

NIGERIA AND THE CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING

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Abstract

Nigeria nation was born out of colonial manipulations, specifically packaged by the then colonial Governor-General Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard in 1914, when he forcefully fused together different socio-political and cultural formations without their consent. This amalgamation is widely perceived by most scholars, commentators, social analysis and political leaders as a fundamental mistake. This historical misnomer equally laid faulty foundation for the country's Nation-building and therefore responsible for the myriad of challenges undermining the attainment of the desired united Nigeria. This paper therefore attempts to examine the historical background and subsequent social, cultural, political and economic variables inherent in the course of Nation-building in Nigeria. The paper also examines some of the challenges that undermine efforts and made some suggestions on how to overcome most of these problems.

Keywords: Nation building, politics, nepotism, corruption

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria as a nation came into being on 1st January 1914. This was packaged by Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard who was then the governor general of the Northern protectorate and were part of the territories that were joined to form what we have today as Nigeria. Lord Lugard and his cronies decided to merge the northern and southern protectorates together for their political and administrative convenience. Nigeria as well as most African countries are therefore mere artificial creation of the colonial masters to actualize their political and economic goals. The amalgamation is widely perceived by most Nigerians as a great mistake and historical misnomer because it laid faulty foundation for its nation-building and also responsible for most of the problems the country face today.

At independence the political class inherited a dysfunctional and imbalance political structure. This imbalance structure the emergent nation of Nigeria inherited from the British government created nothing but ethnic sentiments, distrust,

disunity and ethnic rivalry among the different ethnic groups within the country which invariably had continue to work against the socio-political development of the country. In order to overcome some of these problems, a federal system of government was adopted, with the federal character principle entrenched in the constitution to accommodate the diverse interest of the various sections of the country. However, the problem remains that federalism has not truly been practiced and applied in its real form. In the Nigeria context the centre is made stronger and controls much of the state resources while the federating components are weak. The present federal structure, therefore has not really addressed the structural imbalance the nation inherited from its former colonial master. This has generated a lot of fears among the minority groups and some other sections of the country who feel marginalized. The former governor of Ekiti State Dr. Kayode Fayemi had observed that the imbalance had degenerated to the point of enabling certain groups within the country to persistently thrive and hoard benefits to the exclusion of others from what ought to be a National Communion. This has transpired even when the privileged groups did not necessarily possess the material base on the merit to justify the privileged advantage. (Dapo, 2014).

This faulty political architecture of the country passed down from colonial rule had been deepened by a self serving and rapacious post-colonial elites who not only privatized the state for personal gains but also, perpetuated bad governance and created divisions to sustain its base as well promoted an authoritarian ethos that encouraged poverty, violence, crime and restiveness among the youths (Dapo, 2014). Though the mistake of the 1914 has been made by the former colonial masters and it is obvious that certain things and situations are not right in the country, most especially the vexed issues of federalism and peaceful co-existence of the different sections of the country. There is urgent need for the leadership of the country, the citizens and other stake holders to fashion out a model that would work. In other words, there is urgent need for the re-organization of the country if really Nigerians must continue to live as one unified entity.

2. THE BIRTH OF NIGERIA

Nigeria as a nation came into formal existence in 1914 with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate. The name Nigeria was coined by Flora Shaw who according to Uwaezuoke (2014) had a stint with the Manchester Guardian, was reported to have coined the name in a letter (dated Jan, 8, 1897), which she wrote to Times of London Newspaper. This was before she became the paper's colonial editor. Flora Shaw, once Sir George Tubman Goldie's mistress and later Lord Frederick Lugard's spouse, had in that letter rooted for a shorter name which was formerly called the Royal Niger company's territory. The company was founded by her former lover, Sir George. The name "Nigeria" applying to no other portion of Africa, may without offence to any neighbor, be accepted as an extension of the territories over which the Royal Niger Company had extended British influence, and may serve to differentiate them equally from the British colonies of Lagos and the Niger protectorate on the coast and from the French colonies. Nigeria is made up of different ethnic groups with diverse cultures, religion, languages and interests. Before the coming of the Europeans into Nigeria, the various ethnic groups were autonomous and had developed their socio-political institutional system in a way that it reflected the culture, beliefs and tradition of the different areas.

