (UBE), federal character principle and National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to create a cohesive and functional polity. Hence, all these point to the fact that a critical understanding of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 will be incomplete without Gellner's Modernization Theory of nation-building.

Anderson's Imagined Communities Theory

In his theory, Anderson gave some set of conditions that are necessary to any nation-building process. The first is what he calls "print capitalism".[92] This means commercial printing on a large scale. Print capitalism is the medium through which the idea of the nation and the ideology of nationalism are propagated. Through print capitalism, vernacular languages are strengthened by the publishing of dictionaries and indigenous literature.[93] Printing standardizes languages and aids the development of capitalism. A sense of nationality flows from the common language and education which printing facilitates.[94] This first condition was true for Nigeria. Colonial rule gave Nigeria her print capitalism in 1847 at Calabar.[95] From this period onward, indigenous efforts was then made to publish and translate books into the vernacular. Reverend Samuel Ajayi Crowther translated the Holy Bible into Yoruba and revised his Yoruba Grammar and Vocabulary in 1852.[96] During the heyday of colonial rule, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macauley, both frontline nationalists, established indigenous newspapers in the 1930s to trumpet Nigeria's nationalist aspirations.[97]

The second precondition for a successful nation-building endeavour is what Anderson has termed "modernisation". This point has been adequately covered under Gellner's Modernisation theory of nation-building. There is a convergence in both Gellner's and Anderson's theories on the role of

modernisation in the nation-building process. And as such, this need not delay one here.

The final condition necessary to the nation-building process is what Anderson has called the "notion of pilgrimages".[98] Pilgrimages are essentially the pattern of social communication and "life chances" of different people. This may be a matter of sharing a common language, or of being the object of differential treatment by the state. It is this pilgrimages which define the boundaries of the nation, and lead people to identify with it and not with another social or political entity. Such pilgrimages may thus be taken to be the sufficient condition for particular nations to be "imagined".[99] This particular point was obtainable, it must be remarked, in the multinational empires of Europe, and in the European colonies in Asia, America And Africa. The imperial system, in these areas, confined the life chances or pilgrimages of natives to the colonies. Eventually, these natives saw themselves as members of a nation in rebellion against the imperial country. This phase of the nation-building process in Nigeria has been effectively captured by James Coleman in his *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism.*[100] It should be pointed out here that Anderson's theory captures the beginning of the nation-building process in Nigeria. It vividly explains the significance of such things as print capitalism and indigenous newspapers to the nation-building process in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the multi-disciplinary approach in its analysis. It employs a historical, expository, interpretative and analytical method. Besides, the concepts and analytic tools of the political scientists, economists and sociologists were employed throughout the analysis. This ensured that the paradigmatic tool that was used melded perfectly into the overall body of the research.

Primary and secondary sources were extensively used in the course of this research.

1. **Primary Sources include:**

   (a) Oral Interview: This was conducted with various respondents in several locations all over Nigeria. States visited include Ogun, Oyo, Enugu, Plateau, Kano, Lagos, Niger and Federal Capital Territory Abuja. The trip was necessary because most of the principal figures involved during the administrations under review are still very much alive. Their oral recounts of events during that period in Nigeria's contemporary history as well as their experiences as former statesmen have gone a long way to enrich the research. Oral interviews were also conducted with members of the academia.

   (b) Archival Materials: These were obtained from the Nigerian National Archives at Ibadan, Kaduna and Enugu.

   (c) Others are governmental gazettes, documents and official publication in the form of bulletins.

2. **Secondary Sources**

These involved the extensive use of published books, unpublished works, dissertations and journal articles. These materials were obtained from the libraries of the University of Lagos, Akoka; Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife; Administrative Staff College of Nigeria, Badagry; Lagos State University, Ojo; Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, Lagos; University of Nigeria, Nsukka and University of Ibadan, Ibadan. It also include newspapers, magazines and electronic materials.

LITERATURE REVIEW

By using the thematic approach, the literature review on the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007, is grouped into four broad categories. The first category deals with the general history of Nigeria from antiquity to contemporary times. This category is significant because it provides a general overview of political, social and economic development in Nigeria. The works in this category also highlight general efforts that had been put into the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967. In the second category are works that highlight specific areas in Nigeria's political and constitutional development. This category is important because it review works that emphasize the use of constitutional and institutional means in the nation-building process in Nigeria. The institutional mechanism involved the formation of political parties and the operations of such political parties. The constitutional means centred on the legislation of rules that were designed to

integrate socio-economic and political relations across Nigeria. The third categories are works that place particular emphasis on the issues of nation-building and the Nigerian state. This consist of works that focus on Nigeria's federalism and its import for socio-political integration. Finally, in the fourth category are works that show the impact of democracy or democratic practices on the nation-building process in Nigeria since 1967.

Obaro Ikime's *Groundwork of Nigerian History*[101] and Falola and Heaton's *A History of Nigeria*[102] are representation of works that deal with the general history of Nigeria. Ikime's book comprehensively covers Nigeria's history from antiquity to the dawn of the Twentieth century. It presents a sweeping history of Nigeria's diverse people. The book also covers a multitude of different epochal issues that have gone a long way in shaping contemporary Nigeria. These include the 15th- 18th century transatlantic slave trade, British colonial administration in Nigeria from 1914 and constitutional and nationalist developments since 1922. The strength of the work is in its deep and critical analysis of Nigeria's pre-colonial and colonial history. Groundwork also cogently captures the essence of the complex socio-political and economic relations that existed among the different Nigerian ethnic groups prior to independence in 1960.

Falola and Heaton's *A History of Nigeria* is "a general background survey of the broad themes of Nigeria's history from the beginning… to the early Twenty-First

Century".[103] The work deals with not just political and economic history of Nigeria but also with broader issues of social and cultural history. The strength of the book is in its discourse on post-colonial Nigeria. The book adequately covers such contemporary milestones in Nigeria's history as the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970; military rule in Nigeria from 1983-1999; the Nigerian Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2007; the import and impact of corruption on Nigeria's socio-economic and political development; various attempts at nation-building from 1960 to 2007; and contemporary dynamics in Nigerian politics. In this researcher's opinion, *A History of Nigeria* is a natural extension to Ikime's *Groundwork of Nigeria*. While Ikime's work stops in the 1960s, Falola and Heaton's work extends up to 2007. The combination of these two works provides a panoptic and encyclopaedic knowledge of Nigeria's history.

Richards Sklar's *Nigerian Political Parties*[104] and Ademola Adeleke's *Evolution of Party Politics in Nigeria*[105] are two works that exemplify political and constitutional developments within Nigeria since 1922. Sklar's *Nigerian Political Parties* is a compendium of political parties' development in Nigeria since 1960. It analyzes the origins and growth of political parties and the organizational structures of such parties in Nigeria. Furthermore, the book provides rare insights into the ideological underpinnings of the major political parties in Nigeria during the First Republic, 1960-1966. For example, it provides the rationale behind NPC's (Northern Peoples Congress) conservatism; NCNC's (National Congress of Nigerian Citizen) radicalism and AG's (Action Group)

liberalism.[106] The strength of the work is in its extensive analysis of the internal workings of the three major political parties that dominated Nigeria's First Republic from 1960 to 1966. These are NCNC formed in 1944, NPC formed in 1949 and AG formed in 1951.

Adeleke's *The Evolution of Party Politics* traces the historical development of political parties in Nigeria from the colonial period to the year 2000.[107] The work poignantly captures the interplay of ethnic and regional politics in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. It highlights the imports and impacts of colonial and post-colonial constitutions in the socio-political development of the Nigerian state. The author points out in his analysis that the Clifford constitution of 1922 was the catalysts to the formation of modern political parties in Nigeria.[108] It should be remarked here that Adeleke's work, although short and concise, provides a more extensive coverage of political parties' development in Nigeria. The work covers political parties' activities during the First Republic, 1960–1966; Second Republic 1979-1983; short-lived Third Republic, 1993; and the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007. It touches on the origins and activities of such political parties as Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) formed in 1978; Nigeria People's Party (NPP) formed in 1978, National Party of Nigeria (NPN) formed in 1978; Progressive Parties Alliance (PPA) formed in 1982; Social Democratic Party (SDP) formed in 1989; National Republican Convention (NRC) formed in 1989 and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) formed in 1998.

Amuwo et al., *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*[109], Ogundowole's *Colonial Amalgam*[110], and Suberu's *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*[111] are representative of some of the works that touch on the issues of nation-building in contemporary Nigeria. *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria* traces the historical roots of Nigeria's federalism from amalgamation in 1914 to independence in 1960.[112] It examines the structure of Nigeria's federalism during the First and Second Republics, 1960-1966 and 1979-1983 respectively. It also highlights the nature of Nigeria's federalism under military rule from the 1960s to the 1990s. The authors place further emphasis on the impact and import of the federal character principle, fiscal federalism and resource control to the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria. They then conclude with a detailed analysis of the significance of true federalism to Nigeria's nation-building process.

Ogundowole's *Colonial Amalgam* argues that federalism is the bane of Nigeria's deep socio-economic and political anomie.[113] Adopting a comparative and philosophical approach, the book contends that states and institutions that have successfully weathered the process of societal and political integration achieved this through a political union that was tailored to meet the specific socio-political needs of the society. Two good examples, according to him, are the United States of America and the member states of the European Economic Commission (EEC).[114] Besides, the problem with Nigeria's federalism, as he sees it, is that it was inherited and not autochthonous to the state. And as

such, Nigeria's federalism was antithetical to the socio-political aspirations of the different ethnic groups that make-up the Nigerian state. This externally–generated federalism is what he refers to as the "agent of denationalization of Nigerians".[115] In its place, he advocates for a political union based on the consent of the different ethnic nationalities in the country. This, according to him, is the only way through which Nigeria's nation-building endeavours can be successful.

Suberu examines the numerous and complex political contradictions in Nigeria's federal system. He explores the evolution of Nigerian federalism through its myriad constitutional experiments and administrative restructuring. The author argues that federalism cannot be said to have failed in Nigeria because it has not been objectively applied. He contends that Nigeria's federalism is highly distorted and overly centralized. This is because the various military and civilian central governments since independence in 1960 have sought to manipulate the federal system to their own gains. He contends that Nigeria's federalism has never been used for national development or the easing of ethnic, religious, or regional tensions. Suberu concludes with an analysis of the important role federalism, as imperfect as it was, has played in the country's nation-building process.

In the final category are such works as Tunji Olagunju et. al. *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria*[116] and Abubakar Momoh and Said Adejumobi's *The*

Nigerian Military and the Crisis of Democratic Transition.[117] These works deal with the significance of democracy and democratic practices in the nation-building process in Nigeria. *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria* is a study in the efforts of different administrations to turn Nigeria into a viable and functional political entity. The book carries out an overview of transition programmemes of different administrations in Nigeria since 1966. These include General Yakubu Gowon military administration of 1966-1975 and General Ibrahim Babangida's administration from 1985-1993. It examines the transition programmemes of each administration that were designed to turn Nigeria into a functional and cohesive political entity. Moreover, the book places particular emphasis on the democratic transition programmemes of General Ibrahim Babangida from 1985-1993. It critically analyzes the political and social institutions that the Administration injected into Nigeria's nation-building process. These include the Political Bureau established in 1986 and Mass Mobilization for Self-Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice (MAMSER) established in 1987.

Momoh and Adejumobi's work is a broad attempt at unravelling the theoretical and empirical contradictions of military rule in relation to the democratic process in Nigeria. It also examines the role and effects of the interplay of class and social forces in the context of social relations in Nigeria. In addition, the work covers the transition programmeme of General Ibrahim Babangida's

regime, 1985-1993 and it provides a theoretical and philosophical base for transition programmemes in Nigeria since 1970.

At this point, it is important to state that the works reviewed so far do not cover all the extant literature on Nigeria and her challenges of nation-building. However, the review is of sufficient breadth and scope to have encompassed the general themes on the nation-building process in Nigeria. From the foregoing, this researcher has shown that none of the reviewed works have carried out a comprehensive historical analysis of nation-building efforts in Nigeria since 1967. Besides, none of the reviewed works has carried out a historical analysis of the role played by the CSG in Nigeria's nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. Thus, it is these important lacunae that this work hopes to fill.

Endnotes

(1) Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Kaare Storm and Russell J. Dalton, eds. *Comparative Politics Today*, 8th ed. (New York: Longman, 2004), 16.

(2) J. I. Elaigwu, "NationBuilding and Political Development in Nigeria: The Challenge of Unity in a Heterogeneous Society," in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence*, Vol. I, J. A. Atanda and A. Y. Aliyu, eds. (Zaira: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1985), 464.

(3) Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today,* 16.

(4) Obafemi Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 47-48.

(5) Jide Osuntokun "The Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism," in *Readings on Federalism,* A. B. Akinyemi, P. D. Cole and Walter Ofonagoro, eds. (Lagos: N. I. I. A, 1980), 99.

(6) Ademola Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics in Nigeria 1914-2000*, Monograph Series, University of Lagos, No. 2 (June 2006).

(7) Osuntokun, "The Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism," 102.

(8) "Nigeria's Faltering Federal Experiment", *Crisis Group* (October 25, 2006): 1.

(9) A. I. Nwabughogu, "The Role of Propaganda in the Development of Indirect Rule in Nigeria 1890-1929," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14, 1 (1981): 65-70.

(10) Ignatius Akaayar Ayua and Dakaj C. J. Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria," *International Association of Centers for Federal Studies*, n.d., http://www.federalism.ch/files/categories/intensivkursII/nigeria1.pdf, (accessed 3 January 2011).

(11) Ayua and Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria,".

(12) See J. Isawa Elaigwu and G. N. Uzoigwe, *Foundations of Nigerian Federalism: 1900-1960*, 2nd ed. (Jos: Institute of Governance and Social Research, 2001), 39-50.

(13) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 1.

(14) "Nigeria's Faltering Federal Experiment," 2.

(15) Rotimi Suberu, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria* (Washington D. C: United States Institute of Peace Press 2001), 19.

(16) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 15.

(17) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 12.

(18) Richard L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation* (New York, Enugu: NOK Publishers, 1983), 101-102.

(19) Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties*, 55-58.

(20) "Want in the Midst of Plenty", *Crisis Group*, no. 113 (19 July 2006): 5.

(21) See 'Kunle Amuwo, Adigun Agbaje, Georges Heraul and Rotimi Suberu, eds. *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2000), 13-14; L. Adele Jinadu, "A Note on the Theory of Federalism," in *Readings on Federalism*, Akinyemi, et al., 13-18.

(22) "Nigeria's Faltering Federal Experiment," i.

(23) Elaigwu, "Nation Building and Political Development," 465.

(24) "Want in the Midst of Plenty," 5.

(25) "Want in the Midst of Plenty," 5.

(26) Gregory Mahler, *Comparative Politics: An Institutional and Cross-National Approach*, 5th ed. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2008), 336.

(27) Eme O. Awa, *Federal Government in Nigeria* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), 113-253.

(28) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 64-65.

(29) "Nigeria's Faltering Federal Experiment," i.

(30) E. A. Owolabi, "Corruption and Financial Crimes in Nigeria: Genesis, Trend and consequences," available online at http://www.cenbak.org/out/publications/transparency/2007/transparency2007.pdf, (accessed 7 October, 2011).

(31) "The Gowon Regime and the Nigerian Civil War, 1966-1975," http://www.onlinenigeria.com/military??blurb=677, (accessed 8 November 2010).

(32) Oral interview with Dr. David Aworawo, Senior Lecturer, department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Akoka, Nigeria, 15 June, 2011; J. A. A. Ayoade, "The Federal Character Principle and the Search for National Integration," in *Federalism and Political Restructuring*, Amuwo, et al., 177-188; Gini F. Mbanefoh and Festus O. Egwaikhide, "Revenue Allocation in Nigeria: Derivation Principle Revisited," in *Federalism and Political Restructuring*, Amuwo, et al., 213-227

(33) Sam Iroanusi, *Nigeria's Heads of State and Government* (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 1997), 30-31.

(34) Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), 48.

(35) Adigun Agbaje, "Mobilizing for a New Political Culture," in *Transition With out End* , Larry Diamond, Anthony KirkGreene and Oyeleye Oyediran, eds. (Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997), 147-148.

(36) Solomon O. Akinboye and Samuel O. Oloruntoba, "Civil Society Organizations and Transition Politics in Nigeria: A Retrospective Analysis of the 2007 General Elections,": 5. A paper presented at the National Conference on 2007 General Elections in Nigeria, organized by the department of Political Science, University of Lagos, September 26-27, 2007.

(37) Uwem Essai and Afzal Yearoo, "Strengthening Civil Society Organizations /Government Partnership in Nigeria," *International NGO Journal*, vol. 4, 9 ,(September, 2009): 371.

(38) Bayo Olukoshi, "Associational Life," in *Transition Without End*, Diamond, et al., 451-452.

(39) Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria* (Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 241-242.

(40) Arthur S. Banks, Alan J. Day and Thomas C. Muller, eds., *Political Handbook of the World: 1997* (Binghamton, NY: CSA Publication, 1997), 626 and Wole Soyinka, *You Must Set Forth at Dawn; A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 2006), 398, 405.

(41) Egosa Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (London: Hurst & Company, 1988), 19-24.

(42) Daniel C. Bach, "Nigeria: Towards a Country Without a State?" a paper presented at the conference on Nigeria: Maximizing Pro-Poor Growth: Regenerating the Socio-Economic Database, organized by Overseas Development Institute in collaboration with Nigeria Economic Summit Group, London, 16-17 June, 2004, available online at www.odi.org.uk/events/docs/123.pdf. (accessed 25 May, 2012).

(43) Interview with Dr. Ademola Adeleke, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos, Nigeria, March 5, 2010.

(44) Interview with Professor Adebayo Lawal, a Professor of History in the Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos, Nigeria, March 5, 2010.

(45) See "Speech by Major-General Yakubu Gowon declaring a twelve State structure for Nigeria-May 1967," available on-line at www.vanguardngr.com/2010/09/speech-by-major-general-yakubu-gowon-declaring-a-twelve-state-structure-for-nigeria-may-1967. (accesed 22 May, 2011).

(46) Muhammad Nura Inuwa, "Oil pols and national security in Nigeria," December 2010, 46. In a thesis submitted to Naval postgraduate school, Monterey, California, available online at http://dodreporos.com/pdf/ada536125.pdf (accessed 2 November, 2011).

(47) Diamond, et al., *Transition Without End.*

(48) Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 63-64.

(49) Brown and Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, 64.

(50) Jennifer Milliken and Keith Krause, "State Failure, State Collapse and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies," in *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*, Jennifer Milliken, ed. (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 2003), 1.

(51) Monica Heupel, "State-Building and the Transformation of Warfare," in *Facets and Practices of State-Building,* Julia Raue and Patrick Sutter, ed. (Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), 59.

(52) Almond et al., *Comparative Politics*, 36.

(53) M. G. Smith, "Institutional and Political Considerations of Pluralism," in *Pluralism in Africa*, L. Kuper and M. G. Smith, ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 30-33.

(54) Stein Rokkan,"Center Formation, Nation-building and Cultural Diversity: Report on a UNESCO Programmeme," in *Building States and Nations: Vol. I & II*, S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan, ed. (Beverly Hills: Lage, 1973), 26.

(55) J. I. Elaigwu, "NationBuilding and Political Development in Nigeria: The Challenge of Unity in a Heterogeneous Society," in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence*, Vol. I, J. A. Atanda and A. Y. Aliyu, eds. (Zaira: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1985), 462.

(56) "Nation-building and Social Integration Theory," Chapter 2, http://folk.uio.no/palk/ch02.htm, 1. (accessed 6 March, 2011).

(57) "Nation-building and Social Integration Theory," 1.

(58) Carl J. Friedrich, "Nation-Building," in *Nationbuilding*, Karl Deutsch and William Foltz, eds. (New York: Atherton, 1963), 28.

(59) "Nation-building and Social Integration Theory," 1.

(60) Jochen Hippler, ed., *Nation-Building: A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 6.

(61) Hippler, *Nation-building*,7.

(62) Hippler, Nation-building, 7-9.

(63) Peter B. Harris, *Fundamentals of Political Science* (London: Hutchinson and CO. Publishers Ltd, 1983), 277.

(64) James N. Danziger, *Understanding the Political World: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science*, 6th ed. (New–York: Longman, 2003), 118-125.

(65) Arjun Appadorai, *The Substance of Politics,* 7th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 15.

(66) Appadorai, *The Substance of Politics, 15.*

(67) Appadorai, *The Substance of Politics*, 15.

(68) Smith "Institutional and Political Conditions of Pluralism," 32.

(69) Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today*, 16.

(70) Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundation of Nationality*, 2nd ed. (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966).

(71) Michael Hechter, "Internal Colonialism Revisited," in *New Nationalisms of the Developed West* Edward A. Tiryakian and Roland Rogowski, eds. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985).

(72) Stein Rokkan and Derek W. Urwin, eds. *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism* (London: Sage, 1982).

(73) Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

(74) Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

(75) Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

(76) Karl W. Deutsch, "Nationalism and Social Communication," in *Nationalism*, John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 97.

(77) James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 41.

(78) "Nation-building and Social Integration," 2.

(79) Hetcher, "Internal Colonialism Revisited," 20-35.

(80) Christophe Jaffrelot, "For a Theory of Nationalism," *Research in Question*, No.10 (June 2003): 7, http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org/publica/qdr.htm (accessed 4 March, 2011).

(81) Rokkan, "Dimensions of State Formation," 570.

(82) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 48.

(83) Margaret Canovan, *Nationhood and Political Theory* (Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1998), 60.

(84) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41.

(85) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 41.

(86) Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 9-12.

(87) Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 10.

(88) Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 34.

(89) Canovan, *Nationhood and Political Theory*, 60.

(90) Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 49.

(91) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism*, 43.

(92) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism*, 43.

(93) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism*, 43.

(94) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism*, 45.

(95) Uzoechi Nwagbara, "The Nigerian Press, The Public Sphere and Sustainable Development: Engaging the Post Amnesty Deal in the Niger Delta," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* Vol. 12, No.3 (2010): 13.

(96) Reverend (Dr.) Elijah Olu Akinwunmi, "Crowther Samuel Ajayi, 1810 to 1891," *Dictionary of African and Christian Bibliography*, 2002, www.dacb.org/stories/nigeria/crowther4_samajayi.html. (accessed 21 March, 2011); J.F.A. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria: 1841-1891 (London: Longmans, 1965).

(97) Nwagbara, "The Nigerian Press, the Public Sphere,": 13.

(98) Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism*, 45.

(99) "Nation-building and Social Integration Theory," 3.

(100) James Smoot Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Benin City: Broburg & Winstrom, 1986).

(101) Obaro Ikime, ed. *Groundwork of Nigerian History* (Ibadan: Heineman, 1980).

(102) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

(103) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, I.

(104) Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties.*

(105) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics.*

(106) Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties*, 231-236.

(107) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*.

(108) Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 1.

(109) Amuwo, et al., *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*.

(110) Kolawole Ogundowole, *Colonial Amalgam: Federalism and the National Question* (Lagos: Pumark Nigeria Limited, 1994).

(111) Suberu, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria.*

(112) Amuwo, et al., *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, 32-46.

(113) Ogundewole, *Colonial Amalgam*, 116-117.

(114) Ogundewole, *Colonial Amalgam*, 33-39. The EEC is now known as the European Union (EU).

(115) Ogundowole, *Colonial Amalgam,* 37-40.

(116) Tunji Olagunju, Adele Jinadu and Sam Oyovbaire *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria, 1985-1993* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993).

(117) Abukakar Momoh and Said Adejumobi, *The Nigerian Military and the Crisis of Democratic Transition* (Lagos: Civil Liberties Organization, 1999).

CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NIGERIAN STATE TO 1967

The borders of modern day Nigeria were established in 1914 by British colonizers, but the histories of the peoples that make up the Nigerian polity go back many centuries.[1] The country is bordered to the south by the Bights of Benin and Biafra, which are on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic ocean. On the west Nigeria is bordered by Benin, on the north by Niger and on the east by Cameroun. In its extreme northeastern corner, Lake Chad separates Nigeria from the country of Chad. The main artery of commerce and communication in the region historically has been river Niger.[2] The Niger enters the country in Kebbi state in the northeast and pours into the Gulf of Guinea through its many braches in the Niger Delta in Cross Rivers and Delta States. The Niger joins with its main tributary, the Benue, which flows from the northeast at Lokoja, in the central state of Kogi.[3]

Nigeria's large population is very diverse, consisting of over 250 different ethno-linguistic groups.[4] Three main ethnic groups make up the majority of the population. The Hausa, located in the northern savannah, account for roughly 21 percent of the population, while the Yoruba, located in the southern part of the country, make up 20 percent, and the Igbo located in the east 17 percent.[5] Other ethnic groups with relatively large populations include the pastoral Fulani of the savannahs, the Ijaw of the Niger Delta region, the Kanuri of the Lake Chad region, the Ibibio in and around Calabar in the southeast, and the Nupe and Tiv of the middle Belt region.[6] British colonial rule in the nineteenth century brought these

diverse ethnic groups together. Egosa Osaghae has observed that the roots of Nigeria's post-independence politics are deeply entrenched in its colonial history.[7] He posited that many of the post-colonial malformations that characterized the Nigerian state are a direct consequence of the state-building and economic integration processes initiated by the country's colonial masters.[8] Thus, in trying to understand the nation-building efforts of the state between 1967 and 2007, it is pertinent to provide a general historical overview of Nigeria's history from pre-colonial times, to the colonial period and finally, to the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in 1967. This is necessary because most of the nation-building challenges that confronted the state between 1967 and 2007 had their roots in colonial policy and politics.

The nineteenth century brought great changes to the states in the Nigerian region. Although, social formations within the various geographical regions remained diverse, several relatively large centralized states came to dominate geopolitical and economic dynamics during this time. In the northern savanna zones, the Islamic Jihad of Uthman dan Fodio led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Caliphate brought under one government all the Hausa states, as well as some former provinces of Borno and lands in the south and southeast respectively.[9] Uthman Fodio and his successors reconfigured the political and cultural landscape of the northern savanna towards a primary identification with Islam by 1903. This later created important political and religious implications for Nigeria at independence in 1960. To put it succinctly,

Uthman Fodio and his successors succeeded in making Islam a state religion for the northern part of the future geographical polity called Nigeria. This created extensive socio-religious and political challenges for post independent Nigeria in 1960. Between 1960 and 2007, the north's state religion conflicted with Nigeria's secularism. By the time the British colonial forces sacked Sokoto in 1903, the caliphate that Uthman Fodio established had succeeded in wielding such Hausa city-states as Gobir, Zamfari, Kebbi, Kano, Katsina and Zazzau into a monolithic theocracy.[10]

In the southern regions, the nineteenth century was a period of great socio-political and economic transformations. By this period, Oyo was an acknowledged military power in the region. Oyo was a major supplier of slaves to the coastal ports of Porto Novo and Lagos.[11] However, internal conflicts in the early nineteenth century resulted in Oyo's collapse by the 1830s. Oyo, being a unifying factor in the region and a force for stability, her collapse led to a century of wars in the region. Yoruba states previously held in check by the might of Oyo fought to fill the power vacuum created y Oyo's decline. To the east of the Yoruba are the Edo-speaking peoples. The Edos are historically famous because of the kingdom of Bini and their bronze work. The Ijaw constitute the majority group in the Eastern Delta in the present Bayelsa state. These were followed by the Ibibio who constitute the largest group in the basin of the Cross River.[12] The Igbo are concentrated in present-day Imo, Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Rivers (the southern

Igbo) and Delta states(the western Igbo).[13] The largest Igbo towns include Onitsha, Enugu, Owerri, Aba, Umuahia, Abakaliki, Afikpo and Orlu.[14]

The Grassland zone is divided into the Middle Belt and Far North. The Middle Belt has the largest concentration of Nigeria's ethnic groups. Uzoigwe has estimated the number to be around one hundred and eighty.[15] The two prominent groups are the Nupe of the Middle Niger River valley in the west and the Tiv of the Benue valley in the east. The Belt crosses Nigeria from west to east and from south to north. Today, it includes the following areas: Kwara, Kogi, Niger, Plateau, Adamawa and Taraba states. The Hausa-speaking peoples are found throughout the grassland zone of West Africa. In Nigeria, they are dominant in Kebbi, Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Jigawa states. The Hausa founded a number of city-states that were independent of one another until the Fulani conquerors from the north subjugated them early in the 19th century. The Fulani are an interesting group. They have no territory or state that they can call their own.[16] And yet, since the beginning of the 19th century, they have been central to Nigerian politics. Indeed, at some point in Nigeria's post independence history, they had been at the helms of the country's affairs. Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1979-1983 and Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983-1985, are two good examples. In Nigeria, having conquered the Hausa among whom they had settled, the Fulani imposed their political and religious system. Today, the Fulani are divided into two: the Cattle Fulani and the Settled or Town Fulani. They are devout Muslims.

This introduction has established the different ethnic groups' resident in the geographical entity known as Nigeria. By showing the different ethnic groups, the study has identified that there was no ethno-cultural homogeneity among the different groups. In addition to this, the study has shown that there was no single supranational authority that controlled the different ethnic groups resident within the geographical entity later to be called Nigeria. Each of the ethnic groups evolved specific institutions that were designed to guarantee their sovereignty and independence from external aggression; and at the same time preserve their unique socio-cultural meme. For example, the highest decision making authority in Oyo Empire was the Alaafin. The Yoruba evolved the monarchical system of government to regulate their day-to-day existence. On the other hand, the Hausas evolved what one can call a theocracy. This was particularly evident during the period of the Sokoto caliphate in the 19th century. Nigeria's ethno-cultural heterogeneity and sovereignty was to be a recurring theme in the nation-building process of the country in the post-independent era.

British Conquest of Nigeria, 1861

British conquest of Nigeria by the close of the 19th century was the culmination of a long process that started with the slave trade and its suppression. This culminated in the occupation of Lagos in 1851 and by 1861, Lagos was formally declared a British colony.[17] The expansion of the Lagos colony initiated the conquest of Nigeria. Interference in local politics eventually led to direct British control of the coastal states between 1861 and 1885.[18] From Lagos, the British

made their way inland, slowly bringing Yoruba land under colonial rule. In 1886, the British used her intervention in the Ekitiparapo war, which was fought between Ibadan and the alliance of Ekiti, Ijesa, Egba, Ijebu and Ife forces, to subjugate the major Yoruba kingdoms. Unknown to the Yoruba kingdoms then, theirs was to form the crucible of the nascent southern protectorate. A key provision of the treaty the British used in ending the war made it compulsory for all the signatory combatants to direct future disputes with each other to the British governor in Lagos for resolution. In 1892, the British subjugated and occupied Ijebuland. And by 1894, the newly reconstituted new Oyo, which initially offered stiff resistance to British penetration of the Yoruba hinterland, was bombarded and forcefully brought under British colonial rule.

In the port cities of the Bight of Biafra, as in Yorubaland, the British used the promotion of anti-slavery and British trading interests as key aspect of the rhetoric that led to colonization. Between 1849 and 1856, Britain had succeeded in subjugating such port cities as Creek Town, Duke Town and Calabar.[19] Between 1853 and 1897, the British had succeeded in subjugating and colonizing states in the Delta such as Opobo, Bonny and Elam Kalabari. By 1897, the kingdom of Benin was forcibly brought into the protectorate, expanding its western boundary to reach the eastern limits of the Lagos protectorate.[20] Sir George Goldie's Chartered Royal Niger Company (RNC) was instrumental in gaining control of the Niger and Benue for the British. In 1886, the British gave the National African Company, later renamed the Royal Niger Company, the

power to control the political administration and trade policies in the Rivers Benue and Niger regions.[21] The charter established a British sphere of influence over the Niger and Benue. In 1899, the British government revoked the charter it gave to the RNC and took direct control of the administration of the Niger and Benue. On January 1, 1900, the RNC ceased to be the governing authority of the Niger and Benue.[22] RNC's southern territories in the palm oil zone near the Niger Delta were amalgamated into the Niger coast protectorate, forming the new protectorate of southern Nigeria. The company's northern territories became the protectorate of northern Nigeria. Frederick Lugard was then named the first high commissioner of the northern protectorate. By 1900, the British turned her military might towards the emirates of the Sokoto caliphate. In a series of military offensives led by Fredrick Lugard, Britain finally brought down the caliphate in July 1903. The caliphate's territories were incorporated into the protectorate of Northern Nigeria under emirs willing to accept British colonial rule. In 1904, Borno, which had fiercely resisted British occupation, was eventually conquered by British forces and brought into the protectorates.[23] Thus, bringing under British imperial control the lands that were later to make up the amalgamated Nigerian protectorates in 1914.

The Indirect Rule System

Frederick Lugard became the high commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1910.[24] During his six year tenure as high commissioner, Lugard concerned himself with transforming the commercial sphere of influence inherited

from the RNC into a viable territorial unit under effective British control. In achieving this aim, Lugard introduced the policy of indirect rule. Indirect rule called for the governing of the protectorate through indigenous rulers. In the case of the northern protectorate, it meant the use of emirs, who had accepted British suzerainty, as the recognized authorities in their respective emirates. Under the system, the emirs retained their caliphate titles, but were now responsible to British district officers who had final authority. Under indirect rule, caliphate officials were transformed into salaried district heads and became agents of the British authorities responsible for peacekeeping and tax collection.[25] Taxes collected by local officials were used to support services of the colonial regime because the protectorate lacked fungible public resources.[26]

In the south, missionaries made up for the lack of government expenditure on service; in the north, Lugard and his successors limited the activities of missionaries in other to maintain Muslim domination. Consequently, educational and medical services, which were provided in the south by missionaries, lagged considerably in the north. This was to have important future consequences for the nation-building process in Nigeria from 1960. Efforts to apply indirect rule in the south was partly successful. Lugard's policy was successful in the north because there were indigenous authorities he could use to implement the policy. The task proved relatively effective in Yorubaland because traditional kingdoms and boundaries were retained. Particularly, the monarchical system in Yorubaland ensured a successful implementation of the policy. In the southeast,

especially among the Igbos, the policy was unworkable. This was because there were no acceptable indigenous authorities that commanded the respects and loyalties of a vast majority of the inhabitants of the region. Government among the Igbo, Ibibo, Urhobo and other hinterland societies was based on village or village-group councils along the lines of representative democracy.[27] As a result of this, the tasks of government initially rested in the hands of colonial officials. To make their tasks easier, the British authorities, starting with Claude Macdonald in 1892, established native courts. The authority of the native courts were derived entirely from the British "certificate of recognition," or warrant, that a court member received on taking office. Since the British colonial authority could not lay its hands on indigenous authorities with wide representation in the southeast, she resorted either to consultation with the local people.[28] This consultation then led to the arbitrary selection of a local community member as a warrant chief based on his perceived leadership capabilities. The members of the native courts in the southeast therefore came to be known as warrant chiefs: indigenous rulers created entirely by the process of establishing indirect rule.

The Amalgamation of 1914

The protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria and the Colony of Lagos were amalgamated under a single British administration in 1914.[29] Thus, Nigeria was created not by a voluntary union of previously existing and closely related political units but by the imposition of union by an imperial power on an artificially demarcated territory containing a heterogeneous population of

strangers. Although, these diverse groups had established many economic, social and political links among themselves long before British rule, they did not recognize themselves as one people.[30] In the context of the emergence of the Nigerian federation, the absence of an enabling environment for a credible negotiation of federal-state relations in part accounts for why Nigeria's federal system tilts in favour of the federal government.[31] This forced union, which was carried out without any referendum and without consideration for the complex socio-cultural make-up of the different groups that made-up the union, constituted huge obstacle to the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1960 to 2007. Two crucial nation-building challenges that arise because of this are those of federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism.

The amalgamation of 1914 meant the bringing together of the three distinct regional administrations into which Nigeria was subdivided. Each was put under a lieutenant governor and provided independent government services.[32] In the Northern Region, the colonial government ensured that the Islamic system and the social-cultural affinity of the people was never disrupted. The colonial authorities maintained the status-quo, especially on religious matters. Foreign influence was severely restricted from interfering with the indigenous socio-political system met on the ground. In the south and the east by contrast, the British tried as much as possible to alter the status-quo. External influences, especially Christian missionaries, were allowed relative freedom to interfere in indigenous socio-political and religious activities. This meant in essence that the

south became much more exposed to western education and socio-political system; while in the north, the British policy ensured limited contact of the region with western influences. This also had important implication for the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1960 and 2007. It created an important schism in the pace of socio-political development in the regions. The exposure in the south allowed for the creation of a progressive society, open to innovations and ideas. While the north, due to its sheltered existence, became conservative and closed to western influence and by extension, western education.

It is pertinent to point out here that the major reason for the amalgamation of 1914 was economic.[33] In spite of Lugard and his successors' efforts, the economy and finances of northern Nigeria had floundered under indirect rule. British colonial policy then was for each colony to be self-sufficient and self-financing. To make the northern protectorate economically viable during the early stage of colonial rule, the British government had to rely on annual subsidies from southern Nigeria and an imperial grant from the home government.[34] Thus, in order to surmount this crippling economic challenge being experienced in the northern part of the protectorate, the British government had to centralize the protectorates under a single administration. Amalgamation allowed the colonial authorities to streamline existing expenses and allowed the central administration to divert resources as it saw fit. To put it succinctly, this allowed the colonial authorities the leeway to divert revenue from the other regions to service the needs of the north. This was to later have important ramification for

the nation-building process in Nigeria in the post-independence period. The idea of using the resources of a particular region to develop natural resource-scarce region in the federation in the post-independence period was a holdover from the colonial period. Because of its potentiality to breed regional discontent and ethnic tension, the state had used different mechanisms such as principles of fiscal federalism and derivative formula to overcome the challenge this has created for the Nigerian nation-building process. This challenge is what this researcher has called the challenge of distribution. Besides, the amalgamation allowed for the centralization of infrastructural and development schemes and brought about the integration of the southern and northern economics on a much greater scale. Thus, the emergence of the modern Nigeria state as well as the drive for the creation of a cohesive, functional and politically viable Nigeria can now be traceable to the year 1914.

Nigerian Political Development to 1960

British colonialism created Nigeria. Colonial rule joined diverse peoples and regions in an artificial political entity. While colonial rule brought some material benefits to a few European-educated intellectuals, it alienated and frustrated most Nigerians who believed that it eroded traditional cultures and institutions.[35] Colonial rule exploited Nigerian labour in a way that profited European firms far more than Nigerians themselves. It also limited Nigerians' political participation in issues that concerned the governing of the country. These perceived shortcomings of colonial rule gave rise to Nigerian nationalism. Nigerian nationalism had at its

core two important aims. The first was the desire of the Nigerians to govern there country. That is, to wrest political and economic control from the British. The second was the desire of the nationalist to ensure that the contraption they inherited from the British in 1914 is turned into a viable, cohesive and functional political entity. This second aim is what is referred to in this study as nation-building.

From 1914 until Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, a succession of four colonial constitutions were put in place by the colonial government. The constitutions provided some range of governing institutions that performed legislative, executive, administrative and judicial functions. These constitutions are the Clifford constitutions of 1923, the Richards constitution of 1946, the Macpherson constitution of 1951 and the Lyttleton constitution of 1954. The Clifford constitution created the avenue for Nigerians to participate in the political process. It acted as the catalyst to the formation of the first political party in Nigeria in 1923, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP).[36] The Clifford constitution was followed by the Richards constitution. This Constituiton was the brainchild of Sir Bernard Bourdillon, the then Governor of Nigeria.[37] The constitution established the rudimentary basis for Nigerian unity.[38] It streamlined administrative, legislative and judicial activities in the northern and southern protectorates.

The Macpherson constitution not only divided Nigeria into three regions, it also stimulated the growth of more political parties in Nigeria. It was the liberal environment created by the constitution that led to the formation of such regional political parties as the AG in 1951 and NPC in 1949.[39] The main minorities' parties formed in the period were the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Bornu Youth Movement (BYM), the United National Independents Party (UNIP), the Niger Delta Congress in the East, Benin Delta People Party (BDPP) and Otu-Edo-NCNC in the west.[40] Furthermore, the Lyttleton constitution turned Nigeria into a federation of three regions.[41] These are the Northern, Eastern and Western regions. It should be remarked here that the British tried to use the different pre-independence constitutions as a nation-building mechanism. They saw in the constitutions an effective mechanism through which a viable, functional and cohesive Nigeria could be created. This was what informed the creation of the four aforementioned constitutions. It also ensured the adoption of federalism by the British in creating a workable Nigeria.

From the 1930s, ethnicity came to feature prominently among Nigerian nationalists due to the centrifugal pull exerted on them by their regional bases and the mutual distrusts the elites shared towards one another. Starting with the destruction of Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), whose membership included Ernest Nkoli, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Samuel Akinsanya and Obafemi Awolowo, all foremost Nigerian nationalist in 1941,

Nigerian political development then assumed an ethnic dimension. Between 1938 and 1941, the NYM was not only an important nationalist movement but the first Pan-Nigerian nationalist movement.[36] The explicit aim of the movement was to unite across ethnic boundaries in order to create a common voice with which to achieve Nigeria's nationalism aspirations.

However, the interplay of ethnic and regional nationalism destroyed the important Pan-Nigerian nationalist movement in 1941. The major ethnic leaders in the NYM then left the organization to form regional associations and political parties that were designed to championed regional dominance and specific regional causes. This, for example, provided the background to the formation of NCNC for the east by Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1944, the NPC for the north by Ahmadu Bello in 1949; and as a response to these two, Obafemi Awolowo formed the AG for the west in 1951. It is remarkable to note that this marked the incipient beginning of the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism that confronted Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. This early intrusion of ethnic considerations in the formation of political parties became a leitmotiv in Nigeria's political development between 1967 and 2007. For instance, in the Fourth Republic, between 1999 and 2007, the AC was seen as a western political outfit. While, the PDP's base was ostensibly rooted in the northern part of the country.

From 1951, the political parties in the Western and Eastern Regions in southern Nigeria began to push the colonial government to extend full internal self-

governance to the regional assemblies. The Northern Region opposed this move stating that it was not ready for self-government. Self-government would eventually have led to a centralization of government. And when and if this should happen, the North feared that the south will have an edge in the governance of Nigeria due to her earlier and wider exposure and acceptance of western values. In order to reconcile these differences, the colonial government then created the Lyttleton constitution of 1954. The constitution established Nigeria as three regions, Northern, Western and Eastern. Lagos became a Federal Territory administered by the central government. A unicameral legislature of one-hundred-and-eighty members of which ninety-two came from the north, forty-two-each from the west and the east, six from the British Cameroons, and two from the Federal Territory of Lagos, was created.[43] It should be pointed out here that the origin of Nigeria's flawed federalism at independence could be located in the preponderance the Lyttleton constitution gave to the northern part of the federation. This is what later transmogrified into the challenge of federalism that confronted Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Under the Lyttleton constitution, both the Eastern and western regions opted for autonomy in 1957; while, the Northern Region waited untill 1959 to claim self-governance. General elections in 1954, 1956 and 1959 cemented the regionalization of political consciousness in Nigeria as the AG, NCNC and NPC continued to dominate their respective regions in both the regional and central legislatures.[44] The preparation of a new federal constitution for an independent

Nigeria was carried out at conferences held at Lancaster House in London in 1957 and 1958. Nigerian delegates consisted of representatives from each regions. It was led by Balewa of the NPC and included other party and regional leaders like Awolowo of the AG, Azikiwe of the NCNC and Bello of the NPC. These three were also the premiers of the Western, Eastern and Northern regions, respectively. A final election was held in 1959 to determine the make-up of Nigeria's first independent government. The results gave the NPC the largest number of seats – 174 out of 312 seats; and a majority government was formed through an NPC – NCNC coalition.[45] The AG subsequently became the opposition party. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa became the prime minister, and Nnamdi Azikiwe became Nigeria's first indigenous governor general. On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent state within the British Commonwealth.

The Independence Era to 1970

Nigeria became an independent political entity in 1960. From independence to 2007, Nigeria alternated between civilian and military rule. There were three civilian governments and a series of eight military leaders that ruled for twenty-eight years.[46] The foundation on which Nigeria gained independence was very fragile. Regionalism and ethnicity, the bane of Nigerian politics during the colonial era, remained major challenges barring the development of a national identity. At independence, Nigeria faced a series of nation-building challenges. Some of these are the challenges of federalism that was sharply brought to the fore when the issue and position of the minorities within the larger federation

came up in the first republic between 1960 and 1966; the challenge of governance and the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism.

Both the civilian and military administrations from 1960 to 2007 searched for a federal arrangement that could accommodate Nigeria's combustible ethnic, regional and religions divisions.[47] Taking its cue from the country's colonial antecedent, the state relied extensively on constitutional and other mechanisms to create a viable and functional Nigeria. A total of five constitutions had been created in the post-independence era between 1960 and 2007.[48] Three had been promulgated, while the remaining two never left the prototype stage. The ones that were promulgated are the 1963 Republican constitution; the 1979 presidential constitution and the 1999 constitution. The 'prototypes' were the 1989 and 1995 constitutions, respectively. Each of the promulgated ones played vital role in the evolution of the Nigerian state. For example, the 1963 constitution birthed Nigerian republicanism. It established an executive prime-minister and a ceremonial president for the country. The 1979 constitution introduced presidential federalism into Nigeria; while the 1999 constitution tries to turn Nigeria into a functional, cohesive and democratic polity.

It is interesting to note that the same set of nation-building challenges that destroyed the First Republic, were the same set of challenges that confronted Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. Some of these nation-building challenges are the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism, governance, corruption

and ideology. The challenges manifested themselves in one form or the other in the following crisis that rocked the emergent Nigerian state between 1960 and 1970:

a) The AG Crisis of 1962
b) Census Crisis, 1962 – 1963
c) The 1964 Elections
d) Creation of Mid-West Region; 1963
e) Western Region Election of November, 1965
f) The coup and counter coups of 1966
g) The Nigerian civil war, 1967 – 1970

(a) The AG Crisis of 1962

In the Western Region, the AG – dominated government faced a crisis in 1962 over its position as opposition party to the NPC-NCNC coalition. This position did not enjoy the support of important members of the party like Chief Ladoke Akinola, the then premier of Western region.[49] These members believed that AG should seek ways of joining the coalition government because being in opposition meant that the elites of the Western region were excluded from privileges and benefits in the federation. They felt that the Yoruba's were losing their preeminent economic and bureaucratic position to other ethnic groups due to their opposition to the NPC-led federal government. Obafemi Awolowo was against this move. He insisted on maintaining the party's adversarial stance toward the NPC-led

government and at the same time sought to transform the AG into a radical nationalist–democratic socialist party.[50]

The crisis within the party came to a head in 1962 when, during the party's parliamentary congress, Awolowo sought to remove Akintola as the premier and replace him with Chief Adegbenro. This precipitated a parliamentary crisis. This gave a pretext for the NPC – led federal government, which was bent on weakening the AG in order to be able to install a pro-NPC regime in the region, to declare a state of emergency. The declaration of the state of emergency was done with the connivance of the NCNC.[51] By the time the state of emergency was lifted six months later, Akintola was placed back in the premiership. He promptly formed a new political party, United People's Party (UPP), and went into a coalition government with NCNC in the Western Region. This pact effectively diluted the impact of the AG as an opposition party. Awolowo, and other radical party leaders such as Chief Anthony Enahoro, Alhaji Lateef Jakande and Joseph Tarka were tried, convicted and imprisoned for treasonable felony.[52] Max Siollun had suggested that if not for the crisis in the AG and the subsequent imprisonment of its more radical leaders, Awolowo and his co-accused would have carried out what amounted to be the first civilian coup in independent Nigerian history.[53] Apart from the fact that the party had been sending some of its supporters to Nkrumah's Ghana for revolutionary training, it was also seeking to use extra-constitutional means to topple the government. This assertion was

giving credence by one of Awolowo's co-conspirators, Samuel Ikoku the then General secretary of AG when he stated thus:

> We are fed up with the Nigerian system... and the Nigerian government ... we were deeply committed to a change of government and we saw waiting for elections would not produce any solution... we started preparation for it (illegal change of government)... and I believe we would have pulled it off... yes, there was an attempt to overthrow the government ... I took part in the attempt.[54]

It should be noted here that the AG crisis of 1962 showed the deleterious effects the challenges of governance and ideology had on the nation-building process during the First Republic. Inter/intra party rivalries; political cross-carpeting; and unbridled and corrupt use of executive power by the NPC–led federal government are some of the manifestations of these two nation-building challenges. These two challenges were later to become critical barriers to the creation of a viable, cohesive and functional Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

(b) Census Crisis, 1962-1963

The census crisis of 1962-1963 was a manifestation of the challenges of federalism, distribution and aggressive ethno-regionalism. The census was the basis, among other things, for revenue allocation among the regions in particular and resources distribution in general.[55] It was also the mechanism that was used to allocate quotas in recruitment into the armed forces.[56] In addition, the census was the basis for the assessment of the viability of new states in the federation. Thus, because of the highlighted significances, the census became a

political tool in the hands of the Nigerian political elites. The southern parties saw the census of 1962, the first post-independence national enumeration, as an opportunity to erode the preponderance of the North-cum-NPC in the Nigerian federation.[57] Since a preponderant population was the basis of the northern domination in the federation, the strategy was, from the southern perspective, to use the census to change the prevailing numerical status-quo and tilt it in favour of the south. And, of course, the north was still interested in maintaining her numerical superiority within the federation because this will guarantee her continuous assess to a disproportional share in the federation account.

When the result of the census was released in May 1962, it recorded a seventy percent increase in the population of the Eastern and Western Regions compared to thirty percent for the North.[58] This meant a loss of the numerical significance of the Northern region in the federation. By using its numerical strength in the federal parliament, the NPC got the result invalidated and a recount was ordered. In 1963, a recount was undertaken and it gave the Northerners numerical superiority over the other regions.[59] Of course, the Eastern region rejected the result. The West and the newly created Mid-west regions had to accept the result because of their closeness to the NPC-led government and, particularly for the Mid-West, because of the fear of losing federal aid.[60]

Thus, the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism and ideology were responsible for the census crisis of 1962-1963. For example, the lack of any

sound party ideology was what made Akintola and Osadebey to accept the census result in the West and Mid-West, respectively. The census result was accepted by the two leaders for pecuniary considerations. And of course, aggressive ethno-regionalism which manifested itself in mutual distrust and suspicion among the different ethnic groups made it impossible for Nigeria to have an accurate head-count of its citizens. This affected negatively socio-economic planning and development in the First Republic.

(c) Creation of Mid-West Region, 1963

After independence, the major political parties had differing views toward the formation of new states that could accommodate minority aspirations in the federation. Each of the three major regions, North, East and West, had a numerically dominant ethnic group. Moreover, each regions contained other ethnic groups, though numerically smaller that could qualify for separate regions.[61] In the East, ethnic groups from the riverine areas wanted their own state to be called Calabar-Oil-Rivers (COR). In the North, the Idoma and the Tiv wanted a Middle-Belt state. And in the West, there was agitation for the creation of a Mid-West Region. Awolowo and his party, AG, supported the creation of states based on ethnic considerations. This would have meant the excision of large tracts of territories from the North and the East. Additionally, it will mean the end of the numerical superiority of the North in the federal parliament. However, the federal parliament, controlled by the NPC–led government and her ally NCNC, voted in favour of carving the Mid-West out of the West. But opposed

doing the same in their own respective region. The Mid-West Region was created out of the Western Region in 1963. This was done to dilute the effectiveness of the AG as the opposition party.

In retrospect, had the federal government created extra states for the minorities in the three regions, the challenge of federalism that had been a major barrier to the building of a viable and functional Nigeria would probably have been mitigated. The failure of the federal government to use state creation as a tool to tackle the challenge of federalism in creating a more balanced federal structure for Nigeria ensured the manifestation of such a vice as ethnic conflicts in the nascent Nigerian state from the First Republic.

(d) The 1964 Federal Elections

In 1964, the first post-independence federal elections took place in Nigeria. The pre-elections campaigns polarized Nigeria into two hostile camps. The NCNC saw the elections as its trump card to turn the table against the NPC and break its stranglehold on Nigeria. The NPC hoped to use the elections to consolidate its hold in the North and to further extend its sphere of political dominance into the West. To achieve this feat in the west, the NPC was counting on the influence of its protégé, Chief Akintola . On the other hand, the AG planned to use the elections to regain its foothold in the Western Region. The party had lost her preeminent position in the region to Akintola's NPC–backed NNDP.

The volatile political situation and the realignment of forces produced two alliances for the elections.[62] The first was the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) comprising the NPC and its client parties: NNDP, NDC, the Mid-West Democratic Front (MDF) and the Dynamic Party. The second was the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) formed by the NCNC, AG, NEPU and UMBC. The NNA adopted a platform that reflected the views of the northern political elites. This view was an attempt to gain control of federal politics through an alliance with the Western Region. While UPGA's platform was essentially an attempt to use the two regional governments that it controlled as a springboard to domination of the federal government.[63] UPGA proposed to divide the country into states that reflected ethnicity. These proposals, if it had been implemented, would have meant the destruction of existing regional basis of political power. In its place would have been created a sufficient number of states in each regions so that none of the major ethnic groups could dominate a region.

With the high stakes involved, the run-up to the election was conflict-ridden. There were claims and counter-claims of intimidation of opponents and high incidences of political violence. Violent tactics, such as the physical elimination of opposition candidates and destruction of properties were highly employed.[64] Against this background, the UPGA decided to boycott the elections.[65] In spite of this decision, the elections were held on December 30, 1964 as scheduled. Owing to the boycott of the UPGA, the NNA won most of the seats. Out of 312 federal seats, the NNA won 200 seats. Thus, the 1964 federal elections, though one-

sided, cemented the hegemonic hold of the North on the Nigerian federation. President Nnamdi Azikiwe consequently re-appointed Alhaji Tafawa Balewa as the Prime minister.

With the benefit of hindsight, one could see that it was the failure of the government to tackle the challenges of aggressive ethno-regionalism, federalism, corruption and ideology that precipitated the 1964 federal elections crisis. For example, the two mega-political parties that contested the 1964 elections were formed to ensure the continual dominance of any of the major ethnic groups at the national arena. Furthermore, the emergence of the two mega-political parties was based on political and pecuniary expediency rather than on any sound ideological platforms.

(e) Western Region Elections of 1965

The Western Region elections of 1965 were marred by massive rigging, voter and candidate intimidation, arson, murder and thuggery.[66] After the tensions and conflicts generated by the 1964 federal elections, the struggle to control the region was of critical importance to all the parties. The AG sought to regain the West from the NNDP and by so doing bar the NPC from consolidating on its foothold in the region. On the other hand, the NNDP was desperate to hold on to power in order to guarantee its political relevance to the NPC. Thus, the election was essentially a contest between NNA and UPGA at the regional level. At the conclusion of the election in 1965, both parties claimed victory.[67] Using its power

of incumbency, the NNDP had the leaders of the opposing party arrested, thereby clearing the way for Akintola to be declared the winner.[68] Akintola's retention of power led to even greater violence in the Western Region. Protests, arsons, and murders placed many parts of the Western Region into a state of anarchy. This was what earned the region the moniker of the "Wild Wild West". It was while the West burned that the military struck in January 1966.

It should be remarked here that the failure of Balewa to tackle the challenge of governance, among others, led to the escalation and the virulent direction the Western Region election crisis took. This was because the federal government had two different and effective options at its disposal to curtail the spiraling situation in the region. The first option would have been for Balewa to declare a state of emergency like it did in 1962. The second option would have been for the federal government to deploy the military into the region. Balewa rejected these two options because he was interested protecting his protégé, Akintola, in the region. Both options would have severely limited the powers of Akintola to govern effectively in the region.

(f) The Coups d'etat of 1966

As a result of the crisis in the Western Region and the apparent inability of the federal government to deal with pressing issues affecting the federation, the military carried out a putsch on January 15, 1966.[69] The military coup brought the First Republic to an abrupt end. The coup claimed the lives of Alhaji

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the prime minister, Ahmadu Bello, Samuel Akintola and Festus Okotiebo, among others. It should be noted that these assassinated political leaders had determined the course of events in Nigeria since independence. The coup was carried out by Kaduna Nzeogwu, Emmanuel Ifeajuna, D. Okafor, Adewale Ademoyega and C.I. Anuforo. They were known as the five majors.[70] Their aims were to bring an end to the tribalism and corruption that had characterized the First Republic; and to eradicate corruption and government profligacy.[71] Hence, the assassination of the aforementioned political leaders that the coupists believed were directly responsible for the dysfunctional state of the First Republic.

Apart from the politicians, many northern military officers were also killed.[72] Inspite of the fact that the coup was not a complete success, the generality of Nigerians took it as a welcomed development. That is until it was discovered that majority of those that were killed by the putschists were of northern extractions. Indeed, the politicians killed by the coupists were national political leaders from the west, North and the Mid-West. No national political leader was killed from the East. This poignant fact later gave credence to the assertion that the coup of January 15, 1966, was part of the grand design by the Igbos to dominate the Nigerian federation.[73]

With the death of Tafawa Balewa, the president, Nnamdi Azikiwe, who should have taken over the helms of affairs, was in far away London undergoing medical

treatment. Political power then devolved into the hands of Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi, the army's commander in chief. Being aware of the fact that the challenges of federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism contributed to the instability of the First Republic, Ironsi took step to remedy the situation. On May 24, 1966, Ironsi abrogated Nigeria's federal system with Decree No. 34.[74] The Decree essentially turned Nigeria into a unitary state. Decree No. 34 was meant to destroy the vestige of regionalism and turn Nigeria into a viable and functional state.[75] Ironsi's subsequent actions, after promulgating the Decree No. 34, which was also known as Unification decree, coupled with the fact that he was also an Easterner, confirmed Northern suspicion that Ironsi was part of the grand design to foist Igbo hegemony on Nigeria.[76] On July 29, 1966, northern officers and army units staged a counter coup in which Ironsi and a number of other Igbo officers were killed.[77] Lieutenant – Colonel Yakubu Gowon, a Christian from the Middle-Belt, was picked as the compromise candidate to become the new Nigerian leader.[78] Gowon assumed the title of the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Army and the Head of the Military Government. The July coup was accompanied by a massacre of Nigerians of Eastern extractions in the north. These killings was to become an important factor in the East's eventual declaration of the state of Biafra in 1967.

As a corollary, apart from the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism and corruption that created the ground for military intervention in 1966, religious considerations also played a crucial role. For example, it was the

inability of Ironsi to adequately tackle the challenge of religion that made the North to view all his actions and pronouncements as being motivated by religious considerations.

(g) The Nigerian Civil War, 1967- 1970

General Yakubu Gowon assumed office at the climax of a deep national crisis in Nigeria. Apart from the intra-party and inter-party conflict in Lagos, the counter-coup created the atmosphere for the renewed killings of Igbos in the northern Region. The estimated number of deaths was as high as thirty thousand.[79] More than one million Igbo returned to the Eastern Region. In retaliation, some northerners were killed in Port Harcourt and other eastern cities. The Eastern Region's military governor, Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, was under increasing pressure from Igbo officers to assert greater independence from the federal military government. Indeed, the Eastern military government refused to recognize Gowon legitimacy on the ground that he was not the most senior officer in the chain of command.[80] Moreover, officers of Igbo extractions doubted if Gowon could guarantee the safety of the Igbos within the Nigerian federation. Faced with all these challenges, Gowon immediately announced the repeal of Decree No. 34, stressing that Nigeria was still a federal state. Between July and September 1966, the spate of killing against the Igbo took a turn for the worse. Many of these killings were carried out by northern officers. Between eighty and a hundred thousand easterners were killed during this period.[81] Such events also led Ojukwu to question whether Igbos could ever

live harmoniously with other ethnic groups in the Nigerian federation. Ojukwu urged all easterners to return home form the North and encouraged all northerners in the east to do likewise. In spite of the actions of Ojukwu and some Igbo officers, Gowon was still determined to keep the East in the federation.

A series of meetings between Gowon and Ojukwu took place in Aburi, Ghana, on January 4-5, 1967.[82] However, the discussions failed to produce a compromise between the two. At the end of the Aburi meetings, Gowon interpretation of the Aburi agreements was in direct contradiction to the views held by Ojukwu. Gowon believed that the federation had been preserved at Aburi, while Ojukwu claimed that the agreement conferred autonomy on the east.[83] The federal government subsequently promulgated decree 8 which embodied its interpretation. Ojukwu promptly rejected this and proceeded to implement his own interpretation that suited his secession agenda. In line with his conviction, in March, Ojukwu announced the take-over, from 1 April of all federal departments and parastatals in the eastern region. Ojukwu further announced the withholding of all federal taxes and revenues accruing from the region. The federal government responded by blockading the coast and instituting economic sanctions against the east. Last-minute efforts at reconciliation, initiated by eminent Nigerians such as Chief Obafemi Awolowo, failed to broker a peaceful settlement. On May 30, 1967, Ojukwu declared the independence of the Eastern Region, which he renamed the Independent Republic of Baifra.[84] In an earlier move to prevent the East from seceding, the federal government declared a state

of emergency throughout the federation and created twelve new states to replace the regions. Three of these states were created out of the East. This was done to divide the region and weaken support for secession especially from the Calabar-Ogoja–Rivers minorities.[85] Following Ojukwu's declaration on May 30, the federal government launched a police action to contain what it called a rebellion. Gowon did not want the East to secede because of his personal conviction of the workability of the Nigerian federation. And more importantly, the lands claimed by Biafra contained sixty-seven percent of the known petroleum reserves in Nigeria. The Eastern secession thus threatened what had the possibility of being a very profitable revenue base for the federal government.

For thirty months, from July 6, 1967 to January 12, 1970, the two states, Biafra and Nigeria were at war with each other.[86] To the Nigerians, it was a war for unity to preserve the federation. To the Biafrans, it was a war for their existential survival. The Nigerian civil war came to an end by January 12, 1970 by which time the federal government had succeeded in defeating Biafra.[87] Biafra was then reabsorbed back into the Nigerian federation. The Nigerian civil war produced effects which transformed Nigeria's geopolitical and social terrains. In the first instance, the end of the war brought to an end the extensive political and socio-economic autonomy then enjoyed by the regions. In trying to ensure the survival of corporate Nigeria, the federal government's presence became more pronounced in all the regions. The incipient centralization of political authority that started under Ironsi was enthrenched during the military regime of Gowon.

Secondly, the military whose presence had been restricted to the periphery prior to the civil war became ubiquitous in Nigerian politics. Indeed, the military ruled Nigeria for a period of twenty-eight years.[88] And more importantly, the civil war and its end signalled the death knell for the 'ancien' regime inherited from the British. From 1960-1966, the political system that was practised in Nigeria was based on what was handed over to the country at independence. The events leading up to the civil war, and the civil war itself had shown that the political structure and system could not adequately cope with the tensions, stresses and contradictions that inhered within the Nigeria geopolitical system. Thus, the end of the civil war in 1970 gave Nigeria the opportunity to start its nation-building efforts afresh.

Endnotes

(1) Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

(2) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria,* 1.

(3) Levi Akalazu Nwachukwu and G. N. Uzoigwe, eds. *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War* (New York, Oxford: University of Press of America, Inc., 2004), 2.

(4) Abdulrasheed A. Muhammed, "Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria: Current Peril and Future Hopes," *Journal of sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2007): 187.

(5) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "World Fact Book: Nigeria," updated May 15, 2007, available online at www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-fact-book/geos/ni.vitml, (accessed 3 October 2011).

(6) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 6.

(7) Egosa Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (London: Hurst & Company, 1988), 1.

(8) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 1.

(9) S.A. Balogun, "History of Islam up to 1800", in *Groundwork of Nigerian History,* Obaro Ikime, ed. (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980), 210-220.

(10) Balogun, "History of Islam Up to 1800," 210-215.

(11) G.N., Uzoigwe, "Nigeria to 1960: An Overview," in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War*, Levi A. Nwachuku and G.N. Uzoigwe, eds. (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 2004), 7.

(12) Uzoigwe, "Nigeria to 1960," 7.

(13) Lambert U. Ejiofor, *Igbo Kingdoms: Power and Control* (Onitsha: African Publishers, 1982), 12-45.

(14) Ejiofor, "Igbo Kingdoms," 12-20.

(15) Uzoigwe, "Nigeria to 1960," 8.

(16) Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984), 2, 12-14.

(17) Obaro Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 93.

(18) Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 93.

(19) Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria*, 102-115.

(20) A.F.C. Ryder, *Benin and the European 1485-1897* (London: Heinemann, 1968), 23-50.

(21) John E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Modern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 37-70.

(22) Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria*, 175

(23) Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria*, 178-184.

(24) Helen Chapin Metz, ed., *Nigeria: A Country Study*, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, June 1991, available online at www.fieldsupport.dliflc.edu/products/cip/nigeria/nigeria.pdf (accessed 5 June 2010), 31.

(25) Metz, *Nigeria*, 32.

(26) A.E. Afigbo, *The Warant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1897-1929* (London: Longman, 1972), 147-149, 208.

(27) Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of the Igbo People* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 140-160.

(28) Afigbo, *The Warrant Chiefs*, 30-50.

(29) J. Isawa Elaigwu and G.N. Uzoigwe, eds., *Foundations of Nigerian Federalism: 1900-1960*, 2nd ed. (Jos: Institute of Governance and Social Research, 2001), 93-94; Tekena Tamuno, *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern phase, 1898-1914* (London: Longman, 1972), 239-240.

(30) Ignatinus Akaayar Ayua and Dakas C.J. Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria," *International Association of Centers for federal Studies*, n.d.,

http://www.federalism.ch/files/categories/intensivkursII/nigeria1.pdf, (accessed 3 January 2011).

(31) Ayua and Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria."

(32) Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 34.

(33) Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 3rd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1973). 125.

(34) Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 240.

(35) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 134-135.

(36) G.O. Olusanya, "Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, 1861-1960," in *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Obaro Ikime, ed. (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980), 52.

(37) Olusanya, "Constitutional Developments in Nigeria," 524-525.

(38) Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study,* 40.

(39) Olusanya, "Constitutional Developments in Nigeria," 534.

(40) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 8.

(41) Rotimi Suberu, "The Travails of federalism in Nigeria," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1993): 40; Rotimi Suberu, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria* (Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), 19.

(42) James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1971), 183-190.

(43) Coleman, *Nigeria*, 296-301.

(44) Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 289.

(45) Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 47.

(46) Abdulrasheed A. Muhammed, "Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria: Current Peril and Future Hope," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2007): 187.

(47) Suberu, "The Travails of Federalism,": 39.

(48) Chief (Dr) Alex Ekwueme, "The Constitution and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria-Challenges and Prospects," a paper delivered by Chief (Dr) Alex

Ekwueme, First Civilian vice-president of Nigeria, at the International Conference on Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects, London, 25th June, 2005. Available online at www.fggn.org/confe/Ekwuemespaper.pdf, (accessed 14 October 2011).

(49) Kenneth Post and Michael Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*, 1960-1966 (London: Heinemann, 1973), 146-150.

(50) Post and Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*, 72-80.

(51) Richard L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation* (New York, Enugu: Nok Publishers, 1983), 217-219.

(52) Max Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture,1966-1976* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2009), 15, 33, 57.

(53) Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture*, 15-16.

(54) Bala Yusufu Usman and George Kwanashie Amale, *Inside Nigerian History, 1950-1970: Events, Issues and Sources* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 1995), 43-44.

(55) S.A. Aluko, "How many Nigerians? An Analysis of Nigeria's Census Problems, 1901-63," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1965): 371-392.

(56) Aluko, "How Many Nigerians?," 380-390.

(57) Levi A. Nwachuku, "A survey of Nigerian History Since Independence," in *Troubled Journey*, 24-25; Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence*, 14.

(58) Walter Schwarz, *Nigeria* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1968), 155-165.

(59) Schwarz, *Nigeria*, 160-165.

(60) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 42.

(61) Metz, *Nigeria*, 51.

(62) Usman and Amale, *Inside Nigeria,* 44.

(63) Metz, *Nigeria*, 54.

(64) *West African Pilot*, May 24, 1964.

(65) Schwarz, *Nigeria*, 164-166.

(66) Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence*, 19.

(67) Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence*, 17-20.

(68) *West Africa*, October 23, 1965: 1194

(69) Zdenek Cervenka, *A History of the Nigerian War, 1967-1970* (Ibadan: Onibonoje Press, 1972), 1-10.

(70) Ben Gbulie, *Nigeria's Five Majors: Coup d'etat of 15 January 1966, First Inside Account* (Onitsha: African Educational publishers Ltd, 1981), vii-viii.

(71) Gbulie, *Nigeria's Five Majors*, 5.

(72) Adewale Ademoyega, *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup* (London: Evans, 1981), 20-34.

(73) H.B. Momoh (Major-General), ed., *The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970: History and Reminiscences* (Ibadan: Sam Bookman Publishers, 2000), 1-20.

(74) Momoh, *The Nigeria Civil War*, 20.

(75) J.I. Elaigwu, "Federalism and National Leadership in Nigeria," *Publius: Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1991): 125-144.

(76) Siyan Oyeweso, ed., *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War* (Lagos: Campus Press Limited, 1992), 18.

(77) Oyeweso, *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*, 20.

(78) J.I. Elaigwu, *Gowon* (Ibadan: West View Publisher Limited, 1987), 3.

(79) Metz, *Nigeria*, 57.

(80) Momoh, *The Nigerian Civil War*, 34.

(81) Edmund C. Obiezuofu-Ezeigbo, *The Biafran War and the Igbo in Contemporary Nigerian Politics* (Lagos: Genius Press, 2007), 56.

(82) John de St. Jorre, *The Nigerian Civil War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), 67-70.

(83) C. Odumegwu Ojukwu, *Biafra* (N.Y.: Harper Row, 1969), 77.

(84) H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria: A Documentary Source Book, 1966-1970. Vol. I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 102.

(85) Kirk-Greene, *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria*, 103-105.

(86) St. Jorre, *The Nigeria Civil War*, 116-125.

(87) Momoh, *The Nigeria Civil War*, 80.

(88) Muhammad, “Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria,” 187.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1967-1975

Nigeria fought a bitter civil war between July 6, 1967 and January 12, 1970. The economic and social lives in the main theatres of the Nigerian civil war were greatly affected. The civil war was an intra-state affair. It pitted the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) against the people of the Eastern region. The reasons for the Civil War were diverse and varied. These include, among other things, the military coups d'etat of January 15 and July 29, 1966; the Tiv riots of 1964; the Federal Elections of 1964, and the declaration of the state of Biafra in 1967.[1] A salient factor for the outbreak of the civil war was the structural imbalance inherent in the Nigerian federation at independence in 1960. This was due to the differing dispositions of the pre-independence political and ethnic groupings within Nigeria. These inherent problems revolved around competing values and interest. Since politics or governance is all about the balancing of these different interests and values within a state, it is therefore a given that for the survival of any heterogeneous polity, these must be adequately managed. This is why Major General Momoh notes that:[2]

> where there are no adequate structures and commitment to regulate politics and to ensure a peaceful resolution of matters arising from its inherent competitive bent, clashes of interest that would otherwise be absorbed by the political structural in place take the centre stage thereby threatening the peace and stability...of the entire system.

At independence in 1960, Nigeria was a fragile entity subjected to the centrifugal interests of the different ethnic groups within it. In her bid to ensure that the country survived as a functional and viable polity, the British adopted the federal system of government for Nigeria in 1960. The Civil War of 1967-1970 exposed the vulnerabilities in Nigerian Federalism. These included its structural imbalance, its glorification of ethnicity and its extensive guarantee of the authority of the regions to the detriment of the centre.[3] The end of the Civil War in 1970 then presented the Federal Military Government of Nigeria (FMGN) with some important nation-building challenges. Top on the list was the challenge of federalism. Others are the challenges of corruption, autarky, governance, distribution and aggressive ethno-regionalism. These challenges had to be resolved before the state can turn the heterogeneous polity called Nigeria into a functional, viable and cohesive nation. The relevant question then is how did the General Yakubu Gowon administration went about creating this functional, viable and cohesive Nigeria at the end of the civil war? To what extent did the administration succeed in creating an integrated Nigeria?

It is important to point out once again that the British colonial administration created the geographical area now known as Nigeria in 1914. There was no input whatsoever from the indigenous people themselves.[4] In addition, the same colonial administration gave the country her independence in 1960. It was this inherited structure that the civil war destroyed by 1970. The import of this is that the end of the civil war gave Nigerians the opportunity to create a political system

that is best suited to the country's peculiar geo-political environment. The end of the civil war gave Nigeria the unparallel opportunity to tinker with and correct the anomaly inherent in the federalism bequeathed to the country by the British in 1960. In order to resolve these challenges and create a functional and cohesive Nigeria, the state made use of conceptual, institutional and praetorian mechanisms in the nation-building process. These mechanisms contained two kernels of Gellner's and Anderson's theories on nation-building. The kernels are modernization through economic development and education.

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Gowon Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The state used the conceptual mechanism to tackle the challenges of federalism, governance and distribution. With the end of the Civil war in 1970, the need for urgent reconstruction and rehabilitation was the most important task facing the General Yakubu Gowon administration. The reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement was needed to revamp the federal and state's economy in the first instance. It was also important to mend the damaged psyche of the war-weary Nigeria citizenry. Thus, the central aim of the General Yakubu Gowon administration in Nigeria at the end of the civil war was to build a cohesive and functional polity. With the emergence of the FMGN as the 'victorious' side at the end of the civil war, the Gowon administration put in place policies that were ultimately designed for the emergence of a united Nigeria.[5] In its bid to transform post-civil war Nigeria into a functional, cohesive and viable polity, the state made

use of the conceptual terminology known as the 3Rs.[6] the 3Rs simply means reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. In addition to the 3Rs, the state announced a nine-point programmeme "to guarantee peace, stability and progress in the country".[7] The nine-point programmes were:[8]

(i) reorganization of the armed forces;

(ii) the implementation of the National Development Plan and repair of the damage and neglect of war;

(iii) the eradication of corruption;

(iv) the settlement of the question of the creation of more states;

(v) the preparation of a new constitution;

(vi) introduction of a new revenue allocation formula;

(vii) conducting a national population census;

(viii) the organization of genuinely national political parties; and

(ix) the organization of elections and installation of popularly elected governments in the states and the centre.

The nine-point programmes of the administration were lifted from the proceedings of the Conference on National Reconstruction and Development that was held at University of Ibadan from 24 to 29 March, 1969.[9] The Conference suggested some guidelines for the preparation of the post-war 'Reconstruction Plan'. At the end of deliberations at the Conference, the central development objectives for post-war Nigeria in 1970 then included the following;[10]

(1) The rehabilitation of the war-damaged areas of the country and the reconstruction of the economy as a whole;

(2) A high rate of growth of output per capital of population, which will enable the average Nigerian to double his standard of living by 1985;

(3) The creation and the maintenance of job opportunities which will reduce the proportion of unemployment;

(4) An increasingly 'self-reliant and self-generated' growth economy;

(5) The maintenance of a balanced development of the national economy.

(6) The production of high level and intermediate Nigerian manpower to satisfy the requirements of the public and private sectors; and

(7) The provision and maintenance of a satisfactory level of social services.

These recommendations were widely accepted and incorporated into the five Federal and States' Reconstruction and Development Plans for the 1970-1974 period.[11] The five Plans were the Second National Development Plan; East–Central State Programme of Post-War Reconstruction; Mid-Western State Development Plan; Rivers State Development Plan; and the South Eastern State development plan.[12]

(a) Reconciliation

Reconciliation connotes any of the following: an end to a disagreement and the start of a good relationship or the process of making it possible for two ideas or

facts to exist together without being opposed to each other.[13] The Second National Development Plan (NDP), launched in 1970, was the medium for the Gowon administration's reconciliatory policy. The plan presented a socialist ideal stressing that "a just and egalitarian society must be created within Nigeria for all Nigerians".[14] It emphasized the creation of economic institutions that will be favourable to all Nigerians without any form of discrimination. The NDP was further meant to be an important tool in creating a functional, cohesive and all-inclusive Nigeria. It should be pointed out here that the nine-point programme earlier alluded to was ensconced in the NDP. Based on this, for instance, the first East Central State Development Plan, 1970-1974, was specifically designed to "complete the reconciliation and reabsorption of indigenes of East-Central State within the Nigerian community".[15] This goes to show the extent to which the Gowon administration was ready to go to ensure a unified Nigeria.

As a consequence of the reconciliation policy of the Gowon administration, many federal and states' civil servants of Eastern extraction, were reabsorbed back into their respective Civil Services at the end of the war. As early as the end of January 1970, some of these civil servants were given a month pay in Nigerian currency. Additionally, Gowon policy of "No Victor and No Vanquished but victory for common sense and the unity of Nigeria" at the end of the civil war exemplified the administration's reconciliatory stance.[16] There was no Nuremberg style trial of Biafran officers.[17] Nonetheless, a commission, named the Board of Officers, was set up by the Federal government that reviewed and examined about 150 Biafran

officers.[18] Some of these Biafran officers like Phillip Effiong, Njoku Hillary and Emeka OJukwu, were dismissed from the Nigerian Army. Others were reabsorbed into the Nigerian Army. Besides, under Gowon close supervision, the Federal government ensured that Igbo civilians were not treated as defeated enemies. An Igbo official Ukpabi Asika was named administrator of the new East Central State, comprising the Igbo heartland, in 1967.[19] The FMGN could have imposed a non-Igbo as the sole administrator. The state, however, opted for an Igbo in the spirit of its avowed reconciliatory stance. The appointment was also meant to destroy the feelings of alienation being experienced by the Igbo's in post-civil war Nigeria. One other plank on which the state sought to win the confidence of the Igbos as regards its reconciliation policy was the abandoned properties issue.[20] Gowon had authorized during the war the establishment of Abandoned Properties Committees in all the states of the Federation.[21] The Committees collected rents on all the properties abandoned by the Igbos during the war and, it remitted the collected sum to the Igbos at the end of the war from 1970 upward.[22]

(b) Reconstruction

Reconstruction connotes any of the following: the process of changing or improving the condition of something; the process of putting something into the state it was before; and the activity of building again something that has been damaged or destroyed.[23] It implies an ideal of dynamic transformation to a new level of equilibrium.[24] The then East-Central State was the major theatre of the Nigerian Civil war. The Civil war led to the destruction of about 53,732

commercial and private buildings, 750km of roads, 65 bridges about 781 primary and post primary schools. Thus, physical reconstruction of war damages was the first real test that faced Gowon.