(Oyeneye et al, 2002). The three dominant ethnic groups of Hausa-Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba established distinct and functioning governments which were peculiar to their environment. The Hausa-Fulani operated a centralized system of administration together with the Yoruba. The Yoruba notwithstanding their centralized nature had inbuilt checks and balances in the governmental processes. The Igbos operated a decentralized system of government. The political authority was held by many institutions. The evolution of Nigeria as a geo-political entity came as a result of the scramble by Europeans to partition Africa. Nevertheless, the scramble for the partition of Africa by European countries led to the Berlin conference of 1884/1885 where the African continent was divided up among interested European Nations. Most of the West African Nations came under either British or French rule, each of which established a system of administration for the colonies.

Nigeria as a nation came under British colonization. The British occupation of the various parts of Nigeria went through different phases. Ohuero (2005) opined that the occupation of Nigeria by British took place at different times. According to him, before 1914, the British government in 1849 appointed John Beecroft as consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra with the task of regulating commercial relations with the coastal city states and to protect the lives and properties of British subjects. This was because the British had commercial and economic interest in Nigeria. Beecroft's interference in the internal affairs of these states backed by British gunboats, began a process which culminated in the imposition of colonial

rule. As a result of internal conflict in Lagos, the kinship of Lagos was disputed and through the producing of commercial and missionary interest, the British proclaimed the Island (Lagos) a crown colony in 1861. In other words, the first direct British political interference or intervention in Nigeria came in 1861 with the British Military actions 'against Lagos in an effort to force the King of Lagos (Kosoko) to abandon the slave trade. In 1861, Lagos was ceded to Britain and was administered first as part of Sierra Leone and later as part of Gold Coast (Ghana). After the annexation in 1861, Lagos was declared a colony. By 1897, most of the areas in the South West (except the Egba Kingdom) had become a protectorate and were attached to Lagos colony and called the colony and protectorate of Lagos.

During the last two decades of the 19th century, the British confronted with competition from the French and Germans, abandoned their earlier policy not to expand their colonial possessions in the hinterland area. Through the initiative of the United African Company (UAC) formed by George Goldie through the amalgamation of British firms in 1879, most of what subsequently became Northern Nigeria was preserved as the British sphere of influence. In 1886, the company, now the Royal Niger Company received a royal charter to administer the Northern territory, which it did until 1899 when the charter was revoked and the British government began in 1900 to administer it directly under the name "protectorate of Northern Nigeria". Lord Lugard was appointed the High Commissioner of the protectorate. (Ahamefula and Onwuharaonye 2011)

The Delta area had in 1885 been proclaimed the oil Rivers protectorate following the signing of a number of treaties between the Local (traditional) rulers and British consular officials. It was extended inland by 1893 when the name was changed to the Niger Coast protectorate. In 1906, the colony and protectorate of Lagos was merged with the protectorate of Southern Nigeria (former Niger Coast Protectorate) to form what became known as colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria. As a result of the new arrangement, all southern Nigeria was placed under one administration. It is pertinent to note that before the amalgamation, the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria was ruled separately from the Northern protectorate with Sir Claude Macdonald and Sir Frederick Lugard in control of the two administrative units. Finally in 1914, the two British administration of Northern and Southern Nigeria were merged to form a single territorial union known as Nigeria. Lord Lugard was appointed its first governor-general. It is therefore pertinent to note that Nigeria is a nation with several national groups or political communities each of which evolved a different type of political system during the pre-colonial time. Also each ethnic group has its own language, culture and custom showing that we have a great degree of diversity among the people of Nigeria. To build a Nigerian nation will entail establishing unity in diversity, creating and developing a feeling of nationhood amidst the diverse people who inhabit Nigeria, besides there must be a desire to remain together under a common government.

Bassey (2014) had observed that alienating from the event of the amalgamation of 1914 would mean depriving her of the very essence of her history and existence, since before then there was never a country like Nigeria what really exist as Nigeria today is an amalgam of ancient kingdoms, caliphates, empires and city states with a long history of organized society. The people in what is today known as Nigeria consist of four different empires, the Northern Empire, the Calabar kingdom, the Oduduwa Empire and the Benin Empire. Some of them extending into parts that are not present day Nigeria likes (Cameroon and Ghana). As the writer had earlier noted, Nigeria is the country with combination of distinct cultures, languages, religious ideologies and people who were originally not one but altruistically because of the desire of the British colonial government to actualize their economic and political goals and missions, to have administrative convenience and enforce the rules of "effective", occupation of their sphere of interest as indicated at the Berlin conference of 1885, the British colonial government merged these distinct people together as one nation not minding their marked differences. This incident marked the genesis of the catalogue of problems that had bedeviled this entity called Nigeria.