In trying to surmount this, Gowon set up the National Rehabilitation Commission by Decree No. 41 in 1968.[25] The main task of the NRC, among others, was the restoration of dislocated and damaged infrastructural services such as roads, ports and rails. The highest priority was giving to the resuscitation of agriculture, transport,health, manpower, development, building, water supply and power. [26] The reconstruction programme of the East Central State was done in a devolved manner. The Federal Government paid money into the coffer of the NRC; which then disbursed the money to its satellite offices in the affected regions for the reconstruction activities. In the East-Central State, the primary responsibility for the execution of the Plan was given to the Ministry of Works and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Works was responsible for the designing and actual reconstruction of roads, bridges, water supply undertakings and buildings.[27] For example, the East–Central State Ministry of Works, Housing and Transport was able to reconstruct critical structures within Enugu for £402,870; Onitsha for £13,382; Umuahia with £11,330 and £5000 for Nsukka.[28] Thus, through this initiative, hospitals, schools, government quarters and police barracks were rebuilt in each and every of the affected areas in the East-Central Sate. By the end of 1971, about N240 Million worth of cash and materials had been spent on reconstruction.[29] Between 1973 and 1974, most manufacturing concerns in the

affected areas had been fully resuscitated. Cement factories at Nkalagu and Calabar, for instance, were brought back into production. In addition, the Onitsha bridge linking the Eastern part of Nigeria to the Western part across the Niger, which was destroyed during the war, was reconstructed and completed by April, 1970.[30]

(c) Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation connotes the process of helping somebody to have a normal, useful life again after he or she have been deprived for a long time.[31] The relief and rehabilitation of the East-Central State was coordinated by the Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction.[32] Various governmental and non-governmental bodies had to report to it, including the Nigerian Red Cross.[33] The implementation of the Federal Government's resettlement and rehabilitation programme was carried out in two phases.[34] The first phase dealt with the provision of relief materials in terms of food, clothing and drugs to the needy. Indeed, before the end of the Civil War, the Gowon administration created two road corridors for relief supplies into the war-averaged areas. One of this came from Enugu Southwards to Awgu.[35] Stocks of food and relief materials were distributed to the needy in areas under government control.[36] Doctors, nurses, engineers, technicians, builders, plumbers, mechanics and administrators were rushed into the East-Central states by the FMGN to "embark on mercy operations".[37] The NRC also distributed three thousand tons of relief materials such as food, clothing and drugs and spent N2.4 Million on relief operations in

1970.[38] It further made available to the East-Central State Rehabilitation Commission 11 million naira to aid relief operations in the state.[39]

The second phase, for which £8.9 million was expended, dealt with the resettlement of displaced persons generally and the self-employed.[40] This phase also dealt with the rehabilitation of such infrastructures as schools, hospitals, rural water supplies, roads and bridges, markets and public buildings. The rehabilitation of industries, particularly those in the public sector, was given particular attention in this phase. Under its food for work programme, the state commission distributed food items, equipment and construction materials to various communities. These included Indian hoes, axes, native hoes, shovels, cement and corrugated iron sheets. One of the most significant accomplishments of the NRC was the rehabilitation of the Onitsha market.[41] Others are the rehabilitation of Eastern Nigeria Railway and the airports at Enugu, Port–Harcourt and Calabar. Moreover, companies from the East–Central Sate were given reconstruction tax allowance of twenyt-five percent. Those whose properties were damaged were given tax exemption for up to three years.

Institutional Mechanism Used by the Gowon Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The institutional mechanism was used by the state to tackle the challenges of federalism and autarky. The overriding goal of Gowon educational policy was the creation of a unified and cohesive Nigeria. This was the rationale behind the establishment of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973.[42] The NYSC was

meant to mobilize young graduates for national service and inculcate and promote a culture of patriotism and tolerance in them. This further led to the creation of six new federal universities in April 1975 and the takeover of four existing state universities. Gowon also established Federal Government Colleges in the then 12 States of the Federation. The Federal Government Colleges are now known as "Unity Schools".[43] The Unity Schools were meant to inculcate the feeling of, as its name suggests, unity and camaraderie among Nigerian youths from different walks of life. The idea behind this was to imbued into the minds of the young Nigerians the concepts and ideas of unity, patriotism and tolerance.

The establishment of the Nigerian National Oil Company (NNOC) was aimed at tackling the challenge of autarky. At the end of the Civil War in 1970, oil had displaced agriculture as the primary source of revenue for the federal government. However, the bulk of the exploration and marketing of this oil was being controlled by foreign multinational concerns such as Shell, BP, Agip and Fina.[44] For the Nigerian economy to be self-sustaining, the state realised that the petroleum sector, now the commanding height of the Nigerian economy, must be domesticated under her command and control. This was the rationale behind the post-war economic initiatives of the Gowon administration. The state embarked on a concerted drive of aggressive economic nationalism in the post-war period.[45] This was why the (NNOC) was established in 1971.[46] It was to supervise oil extraction and provide guidelines to the multi-national corporations' operations within Nigeria.

Preatorian Mechanism used by the Gowon Regime in the Nation-Building Process

This mechanism was used to tackle the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism, autarky and governance that confronted the state between 1970 and 1975. The creation of twelve new states in 1967, with Decree No. 14, 1967 from the existing four regions was one of the first acts of the Gowon administration.[47] This state creation exercise has been described by Isawa Elaigwu as a "major step in political engineering".[48] It was designed to strengthen the hand of the federal government and to destroy the powers of the regions.[49] In retrospect, it could be deduced that Gowon used the idea to correct the structural imbalance in the Nigerian federation. Gowon created twelve statelets out of the North and South.[50] Although, on the one hand, Gowon created the states to weaken a united Eastern opposition to the federal government. At the other extreme, the creation of states was an exercise aimed at correcting the anomaly in the Nigerian federal structure.[51] This assertion has been attested to by the then Mid-West State Government when he stated that:[52]

> It is clear that the states represent a successful attempt to reconcile conflicting interests of the ethnic communities with their desire to participate in the federal process as one people. The new structure….will provide the basis for welding together the heterogeneous communities of Nigeria into a nation.

A more concrete reason for the creation of states under Gowon was the desire of the FMGN to give governance to areas that felt relatively deprived or discriminated against. It was meant to bring a more even spread of state

resources and greater participation in government.[53] The state creation exercise was further meant to redistribute power away from the regional blocs to the federal centre. Thus, ensuring the right of minority groups and assuring them access to federal funds.

Furthermore, the chief economic aspiration of the Second National Development Plan of 1970-1974 was three-fold: self-reliance, defeat of neo-colonial forces in Africa and achievement of the highest possible growth rate per capita income. In line with this aim, the Gowon regime promulgated the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree in 1972.[54] The primary aim of this policy was to promote economic decolonization, reduction of economic dependence and the achievement of economic autarky.[55] The EPD limited foreign participation in the economy and thereby increased the indigenous ownership and control of business stakes and industrial enterprises in the country.[56] Through the EPD, the Federal Government acquired over 40% shares in major industrial concerns in the country. These include banking, petroleum, manufacturing and agriculture. The EPD also divided enterprises into three major categories: those exclusively reserved for Nigerians; those in which Nigerians must have up to 60% shares; and those in which Nigerians must have at least 40% shares.
As regards the challenge of distribution, the state introduced what Cyril Obi describes as “Fiscal Centralism”.[57] This is a situation in which resources accruing to the federation are controlled by the Federal Government at the expense of the states. Through decrees 15 of 1967, 13 of 1970, 9 of 1971 and 6 of 1975, the stae

effectively took control of all revenue accruing to the federation. Thus, it was then the prerogative of the FMGN to distribute the resources to the different units that made up the federation. It is, however, important to note that fiscal centralism was largely informed by the lesson of the Civil War. Fiscal centralism was meant to reduce the power of the regions and prevent them from being strong enough to challenge the centre. It was meant to ensure that a neutral centre could mediate relations and provide equal access to resources to all the tiers in the pursuit of balanced development.[58]

As a corollary, Gowon's administration in post-Civil War Nigeria coincided with that period in Nigeria's history when the desire for national integration was at its lowest. The end of the Civil war in 1970 plunged Nigeria into a prolonged period of socio-political and economic angst. The carnage, death and destruction visited on Nigerians during the civil war effectively tempered the militarist posture of the Gowon administration. The desire of Gowon to build a functional and cohesive Nigeria made his administration evolve policies that were designed to salve the wound and assuage the hurt of the Nigerian citizenry. It is within this context that the Administration's vaunted policy of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction should be located. That the Gowon administration in post-Civil War Nigeria was a compassionate one was never in doubt. This has been attested to both locally and internationally. Locally, because of his magnanimity toward the subdued Biafrans, Gowon cognomen was then changed to connote Nigerian unity. His surname subsequently became "Go-On-With-One-Nigeria" in post-Civil

war Nigeria.[59] Internationally his perceived reconciliation spirit led John de St. Jorre to make the following memorable remark:[60]

> hatred that have so often followed the wars in the "civilized" West…when history takes a longer view of Nigeria's war it will be shown that while the black man has little to teach us about making war he has a real contribution to offer in making peace.

However, Eliagwu's assertion that the regime was a "reforming military administration" is a misnomer.[61] War necessarily engenders destruction, both human and structural. States do not reform at the end of a war. States rebuild or reconstruct. This, for instance, was what Abraham Lincoln did at the end of the American Civil War in 1856.[62] In addition, Mustafa Kamal (Ataturk) did the same for Turkey at the end of World War One in the then shrivelled Ottoman Empire in 1922.[63] Such statesmen were able to rebuild or reconstruct their states from the scratch and turned them to world and regional powers, respectively. Gowon failed to effectively tackle the nation-building challenges because he wore the garb of a reformer and guardian, when what was needed was a rebuilder and a reconstructor.

Endnotes

(1) 'Kunle Amuwo, "Historical Roots of the Nigerian Civil war: An Explanation" in *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*, Siyan Oyeweso, ed. (Lagos: OAP Publications, 1992), 1-12.

(2) H. B. Momoh, Major General, ed., *The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970: History and Reminiscences* (Ibadan: Sam Bookman Publishers, 2000), 3.

(3) Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 158-159.

(4) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 158-159.

(5) The word 'victorious' is used with some qualification. This is because at the end of the Civil War, probably due to the prevailing sensitivities, the avowed Federal government stance on the war's termination was "No Victor, No Vanquished". See J. Isawa Elaigwu, *Gowon* (Ibadan: West View Publisher Limited, 1987), 135-139; Siyan Oyeweso, "Gowon and Igbo Re-Integration (1970-1975): A Retrospective Analysis," Oyeweso, *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*, 249.

(6) Sam Iroanusi, ed., *Nigerians Heads of State and Government* (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 1997), 42.

(7) The Head of the Federal Military Government, "Broadcast to the Nation, October 1, 1970" in *Unity, Stability, and Progress: The Challenge of the Second Decade of Nigeria's Independence* (Jos: Benue-Plateau State Government Printer, n.d.), National Archive Enugu, herein known as NAE.

(8) J. Isawa Elaigwu, "The Military and Political Engineering in Nigeria (1966-1979): An Overview," in *Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria,* J. F. Ade Ajayi and Bashir Ikata, eds., (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1985), 185.

(9) Adenrele Awotona, "Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction and Development: Lessons from Africa," *Habitat International*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1992): 80.

(10) A. A. Ayida and H. M. A. Onitiri, *Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971), 17-18.

(11) Awotona, "Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction in Nigeria," 82.

(12) Igbo-land, which is located formerly in the East Central Region of the Southern Nigeria comprised of five core Igbo speaking states namely Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. It also extends to some parts of Delta State – Agbor, Ika, Issel-Uku and Anioma. And, parts of Rivers State-Obigbo, Ikwere, Egbema, Elle and Omoku. See Chris C. Ojukwu, "Igbo Nation, Modern Statecraft and the Geopolitics of National Survival in a Multiethnic Nigeria," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* (AJPSIR), vol. 3, 5 (May 2009): 183.

(13) Abraham Nabhon Thomas, "Beyond the Platitude of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Nigeria: Revolutionary Pressures in the Niger Delta," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2010): 57.

(14) Levi Akalazu Nwachukwu and G. N., Uzoigwe, eds., *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War* (Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 2004), 53.

(15) Ministry of Economic Development, "Third National Development Plan, 1975-1980: East Central State Programmeme," Official Document, No. 5 of 1975, Enugu 1975. NAE.

(16) Ojukwu, "Igbo Nation, Modern Statecraft," 183.

(17) Nuremberg Trial was conducted for defeated German officers at the end of World War 2 in 1945. The victorious Allied Forces of Britain, American, France and Russia carried out the trials against the defeated high-ranking German officers. See Klaus Larre, ed., *A Companion to Europe Since 1945* (U.K.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd:, 2009), 13.

(18) Adewale Ademoyega, *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup* (Ibadan: Evans, 1980), 184-189.

(19) Elaigwu, *Gowon*, 111.

(20) Iroanusi, *Nigeria's Heads of State*, 44.

(21) "The Dying Sound of War," *Newswatch Magazine*, January 22, 1990, 44.

(22) Oyeweso, “Gowon and Igbo Re-Integration,” 255.

(23) Thomas, “Beyond the Platitude of Rehabilitation,” 56.

(24) Ukpabi Asika, “Rehabilitation and Resettlement,” in *Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria*, Ayida and Onitiri, 635.

(25) See Eliagwu, *Gowon*, 136 and Nwachukwu and Uzoigwe, *Troubled Journey,* 53.

(26) Federal Republic of Nigeria, “Second National Development Plan, 1970-1974”, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1970, 87. National Archive Ibadan, herein known as NAI.

(27) East Central State, “First Development Plan, 1970-1974: Programmeme of Post-War Reconstruction,” Official Documents No.2 of 1971 (Enugu: Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, 1971). NAE.

(28) East-Central State Ministry of Works, Housing, Transport, “1971 Annual Report”, Official Document No. 2 of 1972 (Enugu, Government Printer, 1972), 16-17. NAE.

(29) Oyeweso, “Gowon and Igbo Re-integration,” 257.

(30) O. Aboyade and A. Ayida, “The war Economy in Perspective,” *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, herein known as NJESS, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1972): 34.

(31) Thomas, “Beyond the Platitude of Rehabilitation,” 56.

(32) Awotona, “Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction in Nigeria,” 89.

(33) “Relief: What is Needed Now,” *West Africa*, London, January 24, 1970, 63.

(34) Awotona, “Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction in Nigeria,” 89.

(35) Aboyade and Ayida, “The War economy in Perspectives,” 33.

(36) E. Urhobo, *Relief Operation in the Nigeria Civil War* (Ibadan: Daystar, 1978), 25-26.

(37) Elaigwu, *Gowon*, 141.

(38) Nwachukwu and Uzoigwe, *Troubled Journey*, 55.

(39) Nwachukwu and Uzoigwe, *Troubled Journey*, 55.

(40) Awotona, “Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction,” 94.

(41) The Onitsha main market was reputed to be the largest in Sub-Saharan Africa. See Nwachukwu and Uzoigwe, *Troubled Journey*, 55.

(42) "The Gowon Regime and The Nigerian Civil war, 1966-1975," http://www.onlinenigeria.com/military??blurb=677, (accessed November 8, 2010).

(43) "Why I Established Unity Schools," http://www.nigerianbestforum.com/generaltopics/?p=8732, (accessed November 8, 2010).

(44) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 184.

(45) Said Adejumobi, "The Impact of the Civil War on the Nigerian State," in *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*, Oyeweso, 229.

(46) The NNOC is now known as Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). See Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 185.

(47) Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in* Nigeria (Boulder, San-Francisco: West View Press, 1993), 49.

(48) Elaigwu, "The Military and Political Engineering in Nigeria," 185.

(49) Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development,* 49.

(50) The Northern Region was divided into North-Western, North Eastern, North Central, Benue Plateau, West Central and Kano; the Eastern Region was divided into East Central, South Eastern and Rivers; and the Western region was divided into Western, Lagos and Mid-Western. See B. J. Dudley, *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 321; Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*, 50.

(51) Eghosa Osaghae, "Political Parties, the Creation of More States and Federal Stability in Nigeria," in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, Zaria, March, 1983: Political Development, Vol. 1*, J. A. Atanda and A. Y. Aliyu, eds., (Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1985), 514.

(52) Mid-Western State Government, *Understanding the Nigeria Crisis* (Benin City: Ministry of Information, July, 1968.),NAE.

(53) Dudley, *An Introduction to Nigerian Government*, 110.

(54) This Policy is also known as the Indigenization Decree. See Adejumobi, "The Impact of the Civil War on the Nigerian State," 229; Elaigwu, *Gowon*, 150.

(55) Adebayo Adedeji, ed., *Indigenization of African Economics* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1981), 170.

(56) Editorial, *The Punch*, January 15, 1986.

(57) Cyril. I. Obi, "The Impact of Oil on Nigeria's Revenue Allocation System: Problems and Prospects for National Reconstruction," *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria,* 'Kunle Amuwo, et al., eds. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited), 265.

(58) Obi, "The Impact of Oil on Nigeria's Revenue Allocation System," 265.

(59) Max Siollun, *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture, 1966-1976* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2009), 167.

(60) St. Jorre, John de, *The Brothers War: Biafra and Nigeria* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), 407.

(61) Elaigwu, "The Military and Political Engineering in Nigeria," 185.

(62) Paul S. Boyer, Clifford Clark, Joseph F. Kett, Neal Salisbury and Harvard Sitkoff, eds., *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People, Vol. 2: From 1865* (U.S.A.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1990), 526-530.

(63) A. J. Grant and Harold Temperly, eds., *Europe in the Nineteen and Twentieth Centuries (1789-1950)*, 6th ed. (London: Longman, 1980), 447-449.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ERA OF SOCIAL RE-ENGINEERING: 1975 – 1985

The military regimes of Generals Murtala Muhammad/Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari; and the civilian administration of Alhaji shehu shagari dominated the Nigerian political scene between 1975 and 1985. The administrations made use of the different mechanisms in the country's nation-building process.

Murtala/Obasanjo Regime, 1975-1979

On July 29, 1975, the Nigerian Armed Forces, in a bloodless coup d'etat, deposed General Yakubu Gowon the then Nigerian head of sate.[1] Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed became the Head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Murtala's second in command was General Olusegun Obasanjo. The Mohammed/Obasanjo's regime involved two heads of state, General Murtala Mohammed, July 1975 to February 1976, and General Olusegun Obasanjo, February 1976 to October 1979. When Murtala Mohammed was assassinated, Obasanjo then continued with the policies of the regime. Obasanjo retained the same structures and key members of the administration and stuck to the transition to civilian rule programme approved by his predecessor.

The bloodless coup that brought General Mohammed to power was spearheaded by Colonel Joe Garba and Lieutenant Colonel Musa Yar' Adua.[2]

Joe Garba was Gowon chief of security at the time. Various reasons were given for the coup among which are the ineptitude of the Gowon regime; intra-military problems and factionalization; disaffection of war-time commander's who felt left out of the administration; rampart corruption and Gowon desire to shift the date of the transfer of political power to the civilian.[3] With the success of the putsch, Murtala compulsorily retired Gowon and other generals in the armed forces. The new regime also restructured the FMGN and instituted the principle of posting officers to states other than their own as governors.

The regime embarked on structural reforms in other areas that were aimed at concentrating political power in the hand of the FMGN. As part of this drive, the federal government took over the control of universities and primary education. The state also established effective control over the print and electronic media. It was during this period that the state established the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN).[4] The state's reform was further extended into the labour unions. Besides, panels were set up to investigate, among other things, the issue of abandoned properties, revenue allocation and the operation of the indigenisation decree. The controversial 1973 census that was conducted by his predecessor was cancelled and Murtala used the 1963 figures for the purposes of planning. Murtala adopted a multi-lateral approach in tackling the different socio-economic and political challenges that confronted the state. Extensive reforms were carried out in all the federal and state parastals. These reforms, especially the one that concerned the dismissal of more than half of

the Nigerian civil servants was known as the purges.[5] By far, Murtala's most popular action was the dismissal and investigation of the twelve states governors. Ten of the former governors were found guilty of gross abuse of office and corrupt enrichments. They were made to forfeit their assets to the state.[6] Interestingly, asset forfeiture was never a regular feature on the Nigerian socio-economic and political scene. Murtala's administration was the only Nigerian government who had tried and successfully implemented the policy. Asset forfeiture was an important tool in the hands of the state deployed to tackle the challenge of corruption.

Murtala made the tackling of corruption one of the major objectives of his administration. To this end, he further established the Assets Investigation Panel, Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau and Public Complaints Commission.[7] To complement this, the administration made it mandatory for public officers to declare their assets. Assets that could not be legitimately explained by public officials were automatically forfeited to the state. It should be noted that assets declaration, though not the forfeiture aspect, later became a regular feature of the Obasanjo's administration during the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007. Obasanjo's unwillingness to ensure that illegitimate assets were impounded and forfeited to the state rendered any salubrious effects that could have been generated from this policy to be nil.

By October 1975, General Murtala announced a five stage transition to civil rule programme.[8] The first stage dealt with the creation of states, their settlement and consolidation; the second stage involved the reorganization of local governments and the creation of a Constituent Assembly; the third stage included lifting ban on political parties; and the fourth and fifth stages dealt with registration of voters, and elections into state and Federal Houses of Assembly. On August 9, 1975, the Murtala's regime set up the Justice Ayo Irikefe panel to look into the issue of state creation.[9] Right from Gowon presidency through to Abacha's regime in the 1990s, state creation had been the favourite tool of the state to tackle both the challenges of federation and that of aggressive ethno-regionalism. The Murtala's administration was no exception in this respect. Based on the recommendations of the Irikefe panel, the Murtala's regime increased the number of states in Nigeria to nineteen on 3 February 1976.[10] It is interesting to point out that the administration ensured that the newly created states were given names which does not reflects past political ties and regional divisions.[11] Instead, the new states were named after rivers and other historical landmarks of the area. A good example is the present Ogun state, named after the Ogun river.

As a continuation of its drive to ensure the transfer of political power to civilians by 1979, the administration set up a Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) in October 4, 1975.[12] Based on the benefit of insight, one could say the CDC was established to proactively tackle the challenges of federalism,

democracy and aggressive ethno-regionalism. This assumption is based on the terms of reference the Murtala's regime gave to the committee members. The CDC was mandated to, among other things, draft a constitutional arrangement that will establish a sound platform for the creation of a viable, functional and democratic Nigeria.[13] General Murtala Mohammed was however assassinated before the CDC could finish its draft and submit its reports.

General Mohammed was killed in an unsuccessful putsch organized by a group of officers mostly from the Middle-Belt on 13 february, 1976.[14] The putschists called themselves the young revolutionaries and were led by Colonel Bukar S. Dimka. With the death of General Mohammed, his second-in-command, General Olusegun Obasanjo took over as the new Nigerian head of state. By September 1976, the CDC had completed its work and submitted its report to the new head of state. The main recommendations of the CDC were later to be embodied in the 1979 constitution that brought Nigeria back to civilian rule. It is worthwhile to point out here that most of the nation-building challenges that were to confront Nigeria in the 1980s and beyond had already come to the fore by the 1970s. These include the challenges of religion, distribution, aggressive ethno-regionalism and federalism. Having correctly identified these challenges and their resolution as being crucial to the creation of a viable and functional Nigerian state, the Obasanjo's administration set up a Constituent Assembly (CA) to deliberate on the issues. For instance, the particular challenge of religion that exercised the CA members and disrupted its proceedings the most

was the Sharia issue.[15] The point of contention was the place of Sharia, if any, in a secular Nigeria. While the south and most of those from the Middle-Belt were strongly against giving any place to Sharia in the 1979 Constitution the north was staunchly pro-Sharia. It took the intervention of the head of state, General Obasanjo before the impasse was resolved at the CA. It is interesting to point out here that the same Sharia issue almost brought the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007, under Obasanjo to its knees. During the Fourth Republic, under the same Obasanjo, now a civilian president, the issue of the place of Sharia in a secular Nigerian state also came-up. Notwithstanding the intervention of the federal government however, most of the states in northern Nigeria, starting with Zamfara in 1999, instituted Sharia law.

By August 1978, the CA submitted the draft constitution to General Obasanjo. After deliberations by the Supreme Military Council, the draft constitution submitted by the CA became the 1979 Constituion. The 1979 Constitution was promulgated with Decree 25 of 1978.[15] Before then, the Obasanjo's administration had already created a new electoral body known as the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) in 1976. The main task of FEDECO was to conduct local, states and federal elections for the Second Republic. On September 21, 1978, General Obasanjo lifted the ban on political parties. More than twenty-five political parties applied for recognition by FEDECO. However, only five out of these were registered. The five are: Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigerian

Peoples Party (NPP) and Peoples Redemption Party (PRP).[16] The UPN was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. It offered a programme of welfare socialism. The leader of the party was its presidential candidate. The NPN was led by Alhaji Aliyu and Makaman Bida. Alhaji Shehu Shagari was nominated as the NPN's presidential candidate. The PRP was led by Alhaji Aminu Kano. PRP's programme was based on what it has called 'democratic humanism'. The NPP was founded by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim. However, it was Nnamdi Azikiwe that was nominated as its presidential candidate. Finally, the GNPP was founded by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim. At the end of the federal elections in 1979, the NPN candidate, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, emerged victorious and was duly sworn in as the civilian president of Nigeria in October 1979 .

It has been observed that, contrary to the claim of the political parties that contested the federal elections in 1979, most of them were ethnically based.[18] For example, the UPN controlled the Yoruba states, the NPP controlled the Igbo dominated states and the remaining parties are dominant in the north. The ethnic base of these parties created the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism in the Second Republic. This worked against the creation of a viable, functional and democratic Nigeria. The state, during the Murtala/obasanjo regime was confronted with some of the following nation-building challenges: the challenge of corruption, the challenge of governance, the challenge of democracy, the challenge of federalism and the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism. In trying to resolve these nation-building

challenges, the state made use of praetorian, constitutional, institutional and conceptual mechanisms in the nation-building process. The state also selectively applied Anderson's and Gellner's core prerequisites in any country's nation-building process. These are modernization and education.

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process

Corruption was an important nation-building challenge that confronted the state between 1975 and 1979. In order to expunge this disease from the national life, the state introduced "Operation Deadwood" in 1975.[19] Operation Deadwood was simply the attempt of the administration to purge corruption from the public and private spheres. It was a concept that was designed, among other things, to rid the federal and states parastatals of waste and profligacy and to extirpate corruption out of the public life.[20] the state started the exercise with the governors, the police and the federal and state civil services. It was later extended to the various public corporations, boards and companies, the universities and the army. For example, as part of the administration's drive to rid the army of corruption and waste, the state dismissed nine out of the eleven former military governors in 1975. Their offences range from gross abuse of office and misappropriation of public fund.[21] All officers of the rank of General and the equivalent in other services were retired.

In addition, between September and October 1975, the state retired and dismissed over ten thousand civil servants, members of the armed forces, teachers and universities staff on grounds of inefficiency, declining productivity, old age, misconduct, ill-health, doubtful integrity and divided loyalty.[22] Operation Deadwood helped to instill confidence in the ability of Nigerians to act proactively in matters of national significance. To a considerable extent , operation deadwood was able to curb the menace of corruption within the Nigerian society between 1975 and 1979.

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process

In trying to resolve the nation-building challenges of democracy, federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism, the state made use of two constitutional mechanisms: the Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) and the 1979 Constitution. By 1975, the state announced a five stage political transition programme.[23] The highlight of the transition programme include the creation of states, reorganization of local governments, lifting of the ban on political parties, formation of political parties and election into the Federal House of Assembly.[24]

- Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC), 1975

As part of its transition to civil rule programme, the state announced the formation of a Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) in October 1975.[25]

General Murtala Mohammed charged the Chief Rotimi Williams-led CDC to consider a constitutional framework that would respect and promote the federal character principle. Murtala saw the federal character principle as a constitutional mechanism for creating a unified and functional Nigeria.[26] The CDC was made up of fifty members, predominantly academics and lawyers, with a minimum of two representatives from each state. After considering hundreds of memoranda from individuals and groups from across the federation, the CDC submitted a two-volume Report in 1976.[27] The Report contained the draft constitution and the discussion of the provisions adopted by the CDC during their deliberations. In October, 1977, a Constituent Assembly (CA), with over two-hundred-and-three members, was formed to debate the draft constitution.[28] The CA completed its work by June 1978 and submitted the draft constitution to the state. The 1979 constitution was then promulgated on 21 September, 1978 to become operational on 1 October, 1979.[29] The promulgation of the 1979 constitution, it must be observed, marked the completion of an important plank in the transition to civilian rule programme of the state between 1975 and 1979.

Institutional Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The state used the institutional mechanism to tackle some of the challenges of nation-building that confronted Nigeria between 1975 and 1979. Some of these challenges are those of religion, corruption, autarky, distribution and governance. To tackle the challenge of governance, the state established the

Supreme Military Council (SMC), the National Council of States (NCS) and the Federal Executive Council (FEC).[30] The SMC was the highest policy making body in Nigeria between 1975 and 1979. It provided general guidelines within which the affair of the nation was conducted. The FEC conducted daily affairs of the nation. A substantial number of civilians were permitted to be members of the FEC. This means that there was a decentralization of power, to some extent, within the FEC. That is to say that the FEC existed as a kind of diarchy that allowed for civil-military relationship in the Nigerian polity. The state also established the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) in 1976.[31] The Commission was mandated, among other things, to scrutinize the documents of aspiring political parties and candidates, register political parties that met the electoral requirements and to conduct the elections. It was FEDECO that registered the political parties that vied for the federal elections that ushered in the Second Republic in 1979.

Moreover, the state established fourteen institutes to undertake research into various fields of the country's agriculture. These institutes were established to tackle the challenge of autarky. Some of these are: Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN), National Cereals Research Institute (NCRI) and the Rubber Institute of Nigeria (RIN).[32] These efforts of the state fulfilled some of the important preconditions for a successful nation-building endeavour as propounded by both Gellner and Anderson.

Besides, the state further established two important institutions whose enduring effects are still being felt presently in Nigeria. The first was the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme of 1976, and the establishment of the Joint Admission Matriculation Board (JAMB) in 1978.[33] The former was created to ensure that no Nigerian child was deprived the opportunity of having qualitative education. While, the latter was created to harmonize and standardize admission processes as regards institutions of higher learning. The UPE, Levi Nwachuku has observed, was not only a right for education but also a mandate for education.[34] The scheme provided the widest educational access to Nigerians from across the federation. Indeed, at the inception of the UPE in 1976, about 2.5 million children spent their first day at school. Finally, in order to effectively tackle the challenge of corruption, the state established the Corruption Practices Investigation Bureau and Special Tribunal.

Praetorian Mechanism used by the Murtala/Obasanjo Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The state used the praetorian mechanism to tackle the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism, distribution and autarky in the nation-building process. In August 1975, the state inaugurated a five-man panel headed by Justice Ayo Irekefe.[35] The panel was mandated to hear evidence all over Nigeria and to make recommendations to the SMC on the need to increase the number of states in the federation. The Irekefe panel submitted its report by December 23, 1975. And based on the Report submitted, the Murtala's administration used decree of 1976 to establish seven

new states in the federation. This brought the total numbers of states within the federation to nineteen. The state creation was done to bring government nearer to the people and at the same time to ensure even development within a federal structure of government. By Decree Nos. 20, 22 and 23 of 1975, the state took over the control and administration of some states' universities within the federation.[36] These include the universities of Ife, Benin and Ahmadu Bello. With these decrees, primary education, which was previously under the purview of the state, was brought under federal control.[37]

In 1978, following the recommendations of a panel set up by the federal government, the state promulgated the Land-Use Decree of 1978.[38] By this decree, all land in Nigeria was held in trust by the federal government on behalf of the people. The decree was meant to eliminate the monopolization of land ownership by a group. This enabled the government to develop the land for the benefit of the people. The decree further empowered each state to control and manage all land in urban areas of the state.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Administration, 1979 – 1983

The transfer of political power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari in October 1979 marked the end of thirteen years of military rule and the beginning of the Second Republic.[39] The existence of the Second Republic was hinged on the 1979 Constitution. The 1979 constitution was created in such a way as to tackle most of the nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria up to that

period.[40] These challenges include that of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism, democracy and corruption. For instance, the 1979 constitution established executive presidentialism for Nigeria to avoid the political problems attributed to the parliamentary system of the First Republic. Under this system, the offices of an elected president and vice president were created. The Constitution also established and recognized a separation of powers among the executive, legislature and judiciary. To strengthen the electoral system and thus entrench democracy in the country, the 1979 constitution established electoral laws for Nigeria. Other innovations of the 1979 constitution include the institutionalization of the federal character principle and the creation of a code of conducts for public officials. These provisions were put in place, it must be noted, to tackle such nation-building challenges as corruption, federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism that had been identified by the state as major impediments to the creation of a viable and functional Nigeria. The constitutional provisions were meant to ensure the survival and viability of Nigeria's Second Republic.

However, the Second Republic collapsed in 1983 precisely because of her inability to adequately resolve or tackle the stated nation-building challenges. Between 1979 and 1983, five major political parties dominated the Nigerian political scene. These are the GNPP, NPN, PRP, UPN and NPP. Shagari's NPN led the government because of its victory at the presidential polls in 1979. NPN's victory was disputed by the other political parties. In order to check the

dominance of the NPP and become a formidable opposition parties, the UPN and NPP formed a temporary alliance in 1979.[41] At the federal level, the NPN required a coalition partner to form a national government. Consequently, Shagari invited all the other parties to join the NPN in such a government. Only the NPP accepted this invitation and it signed an accord with NPN by September 1979.[42] The union of the two political parties, NPN and NPP, signaled the end of the temporary understanding between UPN and NPP. The signing of this accord, it must be pointed out, is a throwback to the exact interplay of inter-party politics that destroyed the First Republic. The political parties of the Second Republic, just like the First, had strong ethno-regional basis. To put it succinctly, that means the NPN could be seen to be a northern party, that is inspite of its national pretensions, the NPP an eastern party and the UPN a western party. With the signing of the accord between the NPN and NPP, the UPN has now been pushed into its traditional role as the opposition. Thus, rather than work for the creation of a functional and viable Nigeria, the NPN, just like the other major political parties, was much more interested in ensuring its political survival. It will then not be farfetched to say that intra-party and inter-party politics defined Shagari's administration throughout the Second Republic. Small wonder that Shagari could not evolve policies to manage the country's nation-building challenges.

Every major policies of the state under Shagari became a subject of dispute and controversy with the opposition. The opposition controlled states in the

federation, such as Lagos, Ogun and Oyo, were constantly out to undermined the policies and might of the federal government. The public Order Act of 1979 and the Revenue Allocation Bill of 1981 are two good examples of federal policies that pitted the federal government against the opposition-controlled states.[43] Intra-party fracturing and cross-carpeting were also important features of the Shagari's administration. Always looking for friends from among the opposition parties, partly because of its fear of being rendered powerless at the national level or federal parliament, the NPN encouraged the defections of opposition members to its party. When the temporary accord between it and NPP broke down in 1981, the NPN made overtures, through political patronage and promise of ministerial posts, to the other political parties. By doing this, the NPP ensured that a virile opposition, which is vital to a successful democratization process, was destroyed. The opposition parties' cupidity and lack of a sound political ideology did not help. This was what led to the high incidences of fracturing among the different political parties. For example, the GNPP splitted into three factions: the Mahmud Waziri faction that became a part of the NPN; the Yoruba-Igbo faction led by Kola Balogun and Nduka Eze, which also joined the NPN; and the Waziri Ibrahim faction which became the rump of the original GNPP.[44] This trend was also noticeable in the NPP and UPN. It is worth mentioning that the NPN successfully pried Odumegwu Ojukwu and Michael Okpara, two great Igbo sons and leaders, from the NPP.[45] All these inter and intra-party bickerings made for chaotic politics in the Second Republic. Shagari dissipated the energy of his administration in

fending off confrontations and plotting confrontations of his own. There was hardly any quality time left for the important project of nation-building.

Additionally, the state's inability to effectively tackle the challenge of religion was a destabilizing factor during Shagari's administration. The desire of the Muslims, especially people from the northern part of Nigeria, to include Sharia as part of Nigeria's judicial system was a destabilizing factor in the Second Republic. Christians in the country argued that since Nigeria is a secular state, a religious court should not be allowed to adjudicate in matters concerning its citizenry. Radical Muslim sects emerged in the north to press home the demand for the establishment of Sharia. One of this was the Maitatsine Movement that emerged in 1980.[46] Maitatsine adherents believed that the introduction of Sharia will halt and reverse the pervasive hold corruption had on the Nigerian society. After causing a series of riots and religious tensions, the Movement was officially banned in 1982.[47]

By the time of the 1983 federal elections, the NPN had extended its patronage network and grip on power. As the elections drew closer, the opposition parties tried to form an alliance against the NPN. In March, 1982, the UPN and NPP came together with elements of the PRP and GNPP to form the Progressive Parties Alliance (PPA) to oppose the NPN.[48] But, just like the UPGA alliance in the First Republic, the PPA was bedeviled from the outset with deep-seated mistrust between leaders of the UPN and NPP. This made it impossible for

them to form a strong broad-based coalition to oppose the NPN hegemony. Indeed, many politicians in the PRP and GNPP choose to maintain their ties with the NPN because of the largesse they enjoyed, due to the patronage system, from the federal government. Tensions between the UPN and NPP came to the fore when the two parties were unable to decide on a common presidential candidate.

The federal elections took place between August 6 and September 3, 1983.[49] There was widespread electoral malpractice during the elections. The opposition accused the federal government of using its might to rig the elections in its favour. The results of the federal electon indicated a big win for the NPN and its candidate. The 1983 elections secured a substantial win for president Shagari. The NPN candidates were originally declared winners in thirteen states, including two Yoruba states, Oyo and Ondo, and one Igbo state, Anambra. The election results, it must be noted, owed more to the finagling of the NPN and FEDECO than to the recorded preferences of voters.[50] The campaigns and results provoked political violence, which focused on state elections whose outcomes most directly affect the majority of candidates for office and supplicants for resources. Indeed, the NPN had used state's power to win the election against the fragmented opposition of powerful interests in the major regions of the country.[51] The opposition parties rejected the results of all the elections but this could not prevent the inauguration of the new government on October 1, 1983. Nigeria was in a state of virtual anarchy in the

aftermath of the elections. There were calls for the outright cancellation of the results and for the military to take over the ruling of the state. On the night of 31 December, 1983, the military carried out a successful coup against the Shagari's administration. This effectively signaled the end of the Second Republic.

The successful transition to civil rule programme of the Murtala/Obasanjo administration marked the beginning of the Second Republic in 1979. More than fifty political parties registered for the federal election in 1979. However, FEDECO only cleared five political parties.[52] The cleared ones were National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigerian People's Party (NPP), People's Redemption Party (PRP) and Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP). After the presidential election of August 11, 1979, the NPN candidate, Alahaji Shehu Shagari had the highest number of votes casted.[53] On October 1, 1979, General Olusegun Obasanjo transferred power to Shehu Shagari, thus, marking the beginning of the Second Republic.

The Nation-Building Efforts of the Shagari Administration, 1979-1983

In trying to build a functional, viable and democratic Nigeria, the Shagari administration was confronted with the following nation-building challenges: the challenge of governance, the challenge of democracy, the challenge of federalism, the challenge of religion and the challenge of autarky. To tackle some of these

nation-building challenges, the Alhaji Shehu Shagari administration made use of the conceptual mechanism.

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Alhaji Shehu Shagari Administration in the Nation-Building Process

In trying to tackle the challenges of distribution and autarky, the state made use of two conceptual terms, the Green Revolution and the Fourth National Development Plan.[54] The Green Revolution programme was the cornerstone of the state's agricultural policy. It was meant to restore agriculture to its past glory and make Nigeria self-sufficient in food production. A more important reason for starting the Green Revolution was the desire of the state to diversify Nigeria's economy. That is, to try and wean Nigeria off its over-dependence on oil. However, the Green revolution failed to fulfill its mandate because of the lack of political will on the part of the state; and the state's pre-occupation with inter-party matters. Furthermore, the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981 –1985, was meant to tackle the challenge of autarky. It contained the economic blueprint of the administration. Just like the Green Revolution, it was designed to make Nigeria self-sufficient in her economic sphere. The Plan also went the way of the Green Revolution. The same factors militated against its successful implementation.

One should point out here that the Shehu Shagari's administration was unable to resolve or tackle most of the nation-building challenges that confronted it. Some of the issues it failed to tackle include the challenge of religion, which led to

serious religious riots in the northern part of the federation in the 1980s; the challenge of corruption, which was a prime factor in the overthrow of the administration by the military in 1983; the challenge of autarky and the challenge of governance. Different factors had been given for the state's inability to respond appropriately to these challenges. Some of these include: inter-party political bickering, lack of political will, intra-party bickering, inertia on the floor of the two houses and the state's inability to effectively exercise its authority over the governors in the federation.

Buhari/Idiagbon Regime, 1983-1985

The military coup that ended the Second Republic brought in General Muhammadu Buhari as Nigeria's new military ruler in 1983. Allegations of electoral fraud associated with Shagari's re-election in 1983 served as a pretext for the takeover. Buhari's regime sought to impose on the Nigerian society the military virtues of order and discipline. Declaring itself as a natural extension of the Murtala-Obasanjo's regime, the Buhari's regime purged the uppermost echelon of the armed forces. Buhari detained most of the political leaders of the Second Republic, accusing them of profligacy and indiscipline.[55] For the first time in Nigeria's history, the country's security organizations were actively used to track down alleged acts of corruption through the Special Investigation Bureau.[56] The administration's emphasis was to build a corruption free and disciplined Nigeria. As such, it had no transition to civilian rule programme on its agenda. It is interesting that Buhari's regime was the only military administration in

Nigeria's history without a transition programme to civilian rule. Various decrees were promulgated by the state in order to be able to achieve its objective of making Nigeria a corruption and crime-free state. Some of these decrees are decree number 2 of 1984 and decree number 4 of 1984.[57] Another was decree number 3 of 1984, banking/freezing of accounts decree, that empowered the head of state to freeze the bank accounts of persons suspected of having been involved in corrupt practices. The decrees enabled the government to detain people arbitrarily, try people by military tribunals, restricted the authority of the courts and denied journalists the rights to criticize public officials.

It has been noted that leading figures in the military junta were predominantly northern in origin and conservative in outlook.[58] The cabinet had a majority of civilians and its membership was evenly spread amongst the different regions in the federation. Moreover, the regime tackled socio-economic problems that confronted Nigeria through military order and discipline. The civil society and CSGs were relegated into the background by the regime and were never consulted in matters relating to the governing of the Nigerian state. For instance, in April 23, 1984, without consultation and inputs from the banking regulatory agency, Buhari changed the country's currency. This was done, according to the regime, to tackle Nigeria's galloping inflation, currency trafficking and counterfeiting. In July 1985, General Tunde Idiagbon, the chief of staff and a driving force behind the regime's authoritarian policies, declared that the regime was not interested in establishing any transition to civilian rule programme. Following this

announcement, the regime subsequently banned political debate. Buhari's regime was however overthrown in a palace coup staged by Major General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida's in December 1985.

The Nation-Building Efforts of the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime, 1983-1985

On December 31, 1983, the military overthrew the civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. It asserted that the defunct Second Republic had mismanaged the nation's political and economic fortunes. It also accused the Shagari administration of unbridled and wanton corruption. General Muhammadu Buhari became the new leader of Nigeria. Some of the nation-building challenges that confronted the state include: the challenge of democracy, the challenge of governance, the challenge of corruption and the challenge of federalism.

The Conceptual Mechanism used by the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime in the Nation-Building Process

In tackling the challenge of governance and corruption the state used the conceptual mechanism. In 1984, the state introduced War Against Indiscipline (WAI). WAI was meant to instill the ideals of national consciousness, patriotism and discipline in the citizenry.[59] It was a broad-based social reform programme. The WAI consisted of thirty-five phases, each of which sought to instill a desired character trait in the Nigerian citizen.[60] General Tunde Idiagbon, Buhari's second in command, identified thirty-five personal, moral and environmental offenses. The eradication of the offenses constituted the different phases of the WAI.

However, by the time General Buhari was overthrown in 1985, only five of the WAI programme had been launched.

Praetorian Mechanism used by the Buhari/Idiagbon Regime in the Nation-Building Process

In tackling the challenges of corruption and governance, the state used a number of decrees. Of particular significance are decrees number 2 and number 4 of 1984.[61] The State Security (Detention of Persons) Decree Number 2 of 1984 gave the chief of staff, Supreme Headquaters, the power to detain anyone labeled a security threat for up to six months without trial. Decree number 4 was promulgated to prevent journalists from writing articles that could potentially embarrass the federal government and 'overheat' the Nigerian polity. For example, two journalists, Tunde Thompson and Nduka Irabor were convicted under decree number 4. Many CSGs such as NBA, NANS and NLC were all proscribed under the decree. Other decrees are decree number 1 of 1984 and decree number 20 of 1984. Decree number 1 of 1984 was used by the state to proscribe all political parties; and decree no 20 of 1984, the Special Tribunal (Miscellaneous Offences) Decree, empowered the state to use capital punishment for such offences as drug trafficking and oil pipelines vandalisation.

Although, most of the decrees of the regime have been branded as 'obnoxious' and 'undemocratic', the reasons for the promulgation of such decrees should be viewed from the context of the prevailing situations on the Nigerian political

scene. It should be remembered that the 1983 federal elections and the virulent campaigns that led up to it had already created a climate of insecurity in the country. The arson, looting, riots, murders and destruction of property in the pre and post election period are a testament to this. Fearing the worst in the post-election period, because of the already charged atmosphere occasioned by the controversy that surrounded the 1983 federal elections' results, the military felt that the only way to create order and a sense of security was to introduce radical measures. This then was the background to some of the 'obnoxious' and 'undemocratic' acts of the Buhari/Idiagbon's regime.

Endnotes

(1) Anthony Kirk-Greene and Douglas Rimmer, *Nigeria Since 1970: A Political and Economic Outline* (London: Hodder and Stonghton, 1981), 9-11.

(2) Paul C. Tarfa, *Profile in Courage* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 2007), v-xvii.

(3) S. Othman, "Nigeria: Power for Profit-Class, Corporatism, and Factionalisa tion in the Military," in *Contemporary West African Studies*, D.B.C. O' Brien, J. Dunn and Rathbone, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 125.

(4) Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (London: Hurst and Company, 1998), 81.

(5) Gloria I. Chuku, "Quest for National Purification: Murtala Muhammed's New Vision, 1975-1976," in *Troubled Journey – Nigeria Since the Civil War,* Levi Nwachuku and G. N. Uzoigwe, ed. (New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc., 2004), 80.

(6) M.J. Dent, "Corrective Government: Military Rule in Perspective," in *Soldiers and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria*, K. Panter-Brick, ed. (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1978), 1114-116.

(7) Richard Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1991), 88.

(8) Browne Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, Browne Onuoha and M.M. Fadakinte, ed. (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002), 23-24.

(9) H.O. Danmole and S.O. Aghalino, "The Military and Creation of States in Nigeria, 1967-1991," in *Contemporary Issues in Nigerian Affairs*, A.E. Davies, H.O. Danmole and I.O. Taiwo, eds. (Lorin: SUNAD Publishers, 1995), 20.

(10) Danmole and Aghalino, "The Military Creation of States," 21.

(11) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 85.

(12) Chuku, "Quest for National Purification," 86.

(13) Olusegun Obasanjo, *Not My Will* (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1990), 57.

(14) Kirk-Greene and Rimmer, *Nigeria since 1970:*, 14-16.

(15) D. Laitin, "The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20 (1982): 411-420.

(16) Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria,* 88.

(17) Kirki-Greene and Rimmer, *Nigeria since 1970*, 33-37

(18) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 126-127.

(19) Chuku, "Quest for National Purification: Murtala Muhammed's New Vision, 1975-1976," 81.

(20) Helen Chapin Metz, ed., *Nigeria: A Country Study*, Library of Congress, Federal Research Division June 1991, available online at www.fieldsupport.dliflc.edu/products/cip/nigeria.pdf, (accessed 5 June, 2010), 68-69.

(21) Sam Iroanusi, *The Making of the Fourth Republic* (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 2000), 82-83; Ralph Uwechue, ed., *Africa Today* (London: Africa Books Limited, 1992), 1462.

(22) Dent, "Corrective Government: Military Rule in Perspective," 114-116.

(23) Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes," 23-24.

(24) Federal Government of Nigeria, *Collected Speeches of General Murtala Mohammed*, Department of Information, Office of the President, (Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1980), 27-30.

(25) Chuku, "Quest for National Purification," 86.

(26) Obasanjo, *Not My Will*, 57.

(27) Ignatius Akaayar Ayua and C.J. Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria," *International Association of Centres for federal Studies,* available online at http://www.federalism.ch/files/categories/intensivkursII/nigeria1.pdf, (assecced 3 January 2011).

(28) W. I. Ofonagoro, A. Ojo and A. Jinadu, eds., *The Great Debate: Nigerian Viewpoints on the Draft Constitution, 1976/1977* (Lagos: Daily Times Publications, 1977). 460-465.

(29) Ayua and Dakas, "Federal Republic of Nigeria,".

(30) Chuku, "Quest for National Purification," 92-93.

(31) Pita Ogaba Agbese and George Klay Kieh, "Military Disengagement from African Politics: The Nigerian Experience," *Afrika Spectrum,* 27, 1 (1992):15.

(32) J.O. Ojiako, *13 Years of Military Rule, 1966-1979* (Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd Publication, 1979), 129.

(33) Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 354-355

(34) Levi Nwachuku, "Vision Betrayed?: Olusegun Obasanjo, 1976-1979," in *Troubled Journey*, Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, 118.

(35) Danmole and Aghalino, "The Military and Creation of States in Nigeria, 1967-1991," 19-22.

(36) Danmole and Davies, "The Military and Creation of States in Nigeria," 20.

(37) Chuku, "Quest for national Purification," 117-120.

(38) Nwachuku, "Vision Betrayed?," 118.

(39) Toyin Falola and Julius Ihonvbere, T*he Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1984* (London: Zed Books, 1985), 30.

(40) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 113.

(41) Falola and Ihonvbere, *The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic*, 66-80.

(42) Falola and Ihonvbere, *The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic,* 80.

(43) G. N. Uzoigwe and Stella A. Effah-Alloe, "Vision Lost: Restoration of Civilian Rule and Shehu Shagari's Missed Opportunity," in *Troubled Journey*, Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, 149-150.

(44) Uzoigwe and Effah-Attoe, "Vision Lost," 149.

(45) Uzoigwe and Effah-Attoe, "Vision Lost," 149-150.

(46) Laitin, "The Sharia Debate,": 411-420.

(47) Toyin Falola, *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* (Rochester, N. Y.: University of Rochester press, 1998), 141-155.

(48) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 207.

(49) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 207.

(50) Shehu Othman and Gavin Williams, "Democratization: The Nigerian Experience," History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, 13-15 July 1994, available online at http://www.wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/8023/HWS-324?sequence=1 (accessed 31 January, 2012).

(51) Othman and Williams, "Democratization,".

(52) Kirk-Greene and Rimmer, *Nigeria since 1970*, 37-44.

(53) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 200-201.

(54) Uzoigwe and Effah-Attoe, "Vision Lost," 152.

(55) *Africa Research Bulletin*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1-30 April, 1984): 7219.

(56) Nowa Omoigui, "Nigeria: The Palace Coup of August 27, 1985," unpublished paper, available online at http://www.omoigui.com/files/ palace_coup_august_1985.pdf, (accessed 31 January, 2012).

(57) Omoigui, "Nigeria,".

(58) Othman and Williams, "Democratization,".

(59) Levi A. Nwachuku, "Crisis of Purpose: General Muhammad Buhari's Renaissance of National Sanitation, 1984-1985," in *Troubled Journey*, Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, 197.

(60) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 214.

(61) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 179.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ERA OF TRANSITION, 1985-1993

On August 27, 1985, Buhari was overthrown in a palace coup staged by Major General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. The new military regime cited several factors as justification for the coup. These included Buhari's inability to bring the economy under control; his dictatorial tendencies that had resulted in a poor human rights record; his failure to establish a transition to civilian rule programme; and his refusal to involve his colleagues in the decision-making process of his regime.[1] In order to generate credibility for the new regime, Babangida took a more conciliatory approach to governance than had Buhari.[2] Babangida opened investigations into human rights abuses perpetrated by the Buhari regime and overturned the jail sentences of many of those convicted under his predecessor's regime. Babangida repealed most of the draconian decrees, especially those that Buhari used to gaggle the press between 1983 and 1985. Babangida encouraged public debate on issues pertaining to the governance of Nigeria. In addition, Babangida took the title 'president', a first by any military ruler, rather than use the traditional title 'head of state'. This was done to indicate that he served as chief executive in the new dispensation and to provide the needed democratic legitimation for his tenure.[3]

Babangida restructured and reconstituted key organs of government. These included the change in the names of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) to Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) and that of the chief of staff to Chief of

General Staff (CGS).[4] He further expanded the federal character principle in the composition of key organs of government. This last act was done to redress the North-South imbalance created by the Buhari regime.[5] Through this act, Babangida ensured that none of the three major ethno-linguistic groups in the country could claim any kind of dominance in the makeup of the AFRC. The Presidential Advisory Committee (PAC) was one of the new structures created by the regime to serve as its think-tank. The PAC, established in 1985, consisted mainly of academics who were responsible for formulating and monitoring most of the economic and political policies of the regime.[6] To consolidate its populism, the regime, at the initial stage, adopted a participatory and public-responsive approach to decision-making on crucial issues of national significance.[7] For example, this was the approach Babangida adopted over the IMF/World Bank SAP issue that confronted the regime in 1985. Instead of unilaterally taking the IMF loan, which would have ushered in IMF-inspired SAP for the country, Babangida threw it open and made it into a 'plebiscite'.[8] Nigerians voted against the IMF loan and this made Babangida to evolve a 'home-grown' version of SAP in October 1985 to tackle Nigeria's challenge of aurtarky.[9]

From early 1986, after the initial period of relaxation and debate, the Babangida's regime came under sustained pressure from groups that were opposed to its programmes of political and economic reforms. The firm resisitance the regime encountered brought out its authoritarian and

dictatorial tendency. The main opposition to the regime's authority was spearheaded by the NLC, students and university teachers. It has been argued that it was the repressive imperative of SAP implementation that was responsible for the authoritarian posture the regime adopted from the late 1980s.[10] Between 1985 and 1990, the regime uncovered and averted two coups attempt.[11] The first was carried out in December 1985 by General Mamman Vatsa, minister for the Federal Capital Territory with several other officers and men. The plotters were said to be dissatisfied with some of the regime's economic policies and its liberal human rights posture, among other things. Vasta and some of his co-conspirators were executed on March 5, 1986 after being convicted by a military tribunal. The second coup attempt was carried-out in April 1990. This was also put down by the Babangida's regime. By 1987, due to the increasing unrest and riots, the regime turned on the NLC, students, ASUU and the Nigerian Press.[12] It was during this period that Dele Giwa, the editor of *Newswatch*, was killed. Major newspapers in Nigeria, such as *The Guardian*, *Punch*, *Vanguard and Concord* also experienced closure during this period.

Religious riots, conflicts and tensions were also rife during Babangida's regime. The challenge of religion became an important problem for the regime when the issues of membership of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and that of Sharia brought Nigeria to the brink of a major religious war. In 1986, without consultation or debate with even members of his AFRC, not to talk of

the citizens, Babangida made Nigeria a member of the OIC. The move sparked widespread condemnation in the southern part of the country. Christian leaders from the region protested and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Nigeria from the OLC. They based their objections on the fact that Nigeria was a secular state and as such, it has no business being a full member of a religious organization. The Supreme Council For Islamic Affairs (SCIA) in Nigeria was adamant and insisted on Nigeria's continued membership of the OIC. Babangida had to eventually set up a committee, under Colonel John Shagaya, to try and resolve the controversy.

The transition to civilian rule program was a crucial policy of the Babangida's administration. From the inception of his regime in 1985, Babangida had announced that the creation of a viable transition programme was a major goal. This assertion conferred an important modicum of political capital on his regime among the Nigerian public and CSGs. Indeed, all other policies of the regime such as administrative reforms, mass mobilization, economic policies and grassroots development were all meant to be an integral parts of the transition process.[13] The transition programmes of the regime were designed to ensure the birth of the Third Republic on the one hand; and to create a viable, cohesive, functional and democratic Nigeria, at the other extreme. Babangida established a body, the Political Bureau, which among other things, drew up a comprehensive timetable for a transition to civilian rule programme.[14] The Political Bureau submitted its report in March 1987, and among other

recommendations, stated that the transition period will extend from 1990 to 1992. But this date was later pushed back to January 2, 1993 and finally to August 27, 1993.[15] This vacillations was noticeable throughout the different phases of the transition process. Babangida consistently manipulated the transition process by moving timelines, amending procedures and frequently banning and unbanning politicians and government officials during the transition process. He justified his frequent interference on the exigencies of the political process in Nigeria. That is, to create a semblance of stability and continuity in the face of corruption and other socio-economic ills. However, the real reasons for his vacillations became clear towards the end of his regime in 1993. Babangida never planned to give legitimate authority back to the civilians. He was interested in transmuting into a civilian president, or at the least, extends the military's hold on power. The chicanery of such organisation as the Association for Better Nigeria (ABN), which was a front for the regime, gave credence to this assertion.

It should be pointed out that Babangida's transition programme had social and economic dimensions.[16] Some programmes were established to address the social welfare and life chances of the majority of the citizens. These included the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructural (DFRRI), National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and Peoples Bank. The economics aspect fell under the IMF and World Bank-sponsored SAP. An important stage in the transition process was the formation and registration of political parties. The

regime, through the National Electoral Commission (NEC) it established, set stringent guidelines for political parties that wished to participate in the Third Republic. As part of the conditionalities, political parties were expected to present the passport photographs of all registered members. Political parties were further expected to establish in all the capitals of states in the federation well-manned and functioning offices. Thirteen political associations applied for recognition. ANPP, Ideal People's Party (IPP), Liberal Convention (LC), National Unity Party (NUP), Nigeria Labour Party (NLP), Nigerian National Congress (NNC), Nigerian People's Welfare Party (NPWP), Patriotic Nigerian Party (PNP), People's Front of Nigeria (PFN), People's Patriotic Party (PPP), People's Solidarity Party (PSP), Republication Party of Nigeria (RPN) and United Nigeria Democratic (UNDP).[17] The thirteen political associations were eventually whittled down to six by NEC. However, none of the six associations was approved for registration as political parties by the AFRC. The AFRC accused the political associations, among other things, of being formed along ethno-regional and religious lines and that some of them were reincarnations of the political parties of the First and Second Republics. The AFRC then went ahead to establish two grassroots political parties in 1989, the SDP and NRC. These were two state-sponsored political parties that the regime recognized as being legitimately responsible for carrying-out political activities in the Third Republic. Thus, rather than use the transition programme to put in place structures that would promote an enduring democracy in the Third Republic, the transition became a tool for promoting Babangida's personal rule. Babangida was actively aided by NEC in

this endeavour. The NEC, with Babangida's approval, constantly tinkered with the electoral rules and elections timetable to make it impossible for the recognized political parties to function optimally.

In 1991, Babangida created nine new states bringing the total number of states to thirty. These new states participated in the elections to states assemblies, governorships, and the national assembly that took place in 1992. After repeatedly shifting the dates for the presidential elections, the regime in early 1993 cleared two candidates to run in the presidential elections. Chief M.K.O Abiola was cleared and nominated as the SDP presidential candidate; while Bashir Tofa was nominated for the NRC. The presidential elections finally took place on June 12, 1993. Chief Abiola, the SDP candidate, won the presidential election. Faced with the prospect of finally having to relinquish power, Babangida annulled the election result on June 23. The resulting violence from the annulment, and the general climate of anarchy and insecurity this created, forced Babangida to hurriedly step aside. He handed power over to Chief Ernest Shonekan on August 27, 1993. Shonekan then became the head of the Interim National Government (ING) that ruled Nigeria until he was removed by General Sani Abacha.

During Babangida's administration, the following are some of the nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria: the challenge of autarky, the challenge of democracy, the challenge of federalism and the challenge of

governance. In tackling these challenges, the state made use of constitutional, institutional and praetorian mechanisms in the nation-building process. It is necessary at this point to carry out a systematic analysis of the different programmes and initiatives the state used in trying to create a viable, cohesive, democratic and functional Nigeria.

The Institutional Mechanism used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process

In tackling the various socio-political and economic challenges that confronted Nigeria between 1985 and 1993, the state created some specific institutions. The following are the specific programmes and initiatives created by the state through the use of the institutional mechanisms to tackle the nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria.

- The Political Bureau
- Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)
- Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER)
- National Electoral Commission (NEC)

The Political Bureau, 1986 – 1987

The decision to establish the Political Bureau was contained in the 1986 Budget Speech of President Babangida.[18] The Bureau was subsequently inaugurated by the president on 13 January, 1986.[19] The establishment of the

Political Bureau between September and December 1985 marked the high-point of the administration's attempt to define and chart the pathways to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The Political Bureau was created, among other things, to provide the intellectual and practical institutional framework that will be the basis for viable and functional political structures in the Third Republic. This important ideal was amplified by president Babangida at the inauguration of the Bureau in 1986 when he stated that the:

> Bureau was expected to guide, monitor, analyse and document the national political debate on a political system which can enable us to aspire to a predictable and stable political culture.[20]

The president noted the important link between the economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions of development and as a further measure tasked the Bureau to ensure that the socio-economic and political challenges that afflicted the First and Second Republics were avoided in the Third republic. In summary, the Political Bureau had the following terms of reference:[21]

(i) To stimulate, guide, and coordinate national political debate through organizing grassroots participation and mobilizing the broad masses of people in the quest for a new political order.

(ii) To collate, analyse and summarize the view expressed in the course of the debate.

(iii) To review Nigeria's political history and identify the problems with a view to making recommendations for solving and coping with the problems.

(iv) To work out a basic philosophy of government for Nigeria;

(v) To prepare a blueprint for a future political model or models for the country;

(vi) To provide a time sequence for political transition by 1990.

The Bureau itself identified thirty main issues. Some of these are:[22] a philosophy of government for the future, a viable popular and genuinely democratic political system, human rights, rural and community development, the armed forces in Nigerian politics, federalism, regionalism, statism, nationality and citizenship and the creation of states. The Political Bureau consisted of 17 members and Dr. S.J. Cookey was made the chairman. Other members were Eme O. Awa, Oyeleye Oyediran, Tunde Adeniran and Sam Oyovbaire. In trying to fulfill its mandate, the Bureau members travelled extensively across Nigeria and the PB also encouraged civil society to be involved in its deliberations. The political Bureau submitted a 618 page report to the state in March, 1987.[23] The Report of the Political Bureau was divided into three parts. Part I dealt with the background to Nigeria's political experience. It was a comprehensive review of the Nigerian society and political history. Part II dealt with the need for a new political order in Nigeria. Part III dealt with the issues relating to the transition programme of the administration.

In its recommendations, the Bureau advocated for a fundamental redefinition of the sub-structural relations that characterized political behavior in Nigeria.[24]

It also recommended a socialist political order to guarantee equitable distribution of resources and a truly democratic political system. Of course, the federal government rejected this recommendation out of hand. Other recommendations are the establishment of a national directorate for social mobilization to foster a new political culture for the nation; the creation of a two-party system, and the establishment of a system of referendum and recall in order to subordinate political authority to popular control.[25]

It is important to remark here that the Report of the Political Bureau was meant to serve as the blueprint, not just for socio-political and economic transformation of Nigeria, but for the transition of the military to civilian rule. What this study has discovered is that the Babangida administration implemented some of the recommendations of the Report and dispensed with others. When the state received the report of the Bureau, the administration set up a nine- member panel, headed by Major-General Paul Omu on March 30, 1987, to deliberate on the Bureau's recommendations. The panel then produced a white paper on the report.[26] It was this white paper that the state now used in implementing some of the recommendations of the Political Bureau's Report. For example, the state accepted the recommendation for the establishment of a two-party political system but rejected the socialist political system for Nigeria. This was what informed the formation of the SDP and NRC in 1989. It rejected a unicameral in favour of a bicameral National Assembly

and it rejected the 1990 time-frame set by the Report for the disengagement of the military from politics.

The Structural Adjustment Programme, July 1986–1994

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced by the Babangida's administration to tackle the challenges of autarky and distribution. It must be remarked here that SAP was designed and recommended for Nigeria by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).[27] The primary purpose of a structural adjustment programme is to balance a country's accounts and ensure that the value of exports and imports are stable.[28] It typically lasts three to five years and requires many austerity measures.[29] In the case of Nigeria, and in the specific context of the Babangida's transition programme, it was meant to be a short-term strategy for attaining the long-term objective of democratic consolidation.[30] The 1986 budget speech by president Babangida on 31 December, 1985 provided the background to the regime's SAP measures. The 1986 budget was designed to usher in "the era of economic reconstruction and self-reliance."[31] The budget was significant because it spelt out, among other things, the desire of Nigeria to balance her imports with exports; to enhance non-oil exports; minimize dependence on imports, and put the economy on a path to steady and balanced growth.[32]

Rather than embark on a SAP programme based on IMF conditionalities, which would have guaranteed international credits for the country in her drive to establish a viable and functional economic base, Babangida opted for a SAP devoid of any foreign inputs. In other words, the administration used the 1986 Budget as the bedrock of an informal Structural Adjustment Programme for the country.[33] The main features of the Babangida's SAP included a plan to strengthen demand management policies, adopt measures to stimulate domestic production, institute market-determined pricing policies and encourage privatization.[34] The core policies of SAP involved measures to correct for the overvaluation of the naira through the setting up of a viable Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM), overcome the observed public sector inefficiencies through improved public expenditure control programme and relieve the debt burden.[35] This for example, was what led to the creation of Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) in 1986, the Directorate of Foods, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) in 1986 and Foreign Exchange Market (FEM) in 1987. It is interesting to note that the implementation of SAP was tied simultaneously to the political transition programme of the regime.[36] Thus, as the political transition programmes faltered in the 1990s, SAP also witnessed a sharp reversal in the laudable effects it has been expected to produce on the Nigerian economy.

In conclusion, SAP collapsed in 1993 and was officially ended by the General Sani Abacha's regime in 1994. SAP failed to resolve the challenge of autarky

because of the state's inability to adhere to orthodox structural adjustment package.[20] The Babangida government lacked the administrative social base to implement the structural adjustment programmeme to its logical conclusions.[37] Fiscal and Monetary management, price policies, privatization and financial liberation, were all subject to hesitation, revision or reversal on the side of the state.[38]

Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), 1987

As part of the transition to civilian rule programme, the state inaugurated MAMSER for "an effective socialization and political recruitment of the greater majority of the people".[39] One can aver that MAMSER was instituted by the state to tackle the challenges of governance and corruption. MAMSER was part of the recommendations of the Political Bureau.[40] It was meant to be established along with a socialist form of government. However, the Babangida administration accepted MAMSER but rejected a socialist arrangement for Nigeria. This doomed the programme from the outset. A programme that was specifically created to be operated under a socialist system of government was implemented under a capitalist system by the state. Babangida's MAMSER sought to turn Nigeria's political culture around through the building of loyalties across cleavages of class, region, religion and ethnic communities.[41] It was meant engineer consensus within diversity, and foster participation and enlightenment within apathy and ignorance.

MAMSER was an arm of Directorate for Social Mobilization (DSM), which was another important socio-political institution established by the Babangida administration.[42] DSM was formed in 1987. MAMSER had two core objectives. The first was the operation food first campaign that sought to mobilize and organize small scale farmers into cooperatives and to link such cooperatives with banks for loans. The second component sought to enhance social justice by channeling grievances to the Public Complaints Commission. MAMSER functioned from 1989 until 1993 when it was scrapped by the Sani Abacha's administration. In retrospect, the MAMSER initiative succeeded in extending the presence of the state into the rural areas. It achieved this through the activities of such institutions as "Better Life for Rural Dwellers." It also recorded modest impact in the political sphere through the creation of Centre for Democratic Studies (CDS). The CDS was established in 1989 with the express aim of ensuring the creation and establishment of a viable and functional democratic society.[43] The failure of MAMSER to turn around the socio-political and economic realities in Nigeria could be attributed to, among other factors, lack of political will, enfeeblement of some of its agencies at inception and lack of financial oversight for the agency. This last factor generated massive waste and non-deployment of vital resources where it would have impacted the most.[44]

National Electoral Commission (NEC). 1987

The establishment of NEC in 1987 was an important plank of the transition to civil rule programme of the Babangida's regime. NEC was created to mid-wife the dawn of a democratic Nigeria. It was established to organize and monitor all elections during the transition from military to civilian rule.[45] The Commission was created to specifically tackle the challenges of democracy and governance in the Third Republic. The NEC consisted of a chairman and eight commissioners. In assessing the impact of the NEC in creating a viable and functional Nigeria, the institution performed creditably well. The commission conducted what had been adjured the freest and fairest elections in Nigeria's contemporary history. It registered the two-state sponsored political parties, SDP and NRC, and conducted federal elections in Nigeria in 1993. The SDP's candidate, Chief Moshood Abiola, won the election but was prevented from being declared the winner by the state. Thus, it was the political shenanigans of the state that prevented NEC from effectively tackling the challenges of governance and democracy.

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process

Babangida's regime used constitutional mechanisms to tackle some of the nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria between 1985 and 1993. The constitutional mechanisms of the administration targeted the challenges of federalism, ethno-regionalism, democracy and governance. In the course of the research, this researcher has been able to identify that the following

constitutional mechanisms were used by the state in the nation-building process:

(i) The Constitutional Review Committee (CRC)

(ii) The Constituent Assembly (CA)

(iii) The Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC)

(iv) The draft 1989 Constitution

Based on the recommendation of the Political Bureau, the state made the creation of a viable and functional constitution for Nigeria an important plank of its transition programme. In September 1987, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria (FMGN) established a forty-six member Constitution Review Committee (CRC) to review the 1979 constitution.[46] The CRC terms of reference include to fashion a viable and functional constitution for Nigeria; to create a pragmatic and useful balance between the public and private sectors for the Nigerian economy in the constitution, to include measures that will insulate the two-party system from the centrifugal pull of ethno-communal and religious pressures and to identify the roles of traditional rulers in a new political dispensation.[47] The CRC submitted its report on February 1988.[48] The FMGN then established a Constituent Assembly (CA) in April 1988 with powers to deliberate on the draft constitution. At the end of its deliberations, the CA submitted the draft constitution to the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) in 1989. The key amendments and recommendations include: the stipulation of minimum academic qualifications of school certificate for candidates seeking elective office; the establishment of the local governments as a third-tier of government and the prohibition of any government from giving preferential

treatment to any particular religion.[49] For example, the stipulation of minimum academic qualifications was designed to make elective position meritocratic. This addendum to the 1989 Constitution was a key feature of political activity during the Fourth Republic.

After some slight modification, the Babangida regime then promulgated the 1989 constitution on May 1989. The 1989 Constitution was meant to be the medium through which a viable, cohesive and functional democratic polity could be created for Nigeria. Some of the provisions and amendments that were made into the 1989 Constitution were specifically designed to tackle specific nation-building challenges. For example, the process of states and local governments creation was made more difficult. This was contained in the Sections 9 and 10 of the Constitution. This was done, it must be pointed out, to tackle the challenges of ethno-regionalism and federalism. Other innovations of the 1989 Constitution was the establishment of local governments as the third-tier of government with the power to collect money directly from the Federation Account and the institutionalization of the principles of state policy based on democracy, social justice and sovereignty vested in the people.

In sum, the constitutional mechanism of the Babangida regime involved two broad critical elements. The first is political engineering by the military, while the second involved modification designed to avoid the controversial sections of the 1979 constitution. That the 1989 constitution failed to fulfill its nation-

building role had nothing to do with any inherent weakness of the constitution. The failure was attributable to the lack of political will on the part of the state to fully implement the provisions of the constitution. Significantly, the coup d' etat of General Sani Abacha in 1993 put paid to any salubrious effect the constitution would have had on socio-political and economic development in Nigeria.

The Praetorian Mechanism used by the Babangida Regime in the Nation-Building Process

In its nation-building drive, the Babangida regime extensively used military decrees to tackle the challenges of autarky, federalism, democracy, and governance. Over one thousand decrees were issued on socio-economic and political matters by the General Ibrahim Babangida's administration.[50] In tackling the challenges of federalism, the state used the praetorian mechanism to increase the number of states in Nigeria from 19 to 21 and then 30 between 1986 and 1991, respectively.[51] This was done to create a more ethnically-balanced federalism and to also nip-in the bud the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism. In order to create a stable and functional political environment for the country, the administration used decree No. 27 of 1989 to establish two state-sponsored political parties for the country.[52] These were the SDP and the NRC. It is instructive to point out that it was these two political parties that participated in the 1993 presidential election. This election was meant to usher in the Third Republic. If the election had been allowed to proceed to its logical conclusion, the challenges of governance, democracy,

aggressive ethno-regionalism and federalism that plagued the short-lived Third Republic in 1993 would not have occurred. This assertion is based on the fact that the overall winner of the election, Chief M.K.O Abiola, was widely accepted in the different parts of the federation.

The administration used decree No. 12 of 1989 to launch its transition to civilian rule programme.[53] This Decree was meant to tackle the bulk of those important socio-economic and political issues hindering Nigeria from emerging as a functional, viable and cohesive democratic society. The Decree specifically targeted the challenges of democracy and federalism. It highlighted in cogent details the step-by-step programmes the administration wanted to use to birth the Third Republic in Nigeria. And of course, there was the promulgation Decree of No. 12 of 1989 that brought into existence the 1989 constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria.[54]

In retrospect, the decrees failed to achieve their stated aims of building a viable and functional Nigeria because of the predilection of the state to create retrogressive decrees with every positive ones created. Two good examples of such decrees are decree No. 22 of 1985, National Economic Emergency Power Decree, and decree No. 47 of 1980, the students Union Activities Decree.[55] The first one stifled entrepreneurial development in the country while the second one severely limited the human rights of the citizenry. And of course, Decree 58

of 1993, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (suspension) Decree 1993, which suspended and voided the 1989 constitution.[56]

Endnotes

(1) W.D. Graf, *The Nigerian State: Political Economy, State Class and Political System in the Post-Colonial Era* (London: James Currey, 1988), 169; T. Olagunju, A. Jinadu and S. Oyovbaire, ed., *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria, 1985-1993* (Ibadan: Safari and Spectrum, 1993), 59.

(2) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, ed., *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 217.

(3) Olagunju, et. al, *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria*, 59.

(4) Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1998), 191.

(5) Osaghae, *Crippled Gaint*, 191.

(6) Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), 108.

(7) C. Legum, "Nigeria," in *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents, 1985-1986*, ed. C. Legume (New York: Africana, 1987), 125.

(8) J.I. Dibua, "Collapse of Purpose: Ibrahim Babangida, 1985-1993," in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War*, eds. Levi A. Nwachukwu and G.N. Uzoigwe (New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc. 2004), 208.

(9) Diabua, "Collapse of Purpose," 208.

(10) Juliu Omozuanvbo Ihonvbere, *Nigeria: The Politcs of Adjustment and Democracy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994), 155-157.

(11) Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*, 110-111.

(12) Osaghae, *Crippled Gaint*, 195.

(13) Dibua, "Collapse of Purpose," 224.

(14) Browne Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, ed. Browne Onuoha and M.M. Fadakinte (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002), 25.

(15) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 225.

(16) Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Progammes," 27.

(17) Osaghae, *Crippled Giant*, 217.

(18) Olagunju, et al., *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria, 1985-1993*, 108.

(19) Olagunju, et al., *transition to Democracy in Nigeria, 1985-1993,* 108.

(20) Tunji Olagunju and Sam Oyovbaire, ed., *Portrait of a New Nigeria: Selected Speeches of IBB*, Vol. 1 (London: Precision Press, 1989), 27.

(21) Oyeleye Oyediran, "The Political Bureau," in *Transition without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society under Babangida's*, Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran, eds. (Ibadan: Vantage Publishers, 1997), 70.

(22) See, *Report of the Political Bureau*, (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1987), Appendix IXIII (B) and IXIV (A), 233-245.

(23) *Newswatch* (Lagos), Special Edition, April 13, 1987, 15; Oyediran, "The Political Bureau," 67-95; Sam Iroanusi, *The Making of the Fourth Republic* (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 2000), 133.

(24) Ademola Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics in Nigeria, 1914-2000*, Monograph Series, University of Lagos, No. 2 (June 2006), 46-57.

(25) *Report of the Political Bureau*; Adeleke, *The Evolution of Party Politics*, 47.

(26) Oyediran, *Transition Without End*, 85.

(27) Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria* (Toronto: Maryland: UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 335.

(28) Falola and Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria, 335.*

(29) Falola and Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria, 335.*

(30) Olagunju, et al., *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria*, 15

(31) Olagunju and Oyovbaire, *Portrait of a New Nigeria*, 131

(32) "Third Year Anniversary Speech," *Vanguard*, Lagos, 30 August, 1988.

(33) Sam Oyovbaire and Tunji Olagunju, eds., *Foundations of a New Era: The IBB Era* (London: Precision Press, 1989), 35

(34) John C. Anyanwu, "President Babangida's Structural Adjustment Programme and Inflation in Nigeria," *Journal of Social Development in Africa,* 7,1 (1992): 6-7.

(35) S. P. Okongwu, "Review and Appraisal of the structural Adjustment Programmeme," *Business Times,* (Lagos), September 28, 1987.

(36) Thomas Biersteker and Peter Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria," in *Transition Without End*, Diamond, et al., 340.

(37) Biersteker and Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment," 340.

(38) Biersteker and Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment," 362.

(39) Browne Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, Browne Onuoha and M.M. Fadakinte (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002), 27.

(40) *Report of the Political Bureau*, 203.

(41) Adigun Agbaje, "Mobilizing for a New Political Culture," in *Transition Without End*, Diamond, et al., 145.

(42) Olagunju and Oyovbaire, *Portrait of a New Nigeria*, 91.

(43) Agbaje, "Mobilizing for a New Political Culture," 151.

(44) Agbaje, "Mobilizing for a New Political Culture," 152-155.

(45) Eme Awa, "Electoral Administration in the early Transition," In *Transition Without End*, Diamond, et al., 127-128

(46) R. A. Akindele, "The Constituent Assembly, 1988-89," in *Transition Without End*, Diamond, et al., 96.

(47) Olagunju, et al., *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria*, 181.

(48) Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Report of the Constitutional Review Committee Containing the Reviewed Constitution, volumes I and II* (Lagos: Federal Government Printers, 1988).

(49) Akindele, "The Constituent Assembly," 118; Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1989.

(50) Said Adejumobi, "Structural Adjustment and Transition to Civil Rule Programmeme in Nigeria, 1986-1993: A Shrinking of Democratic Agenda," in *Crisis and Contradictions in Nigeria's Democratization Programmeme: 1986-1993*, Oluwafemi Mimiko, ed. (Akure, Ondo: Stebak Ventures, 1995), 112.