Consequently, it is not quite surprising that the trend of events since 1914 till date lacks the impetus of creating a "dream country" where love, peace and unity reign. In the face of this, many Nigerians will rather wish that the event of 1914 had never happened. Many Nigerians see the amalgamation as a big mistake and misnomer. For instance Chief Obafemi Awolowo once referred to it as "geographical mistake. Also Okafor (2006) in his book "the Nigeria of my Dream" quoted in the pointer magazine described Nigeria as a geographical entity comprising many nation awaiting independence.

3. THE CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING

3.1 Dysfunctional Federalism

Federalism which is also referred to a federal system of government is a national political system in which two levels of government control the same territory and citizens. The term federalism is most commonly employed to denote an organizational principle of a political system, emphasizing both vertical power sharing across different levels of governance (centre region) and, at the same time, the integration of different territorial and socio-economic units, cultural and ethnic groups in one single polity, federal political systems are hence often viewed as combining unity with diversity (McClean and McMellan, 2009:195).

The idea of federalism was conceived and implemented in 1946 by the Governor Sir Arthur Richard's constitution of 1946. The evolutionary circumstances culminating in the coming together of the nearly three hundred ethnic nationalities in the country naturally dictated the adoption of federal system that encouraged local autonomy and independent development of the regions. This was the structure the Nigerian government carried into independence in 1960 (Obia Vincent 2014).

Just as it was the practice under the protectorates, when the southern and the Northern protectorates were administered separately the Richard constitution of 1946 that created the regions, made the regions, under their premiers to be not only innovative but proactive in the development of their regions, paying only taxes to the central government from the regions internally generated revenue. The federating Northern, Western, and Eastern and later mid-western regions were able to register faster growth and developmental rate due to the near sense of autonomy and independence they had at the time. For instance while the military and international affairs were the exclusive reserves of the Federal Government, Education, Agric, Health and Sanitation were responsibilities of the regions, for instance the premier of the Eastern Region, Dr. Michael Okpara made maximum use of economic and natural potentials of the region particularly in the area of agricultural production, the Northern region excelled in their groundnut pyramid and other agricultural products, the western region were equally noted for their huge production of coaco and cotton.

As Oguji (2014) had rightly noted "the fast growth of industries, the numerous palm plantations, and much other government presence were living testimonies. Unfortunately those lofty enterprises, engines of economic growth of any society have almost become dreams consigned to the past. According to him, one of the major factors that had contributed to the collapse of those enterprises was the adulteration of the principles of federalism including Fiscal federalism. This was occasioned by the outbreak of the Biafra civil war which aroused the sentiments that it was the autonomous powers granted to the regions that encouraged the Eastern region led by Ojukwu to attempt secession. Those at the centre feared that if states or ethnic groups continue to enjoy autonomous powers as purely federating states or region, then the unity of the country will continue to be threatened. What this meant was that instead of states generating their own revenues and employing them to the services of their needs and paying tax to the central government as required by the tenets of federalism, the reverse became the case. The 1979 constitution thereafter limited some powers and privileges granted or previously enjoyed by the smaller units of government in the Richard Constitution of 1946.

Under the present dispensation, the state now generate revenue to the central government and receive monthly allocation. The truth remains that this marked the beginning of the problem of Nigerian federalism and a host of other problems which challenges the country. The concentration of much power at the centre has not really been healthy for a multi ethnic nationality like Nigeria. This explains the reason why there is apprehension and much struggle to occupy the centre by the different sections of the country under the present federal system. The centre is over bloated, richer, more powerful and controls much of the nation's resources. This has made the centre more attractive to everybody and the struggle to occupy it becomes more intensive. Every section of the country struggles to have a share of it. Those who have access to it use it to their own advantage and sometimes to the detriment of the other sectors of the country, for instance in the almost 38 years of military rule, the centre was dominated and controlled by one section of the country (the North). During this period, states and local government creation favoured some sections of the country more than others, in the existing sharing formula, the North has 19 states while the East and west put together have 17 states. In terms of local government areas, most local government areas in the north are inappropriately larger than some in the south, for instance a state like Kano has 44 local government areas which is approximately the number of local government areas allocated to 5 states in the South. For instance ,Bayelsa state has Eight (8) local government area, Abia has Seventeen (17), Ebonyi Thirteen (13), Enugu has Seventeen (17), Anambra Twenty-One (21) etc, yet this is a federal system where the common wealth and resources of the country and political appointments, allocation of job opportunities and admission into institutions of higher learning are shared based on the number of states and local government areas available in the country.