(51) Olagunju, et al., *Transition to Democracy*, 194.

(52) Clement Nwankwo, "The Nigerian Judicial System and Human Rights," *Transition Without End,* Diamond, et al., 401.

(53) Olukayode Taiwo, "Transition and the Law," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, Onuoha and Fadekinte, 203.

(54) Oyovbaire and Olagunju, *Foundations of a New Nigeria*:, 26.

(55) Clement Nwankwo, "The Nigeria Judicial System and Human Rights," 377, 400-401.

(56) Taiwo, "Transition and the Law," 211.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ERA OF CIVIL RESTRUCTURING, 1993–1999

General Sani Abacha came into power because of the crisis generated by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election by the Babangida junta. The annulment created deep socio-political upheavals in the Nigerian state. It led to two important consequences. The first was that it brought to the fore the issue of democratization on the Nigerian political scene. Secondly, the annulment galvanized and mobilized the CSGs and made them to become relevant to the country's nation-building process and by extension its democratization process.

General Sani Abacha's Regime, 1993-1998

On November 17, 1993, General Sanni Abacha pushed Shonekan aside, dissolved the ING and declared himself head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Abacha had been an active participant in several Nigerian military coups and was an authoritarian figure.[1] Abacha's coup led to a temporary easing of political tension in Nigeria. At first, many of the political elites welcomed the new regime. However, the subsequent moves of the regime from 1994 heated the political space in Nigeria and turned the political elites to become the regime's implacable foes. The failure of Abacha to handover political power to Chief Moshood Abiola, the winner of the 1993 presidential elections, and Abacha's subsequent imprisonment of Abiola, coupled with the regime's intolerance of dissent and opposition, made it unpopular. By May of

1994, the progressives had formed an association called NADECO whose main aim was to actualize Abiola's June 12, 1993 mandate. Beginning in 1995, Abacha imprisoned hundreds of critics, including former military leader Olusegun Obsanjo.[2] A spate of assassinations which were blamed on the regime also claimed the lives of prominent members of the opposition.

In January, 1994, under pressure to implement needed political reforms, the Abacha regime announced plans for the convocation of a constitutional conference. In August 27, 1994, Abacha inaugurated the NCC and charged it with the responsibility of creating a workable constitution for Nigeria.[3] A year later, the NCC submitted its proposal to the head of state. In October 1995, Abacha announced a three-year transition programme to civilian rule that he tightly controlled. Abacha further established the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) and empowered it to provide electoral laws and conduct elections into the Fourth Republic. Out of the fifteen political associations that showed interest in participating in the transition programme, NECON only recognized five by September 1996.[4] The five registered political parties are: National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), Grassroots Democratic Party (GDP), United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP) and Congress for National Consensus (CNC). The Progressive Peoples Party (PPP) was one of the important opposition political party that was not approved by the regime's Provisional Ruling Council

(PRC) for registration. Others are All-Nigeria Congress (ANC), National Democratic Labour Party (NALP) and Solidarity Group of Nigeria (SGN).

Two important events defined the Abacha's administration. The first was the trial of alleged coup plotters in 1995, and the second was the execution of Ken Saro-wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists in 1995. In March 1995, the regime announced that it had uncovered a plot by some serving and some retired military officers to overthrow the federal government.[5] This led to a secret trial of the alleged plotters after which they were sentenced to death or long terms of imprisonment. Olusegun Obasanjo, who later became the president of Nigeria in the Fourth Republic, and Shehu Yar'Adua were both jailed because of their alleged involvement in the coup. The second event took place on November 10, 1995. Ken Saro-Wiwa, an Ogoni-born writer and environmental activist, and eight other Ogoni activitists were executed in Port-Harcourt. Saro-Wiwa founded the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1993 to champion among other things, the right of the Ogoni to adequate representation in all Nigerian political institutions and a larger share of oil revenue.[6] Despite their small population of about five hundred thousand, the Ogoni territory yielded roughly a half of all the oil extracted annually in Nigeria. Hence, the demand of Ken Saro-Wiwa and MOSOP for a better deal for the Ogoni people within the Nigerian federation.

Instead of acceding to the demands of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his Ogoni people' the state, using the killing of four Ogoni chiefs as a pretext, imprisoned Wiwa and some other activists. The state then set up a military tribunal that found Ken Saro-Wiwa and the eight others guilty and sentenced them to death. Inspite of the appeal from the international community, especially the Commonwealth of Nations, for the execution to be stayed or commuted to life imprisonment, the junta went ahead to hang Saro-Wiwa and the others. This killing marked the nadir of the Abacha's regime. The international community ostracized Nigeria; and the country was suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations.[7] Pro-democracy elements, such as NALICON, a CSG that operated outside Nigeria, successfully raised international awareness of the case to show Abacha's disregard for human rights, the rule of law, and democracy. In late December 1997, the federal government announced that it had thwarted a plot by some senior army officers, allegedly led by Abacha's deputy, Lieutenant-General Oladipupo Diya and some civilians to overthrow the regime. A military tribunal was set up by the regime and it recommended various terms of sentences.

Abacha launched his transition to civilian rule programme in October 1994. It was a thirty-six months transition programme that would have culminated in the enthronement of democracy by October 1998.[8] The transition programme included the creation of a new constitution, establishment of a new electoral body, creation of more states and local governments and the holding of local,

states and federal elections. Abacha established a Constitutional Conference Commission and charged it with the responsible of creating a workable constitution for the new republic.[9] The CCC then convened a Constitutional Conference Election Committee. At the end of its deliberations in 1995, the conference presented the draft 1995 Constitution to the state. With the conclusion of the constitutional phase of the transition programme, Abacha then proceeded to the other phases.

In 1996, Abacha announced the creation of six new states, bringing the total to thirty-six.[10] He also created one-hundred and thirty-eight new local government areas. NECON, the electoral body created by the regime, registered five political parties to contest elections in the Fourth Republic. The five political parties are Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), National Congress Party of Nigeria (NCPN), Congress of National Consensus (CNC), Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM) and United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP). Through patronage and intimidation, the regime got the five registered political parties to nominate Sani Abacha as the sole presidential candidate. This was what informed the late Bola Ige's statement that the parties' were "the five fingers of a leprous hand."

Meanwhile, as Abacha and his aides were working toward his self-succession bid, the Nigerian opposition, both within and outside the country, was making plans to stop him. Among other things, they intensified their campaigns abroad

for economic sanctions against, and for diplomatic isolation of Nigeria. It is worth mentioning here the role played by one of the opposition groups. This was NALICON, set up by the Nobel playwrite Wole Soyinka in exile. This CSG set up a radio station, Radio Kudirat, to wage a propaganda war against the Abacha's regime.[11] However, before Abacha could realize his dream of becoming Nigeria's civilian president in 1998, he suffered a heart attack on June 8, 1998 and died. With the sudden death of General Sani Abacha, Abdulsalaam Abubakar became Nigeria's ninth military ruler since independence. On assumption of office, Abubakar inaugurated a new electoral body known as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). INEC eventually midwifed the birth of the Fourth Republic in 1999. After scrapping the transition programme of his predecessor, Abubakar instituted a fresh transition to civilian rule programme.[12]

Abubakar's transition programme allowed a fresh registration of political parties based on new guidelines established by INEC. Twenty-six political parties applied for recognition but this was eventually whittled down to three.[13] The three major parties that contested the 1999 federal elections are: Alliance for Democracy (AD), which became the dominant party in southeastern Nigeria; the All People's Party (APP), which contained die-hard Abacha loyalist, and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) which had as its core supporters people like Alex Ekwueme, Atiku Abubakar and Shehu Yar'Adua.[14] After Abubakar released him from prison, Olusegun Obasanjo became a member of the PDP

and was eventually nominated as its presidential candidate. The AD and APP agreed to field a joint candidate and Olu Falae was picked to be their presidential flagbearer.

On December 5, 1998, Nigerians went to the polls for the local government elections.[15] Elections for state governors were carried-out in January 1999; and those for the National Assembly and the presidency of Nigeria took place on February 20 and 27, respectively. In the elections for state assemblies and governorships held on January 9, 1999, the PDP emerged as the dominant party, taking control of twenty-one out of the thirty-six states compared to the APP's nine states and the AD's six states.[16] In the presidential election held on February 27, 1999, Obasanjo took sixty-two percent of the vote, defeating Olu Falae, the AD/APP joint candidate. Obasanjo was sworn in as the first civilian president of the Fourth Republic on May 29, 1999, with Atiku Abubakar as his vice president. Although, General Abubakar's transition to civil rule programme was a success, the failure of the regime to resolve the challenges of democracy, federalism, corruption and aggressive ethno-regionalism negatively affected Nigeria's nation-building process. The refusal of the regime to recognize Abiola, who later died in prison in 1998, as the first civilian president of the Fourth Republic, embittered the south-west. This refusal was responsible for the enmity between NADECO and the regime. Had the regime released and reinstated Abiola, this action would have gone a long way in tackling the

challenge of democracy that confronted Nigeria and that of legitimacy that confronted Abubakar's regime.

It should be remarked here that an important plank of the transition to civil rule programme of Abubakar was the Nigerian constitution. In November 1998, General Abubakar set up a constitution debate coordinating committee to co-ordinate discussions on the 1995 draft constitution. At the end of the exercise, the committee recommended the adoption of the 1979 presidential Constitution with a few amendments and additions. That means the Abubakar's constitution was a combination of 1979, 1989 and 1995 transition constitutions of the various military governments. Besides, the 1989 and 1995 drafts drew extensively from the 1979 constitution. This constitution was signed into law on May 28, 1999 and became the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

When Abacha took over from the Interim National Government (ING) of Ernest Shonekan in November 1993, the state was confronted with some important nation-building challenges. Some of these are the challenges of democracy, federalism, corruption, governance and aggressive ethno-regionalism. In tackling these nation-building challenges, the state made use of praetorian, institutional and constitutional mechanisms.

The Praetorian Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The state used the praetorian mechanism to tackle the challenges of federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism. The mechanism was used to address the following issues: state creation, the transition programme of the administration and the establishment of a constitutional court. In October 1996, the state used a decree in 1996 to create six additional states and one hundred and thirty eight local government areas for Nigeria.[17] This now brought the total numbers of states in Nigeria to thirty-six. The reasons for this included the desire to reduce the overbearing influence of the regional governments, which would grants autonomy to the minorities; and at the same time, to ensure that governance both at the federal and sub-federal level was extended to the grassroots.

Starting from 1994 through 1995, the state promulgated a series of transition to civil rule decree that would have ensured the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria. The decrees are: Constitutional Conference Election Committee Decree, 1994; Constitutional Conference Decree, 1995; and Constitutional Conference Dissolution Decree, 1995.[18] In October 1995, the state launched its transition to civilian rule programme with transition to Civilian Rule Decree 1995.[19] According to the transition programme, the state envisaged that civilian rule would have been enthroned in Nigeria by 1998. The transition programme was divided into nine parts. Some of its highlights include: the establishment of a new electoral commission for Nigeria; creation of new states and local

governments, registration of political parties, production of authentic voters register and the setting up of state electoral tribunals. In 1996, the state established, by decree No. 34 of 1996, the Federal Character Commission.[20] It had powers, among other things, to work out a formula for the redistribution of jobs and to establish the principle of proportionality. The commission also had the powers to prosecute heads of ministries and parastatals for failing to carry out its instructions. It further had the mandate to address the inequalities in social services and infrastructural development. For example, based on the idea behind the establishment of the commission, Abacha's Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) members cuts across Nigeria geo-political divide.

Institutional Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process

To tackle the challenges of federalism, governance, democracy and distribution, the Abacha administration used the powers of the state to establish some key institutions. Three of these are National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON), 1993, Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), 1994 and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), 1994. NECON was established in 1993 to conduct federal, states and local governments elections into the Fourth Republic.[21] It was an important transition from military to civilian rule tool of the Abacha, administration. Five political parties were registered by NECON to participate in elections that was to usher in the Fourth Republic. The Commission conducted state assembly and parliamentary elections in December 1997 and April 1998, respectively.[22] However, before NECON could complete the electoral

aspect of the transition programme, which was to be the conduct of the presidential election in 1998, General Sani Abacha died. The new military ruler, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who took over in late 1998, proscribed NECON in 1999 and established a new electoral body, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).[23]

Petroleum Trust Fund, 1994

The Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) was created by the state to "alleviate Nigerians' poverty."[24] It was an all-encompassing project designed to make life easier for Nigerians.[25] The activities of the PTF ranged from supplying medications to public hospitals, to building or repairing roads, building schools, renovation of some university halls across the country, to providing bore holes to communities.[26] However, in spite of its laudable aims, the PTF failed to fulfill its important mission before it was proscribed by the Obasanjo's administration during the Fourth Republic. Part of the reason why the PTF failed to fulfill its mandates was the high level of waste/profligacy and mismanagement carried out by those in charge of the fund. For example, Dr. Haroun Adamu's interim report on the activities of the PTF concluded that N135 billion out of the N146 billion the fund spent between 1994 and 2000 was squandered.[27]

National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), 1995

The state set up the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in 1995.[28] the Commission's mandate include, among other things, to monitor and investigate alleged cases of human rights violation in Nigeria; to assist victims of human rights violation and seek appropriate redress and remedies on their behalf; undertake studies pertaining to human rights; assist the federal government in the formulation of appropriate policies; and provide reports on the state of human rights protection in Nigeria.[29] However, the Commission failed to live up to its billing due to its enabling act and lack of political will on the part of the state. It has no judicial powers and it cannot force the state to act to protect the violations of an individual rights. Moreover, during the Abacha's regime, prominent civil rights activists were jailed and civil rights organizations were proscribed. The commission could not really act to protect the rights of these individuals and organizations since the state was the violator of their rights.

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Abacha Regime in the Nation-Building Process

The state used the constitutional mechanism to tackle the challenges of democracy, federalism, governance and aggressive ethno-regionalism. Arising from the tensions which the annulment of the June 12, 1993 federal election generated, the Abacha administration convened a National Constitutional Conference in June 1994.[30] The conference was meant to articulate an institutional arrangement capable of laying a solid foundation for a viable,

cohesive and functional Nigeria.[31] General Abacha charged the conference delegates to fashion a "conscious culture of national consensus conceived in the broadest sense."[32] The administration also established a National Constitutional Commission to facilitate the affairs of the conference.[33]

In addition, the work of the conference was meant to serve as a blue-print for the creation of a viable, functional and cohesive Nigeria. And more importantly, it was meant to serve as an important plank of the transition to civil rule programme of the administration. The deliberations of the conference would have provided the framework for the 1995 constitution that would have birthed the Fourth Republic.[34] The death of General Sani Abacha in 1998 rendered the constitutional process invalid. The NCC made some important recommendations. Some of these are: that the presidency should be rotated between two zones of the country, north and south; that representation at the federal and sub-federal levels must be based on proportionality; and that a federal character commission was to be established. It is remarkable to note that some of these recommendations later found their way into the Fourth Republic where they became operational.

Civil Society Groups (CSGs) and the Nation-Building Process in Nigeria

Civil Society Groups (CSGs) refer to the set of institutions and organizations that inter- phase between the state, business world, and the family.[35] Larry Diamond defines CSGs as organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-

generating, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.[36] CSGs importance, according to keane John, stems from the realization that a stable democracy rests not only on proper functioning elections and institutions but also on the more elusive civic qualities in society.[37] Civil society is the arena outside of the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests.[38] Eghosa has identified three key elements as important in the definition or conceptualization of CSGs: autonomy from the state, public character (setting a normative order for the state) and furtherance of a common good.[39] Broadly speaking, CSGs include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Private Voluntary Organization, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Civic clubs, Trade Unions, gender groups, cultural and religious groups, charities, social and sports clubs, cooperatives, environmental groups, professional associations, academic and policy institutions, consumer organizations and the media.[40] CSGs commonly embrace a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. All these types have existed in Nigeria at one time or the other.

Several scholars, including social scientists, treat CSGs as a recent phenomenon in Nigeria. But, in reality, CSGs such as trade unions, student movements, town or village unions, community associations, religious organizations have existed in Nigeria.[41] The era of British imperial rule in Nigeria witnessed the beginning of CSGs in Nigeria. They not only helped in

organizing revolts against specific colonial policy, but also engendered social and societal transformation. CSGs existed in the pre-colonial era and they were actively encouraged by the colonial authorities. For example, the 1935 Cooperative Societies Ordinance, promulgated in 1935 during the heyday of colonial rule, promoted CSGs activities in Nigeria.[42] CSGs played significant role in ending colonial rule in Nigeria. The Aba and Abeokuta women struggle and the Enugu Coal Miners' strike are two good examples.[43] The activities of indigenous press, such as the *West African Pilot,* owned by Nnamdi Azikiwe and *Lagos Daily News*, owned by Herbert Macaulay, further aided the decolonization process. It must, however, be noted that CSGs activities in the colonial period was aimed at trying to force the British to repeal obnoxious policies; and at the same time force them to allow Nigerians to participate more in the political process within the country. It was not, it must be emphasized, targeted at creating a functional and independent Nigeria.

Post-independent Nigeria witnessed the active contribution of CSGs to the process of modern nation-building. Following the collapse of civilian rule in 1966 and at the peak of military rule in the 1980s, many politically oriented CSGs emerged on the Nigerian landscape.[44] Scholars generally agree that the weakening of the Nigerian economy in the 1980s, executive excesses and abuses, the state's repressive policies and primitive capital accumulation contributed greatly to the active surge of CSGs movements in Nigeria between 1980 and 2007. Three important phases marked the development of CSGs in

Nigeria up to 2007.[45] The first phase was informed by a national liberation struggle. Colonial rule, with the repressive policies it engendered, led to the creation of nationalist movements that fought the British for Nigeria's independence. However, with the end of colonial rule in 1960, these early CSGs faded from the national arena. This is because of the fact that there was no common cause to galvanize them into action. Moreover, since these early CSGs came up as a result of reaction to British colonial policies, the attainment of independence meant that their services were no longer needed. Nigerian prime minister at independence, Sir Tafawa Balewa, did not see the CSGs as valuable partners in the creation of a viable and functional Nigeria. And thus, the enabling environment for their activities was never created.

The second phase came about as a result of the failed economic policies and extra-juridical and extra-constitutional leanings of the Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha military juntas. Protests and demonstrations against the SAP of Babangida galvanized and mobilized CSGs activities in Nigeria. Sani Abacha's 'undemocratic' utterances and credentials was an important catalyst for an upsurge in the activities of CSGs during this phase. Issues that dominated this phase were those of democracy, human rights, constitutionalism and accountability. The third phase, which was in the democratic era, was characterized by issues such as governance, electoral laws, tenure elongation, sovereign national conference and transparency. Obasanjo's excesses such as his disregard for the rule of law, lack of transparency in governance, and his

desire to extend his tenure injected the needed catalyst into the CSGs' movement in Nigeria. During Obasanjo's administration, CSGs became a force to be reckoned with in the Nigerian civil and political arena.

The unprecedented growth of corruption in the early eighties and late nineties was a major catalyst for the growth of CSGs and their activities in Nigeria. Paradoxically, as state institutions deteriorated, more and more CSGs emerged. Indeed, it was during this period that the largest number of NGOs were registered in Nigeria.[46] Most of these CSGs came into existence to tackle specific areas of concern within the country's socio-political milieu. For example, the leading CSGs formed specifically to target corruption-related issues in Nigeria include: Transparency International In Nigeria (TIN), Integrity and Zero-Corruption Coalition (ZCC). Those formed to tackle issues of governance such as accountability, rule of law and transparency include: Nigeria Bar Association (NBA), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), and the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC). Those that tackle specific cases of human rights violation include: Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and Human Rights Law Services (Huri-Laws). In extraordinary circumstances, issues that sometimes touched on the corporate existence of the nation had a way of bringing about a coalescence of these different CSGs. That is, the activities and concerns of these CSGs sometimes converge. This was always in reaction to specific policies of the state that the CSGs believed no single organization can handle.

This phenomenon was noticeable during the regimes of both Babangida and Abacha. The annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election and the consequent convergence of interests this generated among the CSGs made them to form NADECO. Similarly, Abacha's desire to transmute into a civilian president in 1998, and the regime's intolerance of dissent, united the CSGs against the regime. This was the reason behind the formation of the UAD.

The CSGs played three important roles in Nigeria's nation-building process between 1980 and 2007. Firstly, it galvanized the masses against unpopular economic policies within the SAP framework. Secondly, a plethora of CSGs that comprised grassroots, community-based associations, and faith-based organizations emerged to provide assistance to their members and non-members in the absence of reliable government welfare systems. And finally, CSGs played a very vital role in the expansion of the political space. Indeed, the activities of CSGs such as pro-democracy and human rights groups gained legitimacy among the Nigerian citizenry. They not only fought for the establishment of a Nigerian state based on accountability, transparency and democracy but also ensured the sustenance of the democratic process between 1999 and 2007. Some of the CSGs that played active role in the Nigerian nation-building process between 1967 and 2007 include: Civil Liberties Organizations (CLO), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Transparency in Nigeria (TIN), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), Nigeria Bar Association (NBA), National Democratic

Coalition (NADECO), Campaign for Democracy (CD), Movement for the Advancement of Democracy (MAD) and United Action for Democracy (UAD). All these are CSGs from within Nigeria.[47] However, there are those CSGs that operated from outside Nigeria, but with Nigerians in the Diaspora as its members. Some of these are: National Liberation Council (NALICON) and the United Democratic Front of Nigeria (UDFN).[48] The primary functions and significance of CSGs during this period was that they provided a platform for the citizens to express their interests, passions, preferences and ideas.[49] They further helped them to exchange information, achieve collective goals, make demands on the state and hold the state officials accountable.[50]

- **Typologies of CSGs in Nigeria**

The CSGs that operated in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 can be divided into five broad groups.[51] It should be pointed out here that it was the kind of activities that each CSGs engaged in during the nation-building process that determined the placement in a specific group. The five groups are:

(i) Professional association, labour and students group

(ii) The human rights and pro-democracy group

(iii) Primordial group

(iv) The voluntary and mutual support group

(v) Business group

The first group describes entities that form traditional type of pressure group. Organizations that belong to this group have acted as the conscience of society. They have a long history of varying levels of confrontation with the state traversing the colonial and post-colonial periods in Nigeria's history. This group provided the intellectual aspect to the nation-building process in Nigeria. Example of organizations that belong to this category include the NBA, NMA (Nigerian Medical Association), ASUU, NLC, NUJ and NANS. The core objective of this group during the period understudy was to mobilize against unpopular state policies that tended to result in socio-economic hardship.

In the second category are those CSGs that emerged in response to the restricted and constricted political space created by military regimes in the 1980s and 1990s. This category was formed by individuals and concerned professionals who came together to harness resources and mobilize against the oppressions and repressions that inhered in military rule. They introduced such concepts as democracy, good governance, accountability and human rights into the nation-building process in the 1980s and 1990s. Some of them include: CLO, CDHR, Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), League for Human Rights (LHR), Centre for Development Democracy (CDD) and Centre for Research and Documentation (CRD).

Primordial Groups, which is the third category are those based on ethnic, regional, religious and sectarian identities. Identities formed the basis on which

these organizations are founded. Identity emphasized division and ethnic exclusivity. Majority of these kinds of CSGs were generic to the south-south and south-west geo-political zone of Nigeria. This was because of the premium the ethnic minorities in the region placed on identity. Environmental issues, such as the negative impacts of oil exploration on the communities in the zone, further encouraged the proliferation of these types of CSGs. Some good examples are the OPC, the IYC and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). In addition, faith-based CSGs fall within this category. The most prominent ones include the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Supreme Council for Islamic Affair in Nigeria (SCIAN). These two associations were particularly active during the military regimes of General Sani Abacha. They actively focused on issues of democratization, accountability, religion and transparency.

The fourth category refers to CSGs that existed within the organized business and private sector. They existed in the key sectors such as manufacturing and industry of the Nigerian economy. Two good examples are the Manufacturers Associations of Nigeria (MAN) and the Nigerian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (NCCI). In the final category are CSGs that were more active in rural areas. The primary concern of the CSGs in this category was the empowerment of their members.[52] The harsh economic conditions that prevailed during the military regimes of both Generals Babangida and Abacha was what encouraged the proliferation of this category of CSGs. These CSGs were normally

galvanized into action by specific negative socio-economic policies of the state. Instead of being confrontational with the state, they channeled their energies toward meeting specific socio-economic needs of their members. They are what one can call 'apolititical CSGs'.

CSGs and the Nation-Building Process in Nigeria, 1967-1985

The CSGs injected the conceptual mechanism into the nation-building process in Nigeria. Such concepts as accountability, human rights, good governance, rule of law, government of national unity, sovereign national conference, democracy and transparency are some of the conceptual tools they used in the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. When the Buhari/Idiagbon's regime, 1983-1985 came up with draconian and repressive decrees, the CSGs mobilized and carried out a campaign of civil disobedience. Some of the decrees passed by the junta include decree No. 2, which provided for the detention of people considered to be a security risk; decree No. 4, aimed at curtailing the freedom of the press and decree No. 1 which suspended the constitutional provision pertaining to personal liberty.[53] CSGs such as the Nigeria Union of Journalist (NUJ), NBA, National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), and ASUU made Nigeria virtually ungovernable for the state. The instability and insecurity created by the adversarial relationship between the state and the CSGs in the Nigerian polity led to a state of virtual anarchy in the country. This was one of the reasons the General Babangida's administration gave for ousting General Buhari in August, 1985.[54]

CSGs and the Babangida Regime, 1985 – 1993

CSGs injected such conceptual tools as democracy, human rights, and transparency into the nation-building process during the Babangida's administration. The CSGs were very active in Nigerian politics during the regime of Babangida. This was because of the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election. However, the first important milestone was made in 1987 when the CLO was formed to challenge the administration's human rights record.[55] The CLO was able to expose, in graphic details, with documented evidence, the various human-rights abuses of the administration and its parastatals.[56] As mounting opposition against the administration grew, the state resorted to proscribing and banning CSGs and their activities. For example, the state dissolves the NANS and NLC in 1986 and 1988, respectively.[57]

The most contentious issues that rallied the CSGs against the administration were the transition programme of the state and the annulment of the June 12, 1993 federal election. The state initially set October 1, 1990 as the transfer date to civilian rule, but it later shifted the handover dates three times.[58] From October 1, 1992 to January 2, 1993 and finally to August 27, 1993. For the conduct of the 1993 election itself, the state only recognized two state-sponsored political parties, the SDP and the NRC. At the end of the election, which the SDP presidential candidate, Chief Moshood Abiola, won, General Babangida annulled the election. This singular act galvanized and mobilized the CSGs against the administration. The tension and apprehension created by

the civil disobedience of such CSGs as CD, NLC and MAD eventually forced Babandiga to step aside in 1993.

CSGs and the Abacha Regime, 1993-1998

CSGs injected such conceptual tools as democracy, rule of law, human rights and sovereign national conference into the nation-building process during the General Sani Abacha regime. The Abacha administration was very hostile to any form of dissent and political opposition. The regime dismantled all the structures of transition to civil rule programmes put in place by the preceding government. Abacha's regime was regarded as one of the most repressive in Nigeria's history.[59] Many human rights activists and the political opposition were detained, driven underground or forced into involuntary exile abroad. For example, the Nobel laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka left Nigeria during the Abacha regime.[60] He became the arrowhead of the opposition in the diaspora against the Abacha regime. Together with some pro-democracy activists, Soyinka formed the NALICON and later the UDFN in 1995 that subsequently became the vanguard of the opposition against the Abacha's regime in the diaspora.[61]

Three important issues galvanized and mobilized the CSGs against the Abacha administration. The first was the continued detention of the winner of the June 12, 1993 presidential election. The second was the hanging of the leader of the Movement of the Struggle for the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Ken Saro-Wiwa in

1995;[62] and more importantly, the desire of General Sani Abacha to transmute into a civilian president. These three issues pitted the CSGs against the state. The CD, NADECO,NALICON and JACON were at the forefront of trying to actualize and restore the presidency to the winner of the 1993 federal election. By April, 1998, all the five political parties that were to take part in the federal election that would have ushered in the Fourth Republic adopted General Sani Abacha as their sole candidate. A development the late Bola Ige described as five fingers of a leprous hand.[63] This adoption further galvanized the CSGs against the administration. They reasoned that unless the military is forced from power any discussion about respect for human rights, rule of law and democracy would be an exercise in futility. However, with the death of General Abacha in June, 1998, the CSGs pressured the new military administrator, General Abdulsalami Abubakar into carrying out a short transition to civilian rule programme. Their activities and the pressures they exerted eventually culminated in the birth of the Fourth Republic in 1999.

CSGs and General Abdulsalami Abubakar's Regime, 1998-1999

During the short regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, the CSGs played a crucial role in 'coercing' the junta to relinquish political power in 1999. Apart from the conceptual tools, such as democratization and transparency that they injected into the nation-building process, they also acted as society's watchdog. When the state launched its short transition programme in late 1998, the CSGs adopted a two-pronged strategy in helping the nation-building process

along. These were the radical and constructive approaches. The first approach eschewed dialoguing with the military on any platform. The core demand of the CSGs that embraced this approach was for the military to go back into the barrack and allow a SNC to create an enabling environment for a new democratic dispensation. The CSGs that embraced this approach formed JACON and were led by the late legal luminary, Chief Gani Fawehinmi.[64]

The second approach believed in dialogue and compromise. The CSGs that embraced this approach believed that Abdulsalami had demonstrated enough goodwill and sincerity of purpose to warrant an engagement with the CSGs. This second group formed the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) and it was led by Clement Nwankwo.[65] Indeed, the second group played an important role during the 1999 federal elections. They acted as election observers and monitors. Thus, the activities of the CSGs during the period complemented the efforts of the state in building a functional, viable and democratic Nigeria.

CSGs During the Fourth Republic, 1999–2007

The CSGs injected such conceptual tools as transparency, true federalism, accountability, rule of law, democracy, sovereign national conference and due process into the nation-building process between 1999 and 2007. In December 2004, CSGs, especially Pro-National Conference (PRONACO) galvanized the Obasanjo administration into reviewing the 1999 constitution.[66] This was done in order to deliberate and find solutions to the important challenges of

federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism and distribution tearing at the fabric of the Nigerian state. Besides, Obasanjo's third-term agenda was another important issue that mobilized the CSGs against his administration. The 1999 Constitution only allowed for a two-term presidency. Obasanjo's second-term would end in 2007 and it was his desire to extend his presidency into a third-term that galvanized the CSGs against his administration. Some of the CSGs that actively opposed the third-term agenda include Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR), Electoral Reform Network (ERN) and the CD. They formed an association known as the Civil Society Coalition Against Third Term.[67] Thus, it was as a result of the vigorous opposition of the CSGs that the state's third-term project was defeated.

Moreover, the impact of the CSGs was felt more in the areas of corruption and accountability during Obasanjo's administration. Through investigative reporting on corruption, CSGs, especially through the electronic media, gave the needed exposure to executive and public office holder corruption. By so doing, the CSGs forced the state to investigate and prosecute those found wanting. Besides, through collaboration with the anti-graft and other law enforcement agencies, CSGs made it possible for highly placed public officials to be prosecuted. Some of those that were prosecuted and publicly humiliated include: Tafa Balogun, the former inspector general of police; Patricia Etteh,

former speaker, Federal House of Representative; Adolphus Wabara, former senate president; and Fabian Osuji, former Minister of Education.

Endnotes

(1) Ted Dagne, "Nigeria in Political Transition," Congressional Research Service (CRS), Issue 3, June 2005, available online at http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IB98046.pdf (accessed 2 November, 2011): 2.

(2) Dagne, "Nigeria Political Transition," 2.

(3) Okechukwu Okeke, "Legacy of National Paralysis: Ernest Shonekan and Sani Abacha, 1993-1998," in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria since the Civil War*, Levi A. Nwachukwu and G.N. Uzoigwe, ed. (Maryland: University Press of America, 2004), 243.

(4) *Guardian*, 3 October, 1996; *Newswatch* 14 October, 1996.

(5) Egosa Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence (*London: Hurst & Company, 1988), 303.

(6) Abdul Rasheed Na'Allah, ed., *Ogoni's Agonies: Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Crisis in Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998), 46-73.

(7) *Vanguard*, 12 November, 1995; Na'Allah, *Ogoni's Agonies*, 59-63

(8) Sam Iroanusi, *Nigeria's Heads of State and Government* (Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 2000), 151-153.

(9) Browne Onuoha, "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria,* 1970-1999, ed. Browne Onuoha and M.M. Fadakinte (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002), 28-29.

(10) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 231.

(11) Wole Soyinka, *You Must Set Forth at Dawn: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 2006), 403-406.

(12) *The Guardian*, Lagos, June 10, 1998.

(13) Browne Onuoha, "General Abdulsalami Abubakar and the Short Transition," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria* ,Onuoha and Fadakinte, 329.

(14) Onuoha, "General Abdulsalami Abubakar and the Short Transition," 329-330.

(15) *The Guardian*, Lagos, December 5 and 6, 1998.

(16) *The Guardian*, Lagos, May 28, 1999.

(17) Gbadamosi Tajudeen Adeola, "Military legacies and the Challenge of Managing Diversities in Nigeria's Federation," a paper presented to the 20th Summer University Programmeme of the Institute of Federalism, Frisbourg, Switzerland, August 29, 2008, available online at www.federalism.ch/files/filedownload/887/gbadamosi:nigeria.pdf, (accessed 2 November, 2011).

(18) Olukayode Taiwo, "Transition and the Law," in *Transitions Politics in Nigeria: 1970-1999*, Onuoha and Fadakinte, 212.

(19) B.T. Bingel, " Historical Appraisal of the Endless Transition to Civil Rule Programmemes in Nigeria from Gowon to Abacha," department of History, University of Jos, n.d. 118-119, available online at: http://dspace.unijos.edu.ng/bitstream/10485/555/1/A%20Histotical%20Appriasal%20of%20the%20Endless%20Transition%20to%20Civil%20Rule%20programmemes%20in.pdf, (accessed 3 October, 2010).

(20) Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Nigeria," *UNRISD*, March, 2004, available online at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/documents/UNRISD%20Nigeria%20mustapha.pdf, (accessed 2 November, 2011).

(21) E. Aiyede Remi, "The Role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC in Combating Political Corruption," in *Money and Politics in Nigeria*, A.O. Adetula Victor, ed. (Abuja; Petra Digital Press, 2008), 46.

(22) Dagne, "Nigeria in Political Transition," 4.

(23) Aiyede, "The Role of INEC," 46.

(24) D. O. Elumilade and T. O. Asaolu, "Appraising the Institutional Framework for Poverty Alleviation Programmemes in Nigeria," *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics*, Issue 3 (2006): 69.

(25) Dele Ogunmola and Alani Badmus, "Meeting the Challenges of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria: Problems, Possibilities and

Prospects," School of Humanities, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of New England, n.d., available online http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humansecurity/assets/downloads/MD6confpapers/ogunmolaandbadmus,.pdf, (accessed October 3, 2011).

(26) Ogunmola and Badmus, "Meeting the Challenges,".

(27) Elumilade and Asaolu, "Appraising the Institutional Framework for Poverty Alleviation,".

(28) Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2007), 266.

(29) *National Human Rights Commission Information Brochure* (Abuja: Media Trust Publication, 1996), 2.

(30) Mustapha, "Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance,".

(31) See Federal Government of Nigeria, Report of the Constitutional Conference containing the Draft Constitution 1995, volume II, 5.

(32) Kunle, Amuwo, "Beyond the Orthodoxy of Political Restructuring: The Abacha Junta and the Political Economy of Force," in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, Kunle Amuwo, Rotimi Suberu, Adigun Agbaje and Georges Hesult, eds. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2000), 81.

(33) I. Udegbe Bola, "The Constitutional Conference, Political Restructuring and Women's Access to Power," in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, Amuwo, et al., 153.

(34) O. Adebayo Olukoshi, "Economy and Politics in the Nigerian Transition," *African Journal of Political Science* (AJPS), vol. 5, No. 2 (2000): 23.

(35) Uwem Essia and Afzat Yearoo, "Strengthening Civil Society Organizations/Government Partnership in Nigeria," *International NGO Journal*, Vol. 4 (9) (September, 2009): 368

(36) Larry Diamond, "Nigeria: The Uncivic Society and Descent into Praetorianism in Politics," in *Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences*

with Democracy, Larry Diamond, J. Juna Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995), 418-419

(37) Keane John, "Despotism and Democracy: The Origins and Development of the Distinction Between Civil Society and the State 1750-1850," in *Civil Society and the State*, John Keane, ed. (New York: verso, 1988), 3; Gold Thomas, "Civil Society and its Role in a Democratic State," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1990): 195-209.

(38) "Civil Society in Nigeria; Contributing to Positive Social Change," *CIVICUS Civil Society Index: Nigeria*, ActionAid Nigeria, Abuja, September 2007: 18.

(39) Eghosa Osaghae, "The Role of Civil Society in Consolidating Democracy: An African Comparative Perspective," *Africa Insight*, vol. 27, No. 1, (1997): 15.

(40) Essia and Yearoo, "Strengthening Civil Society," : 368.

(41) Lilian Ekeanyanwu, Shina Loremikan and John Ikubaje, "National Integrity Systems: Country study Report, Nigeria 2004," *Transparency International* (2004): 71.

(42) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems," : 511.

(43) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems," : 71.

(44) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems,": 71.

(45) Lucky O. Imade, "Democratizing Democracy in Nigeria: The Role of Civil Society Organizations," available online at http://www.jsd-africa.com/jsda/spring2001/articlespdf/ARC%20%20DEMOCRATIZING%20/N%20NIGERIA.pdf, (accessed 23 February 2011): 13-15.

(46) International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, "Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogues for Nation Building," 2000, available online at http://www.afrimap.org/english/image/documents/file42285da1a15bd.pdf, (accessed 9 February, 2012).

(47) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems,": 73.

(48) "Nigeria: Treatment of Political Opponents, Human Rights Activities and Journalists," Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board,

Canada, 1997, available online at http://www.Trb.gc/cgi_bin/foliocgi.e...e /query*/doc/{tz672}/ pageitems={body}?, (accessed 3 December, 2011).

(49) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems," 80.

(50) Ekeanyanwu, et al., "National Integrity Systems," 80.

(51) "Civil Society in Nigeria," 27-29.

(52) A. Adedeji and O. Otite, "Introduction," in *Nigeria: Renewal from the Roots?* A. Adedeji and O. Otite, eds. (London: Zed Press, 1997), 1-20.

(53) Bayo Olukoshi, "Associational Life," in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida,* Larry Diamond, A. Kirk-Greene, and Oyeleye Oyediran, eds. (Ibadan: Vantage publishers, 1997), 452-455.

(54) Olukoshi, "Associational Life," 455.

(55) Innocent Chukwuma, "Government-Civil Society Partnership in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects," a paper presented at the special Retreat on Government Civil Society Partnership, National Orientation Agency, Kaduna, 12-15 September 2005,available online at http://www.cleen.org/ anniversary/An%20address%20of%20welcome%20presented%20by%20Innocent%20chukwuma-bookdonation.pdf, (accessed24 February,2011).

(56) Chukwuma, "Government Civil Society Partnership,".

(57) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 223.

(58) Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 225.

(59) Essia and Yearoo, "Strengthening Civil Society,": 3012

(60) Soyinka, *You Must Set Forth at Dawn,* 398.

(61) Soyinka, *You Must Set Forth at Dawn*, 405.

(62) Sanya Osha, "Ethics and Revisionism in Nigerian Governance," *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*, XVI, 1-2 (2002): 88.

(63) Cited in Chukwuma, "Government Civil Society Partnership,": 5.

(64) K. Shettima and I. Chukwuma, "Crime and Human Rights in Nigeria," a paper presented at a review seminar organized jointly by the International Council on Human Rights Policy, and the Carnegie Council on Ethics and

International Affairs, New York, 21-22 October, 2002, available online at www.ichrp.org/files/papers24/114__Nigeria__Crime__and__Human__Rights_Shettima_Kole_Chukwuma_innocent_2002.pdf, (accessed 20 January, 2012).

(65) Shettima and Chukwuma, "Crime and Human Rights in Nigeria,".

(66) Musa Abutadu, "Federalism Political Restructuring and the Lingering National Question," in *Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria,* Said Adejumobi, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14.

(67) "Civil Society in Nigeria,": 59.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE DEMOCRATIC ERA, 1999 – 2007

On May 29, 1999, Chief Ousegun Obasanjo became Nigeria's second elected executive president following the successful transition programme of General Abdulsalami Abubakar. The hand-over of power to Obasanjo by General Abubabakar marked the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic.[1] Olusegun Obasanjo was the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) presidential candidate. Obasanjo also rode to a second term presidency in 2003 on the back of the same political party.[2] Obasanjo's eight years tenure as president has been the longest period of civilian rule in Nigeria's history. The Obasanjo's administration conducted two federal elections between 1999 and 2007. The first was conducted in 2003, at the end of which Obasanjo was reelected on the platform of the PDP as Nigeria's president. The second was conducted in 2007 and Umaru Yar'adua, the PDP presidential candidate was elected as Nigeria's president. The two federal elections conducted were mired in controversy. This is because there was rigging on an unprecedented scale in Nigeria's electoral history. There was widespread intimidation, fraud, corruption and political assassinations during the campaigns leading up to both elections. The conduct of the two elections and the flawed results produced blighted the administration's legacy. The perceived shortcomings of the two presidential elections Obasanjo conducted led to an unstable political polity. This instability ensured that the unresolved challenges of democracy, governance, federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism, that was a holdover from the country's

military interregnum, and which the Obasanjo's administration could not adequately resolve, impacted negatively on the state's efforts in building a viable, democratic and functional Nigeria.

Although, more than thirty political parties registered to contest the 2003 presidential elections, the elections itself was a two-man contest between Obasanjo of the PDP and Alhaji Muhammadu Buhari of the ANPP.[3] At the end of the elections, INEC declared Obasanjo the winner. Buhari refused to accept the results and headed for the courts.[4] It took the intervention of the Nigerian supreme court before the new Obasanjo's administration could be legitimated.[5] The same scenario was played out during the 2007 presidential elections. Inspite of the more than forty political parties that participated in the elections, it was essentially a two-party race between the PDP and the ANPP. The 2007 presidential elections was also characterized by massive vote rigging and various electoral malfeasance. At the end of the presidential polls, some international observers even adjured it to be the worst in Nigeria's electoral history.[6] Just as he did in 2003, Buhari of the ANPP litigated. It took the intervention of the supreme court of Nigeria before Umaru Yar'Adua's elections victory could be validated as being authentic.

In carrying out a historical analysis of Obasanjo's regime in the Fourth Republic, the following sub-headings will be employed: Political policy, Social policy, Economic policy, Religious policy, Ethnic tensions, Corruption and

Third Term Agenda. The highlighted headings defined the Obasanjo's administration between 1999 and 2007. Obasanjo's political policies were designed to broaden and deepen Nigeria's democracy. The administration's existence was conditioned on the 1999 Constitution that has within it such concepts as federalism, rule of law, accountability, good governance, transparency and due process. The administration set out from the outset to tackle the myriad of structural problems afflicting Nigeria's federal political system. Obasanjo's major aim was to create political institutions that will strengthen Nigeria's democratic base and ensure its sustenance in the longer term. Bamgbose Adele has noted that:

> The desire of Obasanjo to create a sustainable democratization process was the rationale behind the administration's use of the constitutional provisions, such as the federal character principle and principle of fiscal federalism; and, the use of the concepts of zoning, rotational presidency and power-sharing. These are all tools the administration used between 1999 and 2007 to ensure that the inherent structural and institutional defects in Nigeria's federalism are corrected.[7]

For example, the concepts of zoning, federal character principle and power-sharing characterized the Obasanjo's administration during 1999 and 2007. These principles apportioned major political post within the federation to individuals from within the six geo-political zones. This was what led to the emergence of Obasanjo as the presidential candidate, Atiku Abubakar as vice-presidential candidate, David Mark as senate president, and Dimeji Bankole as the speaker of the House of Representatives in the second term of Obasanjo's presidency between 2003 and 2007. Indeed, it was the principle of rotational

presidency, another plank of the Obasanjo's administration between 1999 and 2007, that ensured the emergence of Shehu Musa Yar' Adua as the presidential candidate of the PDP in 2007.

In trying to ensure Nigeria's economic survival and tackle the challenge of corruption, the administration launched NEEDS, SEEDS and LEEDS. The three concepts formed the bridgehead of the administration's socio-economic reform package between 2003 and 2007.[8] NEEDS was a hydra-headed concept meant to tackle the challenges of corruption, self-sufficiency, poverty, privatization and deregulation. For example, the administration used the NEEDS concepts to increase the telephone base in the country from below one million in 1999 to over thirty-eight million by 2007. Under the NEEDS initiative, the Nigerian banking sector that was going moribund was giving a new lease of life with the successful consolidation exercise of the administration in 2005. More importantly, the administration paid off a substantial portion of the foreign debt Nigeria owed to the Paris Club in 2006 through the NEEDS' initiative.[9] Corruption was the bane of the Obasanjo's administration between 1999 and 2007. Official corruption at the federal, state and local government levels defined the administration. For example, it was during Obasanjo's administration that Tafa Balogun, the former inspector general of police, Patricia Etteh, one time leader of the House of Representative, Adolphus Wabara, the president of the senate and even Obasanjo's vice-president Atiku Abubakar, were accused of one form of official corruption or

the other. To tackle the high incidences of corruption in his administration, Obasanjo created two important institutions, the ICPC and EFCC in 2000 and 2004 respectively.[10] These two institutions, especially the EFCC, played crucial roles throughout the lifespan of the Obasanjo's administration. Though, it must be remarked that the EFCC was seen not as an impartial corruption fighting unit, but as a tool the Obasanjo's administration used to muzzle and silence every from of political opposition and dissent to the administration.[11] Instances of the abuse of the power of the EFCC abound throughout Obasanjo's administration between 1999 and 2007. Indeed, the EFCC was used to intimidate politicians, both from the PDP and the opposition political parties, who were against Obasanjo's Third-Term project as from 2006. In fact, Obasanjo used the EFCC to destroy Atiku Abubakar's chances of succeeding him as president in the 2007 presidential election.[12] This was because Abubakar, then Obasanjo's vice-president, opposed his self-succession bid.

Religious tensions remained high throughout Obasanjo's tenure. The Sharia controversy was a good example of this. In 1999, Zamfara state governor, Alhaji Ahmed Yerima introduced Sharia, the Islamic law code, into the state.[13] Other northern states followed Zamfara's example in quick succession. This action created two important dilemmas for the Obasanjo's administration. The first was the constitutionality of using a religious law to govern some of the states in a secular Nigeria. The second was how to establish the status of Christians living in northern states now using the Sharia. The president was constrained

to act because he is a Christian from the southern part of Nigeria. An important consequence of the failure of the administration to spell-out the place of Sharia in a secular Nigerian polity led to the relocation from Abuja to London of the Miss World Beauty Pageant in 2002.[14] Islamic clerics in the north opposed the staging of the pageant because it was viewed as being unislamic. Obasanjo was unable to defuse religious tensions in his eight years as president.[15]

Ethnic tensions also ran high throughout the country during Obasanjo's administration. Ethnic militias became very active during Obsanjo's administration. In the southeast, MASSOB, which was founded by Ralph Nwazuruike in 1999, campaigned actively for the reassertion of the state of Biafra.[16] MASSOB believed that the Igbos are yet to be fully reintegrated into the Nigerian state and thus secession was the only option to ensure their survival. In the southwest, the OPC became a political torn in the side of the administration. Throughout Obasanjo's administration, the OPC had an adversarial relationship with it. Part of the reason, according to Mr. Gani Adams, an OPC factional leader, was because:

> there was the widespread perception among the Yoruba people that Obasanjo's policies were anti-Yoruba. His policies were not designed to favour us as a race. We know it is because we didn't really support him when the PDP nominated him as their presidential candidate.[17]

The refusal of the administration to post-humously recognize Chief Moshood Abiola as an important figure in the country's democratization process and its

refusal to recognize June 12, 1993 as democracy day further alienated the OPC from the administration.

In the Niger Delta, the fight of the Ogoni's and other ethnic minorities for control over oil resources and an end to the pollution of their territories took a decidedly violent turn during the administration's second-term. Different militias came-up in the region to fight for and defend the rights of the minorities in the Niger Delta. The most publicized and heavily militarized of these groups was MEND.[18] MEND took political violence to an unprecedented level never seen since the independence of Nigeria in 1960. The activities of MEND in the Niger Delta such as kidnapping of foreign oil workers and destruction of oil installations affected oil production and thus the revenue base of the federal government.[19] In order to arrest the deteriorating situation in the Niger Delta, the state adopted a two-track approach. Obasanjo established the NDDC to meet some of the socio-economic aspirations of the people of the Delta. At the same time, the administration established the Joint Task Force, a specialist military unit, to flush out the militants out of the Niger Delta.[20]

The third term project defined the last term of the Obasanjo's administration. Starting from late 2005, the administration began a series of political maneuverings that would have culminated in the eventual elongation of Obasanjo's tenure into a third-tenure. Obasanjo tried to achieve this by

altering the specific provisions of the 1999 Constitution that placed a two-term limit on the presidency.[21] When the plan of the administration became known, CSGs, opposition political parties, members of the senate and house of representatives, and even Obasanjo's vice-president, Atiku Abubakar, all opposed the move. On May 16, 2006, when the motion for the amendment of the Constitution was tabled at the senate, it was defeated.[22] Thus, since he could not obtain the constitutional backing necessary for his tenure elongation, there was no way Obasanjo could run for the presidency. By 2007, Obasanjo conducted the second federal elections of his presidency. The PDP Presidential candidate, Umaru Yar'Adua emerged the winner. Umaru Yar'u Adua was duly sworn-in as the second civilian president in the Fourth Republic in May 2007.

For the sake of intelligibility and analytical coherence, the various nation-building measures adopted by the state in the two terms of the Obasanjo's presidency are taken together. Various nation-building challenges confronted the state during the first quarter of the Fourth Republic. Some of the more important ones are the challenges of federalism, aggressive ethno-regionalism, democracy, autarky, governance and religion. In tackling these challenges and then create a viable, functional, cohesive and democratic Nigeria, the state made use of constitutional, institutional and conceptual mechanisms. The state used each, and sometimes combined these mechanisms to tackle specific aspects of the nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria from 1999 to 2007.

Institutional Mechanism used by the Obasanjo Administration in the Nation-Building Process

The following institutions were set up by the Obasanjo administration to tackle some of the nation-building challenges that faced Nigeria between 1999 to 2007.

(i) The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)

(ii) Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)

(iii) Niger Delta development Commission (NDDC)

Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)

In tackling the challenge of corruption in Nigeria during the Fourth republic, the Obasanjo administration established the EFFC and ICPC in 2003.[23] Corruption has been an important bane of the various nation-building efforts in Nigeria since 1967. Corruption for instance, featured prominently as a reason for General Murtala Mohammed's coup in 1975;[24] it pervaded and consequently led to the destruction of the Second Republic and ran unchecked and unhindered during General Sani Abacha's regime, 1993-1998. At the inception of the democratic administration, President Obasanjo declared:[25]

> Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today will be tackled head on at all levels… and ….stamped out.

In furtherance of this drive, the state enacted the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act in 2000 under the umbrella of the ICPC; and the EFCC

Act in 2002.[26] These Acts served as the tools for identifying, investigating and convicting offenders. These Acts also empowered the two agencies to seize assets, freeze accounts and set-up specialized autonomous anti-corruption agencies apart from the federal police.[27] The particular facets of corruption that the two agencies were designed to tackle include advance free fraud also known as '419'; embezzlement of public funds, economic frauds, misappropriation of public funds, and political corruption.[28]

Political corruption was highly prevalent during the Obasanjo's administration. Joseph Adeyeye has observed that:

> the types of political corruption the misuse of authority, the use of governmental powers for illegitimate private gain and conflict of interest. Acts of corruption perpetrated by political office-holders during Obasanjo's administration was much more damaging to the Nigerian state than those carried out by the citizens.[29]

The Obasanjo's administration effectively used the two agencies, especially the EFCC, to bring the issues of corruption to the public sphere. For example, the establishment of the EFCC had resulted in the return of over five billion naira in stolen funds and the prosecution of over eighty individuals for corruption-related activities by 2006.[30] Over the course of 2006, four states governors, Rashidi Ladoja of Oyo state, Ayo Fayose of Ekiti state, Joshua Dariye of Plateau state and Peter Obi of Anambra were impeached by their states' legislatures over allegations of corruption by the EFCC.[31] The former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun was dismissed from office, prosecuted, tried and jailed for

corruption in 2005 through the efforts of the EFCC.[32] Consequently, in May 2007, the United States of America removed Nigeria from its money laundering watch list.[33]

However, the EFCC, ICPC and other anti-corruption agencies failed to adequately resolve the challenge of corruption in the Fourth Republic, because, among other things, the state personalized and deinstitutionalized the anti-corruption programme. More cripplingly, the constitutional protection, the immunity clause of the 1999 Constitution, made it impossible for the agencies to pursue a vigorous anti-corruption campaign against elected public officials.

Niger Delta Delta Development Commission (NDDC) 2000

The NDDC was established to tackle the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism in the south-eastern region during the Fourth Republic. It was created by the Obasanjo administration in June 2000 to review and prescribe ways in which the FGN could economically develop the Niger Delta.[34] The state had attempted to build infrastructure and encourage investment in the region through various schemes located within the NDDC. NDDC was also established to tackle the problem of youth restiveness in the region. Youth restiveness in the region had not only threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria, but it further affected the oil-extracting and exporting activities of the multi-national corporations in the region between 1999 and 2007. This assumed a dangerous dimension with the formation of ethnic militias that threatened the very

existence of the Nigerian state. Such ethnic militias include Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF). This then was the backdrop to the establishment of the NDDC.

National Political Reform Conference, 2005

To tackle the challenge of federalism and aggressive ethno-regionalism which threatened the corporate existence of the country, the Obasanjo's administration set up the NPRC in 2005. The NPRC was created to reach a consensus on aspects of the federal structure, resource control, devolution of power to federating units and explicit recognition of ethnic nationalities as a means of finding a lasting solutions to perennial unrests in various parts of the federation between 1999 and 2007.[35] Memberships of the NPRC cuts across the federation. It was done in such a way as to reflect the federal political arrangement in Nigeria. For example, fifty of it members were nominated by the president, two hundred and eighteen by state governors and eighty-six selected from different groups from across the federation.[36]

The NPRC submitted its report to the presidency by July 2005. However, the NPRC failed to resolve significantly the challenges of federalism, distribution and aggressive ethno-regionalism due to two important reasons. The first was the state's over-responsiveness to pressure groups that transformed the conference from a national dialogue into a sectional debate.[37] And secondly,

the intransigence of some ethnic groups, like the Niger Delta delegates that felt the NPRC could not adequately cater for their socio-economic aspirations.[38]

Conceptual Mechanism used by the Obasanjo Administration in the Nation-Building Process

Three important challenges that confronted the civilian administration in its nation-building drives were those of federalism, democracy and aggressive ethno-regionalism. The manifestations of the states inability to tackle these challenges are ethnic mistrust and distrust, intra-state ethnic conflicts and the formation of ethnic militias such as the Egbesu Boys, Oodua People's Congress (OPC), and Movement for the Emacipation of Niger Delta (MEND). In trying to tackle these, the state resorted to the use of the following concepts:

(i) Zoning

(ii) Power sharing

(iii) National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS)

Power-Sharing

The concept of power sharing implies a consensual arrangement in which candidates for political offices are chosen by the community without much regard for experience, competence and continuity in office.[39] It means a geographical location of political leadership in such a way that enhances the possibility of different geo-political entities that made up the country the chance of occupying a political office.[40] The concept has within it such other concepts as rotational presidency, rotational governor, rotational ministers and

rotational commissioners. Power-sharing is not only an ethnic balancing formula, but also a region-equilibrating medium. Although, the idea of power sharing predates the Fourth Republic, it was a political arrangement the Obasanjo's administration used heavily to tackle the challenges of democracy and federalism. With the distribution of the federation into geo-political zones during the Fourth Republic, the state ensured that access to political offices, especially at the central or federal level was based on the principles of power-sharing. For example, toward the tail-end of his second-term presidency, president Obasanjo ensured, based on the principle of power-sharing, that the presidential political office was given to the north-west, that of the vice-presidency to the south-south and the presidency of the senate to the north-central (middle-belt). This was what led to the emergence of the presidency of Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan in 2007.

Zoning

Zoning, which is an element of power-sharing, is an informal arrangement in which the states in Nigeria are aggregated into zones or regions for the purpose of allocating office.[41] The processes also correspond to consociationalism, elite coalition and proportional representation.[42] The goal of all these measures is to ensure that persons from a few states or ethno-regional group do not dominate the government and that the president enjoy broad support. In the case of Nigeria, it connotes the division of political offices to the six geographical zones.[43] The main purpose of zoning is to make sure that the different offices

are rotated amongst the regions. And, also that power would shift from one region to another hindering one region from dominating in terms of power.[44] This was the idea that informed the official recognition of the six geo-political zones by the Obasanjo administration. The zones are south-west, south-east, south-south, north-central, north-east and north-west.

National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), 2004

NEEDS, that was launched at the beginning of the second-term of the Obasanjo's administration in 2003, was an important plank of the administration's reform programmes.[45] NEEDS was multifaceted. It was designed to tackle the challenges of autarky, distribution and that of corruption.[46] NEEDS was conceived by the administration as Nigeria's home grown poverty reduction Strategy.[47] The four key areas that the programme focused on included value re-orientation, poverty reduction, employment generation and wealth creation.[48] NEEDS had four sub-groups. They are public service reforms; economic reforms through macroeconomics stability and accelerated privatization of the economy; institutional reforms and strengthening and social reforms through transparency, accountability and anti-corruption.[49] The impact of NEEDS on the Nigerian economy and by extension, socio-economic lives of the country was overwhelming. For example, under its economic and empowerment agenda, NEEDS increased the number of telephones in the country from below 1 million in 1999 to over thirty-eight million by April 2007.[50] Moreover, the banking sector was another area

touched by the reform. In 2005, a consolidation exercise of NEEDS led to the merger of Nigeria's 89 banks into 25, each with a minimum capital base of 25 billion naira.[51] additionally, NEEDS led to the establishment of such agencies as Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU), known as the due process office in the presidency, the EFCC and ICPC.[52]

Constitutional Mechanism used by the Obasanjo Administration in the Nation-Building Process

To tackle the challenges of federalism, democracy and aggressive ethno-regionalism, the state made extensive use of the constitutional provisions of the 1999 Constitution. Two key constitutional mechanisms that were used are:

(i) Federal Character Principles (FCP)

(ii) Principle of Fiscal Federalism (PFF)

The two mechanisms provided some level of economic and political stability within the Nigerian state in the Fourth Republic. The PFF ensured that economic stability was maintained through an equitable distribution and allocation of the federal resources to all the federating units. While, the FCP guaranteed political stability through the equilibrated distribution of political power and offices among all the states of the federation.

Federal Character Principle (FCP)

According to section 14(3) of the 1979 constitution of Nigeria, the federal character principle was created to ensure that:

> The composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conducts of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria.[53]

These provisions were replicated in the same sections of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria.[54] The expectation of the FCP was that it would pave the way for a federal government that would be all-inclusive of all segments of the federation thereby assuring a stable federal polity. This was the rationale behind the establishment of the Federal Character Commission (FCC) by the Obasanjo administration in 2002.[55] It was an executive agency specifically created to implement the FCP in the 1963 and 1979 constitutions, respectively. Thus, the FCP was aimed at creating a sense of belonging by the diverse ethnic groups and political groupings within the Nigerian polity.

As a nation-building tool, the Obasanjo administration deployed the principle in its efforts to resolve the challenges of federalism, democracy and aggressive ethno-regionalism that confronted the state between 1999 and 2007. The administration used it as the basis for the emergence of a more cohesive and purposeful national leadership out of the culturally diverse ethnic groups.[56] Thus, the FCP characterized the allocation of a number of vacancies into federal institutions in the Fourth Republic. The policy however failed to effectively tackle these challenges because, among other things, it was poorly exercised by the state. For example, due to the shoddy implementation of the principle by the FCC, it made Nigerians to be more aware of their communal background rather than build a common feeling of loyalty to the Nigerian state.

[57] Moreover, the political elites' shenanigans undermined the potency of the policy in terms of advancing the course of federalism and nation building in Nigeria.[58]

Endnotes

(1) 'Lai Olurode and Remi Anifowoso, eds., *Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections* (Ikeja: John West, 2004), 48-50.

(2) Daniel Jordan Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 121-122.

(3) Interview with Mr. Bamgbose Adele, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Lagos State University, Ojo, 12 January 2011.

(4) Mohammed Abubakar, "AC, ANPP Protest Yar'Adua's Victory," *The Guardian*, Lagos, April 24, 2007.

(5) Y.I. Isa and M.Y. Zakari, "The Courts and the Management of Elections in Nigeria," in *Managing Elections in Nigeria*, S.M. Omodia, ed. (Keffi: Onaivi printing and Publishing company, 2008).

(6) John Campbell, *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2011).

(7) Dr. Bamgbose Adele, lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Lagos State University, Ojo, interviewed 12 January, 2011.

(8) Siri Aas Rustad, "Power-Sharing and Conflict in Nigeria," Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW), Oslo, 2008:18, available online at http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/12/1isodid.cfm,(accessed 29 October 2011); "Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS)," a publication of the National Planning Commission, Abuja, March 2004, available online at www.cenbank.org/out/publcations/guidelines/rd/2004/eeds.pdf (accessed 23 January, 2012).

(9) Emeka Chiakwelu, "Nigeria's Foreign Debts Payments Reflect Devastating Transfer of Wealth," *USAfricaOnline*, available online at www.usafricaonline.com/nigeriadebts06.echiakwelu.html, (accessed 23 January, 2012).

(10) B.C. Nwankwu "The Effectiveness of Anti-corruption Agencies in Enhancing Good Governance and Viable Democracy for Sustainable Development and Growth in Africa," a paper presented at the 1st Annual UAACAI International Summit, held at the Banquet Hall, National Centre for Women Development, Abuja, on 29 October, 2008, available online at http://www.uaaacaiinternational.org/anticorruption%20agnecies.pdf (accessed 23 January, 2012).

(11) Campbell, *Nigeria,* xix.

(12) Campbell, *Nigeria*, 102-103.

(13) Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, "The Resurgence of Sharia Issue in contemporary Nigeria, 1999-2009," *Benue Valley Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 9, No. 1&2 (January – December, 2010): 5.

(14) Gunnar J. Weimann, *Islamic Criminal Law in Northern Nigeria: Politics, Religion, Judicial Practice* (Vossiuspers UVA: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 150.

(15) Weimann*, Islamic Criminal Law in Northern Nigeria,* 151.

(16) Ukoha Ukiwo, "Violence, Identity Mobilization and the Reimagining of Biafra," *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, (2009):22-25.

(17) Oral interview with Mr. Gani Adams, OPC leader, 11 March, 2011; "Nigeria: Whether Odua People's Congress (OPC) Members Have Been Arrested or Harassed Since the 29 May, 1999 Election of President Obasanjo," Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 11 January 2000, available online at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3aebad6d20.html, (accessed 24 January, 2012).

(18) "The Swamps of Insurgency: Nigeria's Delta Unrest," Africa Report No. 115, *Crisis Group* (3 August, 2006):1.

(19) "The Swamps of Insurgency,": i-ii.

(20) "The Swamps of Insurgency,": 9

(21) Campbell, Nigeria, 79.

(22) Campbell, Nigeria,80.

(23) Antonia T. Okoosi-Simbine, "Corruption in Nigeria," in *State, Economy and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*, Said Adejumobi, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 157

(24) A. T. Okoosi-Simbine, "Government and Corruption in Nigeria: A General Impression," *Annals of the Social Science. Council of Nigeria*, No. 5, (January-December 1993): 110-118

(25) E. A. Owolabi, "Corruption and Financial Crimes in Nigeria: Genesis, Trend and Consequences," available online at http://www.cenbak.org/ out/publications/ transparency/2007/transparency2007.pdf, (accessed 07 October, 2011).

(26) Owolabi, "Corruption and financial crimes in Nigeria,".

(27) Ajibola Bola, "Restitution: An Alternative Solution to the Corruption Issue," a paper presented at the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, August 9, 2006, at Airport Hotel, Ikeja, cited in Owolabi "Corruption and Financial Crimes in Nigeria,".

(28) J. P. O. De Sardan, "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa," *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, (1999): 25-52.

(29) Mr Joseph Adeyeye, interviewd 15 June, 2010*; Zero Tolerance*, Magazine of the EFCC, Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 2006): 17.

(30) Toyin Falola and Mathew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 250

(31) See "Blood and oil," *The Economist*, 15 March, 2007; Zero Tolerance, A Magazine of the EFCC, Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 2006): 13.

(32) *Vanguard* (Lagos), 23 November 2005.

(33) Warris Alli, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy of Democratic Transition and Economic Reforms," in *Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria: Changes and Challenges*, Said Adejumobi, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 154

(34) Toyin Falola and Ann Geneva, *The Historical Dictionary of Nigeria* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 253.

(35) Muhammad Nura Inuwa, "Oil Politicss and National Security in Nigeria," December 2010, 46, M. A. thesis submitted to Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, available online at http://dodreporos.com/pdf/ada536125.pdf, (accessed 3 June 2010).

(36) National Political Reform Conference Nigeria, Main Report of the Conference, July 2005, 13.

(37) Mobolaji E. Aluko, "The NPRC and the PNC - Thoughts on the Opposing National Conferences," available online at http://www.dawodu.com/aluko108htm, (accessed 25 September 2010).

(38) Inuwa, "Oil Politics and National Security in Nigeria,"

(39) Inuwa, "Oil Politics and National Security in Nigeria,"

(40) Omenka Iba Jacob, "Power Rotation and Democratic Stability in Nigeria: The Experience of Benue," *Journal of Research and Contemporary Issues* (JRCI), Vol. 2, No. 1 and 2 (Jan-December, 2006): 67.

(41) Jacob, "Power Rotation," 67.

(42) Nwachukwu Orji, "Power sharing: The Element of Continuity in Nigerian Politics," Budapest, 2008, 32. Ph.D dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, available online at htpp//web.ceu.bu/polsci/dissertations/orgi.pdf, (accessed 28 October, 2011).

(43) Tekena N. Tamuno, "Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective," in Federalism *and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, 'Kunle Amuwo, Adigun Agbaje, Rotimi Suberu and Georges Herault, eds. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited 2003), 21.

(44) Siri Aas Rustad, "Power-sharing and Conflict in Nigeria," Center For the Study of Civil War (CSCW), Oslo, 2008: 18, available online at http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/12/1isaodid.cfm, (accessed 29 October ,2011).

(45) Rustad, "Power-Sharing and Conflict in Nigeria"

(46) Said Adejumobi, "Introduction: State, Economy and Society in Neo-Liberal Regime," in Adejumobi, ed., *State, Economy and Society*, 9.

(47) Folasade Ifamose, "The Fourth Republic Economic Reforms in Nigeria and the Millennium Development Goal: A Perspective," *AAU: African Studies Review*, Vol. 9 (June 2010): 410.

(48) National Planning Commission, *Nigeria: National Empowerment and Development Strategy: NEEDS* (Abuja: NPC, 2004), 1.

(49) Alli, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy of Democratic Transition," 154.

(50) Ifamose, "The Fourth Republic Economic Reforms,": 410.

(51) Alli, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy of Democratic Transition," 155.

(52) Adejumobi, "Introduction," 10.

(53) 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

(54) 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

(55) Abdul Rasheed A. Muhammad, "Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria: Current Peril and Future Hopes," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2007): 196.

(56) A .P. Odofin, "Federalism and Governance in Nigeria: The Crisis of Transformation and the Challenges of Nation-building," *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1 and 2 (January-December, 2005): 15.

(57) Obianyo Nkolika, "Citizenship and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? – The case of MASSOB," a paper presented at the 3rd Global Conference on Pluralism Inclusion and Citizenship, Austria, No. 18-19, 2007, available online at www.inter-disciplinary.net/ati/diversity/pluralism/pl3/obianyo%29paper.pdf, (accessed on 29 October, 2011).

(58) Odofin, "Federalism and Governance in Nigeria,": 16.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CHALLENGES OF NATION-BUILDING IN NIGERIA, 1967-2007: AN OVERVIEW

Nigeria became an independent political entity in 1960. Since 1960, the state has been trying to build a strong, functional, cohesive and democratic Nigeria. Right from the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970, the state used different mechanisms to tackle the country's nation-building challenges. Some of these nation-building challenges included those of democracy, federalism, corruption, ideology and aggressive ethno-regionalsim. In spite of the state's herculean efforts between 1967 and 2007, these challenges were not adequately resolved. The different civilian and military administrations deployed various mechanisms, with diverse initiatives and programmes, to tackle these challenges. The inability of the state to resolve these challenges have created socio-political and economic anomie in the Nigerian citizenry. The negative manifestations of the state's inability to resolve these challenges were the high incidences of official corruption, ethnic conflicts, religious crisis and profligacy among the political class. This chapter will analyze those factors that made it impossible for the state to turn Nigeria into a cohesive, viable, functional and democratic polity between 1967 and 2007.

The nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria between 1967- 2007 will be analyzed under the following sub-headinsg:

Challenge of Federalism

Challenge of Distribution

Challenge of Democracy

Challenge of Governance

Challenge of Aggressive Ethno-Regionalism

Challenge of Religion

Challenge of Corruption

Challenge of Ideology

Challenge of Autarky

Challenge of Federalism

Nigeria is a country of extraordinary diversity and complexity. This complexity is as a result of its ethno-cultural heterogeneity. The amalgamation of 1914 and the Richards constitution of 1946 integrated these diverse political units into three regions. The regions are Northern, Western and the Eastern. Being cognizance of the existence of several latent threats to the future of independent Nigeria, the British colonialists and Nigerian nationalist were desirous of a system of government that would neutralize the potential threats. They also wanted a system that will accommodate the divergent interests of the various ethno-cultural groups. This desire eventually found expression in the adoption of the federal system of government for Nigeria. This suggests that federalism was adopted in Nigeria because it was seen as a diversity management technique.[1]

Federalism in the classical sense, as represented by K.C. Wheare and A.V. Dicey is defined in terms of constitutional law as a system in which powers are divided between the central and regional authorities.[2] Each authorities govern directly and independently within its own defined sphere and can not modify the division of power unilaterally. However, in its modern sense, federalism is seen as a mechanism for the identification of the social and economic forces and factors which contribute to integration in a variety of ways.[3] Nigeria's federalism has been a mixture of the two. And herein lies the crux of the matter. The challenge has been either for a 'military' or 'central' federalism with a strong and powerful centre, or for a loose federalism with a strong and powerful periphery. These two traits were noticeable throughout the period 1967-2007. Nigeria's adoption of the federal system dates back to the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution. Since, then, the federal system has been a leitmotiv in Nigeria's constitutional developments. Nigeria sees federalism as a form of governmental arrangement. The state's sees it as a mechanism to promote unity while at the same time preserving existing diversities within an overarching desire for national unity.[4] To this extent, the relationship between federalism and political stability is axiomatic. However, the preservation of existing diversity posed a serious challenge for Nigeria's federalism. This was what engendered the call for self determination from some of the ethnic groups that made up the Nigerian state between 1967 and 2007. For example, this was what led to the unsuccessful secession of the eastern part of the country

from the federation in 1967. The restiveness of the ethnic minorities in the Niger Delta during the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007 is another good example.

State creation, which is an integral part of Nigeria's federalism, rather than being a tool that provides a sense of security for ethnic minorities, also became a debilitating factor in the country's federalism.[5] For example, Gowon created twelve states in 1967, Murtala/Obasanjo increased the number to nineteen states in 1976, and Abacha created six in 1996 to make it thirty-six. In this process of state creation, the federation was 'skewered' into smaller units and thus, the autonomy of the constituent units was lost and power gravitated to the center. The military virtually turned the federal state into unitary one as the other levels could no longer exercise or share power with the central government.[6] This trend was carried over into the Fourth Republic and engendered calls from various groups for a Sovereign National Conference (SNC), a conference of Ethnic Nationalities; National Conference, Devolution of Powers and Restructuring of the Federation. Thus, the challenge is for Nigeria to evolve a 'true federalism' that will take into consideration the aspirations of the different ethnic groups and which will at the same time preserve, in a functional way, the country's federal structure.

The Challenge of Distribution

This challenge has to do with the issue of fiscal federalism. Fiscal federalism can be viewed as a set of fiscal activities, relations and interactions among the

various governments in a federation.[7] It is a general normative framework for assignment of functions to the different levels of government and appropriate fiscal instruments for carrying out these function.[8] Fiscal federalism essentially has to do with the equitable distribution of the resources in a federal polity to all the federating units. It covers two interconnected areas. The first is the division of competence in decision making about public expenditures and public revenue between the different levels of government. The second is the degree of freedom of decision-making enjoyed by regional and local authorities in the assessment of local taxes as well as in the determination of their expenditures.[9]

Between 1967 and 2007, fiscal federalism was a dominant and contentious theme in the nation-building efforts of the state. It has crystallized and remained dynamic because of the country's multiplicity in terms of ethnic composition and pluralism.[10] Fiscal federalism dates back to 1946 when the Richards Constitution was introduced into Nigeria.[11] Fiscal commissions were then set up by the state to work out fiscal and financial arrangements that were consistent with the assignment of powers and responsibilities to each level of government.[12] The idea was that each level of government should have adequate funds to effectively and efficiently discharge its responsibilities. However, this is in theory. In Nigeria, this has not always been the case. The centralized hierarchical nature of the military regimes that ruled Nigeria between 1966-1979 and 1983-1999; and the overly centralized nature of the

civilian administration of 1999 to 2007, placed the state at an advantage when its comes to resources distribution within the federation. Invariably, the financial hegemony enjoyed by the federal government over the thirty six states and seven hundred and seventy four local government created disaffection in Nigeria federalism.[13] It reinforces the structural vulnerability of the components units while simultaneously intensifying the pressures for better federal economic patronage.

Thus, for Nigeria between 1967 and 2007, the challenge was how to evolve a fiscal formula that will ensure that the resources were discharged equitably. The failure of the state to get this right has been the factor responsible for changes in the fiscal regimes of the country between 1967 and 2007 that has negatively affected the nation-building process. The state evolved different innovations in trying to tackle this challenge. This, for example, was the rationale behind the formation of the Dina Committee by the Gowon administration in 1968;[14] Danjuma commission in 1987 by the General Babangida's regime;[15] and the Obasanjo's administration, 1999-2007, created the Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) in 1999 to tackle the same challenge.[16] The inability of the state to resolve this challenge was the factor responsible for strident calls for 'derivation formula' and 'resource control' in the Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Challenge of Democracy

In Nigeria, as well as in Africa, Larry Diamond has observed that democracy and governance are in a state of transition and suspension.[17] Democracy is adjured to be the most civilized form of governance. Minimal definition of democracy sees it as a system of government in which the leaders are elected in periodic, free and fair elections, which implies a group of rights associated with the government. Nigeria is best classified as a competitive authoritarian or a pseudo-democracy because there are some areas of contestation.[18] Areas of contestation are electoral, media, judicial and legislature.[19]

There are three major areas in democratization. These are democratic transition, democratic consolidation and democratic quality.[20]

Between 1967 and 2007, Nigeria did not progress beyond the democratic transition phase. The Second Republic, which was supposed to be Nigeria's second attempt at democratic rule, was cut short by the military in 1983. The military accused the civilian administration of being too corrupt inept, profligate and that its leadership performance was lackluster.[21] The Third democratic experiment was short lived in 1993 due to the military coup d' etat of General Sani Abacha. The main accusation against the ING was that it could not guarantee the lives and property of the citizenry and that it lacked the needed legitimacy to govern. In the same vein, the fourth democratic experiment, 1999-2007, also failed to deliver on the dividend of democracy. Widespread electoral fraud characterized the 2003 and 2007 elections in the

country; rule of law was flagrantly and blatantly abused; lives and property could not be guaranteed as evidenced by the growth of ethnic militias such as the OPC in the southwest and MEND in the south-south.[22]

Added to this is the fact that there was no real democratic culture prior to the dawn of the Fourth Republic. The country's long exposure to military rule has created that situation in which "seventy percent of eligible voters in Nigeria are citizens born during the praetorian order."[23] This meant in essence that the condition for democratization had a short gestation period. And thus, the statement of Larry Diamond could be seen to have been validated. Hence, the challenge of democracy that hindered the creation of a viable, functional and democratic Nigeria between 1967 to 2007 include the long exposure to praetorianism, lack of continuity in government, citizen alienation, electoral apathy and lack of a democratic culture among the political elites.[24] In essence, the creation of a functional Nigeria requires a political reorientation and reenthrechment of democratic values and cultures in Nigeria. The state's failure to achieve these objectives has been a major barrier towards the creation of a democratic Nigeria.

Challenge of Governance

Governance has been conceptualized as the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm.[25] It could also be taken to be the process of organizing and managing legitimate

power structures entrusted by the people to the ruling elites.[26] A good governance system is defined by its relationship to some key prerequisites. These are accountability, transparency, participation and predictability.[27]

All these markers were absent in Nigeria governance between 1967 and 2007. The military regimes that ruled Nigeria were highly unpredictable. The unpredictability not only stemmed from the constant threat of coups d'etat, but also from the nature of the military itself. A good example was the coup of August 1985 that removed the Buhari/Idiagbon's regime. This factor does not allow for continuity in governance. Citizen participation was a scarce commodity during the Sani Abacha's regime from 1993 to 1998. Indeed, of course, during the Obasanjo's administration in the Fourth Republic, issues of accountability, transparency and the rule of law were constantly relegated to the background.[28] This was what prompted the then Chief Justice of the Federation to remark that the Obasanjo administration "pick and choose what court orders to obey."[29] Thus, the inability of the state to effectively tackle the issues inherent in the challenge of governance made it impossible for it to create a functional and viable Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Challenge of Aggressive Ethno-Regionalism

Nigeria is an amalgam of rival ethnic groups pitted against each other in a contest for power and resources. This contest was reflected in the political process between 1967 and 2007.[30] The return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999

opened up a Pandora's box of suppressed ethnic demands bottled up by years of repressive military rule. These demands sometimes took violent forms as could be seen in the activities of MEND in the Niger Delta, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the East and the OPC in the west.[31]

Nigeria has over 250 ethnic groups and they can be broadly divided into ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities.[32] The ethnic majorities are the Hausa-Fulani of the north, the Yoruba of the southwest and the Igbo of the southeast. These major ethnic groups has within them substantial 'minorities' of different ethnicities. There are large minorities like the Ijaw, Kanuri, Edo, Ibibio and Nupe. The Nigerian state had struggled with the multiplicity of nations within it for the loyalty and allegiance of the citizens.[33] At each point of this struggle, she has always lost to the primordial instincts of the groups that composed it. The country's heterogeneity and the state's inability to effectively manage the diverse interest of the different groups was a major barrier to nation-building between 1967-2007.