Despite the adoption of the federal character principles in addressing these issues, majority of Nigerian leaders have not really helped matters. In a country that has fragile unity and where the constitution stipulates that the interest of every section of the country must be protected and the resources shared equally and equitably, the present Buhari led government and some others before him have not really shown much regard to that aspect of the constitution. For instance some critics of the present regime and social analysts have argued that the administration of Buhari has openly shown disdain to the larger Christian South particularly the South East because he claim that they did not vote for him during the last general election that brought him to power. According to this group the president dispenses more favour to his Moslem brothers more than their Christian counterparts (facebook). President Buhari's dispensation of injustice and disdain to some segments of the society/country has become legendary and had manifested in his allocation of political positions and distribution of capital projects to zones and states of the federation in the 2016 budget. Ekwuosi (2016) alleged that one of the reasons the senate rejected the 2016 thirty billion loan request by president Mohammed Buhari government was because the South East and some other sections of the country were not factored to benefit from the distribution of infrastructures the loan would be deployed to, contrary to what the Debt Management Office made the public to believe.

Ukeh (2016) believes that the recent recruitment of ten thousand Nigerians into the police force was not done in good fate as the constitutional lay down rules and principles were not observed. According to him, there is a problem in the quota system adopted in picking police constables. Using local government area to recruit police constables was to ensure that states with bogus local government areas, irrespective of populations, got more policemen than others. Therefore leaving a process that would make some states feel cheated is one of the things that encourage the agitation for state police, wherein states would establish, control and fund their own police department. Also this has increased the demand for the creation of more states and local government, resource control and restructuring by some sections of the country.

Thomas Dapo had observed that those imbalances have deepened and become more entrenched to the point of enabling certain groups within the country to persistently thrive and hoard benefit to the exclusion of others from what ought to be the national communion. This had transpired when the privileged group did not necessary possess material base or merit to justify the privileged advantage. In the same view, Adeyi (2017) noted that the former Acting Chairman of All Progressive Congress (APC) and former governor of Osun State Chief Bisi Akande while addressing the people of Iwo town of Ogun state, during the conferment of a role model and achievement Award on Iwo-born educationist and philanthropist, the late Benjamin Akinola, has attributed the current economic recession and poverty bedeviling the country to certain deficiencies in the 1999 Nigeria constitution. According to him, the 1999 constitution in particular is bad and has served as a platform for socio-economic inequality, which now constitutes a major obstacle to peace among various federating components. To him, the constitution stimulated demands for ethnic self-determination and economic security otherwise known as resource control or restructuring. He noted that those who wrote the constitution failed to consider the fact that political domination and subjugation bred revolts, community disharmony and national insecurity.

4. YOUTH RESTIVENESS AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY

Nigeria as a nation is greatly endowed with great potentials both in human and material resources. According to Enemuo Anthony (2014) Nigeria has about 150 million people and abundant natural resources especially hydrocarbon, Nigeria is the 5th largest oil producing country in the world, the largest in Africa and the most prolific oil producer in the sub-saharan Africa. It currently produces over 100 million tons of crude oil per year, over 2 million barrels per day, most of which are sold at the international markets.

However the unfortunate thing is that those who are supposed to be the custodian of the common wealth of the nation have turned themselves into looters of the nation's resources. The tragic part of this issue happens to be that what should serve the benefit of the people in the country is now ravaged by only a few who see this oil and gas sector as the golden calf and as the God of their survival and embezzlement (Enemuo Anthony 2014)".Judging by the progress made so far within the 104 years of the birth of Nigeria and 58 years of her independence from colonial rule, Nigeria is still a shadow of itself, most especially in terms of human development and socio-political maturity and advancement. The problem with Nigeria as Chinua Achebe noted in his book, is the problem of leadership. After about one hundred and four years of co-operate existence of Nigeria as a nation, she is still looking for a way of moving the country forward. Despite the huge resources the country is blessed with,, majority of the citizens still live in abject poverty, greater population of its youths are majorly unemployed, hunger, insecurity militancy and youth restiveness has characetrised the atmosphere. Nepotism and

favouritism is the order of the day, more so in a multi-ethnic nationality as ours, with total disregard to laid down constitutional procedures.

Right from the days of the military to its present stage, the leadership had always been a problem and setback to developmental efforts. The inherent problems of ethnicity bequeathed to the Nigerian people at independence by their British former colonial masters notwithstanding, the military which is generally perceived as a breach in government an aberration and a symptom of a malfunctioning political system dominated the greater part Nigerian political history and governance and invariably laid the foundation for most problems Nigerian experience today, such as sectionalism, ethnic sentiment, youth restiveness, corruption, ethno-regional politics, economic mismanagement, political instability and underdevelopment. According to the former chairman of the Anti-graft body Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Nuhu Ribadu, “the military regimes subdued the rule of law, facilitated the looting of public treasury, prohibited free speech and instituted a secret culture in the running of government business. The period of military regime witnessed a total reversal and destruction of every good thing in the country, (Ogbonna Benjamin 2014).