Between 1967 and 2007, Nigeria experienced both intra and inter-ethnic conflicts. Different factors were responsible for these ethnic tensions. Some of the major ones are: the land-space resources question; the disputed jurisdiction of traditional rulers and chiefs; the creation of local government councils and the locations of their headquarters; the imperatives of culture

bound occupations; settlers-indigene syndrome and the micro and macro structures in Nigeria.[34] Each and every of these diverse factors had played out in the outbreak of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. For example, Ife-Modakeke crisis of 1981, 1983 and 1997 is a good example of a conflict whose source was rooted in settler-indigene syndrome and the creation of local government council and its headquarters.[35] That of the Jos crisis that was particularly virulent during the Fourth Republic, 1997-2007, was as a result of the settlers-indigene syndrome, culture-bound occupations and land-space resources question.

Ethnic tensions took a frightening dimensions between 1999 and 2007. This is because during this period, the different regions in Nigeria established regional-cum-ethnic militias to protect their interests. An OPC lieutenant, Mr. Oyegbadebo Samson, made the apt observation that:

> Ethnic militias such as OPC, MEND and Egbesu Boys proliferated during this period because they felt and know that the federal government could no longer guarantee the socio-economic and political interests of the races.This for example, was the rationale behind the formation of ethnic militias such as OPC, MEND and Egbesu Boys.[36]

The activities of the organizations suggested an escalation of ethnic consciousness in the country. This has permeated the Nigerian society to the extent that the activities of these new ethnic militia organizations challenged the legitimacy of the state. Additionally, scholars have identified seven ethnic and political cleavages in Nigeria: between the north and the south; between

the three majority ethnic groups; between the major ethnic groups and the minorities; inter-state rivalry between states, that sometimes cuts across ethnic groups; inter-ethnic rivalry in a mixed state; inter-clan and intra-clan rivalries; and intra-ethnic rivalry within each majority ethnic group. Thus, the challenge of ethnic-nationalism that confronted Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 was how to accommodate the differing interests of the different groups and channel the energies of the various groups into creating a cohesive, functional and stable political entity.

Challenge of Religion

Ethno-religious conflict is a form of conflict that is generated on the basis of real or imagined difference rooted in ethnic and religious identies.[337] It derives from the congruence and the mutually reinforcing relationships between ethnic and religious identities in the social and political process. Religious identity sometimes becomes part of the ethnic groups' identity and presents a volatile social mixture.[38] This hybridization of the two identities has been the norm rather than the exception in Nigeria. And this is the crux of the religious challenge.

Religious identities in Nigeria are usually classified into three: Christian, Muslim and Traditional.[39] Of the three, traditional religion was the least politically active in the period under study. The other two, to varying degrees, were responsible for political instability in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Religion is meant to support the social norms; meant to reassure the people that their ways are right and their cause is just. In Nigeria, however, religion became an impediment to the attainment of a cohesive, functional and democratic polity. The Nigerian experience, as regards religious tensions and crisis between 1967 and 2007, can be broadly divided into three: intra-religious disturbances between different denominations or sects; inter-religious conflicts between adherents of different religious beliefs capable of assuming socio-ethnic dimensions; and inter-religious conflicts that has socio-economic origin but ends up as religious conflicts.[40] The Nigerian socio-political terrain between 1967 and 2007 was replete with these three types of religious conflicts. A good example is the Maitatsine uprising during the Second Republic that claimed hundreds of lives in Kano, in 1980; and in Borno state in 1982.[41]

Moreover, the issue of the adoption of the Sharia in some states in the north also generated serious socio-religious tensions across the federation. In 1999, the governor of Zamfara state proclaimed and launched Sharia in the state.[42] This action generated serious controversy in the Fourth Republic. Not only did it brought to the fore the question of Nigeria's secularity, it also created a constitutional controversy. Thus, the challenge of religion has been the inability of the state to devise appropriate mechanisms that can turn religious zeal into an important tool of nation-building in Nigeria. The state's inability to tackle this challenge was an important impediment in its drive to build a functional and cohesive Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Challenge of Corruptuion

Corruption is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It has been variously described to be: a behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role for private gains;[43] the abuse of public roles or resources for private benefit;[44] the pervasion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity;[45] and according to Transparency International (TI), a behaviour on the part of officials in the public sector through which they improperly or unlawfully enrich themselves.[46] Based on the above definitions corruption ranges from the acceptance of money or other rewards for awarding contracts, violations of procedures to advance personal interest, the diversion of public resources, overlooking illegal and unconstitutional activities, to intervening in the justice process, nepotism, influence peddling and misappropriation.[47]

All the listed formats or facets of corruption were found to be manifestly present in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. The failure of the state to effectively manage and tackle the different manifestations of corruption in Nigeria impeded its nation-building efforts. Between 1966 and 1975, during Gowon military leadership, corruption was a serious issue.[48] Indeed, part of the reason for the coup that ousted Gowon in 1975 was the endemic corruption in his administration. Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration witnessed in 1980 an unprecedented level of corruption. There were about eighty-seven point five percent of undetected incidents of corruption in the administration.[49]

Interestingly, in spite of the anti-corruption stance of the Obasanjo's administration during the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007, and that administration's creation of the ICPC and EFCC to battle corruption, the corruption genie could not be contained. Political corruption festered during the Fourth Republic.[50] For example, the former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun was indicted for corrupt practices; and Adolphus Wabara, the fourth senate president in the Fourth Republic was also disgraced out of office because of official corruption. It was the high incidence of corruption in the Fourth Republic that forced president Obasanjo to declare:[51]

> No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become a full-blown cancer the way it has become in Nigeria.

This quotation validates the assertion at the beginning of the analysis on corruption that if left unchecked it could destroy all the efforts geared toward building a functional and viable self-sustaining Nigeria. Thus, the state's inability to adequately tackle the challenge of corruption, in all its various forms between 1967 and 2007 affected negatively the nation-building efforts of the state.

Challenge of Ideology

David Apter defined ideology as a system of political and social belief that embodies values and ideals about man, society and the state.[52] Anson Morse has argued that it is the durable convictions held in common by party members in respect to the most desirable form of action of the state towards

every public question.[53] It has also been taken to be the single issue statements that defines orientation of a political party.[54] Looking at ideology from this non-doctrinaire perspective, it could then be seen that it was existentially lacking in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. This is not a farfetched assertion if one were to consider the specific policies of the state during this period. For example, the state had no coherent ideology in the Second Republic. The development strategy of the regime could not cope with the dislocations existing in the Nigerian economy. Consequently, the masses became disoriented and marginalized because of the dislocation created in the economic system.[55] When Buhari's regime took over from Shagari, the state had no coherent and systemic ideology. Actually, Buhari mistook its operational premise of wiping-out corruption for a state's ideology.[56] Since WAI could not cope with the basic contradictions in the social order, it left the citizenry dislocated and marginalized from the state.

The country did not fare any better under the Fourth Republic, as per ideology. Omoruyi has asserted that political parties in the Fourth Republic, especially Obasanjo's PDP, were all ideologically barren.[57] The state had no coherent policy towards governance.[58] This paucity of ideology has translated to poverty of ideas on meaningful governance. Thus, the challenge of ideology was an important factor that negatively affected the nation-building efforts of the state between 1967 and 2007. Since the state was bereft of coherent ideology, it could not evolve strategies that could have contributed to the building of a

cohesive, viable and functional Nigeria. This created a communication disjoint between the rulers and the ruled.

Challenge of Autarky

Autarky here refers to economic self-sufficiency. It is the ability of a state to provide those resources necessary for the sustenance of both the economy of the state and the citizenry. Between 1967 and 2007, Nigeria was unable to adequately tackle this challenge. Various factors were responsible for the state's inability to resolve the challenge. Some of these factors, according to Professor Pat Utomi, are:

> Mono-cultural nature of the Nigerian economy, discontinuity in economic policies, rentiersm, infrastructural decay; administrative bottlenecks, opaque tax regime, technological incapability, lack of innovation and market challenges.[59]

Collectively these factors constitute the challenge of autarky.

Mono-commoditism was a recurring theme on the Nigerian economic landscape between 1967 and 2007. The Nigerian economy was highly dependent on oil earnings. There was no diversification of the economy. As a result of this, the economy was susceptible to the vagaries of the international economic system. This was brought home in stark detail to Nigeria during the oil glut of the 1980's.[60] During the Fourth Republic, government's economic policies vacillated with the twin pull of the international economic system and the insurgency in the Niger Delta. Furthermore, economic policy discontinuity negatively affected the nation-building efforts of the state. When Abacha

became the military ruler of Nigeria in 1993, he ended Babangida's SAP without putting any major economic policy in its place. During the Fourth Republic 1999-2007, Obasanjo made a clean break with the economic policies of his military predecessors and introduced such economic measures as SEEDS, NEEDS and LEEDS. Thus, the state's inability to proactively tackle the challenge of self-sufficiency made it impossible for her to create a functional and viable Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Endnotes

(1) Abdul Rasheed A. Muhammad, "Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria: Current Peril and Future Hopes," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, vol. 9, No. 4 (2007): 188.

(2) Janda Kenneth, Jeffrey M. Berry and Jerry Goldman, *The challenge of Democracy: Government in America* (Boston: Houghton Iwiffin company, 1989), 113.

(3) R. D. Olling and West Macott, ed., *The Federal Citizen Perspectives on Canadian Federalism* (Canada: Prentice Hall, 1988), 3.

(4) Muhammad, "Federalism and Political Stability,": 190.

(5) A. P. Odofin, "Federalism and Governance in Nigeria: The crisis of Transformation and the Challenges of Nation-Building," *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1 and 2 (January-December, 2005): 14-15.

(6) J. Isawa Elaigwu, *Nigeria: Yesterday and Today For Tomorrow* (Jos: Aha Publishing House Limited, 2005), 257-258.

(7) G. D. Olowonini, "Federalism and Vertical Intergovernmental Financial Imbalance in Nigeria," in *Fiscal Federalism and Nigeria's Economic Development*, Ben Aigbokhan, ed. (Ibadan: Secre publishing, 1999), 192.

(8) W. E. Oates, "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism," *America: Journal of Economic Literature*, 37 (3) (1999): 120-149.

(9) M. Kesner-Skreb, "Fiscal Federalism: Financial Theory and Practice," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 33 (2) (2009): 235-237.

(10) Dare Arowolo, "Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria: Theory and Dimension," *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 22 (2 October 2011): 3.

(11) Festus O. Odoko and Okwu J. Nnanna, "Fiscal Federalism: Fiscal Discipline and Service Delivery in Nigeria," available online at http://www.case.ox. ac.uk/books/ epopnlfiscalfederalism.pdf, (accessed 30 October, 2011).

(12) Odoko and Nnanna, "Fiscal federalism,".

(13) Arowolo, "Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria,":3

(14) Egite Oyovbaire, "The Politics of Revenue Allocation," in *Soldiers and Oil, The Political Transformation of Nigeria,* Keith Panter-Brick, ed. (England: Frank Cass, 1978), 238-239.

(15) Arowolo, "Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria,": 9-10.

(16) Arowolo, "Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria,": 11.

(17) Larry Diamond, "The Rule of Law Versus the Big Man," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (April 2008): 138-149.

(18) "Economic Intelligence Unit Democracy Index," *The Economist*, available online at www.economist.com/media/pdf/Democracy_Index_2002v3.pdf, (accessed 3 July 2011).

(19) Lucan Way and Stephen Levitsky, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2 (2002): 51-56.

(20) Adejumobi Said, ed., *Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria: Changes and Challenges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3

(21) Hassan A. Saliu and Abiola Lipede, "Constraints on Democracy in Nigeria," in *Perspectives on Nation-Building and Development in Nigeria,* Hassan A. Saliu, Isah H. Jimoh, Noah Yusuf and Emmanuel O. Ofo, eds. (Lagos: Concept Publicaions Limited, 2008), 128-129.

(22) Saliu and Lipede, "Constraints on Democracy in Nigeria" 130.

(23) Saliu and Lipede, "Constraints on Democracy in Nigeria," 134.

(24) "Democracy and Governance Assessment of Nigeria," December 2006: 10-18, a paper prepared by ARD, Inc. for review by the United States Agency for International Development, available online at pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADI079.pdf, (accessed 30 October, 2010).

(25) Kidane Mengisteab and Cyril Daddieh, *State-building and Democratization in Africa: Faith, Hope and Realities* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1999), 50.

(26) H. S. Galadima, "Militarism and Governance in Nigeria," *Governance: A Journal of the Institute of Governance and Social Research,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1998): 116-117.

(27) O. Ighonatufe, "Governance and Politics in Nigeria," a paper delivered at the Staff and Graduate seminar, department of Political Science and Public Administration University of Benin, Edo-State, on 21 November, 2006, available online at www.okpenation.org/doc/governanceandpoliticsinnigeria.pdf, (accessed October 2011).

(28) Adejumobi, *Governance and Politics*, 4-8.

(29) Adejumobi, *Governance and Politics*, 8.

(30) Duruji Moses Meturama, "Democracy and the challenge of Ethno-Nationalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Interrogating Institutional Mechanism," *Journal of Peace*, Conflict and Development, Issue 15 (March 2010): 92.

(31) Meturama, "Democracy and the Challenge of Ethno-Nationalism," 92.

(32) Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Nigeria," March 2004, a paper sponsored by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), available online at http://www.afrimap.ora/english/images/documents/UNRISD%20Nigera%20mustapha.pdf, (accessed 31 October, 2011).

(33) E. Obianyo Nkolika, "Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? – The Case of MASSOB," a paper presented at the 3rd Global Conference on Pluralism Inclusion and Citizenship, Austria, No. 18-19, 2007,available online at www.inter-disciplinary.net/ati/diversity/pluralism/pl3/obianyo%29paper.pdf, (accessed on 29 October, 2011): 1.

(34) O. B. Akpomuvie and F. O. Forae, "Ethnic Communal Conflicts in Nigeria," *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1 and 2 (January-December 2005): 144-146.

(35) Akpomuvie and Forae, "Ethnic Communal Conflicts in Nigeria,": 149.

(36) Mr. Oyegbadebo Samson, interviewed 12 July, 2010; Ubani Eziuche, "Insecurity: Once a Nightmare Now a Reality," *Guardian* (Lagos) April 26, 2006.

(37) Samuel Egwu, "Ethno-Religious Conflicts and National Security in Nigeria: Illusions from the Middle Belt," in State, Economy and Society in ost-Military Nigeria (New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 49.

(38) F. Salomone, "Ethnic Identities and Religions," in *Religion and Society in Nigeria,* J. K. Olupona and T. Falola, ed. (Ibadan Spectrum Books, 1991), 34-66.

(39) E. Eghosa Osaghae and T. Rotimi Suberu, "A History of Identities, Violence and Stability in Nigeria," *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE)*, CRISE Working Paper, No. 6 (January 2005): 11.

(40) E. Ikengah-Metuh, "Two Decades of Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: A Recipe For Peace," *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology*, Vol. 6, 1 (1994), 60.

(41) *Sunday Punch*, 27 February, 2010.

(42) *Nigerian Tribune*, 12 April, 2000: 12.

(43) J. S, Nye, "Corruption and Political Development: A Case Benefit Analysis*," American Political Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June 1967): 50-62.

(44) "World Bank: Helping Countries Combat Corruption. Quoted in I. B. Bello-Imam, *The War Against Corruption in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects* (Ibadan: college press and publisher Limited, 2005), 100.

(45) O. Otite, "Sociological Study of Corruption," in *Nigeria: Corruption in Development,* F. Odekunle, ed. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1986), 65.

(46) Quoted in Otite Igbuzor, "Strategies for Winning the Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria," ActionAid Nigeria Briefing, Paper No. 2 (2008): 6.

(47) J. P. O. De Sardan, "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1999): 25-52

(48) Mohammad S. Audu, "Emerging Issues in the Culture of Corruption in Nigeria: Implications for National Development," in *Perspectives on Nation-Building*, Hassan, et al., 212.

(49) F. O. Ifamose, "Governance in a Persuaded Society: A Critique of the Anti-Corruption of the 4th Republic," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN),* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2004).

(50) Femi Adegbulu, "Nigeria's (Unholy) Wedlock With Corruption: Can Death Put Them Asunder?" *The Journal of International Social Research*, Vol. 3, Issue:12 (September 2010): 13-16.

(51) Quoted in Audu, "Emerging Issues in the Culture of Corruption," 213.

(52) Quoted in Benedict Michael, "Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on the Problem of Development in Nigeria in the 21st Century," *Journal of Social and Contemporary Issues (JSCI),* Vol. 2, No. 1 and 1 (January-December, 2006): 55.

(53) Quoted in T. Iyare, "An Overview of Political Parties in Nigeria," in *Governance: Nigeria and the World*, S. Odion-Akhaine, ed. (Lagos: Center for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization, 2004), 79-98.

(54) V. J. Strickler, and R. Davies, "Political Party Conventions," in *International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, F. N. Magill, ed. (London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbin Publishers, 1996), 1025.

(55) Michael, "Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives,": 62-63.

(56) Michael, "Philosophical and Ideological perspectives,": 63.

(57) J. Omotola Shola, "Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology," *Journal of Alternative perspectives in the Social Sciences,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (2009): 612-634.

(58) Omotola, "Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology,": 630-634.

(59) Oral interview with the renowned economist and the then presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Mega Party (SDMP), Professor Pat

Utomi, 7 May, 2011; E. Victor Dike, "Review of the Challenges Facing the Nigerian Economy: Is National Development Cossible Without Technological capability?" *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (2010): 96-104.

(60) O. Emmanuel Oritsejafor, "Development in Nigeria: A Political and Economic Challenge," available online at http://www.jsd-africa.com/Jsda/fallwinter2000/articlespdf/ARC-Development%20in%20Nigeria.pdf, (accessed 1 November 2011).

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

Conclusion

The study has carried out a historical analysis of the nation-building efforts and programmes of the state between 1967 and 2007. The study has systematically and holistically analyzed the different mechanisms the civilian administrations and military regimes that governed Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 used in the country's nation-building process. The study is predicated on the assumption that there is no holistic and unbroken historical analysis of the various nation-building programmes used by the state to create a functional, cohesive, democratic and viable Nigeria between 1967 and 2007. Nigeria became an independent state in 1960. At independence, the country has over 250 ethnic groups and a wide diversity of languages. The study discovered that this heterogeneity created some peculiar challenges that became major barriers in the nation-building process in the country between 1967 and 2007. The study has identified these challenges to include the challenge of governance, the challenge of aggressive ethno-regionalism, the challenge of federalism, the challenge of corruption, the challenge of religion, the challenge of democracy, the challenge of distribution and the challenge of autarky.

The study has carried out a historical analysis of the nation-building efforts and programmes of the state between 1967 and 2007. The study has

systematically and holistically analyzed the different mechanisms the civilian administrations and military regimes that governed Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 used in the country's nation-building process. The study is predicated on the assumption that there is no holistic and unbroken historical analysis of the various nation-building programmes used by the state to create a functional, cohesive, democratic and viable Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. Each chapter, with the exceptions of chapter one, two and nine, tackles specific efforts of different administrations in the Nigerian nation-building process. The study discovered that the state, between 1967 and 2007, made use of four mechanisms in tackling the country's nation-building challenges. These are the praetorian, constitutional, institutional and conceptual mechanisms. The state sometimes used these mechanisms in combination or sometimes individually to tackle Nigeria's nation-building challenges. The study discovered that the civilian administrations of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, 1960-1966; Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1979-1983; and chief Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999-2007, made extensive use of the constitutional, institutional and conceptual mechanisms. While the military regimes of General Yakubu Gowon, 1966-1975; Generals Olusegun Obasanjo/Murtala Mohammed, 1975-1979; General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983-1985; General Ibrahim Babangida, 1985-1993; and General Sani Abacha, 1993-1998; made use of the praetorian, institutional and constitutional and conceptual mechanisms. The study has discovered that the

military regimes made extensive use of the praetorian mechanism in resolving Nigeria's nation-building challenges between 1967 and 2007.

Interestingly, the study discovered that the nation-building challenges that confronted the state between 1967 and 2007 are the same. However, the impact of these challenges on the nation-building process became progressively pronounced from one administration to the other. Some of these nation-building challenges are those of aggressive ethno-regionalism, religion, corruption and federalism. For example, the challenges of federalism and religion were a constant leitmotiv in the different administrations between 1967 and 2007. General Yakubu Gowon, 1966-1975, battled with these two challenges during his regime; and between 1999 and 2007, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo tried to tackle them in order to mitigate their negative impacts on his nation-building efforts. Moreover, the study discovered that the state used the same mechanisms to tackle the different nation-building challenges that confronted their administrations. For instance, General Ibrahim Babangida used praetorian and constitutional mechanisms to tackle the challenges of federalism and democracy. Likewise, General Sani Abacha used the same mechanisms to tackle the exact nation-building challenges that confronted his regime between 1993 and 1998. Between 1979 and 1983, Alhaji Shehu Shagari used the conceptual mechanism to tackle the challenge of autarky; and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, between 1999 and 2007, used the same mechanism to tackle the challenge of autarky that confronted his administration.

Indeed, the study discovered that the Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration 1979 to 1983, failed to make effective use of these nation-building mechanisms to tackle the nation-building challenges that confronted the state. Out of all the administrations and military regimes studied, Shagari's administration was the only one that failed to evolve effective and proactive programmes to tackle the country's nation-building challenges. A major factor responsible for this was the administration's preoccupation with intra- and inter-party affairs. From 1979 to 1983, Shagari's administration deployed the state's resources toward the preservation of the ruling political party. The state further devoted considerable energy to emasculating the opposition political parties. In essence, the volatile political atmosphere of the Second Republic distracted the state and made it impossible for it to devote the needed resources to tackle the myriad nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria.

Furthermore, the study carried out a historical analysis of the origin and roles of the CSGs in Nigeria. The study traces the activities of the CSGs in Nigeria from colonial times to the post-independent era. The study discovered that the CSGs played crucial roles in the country's nation-building process. Unlike the state, CSGs made extensive use of the conceptual mechanism in the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. Some of the concepts used include those of transparency, accountability, democracy, rule of law and sovereign national conference. CSGs efforts complemented the activities of the state in

the nation-building process between 1967 and 2007. The researcher discovered that the CSGs that operated in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 are of two categories. There are those that operated from within the country such as NADECO and CLO; and those that influenced the democratic process from outside the country such as NALICON and UDFN. The CSGs, the researcher discovered, were very active in the country's socio-political arena during the regimes of General Babangida, 1985-1993; General Abacha, 1993-1998; and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's civilian administration between 1999 and 2007. For example, the activities of CSGs such as NADECO and AD forced Babangida to step down as the military ruler of Nigeria in 1993. Indeed, the third-term agenda of the Obasanjo's administration was truncated because of the vigorous campaigns launched against it by such CSGs as TMG and CFCR. Besides, from 1999 to 2007, the CSGs ensured the entrenchment of such democratization principles as transparency, governance, due process and the rule of law in the Fourth Republic.

Additionally, the study devoted a chapter to the critical analysis of those nation-building challenges that made it impossible for Nigeria to emerge as a functional, cohesive and viable political entity. The study identified the following nation-building challenges such as federalism, distribution, democracy, governance, and religion as being important barriers to the creation of a viable and functional Nigeria. The study arrived at this conclusion after a

careful and critical analysis of the impacts these challenges had on the nation-building efforts of the state in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

This thesis addresses an important period in Nigeria's contemporary history. It is both a historical analysis of political development in Nigeria and an analysis of the state's nation-building efforts between 1967 and 2007. The study cogently captures the essence of the state's nation-building efforts between 1967 and 2007. It also shows the crucial complementary role played by the CSGs in the nation-building process. Although, the work is essentially the analysis of the nation-building efforts of the state, it is also a holistic and unbroken history of the nation-building programmes between 1967 and 2007. This act, it must be pointed out, is part of the significance of this thesis. There is no work of history that has documented, in a chronological and unbroken manner, the various efforts of the state to create a cohesive and viable Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.

Since nation-building is a process, it is hoped that the state can still use the mechanisms the study has discovered to create a cohesive, democratic and functional Nigeria. The state has not been able to resolve the different nation-building challenges that confronted Nigeria since independence not because it has not been using the right mechanisms. But, because the state failed to vigorously apply the identified mechanisms to tackle the nation-building challenges. The state has been adopting a piece-meal approach to nation-

building in Nigeria up to 2007. This approach was devoid of any form of paradigm to aid the nation-building process. Thus, the state must holistically implement these mechanisms in tackling Nigeria's nation-building challenges.

Recommendations

1. In order for the state to be able to create a functional, viable and cohesive Nigeria, the theories of Ernest Geller and Anthony Anderson must be integrated into the nation-building process. The two theories, Gellner's Modernization theory and Anderson's Imagined Community theory essentially stress the same important prerequisites for any state trying to carry out a successful nation-building process. The theories emphasize the significance of education, printing press and technological innovation to the nation-building process. The theories have shown that for any society to carry out a successful nation-building process, education is a key factor. Education serves a dual function. It allows the society to 'reproduce' or re-engineer itself. This reproduction is done through the technological innovations and revolutions which education facilitates. The second function which education serves is that it makes it possible and easier for the state to inculcate the idea of 'oneness' and 'indivisibility' of the nation into the citizenry right from childhood. Education makes it easier for the citizenry to be susceptible to the ideology of the state and this makes the process of integration in a heterogeneous society a lot easier. One can even say that education is

the important plank on which the other nation-building requirements stand. Print capitalism requires a literate majority. Likewise, technological innovations. For both of these factors to be successful, education is a *sine-qua-non*.

Thus, in order for the state to be able to create a functional, viable and cohesive Nigeria, considerable resources must be devoted to the mass education of the citizenry. The UPE and UBE programmes of the state are laudable initiatives. However, the vacillation and discontinuity in the state's educational policy made it impossible for the initiatives to realize their full potentials. Since nation-building is a continuous process, the education that is required to achieve this for Nigeria must also be made to be continuous. A situation whereby the state, during Gowon regime would start a programme, and for the programme to be scrapped when a new regime takes over has not helped the Nigerian educational system. Lack of continuity in educational policy and programmes have negatively affected the nation-building process in Nigeria.

2. Nigeria's federal structure is highly flawed. Federalism is meant, in principle, to adjudicate and regulate the interactions that take place in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. The basis of this is to ensure that conflict and hostility are relegated to the barest minimum in such heterogeneous society. In Nigeria, this is not the case. Nigeria's

federalism has taken different dimensions. Under Shehu Shagari, 1979-1983, Nigeria's federal structure assumed the garb of confederalism. This led to a conflictual relationship between the centre and the states in the federation. During Obasanjo's administration, Nigeria's federalism became overtly centralized. The power of the federal government far outstripped those of all the states put together. This situation led to unhealthy competition for resources accruing to the centre. The structural imbalances that has been highlighted were the main features of Nigeria's federal structure between 1967 and 2007. Thus, for Nigeria to carry-out a successful nation-building process, the state must correct the anomaly in the country's federal structure.

Based on Nigeria's historical antecedent and the country's multi-ethic and multi-cultural structure, federalism still remains the best political structure for the country. However, the federalism that is advocated here is not going to be based on the classic K.C. Wheare's federalism but a variant. This variant form connotes cooperation, collaboration, competition and interdependence by all the federating units. Karl Deutsch, William Livingstone and Carl Frederick are the major proponents of this alternative federal structure. This modern federalism will use socio-political dynamics of the Nigerian society to create a federal structure that will meet the aspirations of the different ethnic groups within the country.

This is where the idea of a SNC will become relevant. The SNC will create an informal avenue for the ventilation and distillation of critical issues affecting the Nigerian state. Through the dialogue and discourse of its proceeding, it will then become easier for the state to have a clearer picture of the kind of federal arrangement that will be best suited to Nigeria.

3. The CSGs must be recognized by the state as an important adjunct in the country's nation-building process. The CSGs played critical roles in Nigeria's democratic process between 1985 and 1999. Now that Nigeria is a democratic state, the CSGs must actively engage in strengthening the democratic structures in the country. The CSGs must ensure that institutions are not 'personalized' and 'individualized'. The Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, for example, personalized or individualized some of the important institutions it established to tackle the country's nation-building challenges. The corruption-fighting organization, EFCC is a good example. Moreover, CSGs must ensure that concepts such as democracy, transparency, accountability, due process and rule of law are key planks of its complementary efforts in the nation-building process. The CSGs must further act as the watchdog of the society and ensure that the state's nation-building programmes are well articulated and implemented.

4. The study discovers that the state made use of the institutional, constitutional, conceptual and praetorian mechanisms in its nation-building efforts between 1967 and 2007. To ensure the creation of a viable, cohesive and functional Nigeria in the future, the state must intensify its use of the constitutional, institutional and conceptual mechanisms. Constitutional provisions of the 1999 constitution must be aggressively implemented. Key provisions such as federal character principle, human rights and rule of law must feature prominently in the country's nation-building process. Institutions such as the EFCC, ICPC and INEC, that were created to tackle the challenges of corruption, democracy and governance, must be strengthened and de-personalized. In addition, the state must ensure that concepts such as rule of law, accountability, legitimacy and respect for human rights are important planks of Nigeria's nation-building process.

5. Finally, a solid, sound ideological and philosophical bedrock must be established for Nigeria's nation-building process. The significance of ideology in the nation-building process cannot be overemphasized. Ideology is the important missing link in Nigeria's nation-building process. Indeed, in the researcher's analysis of the concept of nation-building, ideology is identified as one of the key elements of nation-building. The provision of ideology will serve two critical functions in

Nigeria's nation-building process. The first one is that at the societal level, ideology will bring the people in steps with the country's ideals. If properly utilized, it will create feelings of patriotism, loyalty and nationalism in the people for the nation. This, for instance, is the function the Nigerian national anthem and pledge are meant to serve . At the political level, ideology will make it easier for the citizen to collaborate with the political elites in advancing the state's nation-building programmes. This is why the provision of a sound ideology must be made an integral part of political parties' manifestoes in Nigeria. From the ideologies of the different political parties, the state can then distill a national ideology for Nigeria. This point is important. The national ideology must not be imposed from the top if it is to be generally acceptable. It must be culled from the shared consciousness and aspirations of the different Nigerian ethnic groups.

Contributions to Knowledge

From the findings, the present study has made the following three contributions to knowledge:

1. The study provides a holistic historical analysis of the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007 with a clear explanation of the contending issues and circumstances.

2. The study demonstrates the deleterious effects of the absence of sound ideological and philosophical foundations on the nation-building process in Nigeria between 1967 and 2007.
3. The analysis of the interface of state and non-state actors in nation-building brings a fresh perspective to the understanding of the challenges of the nation-building process in Nigeria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Oral Interviews

Name	**Age**	**Occupation**	**Place of interview**	**Date of interview**
Porf. Pat Utomi	55	Politician; Former presidential aspirant of SDMP.	6 Balarable Musa cresent off l004, Victoria Island Lagos	10 – 5 – 11
Mr Joseph Adeyeye	40	Editor the punch	The Punch Place, Lagos Ibadan Expressway, Lagos..	15-6-10
Dr. Adeleke Ademola	50+	Associate Professor of International Relations	Dept. of History and Strategic studies, University of Lagos Akoka	5-3-10

Prof. Adebayo Lawal	60+	Professor of History	Dept. of History and Strategic University of Lagos, Akoka	5-3-10
Mr Gani Adams	41	OPC leader	Abule Ado Lagos	11-3-11
Mr Oyegbadebo Samson	49	OPC lieutenant	1 Tobun street, Onike, Yaba	12-7-10
Dr Charles Alade	50+	Associate professor of History	Dept of History and Int studies Lagos State University Ojo	2-2-11
Dr Modupeola Faseke	50+	Associate professor of History	Dept of History and Int'l Studies Lagos state university of	10-2-11

			Ojo	
Dr. Bamgbose Adele	50+	Political scientist	Dept of Political Science, Lagos state university of Ojo	12-1-11
Dr. David Aworawo	40+	Senior Lecturer	Dept. of History and Strategic Studies University of Lagos, Akoka	15-6-11

Archival Materials

The Head of the Federal Military Government. "Broadcast to the Nation, October 1, 1970." in *Unity, Stability, and Progress: The Challenge of the Second Decade of Nigeria's Independence.* Jos: Benue-Plateau State Government Printer, n.d. National Archive Enugu, herein known as NAE.

East Central State. "First Development Plan, 1970-1974: Programmeme of Post-War Reconstruction." Official Documents No. 2 of 1971. Enugu: Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, 1971. NAE.

East-Central State Ministry of Works, Housing, Transport. "1971 Annual Report." Official Document no. 2 of 1972. Enugu, Government Printer, 1972. 16-17. NAE

Federal Republic of Nigeria. "Second National Development Plan, 1970-1974." Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1970, 87. National Archive Ibadan, herein known as NAI.

Mid-Western State Government. *Understanding the Nigeria Crisis*. Benin City: Ministry of Information, July, 1968. NAE.

Ministry of Economic Development. "Third National Development Plan, 1975-1980: East Central State Programmeme." Official Document, no. 5 of 1975, Enugu 1975. NAE.

Newspapers

Business Times. Lagos. September 28, 1987.

Nigerian Tribune, 12 April, 2000.

The Guardian. Lagos. 3 October, 1996.

The Guardian, Lagos, June 10, 1998.

The Guardian. Lagos. December 5 and 6, 1998.

The Guardian. Lagos. May 28, 1999.

The *Guardian* (Lagos) April 26, 2006.

The Guardian, Lagos, April 24, 2007.

Sunday Punch, Lagos, 27 February, 2010.

The Punch. Lagos, January 15, 1986.

Vanguard. Lagos, 30 August, 1988.

Vanguard (Lagos), 23 November 2005.

Magazines

Newswatch. Lagos. Special Edition. April 13, 1987.

Newswatch. Lagos. 14 October, 1996.

Newswatch. Lagos. 22 January, 1990.

West Africa, January 24, 1970.

The Economist. 15 March, 2007.

Secondary Sources

Monographs

Adeleke**,** Ademola. *The Evolution of party Politics in Nigeria, 1914-2000*. University of Lagos, no. 2 , June 2006.

Books

Adedeji, Adebayo. ed. *Indigenization of African Economics*, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1981.

Adedeji, A. and Otite, O. "Introduction." in *Nigeria: Renewal from the Roots?* Edited by Adedeji, A. and Otite, O., 1-20. London: Zed Press, 1997.

Adejumobi, Said. *State, Economy and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*. New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Adejumobi, Said. "Introduction: State, Economy and Society in Neo-Liberal Regime," in *State, Economy and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*. Edited by Adejumobi Said, 9. New York: Macmillan, 2011.

----------*Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria.* ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

---------- "The Impact of the Civil War on the Nigerian State." in *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*. edited by Siyan Oyeweso, 229. Lagos: Campus Press Limited, 1992.

---------- "Structural Adjustment and Transition to Civil Rule Programmeme in Nigeria, 1986-1993: A Shrinking of Democratic Agenda." in *Crisis and Contradictions in Nigeria's Democratization Programmeme: 1986-1993*. edited by Mimiko Olufemi. ed. Akure, Ondo: Stebak Ventures, 1995.

Ademoyega, Adewale. *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup*. London: Evans, 1981.

Afigbo, A. E. *The Warant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1897-1929*. London: Longman, 1972.

Ajayi, J. F. A. *Christian Missions in Nigeria: 1841-1891*. London: Longmans, 1965.

Akindele, R. A. "The Constituent Assembly, 1988-89." In *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida.* edited by Diamond Larry, Kirk-Greene and Oyediran Oyeleye, 96. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Alli, Warris. "Nigeria's Foreign Policy of Democratic Transition and Economic Reforms." in *Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria: Changes and Challenges*. edited by Said Adejumobi, 154.ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Almond, Gabriel A., Bingham, Powell G., Kaare Storm and Russell, Dalton J., eds. *Comparative Politics Today*. 8th ed. New York: Longman, 2004.

Awolowo Obafemi, *Path to Nigerian Freedom.* London: Faber and Faber, 1966.

Amuwo, 'Kunle. "Historical Roots of the Nigerian Civil war: An Explanation." in *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil war*. edited by Siyan Oyeweso, 1-12. Lagos: OAP Publications, 1992.

Amuwo, 'Kunle, Adigun Agbaje, Georges Heraul and Rotimi Suberu. eds. *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited 2000.

Amuwo, 'Kunle. "Beyond the Orthodoxy of Political Restructuring: The Abacha Junta and the Political Economy of Force." in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*. edited by Amuwo 'Kunle, Suberu Rotimi, Adigun Agbaje and Georges Hesult, 81. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2000.

Arthur, S. Banks, Alan J. Day and Thomas C. Muller. eds. *Political Handbook of the World: 1997* . Binghamton, NY: CSA Publication, 1997.

Awa, Eme O. *Federal Government in Nigeria*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.

Ayoade, J. A. A. "The Federal Character Principle and the Search for National Integration." in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria,* Edited by 'Kunle Amuwo, et al., 177-188. Ibadan Spectrum Books Limited, 2000.

Adigun, Agbaje. "Mobilizing for a New Political Culture." in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida.* edited by Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran, 147-148. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Arjun, Appadorai. *The Substance of Politics.* 7th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

Anthony, Smith D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Abukakar, Momoh and Said, Adejumobi. *The Nigerian Military and the Crisis of Democratic Transition.* Lagos: Civil Liberties Organization, 1999.

Asika, Ukpabi. "Rehabilitation and Resettlement." In *Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria*. edited by Ayida A. A. and Onitiri, H. M. A, 635. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971.

Audu, Muhammad S. "Emerging Issues in the Culture of Corruption in Nigeria: Implications for National Development." in *Perspectives on Nation-Building*, *Perspectives on Nation-Building and Development in Nigeria.* edited by Hassan A. Saliu, Isah H. Jimoh, Noah Yusuf and Emmanuel O. Ofo, 212. Lagos: Concept Publicaions Limited, 2008.

Ayida, A. A. and Onitiri, H. M. A. *Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971.

Awa, Eme "Electoral Administration in the early Transition," edited by in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida.* edited by Diamond Larry, Kirk-Greene and Oyediran Oyeleye, 127-128. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Balogun, S. A. "History of Islam up to 1800." in *Groundwork of Nigerian History,* edited by Obaro Ikime, 210-220. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980.

Banks, Arthur S., Alan J. Day and Thomas C. Muller. eds. *Political Handbook of the World: 1997.* Binghamton, NY: CSA Publication, 1997.

Bello-Imam, I. B. *The War Against Corruption in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects.* Ibadan: college press and publisher Limited, 2005.

Biersteker Thomas and Peter Lewis. "The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria." in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida.* edited by Diamond Larry, Kirk-Greene and Oyediran Oyeleye, 340. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Boyer, Paul S., Clifford Clark, Kett Joseph F., Salisbury Neal and Sitkoff Harvard. eds., *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People, Vol. 2: From 1865* . U.S.A.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1990.

Brown Chris and Ainley Kirsten. *Understanding International Relations*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Campbell, John. *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2011.

Canovan, Margaret. *Nationhood and Political Theory*. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1998.

Coleman, Smoot James. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism.* Benin City: Broburg & Winstrom, 1986.

Carl, J. Friedrich. "Nation-Building," in *Nationbuilding*, edited by Karl Deutsch and William Foltz. 28. New York: Atherton, 1963.

Cervenka, Zdenek. *A History of the Nigerian War, 1967-1970.* Ibadan: Onibonoje Press, 1972.

Chuku, Gloria I. "Quest for National Purification: Murtala Muhammed's New Vision, 1975-1976." in *Troubled Journey – Nigeria Since the Civil War. edited by* Levi Nwachuku and G. N. Uzoigwe, 80. New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc., 2004.

Crowder, Michael. *The Story of Nigeria*. 3rd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.

Danmole, H. O. and Aghalino, S. O. "The Military and Creation of States in Nigeria, 1967-1991." in *Contemporary Issues in Nigerian Affairs*. edited by Davies, A. E., Danmole, H. O. and Taiwo, I. O., 20. ILorin: SUNAD Publishers, 1995.

Danziger, N. James. *Understanding the Political World: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science*. 6th ed. New–York: Longman, 2003.

Dent, M. J. "Corrective Government: Military Rule in Perspective." In *Soldiers and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria*. edited by Panter-Brick, K., 11 4-116. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1978.

Deutsch, W. Karl., *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundation of Nationality*. 2nd ed. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966.

Deutsch, W. Karl., "Nationalism and Social Communication," in *Nationalism*, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith. 97. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Diamond, Larry, Anthony, KirkGreene and Oyeleye, Oyediran. *Transition Without End.* Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Diamond, Larry. "Nigeria: The Uncivic Society and Descent into Praetorianism in Politics." in *Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. edited by Diamond Larry, J. Juna Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, 418-419. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.

Dibua, J. I. "Collapse of Purpose: Ibrahim Babangida, 1985-1993." in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War*, edited by Levi A. Nwachukwu and G.N. Uzoigwe, 208. New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc. 2004.

Dudley, B. J. *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1982.

Egwu, Samuel. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts and National Security in Nigeria: Illusions from the Middle Belt." in *State, Economy and Society in Post-Military Nigeria.* edited by Adejumobi Said, 49. New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Ejiofor, Lambert U., *Igbo kingdoms: Power and Control.* Onitsha: African Publishers, 1982.

Elaigwu, J. I. "NationBuilding and Political Development in Nigeria: The Challenge of Unity in a Heterogeneous Society," in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence*, Vol. I. edited by Atanda J. A. and Aliyu A. Y. 462-464. Zaira: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1985.

Elaigwu, J. I. *Gowon*. Ibadan: West View Publisher Limited, 1987.

Elaigwu, Isawa J. and Uzoigwe G. N. *Foundations of Nigerian Federalism: 1900-1960*. 2nd ed. Jos: Institute of Governance and Social Research, 2001.

Elaigwu, Isawa, J. *Nigeria: Yesterday and Today For Tomorrow* Jos: Aha Publishing House Limited, 2005.

Elaigwu, Isawa J. "The Military and Political Engineering in Nigeria (1966-1979): An Overview." in *Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria.* edited by Ade Ajayi J. F. A. and Bashir Ikata, 185. Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1985.

Forrest, Tom. *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria.* Oxford: Westview Press, 1993.

Falola, Toyin. *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies.* Rochester, N. Y.: University of Rochester press, 1998.

Falola, Toyin and Ann Genova. *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria*. Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009.

Falola, Toyin and Heaton, Mathew. *A History of Nigeria.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Falola, Toyin and Ihonvbere, Julius. T*he Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1984*. London: Zed Books, 1985.

Federal Government of Nigeria*. Collected Speeches of General Murtala Mohammed*. Department of Information. Office of the President. Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1980.

Federal Republic of Nigeria. *Report of the Constitutional Review Committee Containing the Reviewed Constitution, volumes I and II.* Lagos: Federal Government Printers, 1988.

Federal Republic of Nigeria. 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1979.

Federal Republic of Nigeria. 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1979.

Flint, John E. *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Modern Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Gbulie, Ben. *Nigeria's Five Majors: Coup d'etat of 15 January 1966, First Inside Account.* Onitsha: African Educational publishers Ltd, 1981.

Graf, W. D. *The Nigerian State: Political Economy, State Class and Political System in the Post-Colonial Era.* London: James Currey, 1988.

Gregory, Mahler. *Comparative Politics: An Institutional and Cross-National Approach*. 5th ed. New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2008.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

Grant, A. J. and Harold Temperly. eds. *Europe in the Nineteen and Twentieth Centuries 1789-1950.* 6th ed. London: Longman, 1980.

Hassan, Saliu A., and Abiola Lipede. "Constraints on Democracy in Nigeria," in *Perspectives on Nation-Building and Development in Nigeria. Edited by* Hassan A. Saliu, Isah H. Jimoh, Noah Yusuf and Emmanuel O. Ofo, 128-129. Lagos: Concept Publicaions Limited, 2008.

Hippler, Jochen. ed. *Nation-Building: A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transfor mation.* London: Pluto Press, 2005.

Harris, B. Peter. *Fundamentals of Political Science.* London: Hutchinson and CO. Publishers Ltd, 1983.

Hechter, Michael. "Internal Colonialism Revisited," in *New Nationalisms of the Developed West.* Edited by Edward A. Tiryakian and Roland Rogowski, London: Allen and Unwin, 1985.

Heupel Monica. "State-Building and the Transformation of Warfare." in *Facets and Practices of State-Building.* edited by Julia Raue and Patrick Sutter, 59. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009.

Hiskett, Mervyn. *The Development of Islam in West Africa.* London: Longman, 1984.

Ihonvbere, Julius, Omozuanvbo. *Nigeria: The Politcs of Adjustment and Democracy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994.

Iroanusi, Sam. *Nigeria's Heads of State and Government.* Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 1997.

Iroanusi, Sam. *The Making of the Fourth Republic.* Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 2000.

Isa, Y. I. and Zakari, M. Y. "The Courts and the Management of Elections in Nigeria." in *Managing Elections in Nigeria*. edited by Omodia, S. M. Keffi: Onaivi Printing and Publishing company, 2008.

Ikime, Obaro. *The fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*. London: Heinemann, 1977.

Ikime, Obaro. editor. *Groundwork of Nigerian History.* Ibadan: Heineman, 1980.

Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of the Igbo People*. London: Macmillan, 1976.

Iyare, T. "An Overview of Political Parties in Nigeria," in *Governance: Nigeria and the World*, edited by S. Odion-Akhaine, 79-98. Lagos: Center for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization, 2004.

John, Keane. "Despotism and Democracy: The Origins and Development of the Distinction Between Civil Society and the State 1750-1850" in *Civil Society and the State*. edited by John Keane, 3. New York: verso, 1988.

Joseph, Richard. *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The rise and Fall of the Second Republic*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1991.

Kellas, G. James. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity.* London: Macmillan, 1991.

Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry and Jerry Goldman. *The challenge of Democracy: Government in America*. Boston: Houghton Iwiffin company, 1989.

Kirk-Greene, H. M. *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria: A Documentary Source Book, 1966-1970. Vol. I*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Kirk-Greene, Anthony and Douglas Rimmer. *Nigeria Since 1970: A Political and Economic Outline.* London: Hodder and Stonghton, 1981.

Kukah, Hassan, Mathew. *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria.* Ibadan: spectrum books Limited, 2007.

Jinadu, L. Adele. "A Note on the Theory of Federalism." in *Readings on Federalism*. edited by Akinyemi, A. B., Cole, P. D. and Walter Ofonagoro. 13-18. Lagos: N. I. I. A, 1980.

Larre, Klaus. ed. *A Companion to Europe Since 1945.* U.K.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd:, 2009.

Legum, C. "Nigeria." in *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents, 1985-1986*. Edited by Legum C, 125. New York: Africana, 1987.

Mengisteab, Kidane and Cyril Daddieh. *State-building and Democratization in Africa: Faith, Hope and Realities*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1999.

Milliken Jennifer and Krause Keith. “State Failure, State Collapse and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies.” in *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*. edited by Jennifer Milliken, 1. Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 2003.

Momoh, H. B., Major-General. ed. *The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970: History and Reminiscences*. Ibadan: Sam Bookman Publishers, 2000.

Na’Allah, Abdul, Rasheed. ed. *Ogoni’s Agonies: Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Crisis in Nigeria.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998.

National Planning Commission. *Nigeria: National Empowerment and Development Strategy: NEEDS*. Abuja: NPC, 2004.

Nwankwo, Clement. “The Nigerian Judicial System and Human Rights.” in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida.* edited by Diamond Larry, Kirk-Greene and Oyediran Oyeley e, 377, 400-401. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Nwachukwu, Akalazu, Levi and Uzoigwe G. N. eds. *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War.* New York, Oxford: University of Press of America, Inc., 2004.

Nwachuku, Levi A. “A survey of Nigerian History Since Independence.” in *Troubled Journey*. edited by Nwahuku and Uzoigwe. 24-25.

Nwachuku, Levi A. “Vision Betrayed?: Olusegun Obasanjo, 1976-1979.” in *Troubled Journey*. edited by Nwachuku and Uzoigwe. 118.

Nwachuku, Levi A. “Crisis of Purpose: General Muhammad Buhari’s Renaissance of National Sanitation, 1984-1985.” in *Troubled Journey*. edited by Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, 197.

Obasanjo, Olusegun. *Not My Will*. Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1990.

Obi, Cyril I. “The Impact of Oil on Nigeria’s Revenue Allocation System: Problems and Prospects for National Reconstruction.” in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria.* edited by ‘Kunle Amuwo, et al., 265.

Obiezuofu-Ezeigbo, Edmund C. *The Biafran War and the Igbo in Contemporary Nigerian Politics.* .Lagos: Genius Press, 2007.

Ofonagoro, W. I., Ojo, A. and Jinadu, A. eds. *The Great Debate: Nigerian Viewpoints on the Draft Constitution, 1976/1977.* Lagos: Daily Times Publications, 1977.

Ojiako, J. O. *13 Years of Military Rule, 1966-1979*. Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd. Publication, 1979.

Olling, R. D. and West Macott. ed. *The Federal Citizen Perspectives on Canadian Federalism.* Canada: Prentice Hall, 1988.

Olowonini, G. D. “Federalism and Vertical Intergovernmental Financial Imbalance in Nigeria.” in *Fiscal Federalism and Nigeria’s Economic Development*. edited by Ben Aigbokhan, 192. Ibadan: Secre publishing, 1999.

Ojukwu, Odumegwu C. *Biafra*. N.Y.: Harper Row, 1969.

Olurode, Lai. and Remi Anifowoso. eds. *Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections* .Ikeja: John West, 2004.

Osuntokun, Jide. "The Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism," in *Readings on Federalism. Edited by* Akinyemi, A. B., Cole P. D. and Walter Ofonagoro, 66. Lagos: N. I. I. A, 1980.

Olukoshi, Bayo. "Associational Life." In *Transition Without End*. 451-452. Edited by Larry Diamond, Anthony KirkGreene and Oyeleye Oyediran. Ibadan: Vantage Publisher, 1997.

Ogundowole, Klawole. *Colonial Amalgam: Federalism and the National Question.* Lagos: Pumark Nigeria Limited, 1994.

Okeke, Okechukwu. "Legacy of National Paralysis: Ernest Shonekan and Sani Abacha, 1993-1998." in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War*, Nwachukwu, Levi A., and Uzoigwe, G. N., 243. ed. Maryland: University Press of America, 2004.

Okoosi-Simbine, Antonia C. "Corruption in Nigeria." in *State, Economy and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*. edited by Said Adejumobi, 157. ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Olagunju, Tunji, Adele Jinadu and Sam Oyovbaire. *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria, 1985-1993*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993.

Olagunju, Tunji and Sam Oyovbaire, ed. *Portrait of a New Nigeria: Selected Speeches of IBB*, vol. 1. London: Precision Press, 1989.

Olusanya, G. O. "Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, 1861-1960." in *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. edited by Obaro Ikime, 52. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980.

Onuoha, Browne, and M.M. Fadakinte. *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002.

Onuoha, Browne. "Reflections on the Transition Programmemes." in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*. edited by Onuoha Browne and Fadakinte, M. M., 23-24. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002.

Onuoha, Browne. "General Abdulsalami Abubakar and the Short Transition," in *Transition Politics in Nigeria,* Onuoha Browne and Fadakinte, M. M., 329-330. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002.

Osaghae, Eghosa E. *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence.* London: Hurst & Company, 1988.

Osaghae, Eghosa. "Political Parties, the Creation of More States and Federal Stability in Nigeria." in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence, Zaria, March, 1983: Political Development, Vol. 1*. edited by J. A. Atanda and A. Y. Aliyu, 514. Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1985.

Othman, S. "Nigeria: Power for Profit-Class, Corporatism, and Factionalisation in the Military," in *Contemporary West African Studies*. edited by O'Brien, D. B. C., Dunn, J. and Rathbone, 125. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Otite, O. "Sociological Study of Corruption." in *Nigeria: Corruption in Development.* Odekunle, F. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1986.

Oyediran, Oyeleye. "The Political Bureau," in *Transition without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society under Babangida's Regime.* edited by Diamond, Larry, Kirk-Greene Anthony and Oyeleye Oyediran, 70. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers, 1997.

Oyeweso, Siyan, ed. *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*. Lagos: Campus Press Limited, 1992.

Oyeweso, Siyan. "Gowon and Igbo Re-Integration (1970-1975): A Retrospective Analysis." in *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War*. Siyan Oyeweso, 249.

Oyovbaire, Egite. "The Politics of Revenue Allocation." in *Soldiers and Oil, The Political Transformation of Nigeria*. edited by Keith Panter-Brick, 238-239. England: Frank Cass, 1978.

Post, Kenneth and Michael Vickers. *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*, 1960-1966. London: Heinemann, 1973.

Report of the Political Bureau .Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1987.

Remi, Aiyede E. "The Role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC in Combating Political Corruption," in *Money and Politics in Nigeria*. edited by Adetula Victor, A. O., 46. Abuja; Petra Digital Press, 2008.

Rokkan, Stein and Derek, W. Urwin. eds. *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism* London: Sage, 1982.

Rokkan, Stein. "Center Formation, Nation-building and Cultural Diversity: Report on a UNESCO Programmeme." in *Building States and Nations: Vol. I &*

II, edited by S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan, 26. Beverly Hills: Lage, 1973.

Rokkan, Stein and Derek W. Urwin, eds. *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism*. London: Sage, 1982.

Ryder, A. F. C. *Benin and the European 1485-1897*. London: Heinemann, 1968.

Saliu, Hassan A. and Abiola Lipede. "Constraints on Democracy in Nigeria," in *Perspectives on Nation-Building and Development in Nigeria.* edited by Saliu Hassan, A., Isah H. Jimoh, Noah Yusuf and Emmanuel O. Ofo, 128-129. Lagos: Concept Publicaions Limited, 2008.

Salomone, F. "Ethnic Identities and Religions." in *Religion and Society in Nigeria*. edited by Olupona, J. K. and T. Falola. Ibadan Spectrum Books, 1991.

Siollun, Max. *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture,1966-1976.* New York: Algora Publishing, 2009.

Sklar, L. Richard. *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation.* New York, Enugu: NOK Publishers, 1983.

Suberu, Rotimi. *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria.* Washington D. C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001.

Smith, Jordan Daniel. *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Smith, M. G. "Institutional and Political Considerations of Pluralism." in *Pluralism in Africa*. edited by Kuper L. and M. G. Smith. 30-33. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971.

Smith, D. Anthony. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Soyinka Wole. *You Must Set Forth at Dawn; A Memoir.* New York: Random House, 2006.

St. Jorre, John de. *The Nigerian Civil War*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972.

St. Jorre, John de. *The Brothers War: Biafra and Nigeria*. London: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

Strickler, V. J. and R. Davies. "Political Party Conventions," in *International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, edited by Magill, F. N. 1025. London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbin Publishers, 1996.

Schwarz, Walter. *Nigeria.* New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1968.

Tamuno, Tekena. *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914*. London: Longman, 1972.

Tamuno, Tekena N. "Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective." in Federalism *and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*. 'Kunle Amuwo, Adigun Agbaje, Rotimi Suberu and Georges Herault, 21. eds. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited 2003.

Taiwo, Olukayode. "Transition and the Law." in *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*. edited by Onuoha Browne and Fadekinte, M. M., 203. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2002.

Tarfa, Paul C. *Profile in Courage*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 2007.

Udegbe, Bola I. "The Constitutional Conference, Political Restructuring and Women's Access to Power," in *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, Amuwo 'Kunle, Rotimi Suberu, Adigun Agbaje and Georges Herault, 153. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2000.

Urhobo, E. *Relief Operation in the Nigeria Civil War*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1978.

Usman, Yusufu, Bala and George Kwanashie Amale. *Inside Nigerian History, 1950-1970: Events, Issues and Sources*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 1995.

Uwechue, Ralph. ed. *Africa Today*. London: Africa Books Limited, 1992.

Uzoigwe, G. N. "Nigeria to 1960: An Overview." in *Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War*. Edited by Levi A. Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, G. N., 7. New York: University Press of America, Inc., 2004.

Uzoigwe, G. N. and Stella A. Effah-Alloe. "Vision Lost: Restoration of Civilian Rule and Shehu Shagari's Missed Opportunity." in *Troubled Journey*, edited by Nwachuku and Uzoigwe, 149-150.

Weimann, Gunnar J. *Islamic Criminal Law in Northern Nigeria: Politics, Religion, Judicial Practice*. Vossiuspers UVA: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.

Journal Articles

Abraham, Nabhon, Thomas. "Beyond the Platitude of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Nigeria: Revolutionary Pressures in the Niger Delta." *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2010): 57.

Aboyade, O., and Ayida A. "The war Economy in Perspective." *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1972): 34.

Adegbulu, Femi. “Nigeria’s (Unholy) Wedlock With Corruption: Can Death Put Them Asunder?.” *The Journal of International Social Research*, vol. 3, Issue:12 (September 2010): 13-16.

Agbese, Ogaba, Pita, and George Klay Kieh. “Military Disengagement from African Politics: The Nigerian Experience.” *Afrika Spectrum,* 27, 1 (1992):15.

Akpomuvie, O. B., and F. O. Forae. “Ethnic Communal Conflicts in Nigeria,” *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2 (January-December 2005): 144-146.

Aluko, S. A. “How many Nigerians? An Analysis of Nigeria’s Census Problems, 1901-63.” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 3, no. 3 (1965): 371-392.

Anyanwu, John C. “President Babangida’s Structural Adjustment Programme and Inflation in Nigeria.” *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 7,1 (1992): 6-7.

Arowolo, Dare. “Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria: Theory and Dimension.” *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 22 (2 October 2011): 3.

Awotona, Adenrele. “Approaches to Post-War Reconstruction and Development: Lessons From Africa.” *Habitat International*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1992): 80.

Benedict, Michael. “Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on the Problem of Development in Nigeria in the 21st Century.” *Journal of Social and Contemporary Issues (JSCI),* Vol. 2, No. 1 and 1 (January-December, 2006): 55.

De Sardan, J. P. O. “A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa.” *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, (1999).

Diamond, Larry. “The Rule of Law Versus the Big Man,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 19, no. 2 (April 2008): 138-149.

Diamond, Larry. “The Rule of Law Versus the Big Man.” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (April 2008): 138-149.

Dike, Victor E. “Review of the Challenges Facing the Nigerian Economy: Is National Development Cossible Without Technological capability?.” *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (2010): 96-104.

Duruji, Moses. Meturama, “Democracy and the challenge of Ethno-Nationalism in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic: Interrogating Institutional Mechanism.” *Journal of Peace*, *Conflict and Development*, Issue 15 (March 2010): 92.

Elaigwu, J. I. “Federalism and National Leadership in Nigeria.” *Publius: Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1991): 125-144.

Elumilade, D., O. and T. O. Asaolu. “Appraising the Institutional Framework for Poverty Alleviation Programmemes in Nigeria.” *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics*, Issue 3 (2006): 69.

Essai, Uwem. and Afzal Yearoo. “Strengthening Civil Society Organizations/ Government Partnership in Nigeria,” *International NGO Journal*, vol. 4, 9 (September, 2009).

Falode, Adewunmi, James. "The Nigeria Civil War, 1967-1970: A Revolution?." *African Journal Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 3 (March 2011): 120-124.

Galadima, H. S. "Militarism and Governance in Nigeria." *Governance: A Journal of the Institute of Governance and Social Research,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1998): 116-117.

Kesner-Skreb, M. "Fiscal Federalism: Financial Theory and Practice." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 33 (2) (2009): 235-237.

Ifamose, Folasade. "The Fourth Republic Economic Reforms in Nigeria and the Millennium Development Goal: A Perspective." *AAU: African Studies Review*, Vol. 9 (June 2010): 410.

Ifamose, F. O. "Governance in a Persuaded Society: A Critique of the Anti-Corruption of the 4th Republic." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN),* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2004).

Ikengah-Metuh, E. "Two Decades of Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: A Recipe For Peace." *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology*, Vol. 6, 1 (1994).

Jacob, Omenka, Iba. "Power Rotation and Democratic Stability in Nigeria: The Experience of Benue." *Journal of Research and Contemporary Issues* (JRCI), Vol. 2, No. 1 and 2 (Jan-December, 2006): 67.

Kesner-Skreb, M. "Fiscal Federalism: Financial Theory and Practice." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 33 (2) (2009): 235-237.

Laitin, D. "The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 20 (1982): 411-420.

Muhammed, Abdulrasheed A. "Federalism and Political Stability in Nigeria: Current Peril and Future Hopes." *Journal of sustainable Development in Africa*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2007): 187.

Nwabughogu, A. I. "The Role of Propaganda in the Development of Indirect Rule in Nigeria 1890-1929." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14, 1 (1981).

Nye, J. O. "Corruption and Political Development: A Case Benefit Analysis." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June 1967).

Oates, W. E. "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism." *America: Journal of Economic Literature*, 37 (3) (1999): 120-149.

Odeh, Lemuel Ekedegwa. "The Resurgence of Sharia Issue in contemporary Nigeria, 1999-2009." *Benue Valley Journal of Humanities*, vol. 9, no. 1&2 (January – December, 2010): 5.

Odofin, A. P. "Federalism and Governance in Nigeria: The Crisis of Transformation and the Challenges of Nation-building." *Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2 (January-December, 2005): 15.

Okoosi-Simbine, A. T. "Government and Corruption in Nigeria: A General Impression." *Annals of the Social Science Council of Nigeria*, No. 5, (January-December 1993): 110-118.

Olukoshi, Adebayo O. "Economy and Politics in the Nigerian Transition." *African Journal of Political Science* (AJPS), vol. 5, no. 2 (2000): 23.

Ojukwu, Chris C. "Igbo Nation, Modern Statecraft and the Geopolitics of National Survival in a Multiethnic Nigeria." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* (AJPSIR), vol. 3, 5 (May 2009): 183.

Omenka, Iba, Jacob. "Power Rotation and Democratic Stability in Nigeria: The Experience of Benue." *Journal of Research and Contemporary Issues* (JRCI), vol. 2, no. 1 and 2 (January-December, 2006): 67.

Omotola, Shola J. "Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology." *Journal of Alternative perspectives in the Social Sciences,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (2009): 612-634.

Osaghae, Eghosa. "The Role of Civil Society in Consolidating Democracy: An African Comparative Perspective." *Africa Insight*. vol. 27, no. 1, (1997): 15.

Osaghae, Eghosa E. and T. Rotimi Suberu. "A History of Identities, Violence and Stability in Nigeri." *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE)*, CRISE Working Paper, No. 6 (January 2005): 11.

Osha, Sanya. "Ethics and Revisionism in Nigerian Governance." *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*, XVI, 1-2 (2002): 88.

Suberu, Rotimi. "The Travails of Federalism in Nigeria." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1993): 40.

Thomas, Gold. "Civil Society and its Role in a Democratic State." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1990).

Ukiwo, Ukoha. "Violence, Identity Mobilization and the Reimagining of Biafra." *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, (2009):22-25.

Uzoechi, Nwagbara, "The Nigerian Press, The Public Sphere and Sustainable Development: Engaging the Post Amnesty Deal in the Niger Delta." *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* Vol. 12, No.3 (2010).

Way, Lucan and Stephen Levitsky. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2 (2002): 51-56.

Periodicals

Africa Research Bulletin. vol. 21, no. 4 (1-30 April, 1984): 7219.

Ekeanyanwu, Lilian. Loremikan, Shina. and Ikubaje John. "National Integrity Systems: Country Study Report, Nigeria 2004." *Transparency International* (2004): 71.

"Nigeria's Faltering Federal Experiment." *Crisis Group* (25 October 2006).

Otite Igbuzor, "Strategies for Winning the Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria," ActionAid Nigeria Briefing, Paper No. 2 (2008): 6.

"The Swamps of Insurgency: Nigeria's Delta Unrest." Africa Report No. 115, *Crisis Group* (3 August, 2006):1.

"Want in the Midst of Plenty." *Crisis Group*, no. 113 (19 July 2006).

"Civil Society in Nigeria; Contributing to Positive Social Change." *CIVICUS Civil Society Index: Nigeria*. ActionAid Nigeria, Abuja, September 2007: 18.

Zero Tolerance. Magazine of the EFCC, Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 2006): 17.

Conference

Akinboye, Solomon O., and Samuel O. Oloruntoba. "Civil Society Organizations and Transition Politics in Nigeria: A Retrospective Analysis of the 2007 General Elections,": 5. A paper presented at the National Conference on 2007 General Elections in Nigeria, organized by the department of Political Science, University of Lagos, 26-27 September, 2007.

Internet Materials

Adeola, Gbadamosi, Tajudeen. "Military legacies and the Challenge of Managing Diversities in Nigeria's Federation." a paper presented to the 20th Summer University Programme of the Institute of Federalism, Frisbourg , Switzerland, August 29, 2008, available online at www.federalism.ch/files/filedownload/887/gbadamosi:nigeria.pdf, (accessed 2 November, 2011).

Aluko, Mobolaji E. "The NPRC and the PNC - Thoughts on the Opposing National Conferences." Available online at http://www.dawodu.com/aluko108htm, (accessed 25 September 2010).

Ayua, Ignatius, Akaayar. and Dakas C. J. Dakaj. "Federal Republic of Nigeria," *International Association of Centers for Federal Studies*. n. d., http://www.federalism.ch/files/categories/intensivkursII/nigeria1.pdf, (accessed 3 January 2011).

Bach, Daniel C."Nigeria: Towards a Country Without a State?" a paper presented at the conference on Nigeria: Maximizing Pro-Poor Growth: Regenerating the Socio-Economic Database, organized by Overseas Development Institute in collaboration with Nigeria Economic Summit Group, London, 16-17 June, 2004, available online at www.odi.org.uk/events/docs/123.pdf. (accessed 25 May, 2012).

Bingel, B. T. " Historical Appraisal of the Endless Transition to Civil Rule Programmemes in Nigeria from Gowon to Abacha." department of History, University of Jos, n.d. 118-119, available online at http://dspace.unijos.edu.ng/bitstream/10485/555/1/A%20Histotical%20Appriasal%20of%20the%20Endless%20Transition%20to%20Civil%20Rule%20programmemes%20in.pdf, (accessed 3 October, 2010).

Bola, Ajibola. "Restitution: An Alternative Solution to the Corruption Issue." a paper presented at the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, August 9, 2006, at Airport Hotel, Ikeja, cited in Owolabi "Owolabi, E. A. "Corruption and Financial Crimes in Nigeria: Genesis, Trend and Consequences." available online at http://www.cenbak.org/out/publications/transparency/2007/transparency2007.pdf, (accessed 07 October, 2011).

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). "World Fact Book: Nigeria." updated May 15, 2007, available online at www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-fact-book/geos/ni.vitml, (accessed 3 October 2011).

Chiakwelu, Emeka. "Nigeria's Foreign Debts Payments Reflect Devastating Transfer of Wealth," *USAfricaOnline*, available online at www.usafricaonline.com/nigeriadebts06.echiakwelu.html, (accessed 23 January, 2012).

Chukwuma, Innocent. "Government-Civil Society Partnership in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects," a paper presented at the special Retreat on Government Civil Society Partnership, National Orientation Agency, Kaduna, 12-15 September 2005,available online at

http://www.cleen.org/anniversary/An%20address%20of%20welcome%20presented%20by%20Innocent%20chukwuma-bookdonation.pdf, (accessed24 February,2011).

Dagne, Ted. "Nigeria in Political Transition." Congressional Research Service (CRS), Issue 3 June 2005, available online at http://www.fas.rog/sgp/crs/row/1B98046. pdf, (accessed 2 November, 2011).

"Democracy and Governance Assessment of Nigeria." December 2006: 10-18, a paper prepared by ARD, Inc. for review by the United States Agency for International Development, available online at pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADI079.pdf, (accessed 30 October, 2010).

Ekwueme, Alex, Dr., "The Constitution and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria-Challenges and Prospects." a paper delivered by Chief (Dr) Alex Ekwueme, First Civilian vice-president of Nigeria, at the International Conference on Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects, London, 25th June, 2005. Available online at www.fggn.org/confe/Ekwuemespaper.pdf, (accessed 14 October 2011)

"Economic Intelligence Unit Democracy Index," *The Economist*, available online at www.economist.com/media/pdf/Democracy_Index_2002v3.pdf, (accessed 3 July 2011).

Gbadamosi, Tajudeen, Adeola. "Military legacies and the Challenge of Managing Diversities in Nigeria's Federation." a paper presented to the 20th Summer University Programmeme of the Institute of Federalism, Frisbourg, Switzerland, August 29, 2008. Available online at www.federalism.ch/files/filedownload/887/gbadamosi:nigeria.pdf, (accessed 2 November, 2011).

Inuwa, Muhammad Nura. “Oil pols and national security in Nigeria,” December 2010, 46. In a thesis submitted to Naval postgraduate school, Monterey, California. available online at http://dodreporos.com/pdf/ada536125.pdf (accessed 2 November, 2011)

Mustapha, Raufu, Abdul. “Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Nigeria.” March 2004, a paper sponsored by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), available online at http://www.afrimap.ora/english/images/documents/UNRISD%20Nigera% 20mustapha.pdf, (accessed 31 October, 2011).

“Nation-building and Social Integration Theory,” Chapter 2, http://folk.uio.no/palk/ch02.htm, 1. (accessed 6 March, 2011).

Ignatius, Akaayar Ayua and Dakaj, C.J. Dakas, “Federal Republic of Nigeria,” *International Association of Centers for Federal Studies*, n.d., http://www.federalism.ch/files/categories/intensivkursII/nigeria1.pdf, (accessed 3 January 2011).

Ighonatufe, O. “Governance and Politics in Nigeria.” a paper delivered at the Staff and Graduate seminar, department of Political Science and Public Administration University of Benin, Edo-State, on 21 November, 2006, available online at www.okpenation.org/doc/governanceandpoliticsinnigeria.pdf, (accessed October 2011).

Imade, Lucky O. “Democratizing Democracy in Nigeria: The Role of Civil Society Organizations.” available online at http://www.jsd-africa.com/

jsda/spring2001/articlespdf/ARC%20%20DEMOCRATIZING%20/N%20NIGERIA.pdf, (accessed 23 February 2011): 13-15.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. "Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogues for Nation Building." 2000, available online at http://www.afrimap.org/english/image/documents/file42285da1a15bd.pdf, (accessed 9 February, 2012).

"The Gowon Regime and the Nigerian Civil War, 1966-1975," http://www.onlinenigeria.com/military??blurb=677, (accessed 8 Novem ber 2010)

Christophe, Jaffrelot, "For a Theory of nationalism," *Research in Question*, No.10 (June 2003): 7, http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org/publica/qdr.htm (accessed 4 March, 2011).

Metz, Helen, Chapiz. Editor. *Nigeria: A Country Study*. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, June 1991, available online at www.fieldsupport.dliflc.edu/products/cip/nigeria/nigeria.pdf (accessed 5 June 2010).

"Nation-building and Social Integration Theory," Chapter 2, http://folk.uio.no/palk/ch02.htm, 1. (accessed 6 March, 2011).

"Nigeria: Treatment of Political Opponents, Human Rights Activities and Journalists." Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board, Canada, 1997, available online at http://www.Trb.gc/cgi_bin/foliocgi. e...e/query*/doc/{tz672}/pageitems={body}?. (accessed 3 December, 2011).

"Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS)," a publication of the National Planning Commission, Abuja, March 2004, available online at www.cenbank.org/out/publcations/guidelines/rd/2004/eeds.pdf (accessed 23 January, 2012).

"Nigeria: Whether Odua People's Congress (OPC) Members Have Been Arrested or Harassed Since the 29 May, 1999 Election of President Obasanjo," Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 11 January 2000, available online at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3aebad6d20.html, (accessed 24 January, 2012).

Nwankwu, B. C. "The Effectiveness of Anti-corruption Agencies in Enhancing Good Governance and Viable Democracy for Sustainable Development and Growth in Africa." a paper presented at the 1st Annual UAACAI International Summit, held at the Banquet Hall, National Centre for Women Development, Abuja, on 29 October, 2008, available online at http://www.uaaacaiinternational.org/anticorruption%20agnecies.pdf (accessed 23 January, 2012).

Obianyo, Nkolika E. "Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? – The Case of MASSOB." a paper presented at the 3rd Global Conference on Pluralism Inclusion and Citizenship, Austria, No. 18-19, 2007,available online at www.inter-disciplinary.net/ati/diversity/pluralism/pl3/obianyo%29 paper.pdf, (accessed on 29 October, 2011): 1.

Odoko, Festus O., and Okwu J. Nnanna. "Fiscal Federalism: Fiscal Discipline and Service Delivery in Nigeria." available online at http://www.case.ox. ac.uk/books/ epopnlfiscalfederalism.pdf, (accessed 30 October, 2011).

Ogunmola, Dele. and Alani Badmus. “Meeting the Challenges of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria: Problems, Possibilities and Prospects.” School of Humanities, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of New England, n.d.,available online http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humansecurity/assets/download/MD6confpapers/ogunmolaandbadmus,.pdf, (accessed October 3, 2011).

Omoigui, Nowa. “Nigeria: The Palace Coup of August 27, 1985.” Unpublished Paper, avai-lable online at http://www.omoigui.com/files/palace_coup_august_1985.pdf, (accessed 31 January, 2012).

Oritsejafor, Emmanuel O. “Development in Nigeria: A Political and Economic Challenge.” available online at http://www.jsd-africa.com/Jsda/fallwinter2000/articlespdf/ARC-Development%20in%20Nigeria.pdf, (accessed 1 November 2011).

Orji, Nwachukwu. “Power sharing: The Element of Continuity in Nigerian Politics,” Budapest, 2008, 32. Ph.D dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, available online at htpp//web.ceu.bu/polsci/dissertations/orgi.pdf, (accessed 28 October, 2011).

Othman, Shehu and Gavin Williams. “Democratization: The Nigerian Experience.” History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, 13-15 July 1994, available online at http://www.wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/8023/HWS-324?sequence=1 (accessed 31 January, 2012).

Owolabi, E. A. “Corruption and Financial Crimes in Nigeria: Genesis, Trend and Consequences.” available online at http://www.cenbak.org/out/publica

tions/transparency/2007/transparency2007.pdf, (accessed 07 October, 2011).

Reverend (Dr.) Elijah Olu Akinwunmi, "Crowther Samuel Ajayi, 1810 to 1891," *Dictionary of African and Christian Bibliography*, 2002, www.dacb.org/stories/nigeria/_crowther4_samajayi.html. (accessed 21 March, 2011).

Rustad, Aas, Siri. "Power-Sharing and Conflict in Nigeria." Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW), Oslo, 2008:18, available online at http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/12/1isodid.cfm,(accessed 29 October 2011).

Shettima, K. and Chukwuma, I. "Crime and Human Rights in Nigeria," a paper presented at a review seminar organized jointly by the International Council on Human Rights Policy, and the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, 21-22 October, 2002, available online at www.ichrp.org/files/papers24/114__Nigeria__Crime__and__Human__Rights_Shettima_Kole_Chukwuma_innocent_2002.pdf, (accessed 20 January, 2012).

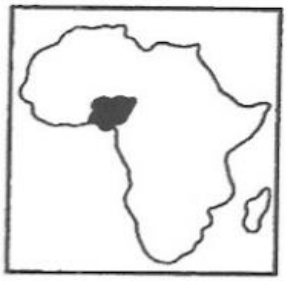
"Speech by Major-General Yakubu Gowon declaring a twelve state structure for Nigeria-May 1967." available on-line at www.vanguardngr.com/2010/09/speech-by-major-general-yakubu-gowon-declaring-a-twelve-state-structure-for-nigeria-may-1967. (accesed 22 May, 2011).

"Why I Established Unity Schools." http://www.nigerianbest forum.com/generaltopics/?p=8732, (accessed November 8, 2010).

APPENDIX I



Location of major ethnic groups



APPENDIX II



Four Regions, 1963

APPENDIX III



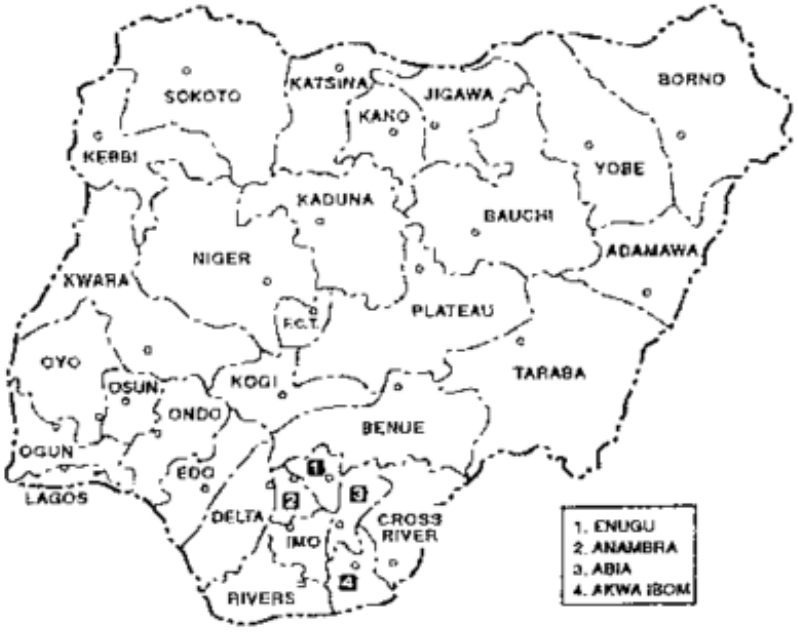
Twelve States, 1976

APPENDIX IV



Nineteen States, 1976

APPENDIX V



Thirty States, 1991

APPENDIX VI



Thirty-six States, 1996

APPENDIX VII

Nigeria's Geopolitical Zones

Name Of Zone	States Within The Geopolitical Zone
South West	Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo
South East	Abia, Ebonyi, Anambra, Enugu, Imo
South South	Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo, Rivers
North-Central	Benue, FCT, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau
North-East	Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Tarada, Yobe
North West	Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Jigawa

Source: "Nigeria's Report on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and Commonwelath Plan of Action by Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, April, 2004." Available online at http://www.thecommonwelath.org/shared_asp_files/uploadfiles/911B9951-F8DO_826_OE717C6CD348_nigeria.pdf (accessed 3 December, 2011)