The failure of Nigerian leaders to address the major issues confronting Nigerian people most especially the youths is what resulted into the prevalent crisis in the country. A renowned economist and former minister of finance, in his lecture series observed that violent attacks that paved way for insecurity emerged when people cannot actualize their economic goals within reasonable means, the temptation to resort to violence becomes inevitable (Ogbonna 2014). When the political class fail to provide good governance and create opportunities that would gainfully engage the youth, they would automatically create such for themselves either rightly or wrongly.

Another factor that has encouraged and increased the rate of youth restiveness and political instability in the country is the socio-political imbalanced structure inherited from the former colonial government of Britain and the failure of the leadership of the country to apply strictly the principles of federal character and the true tenets of federal system of government which was envisaged as the best system of government that would accommodate the diverse interests of the multi-ethnic nationalities of Nigeria.

This was more prominent during the military era when rule of law and respect for constitutional process were disregarded in pursuit of personal and sectional interests. The role played by the military in “raping” the nation gravely inflicted hatred on the psyche of the various ethnic nationalities to the extent that those group who even benefited, now lay claim of marginalization at every attempt to reverse the status quo. Presently Nigeria is confronted with agitations from different categories of militant groups and aggrieved youths complaining of one form of marginalization or the other. For instance the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) which also had in the recent time metamorphosed into other groups such as the Niger Delta Avenger, Movement for the liberation of Ogoni people etc are agitating against injustice, unfair share of the resource of their land and water population, lack of development of their region despite being the egg head hen that lay the Golden Egg that feed the whole country. The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) of the South East extraction are agitating against unfair treatment on the Igbo race in terms of political appointment, allocation of the Nation’s resources, creation of states and local governments, allocation of employment opportunities etc.

The Islamic sect of the North are advocating for the Islamization of the country and getting rid of the “perceived infidels” in an assumed secular state with diverse religious, cultural and socio-political interests, the Arewa Consultative Forum of the North are also complaining of lack of infrastructural development and heavy poverty among their people even when the leadership of the country had been dominated by that section of the country. The political class have invariably capitalized on the hunger in the land and the vulnerability of the youths to create tension to achieve their ulterior political motives.

5. CORRUPTION AND NEPOTISM AMONG THE LEADERSHIP

5.1 Corruption

Corruption is one serious problem that has refused to be addressed in this country despite all the measures applied to this effect. The endemic disease has eaten so deep into every aspect of Nigerian life that the name Nigeria is now synonymous with corruption. Transparency international “a global watch dog” has recently rated Nigeria as the second most

corrupt nation in the whole world. All efforts made by Nigerians, home and in Diaspora to erase this impression have been fruitless. This is because very serious corrupt cases emerge on daily basis and envelops the country the more.

Analyzing the level of corruption in Nigeria, a legal practitioner described Nigeria as a country that stinks to high heavens. (Adesina Remi 2012). Also the Archbishop of Owerri Catholic Archdiocese at a Requiem Mass organized for the victims of Dana plane crash collaborated with what many had already said about Nigeria when he declared "corruption is thy name oh Nigeria" (A.J.V. Obinna 2012) the Arch bishop was moved by the senseless killings by the Islamic sect (Boko Haram) and scores of air mishaps in the aviation industry, most especially the Dana Plane Crash of June 3 2012 which claimed the lives of about one hundred and fifty three (153) Nigerians. This he felt would have been averted if not for the corrupt ways things are done in the country. Governance in Nigeria had been messed up by corruption and this accounts mostly for the underdevelopment of the nation's, economy and the high level of insecurity. Virtually all segments of the society are guilty of this in one form or the other. The unfolding drama at the National Assembly on fuel subsidy probe scam, the capital market probe, the police pension fund scam, the power probe scam and the lingering security challenges in the country are all national embarrassments which the government and the Nigerian citizens must fight to its logical end if the country should worth anything in the comity of nations.

The issue of corruption in Nigeria has become a national embarrassment. An erudite scholar and social analyst captured the Scenario when he stated that "if there is anything which operates efficiently, uniformly and smoothly all over the country, it is the twin engine of the machinery of bribery and corruption. The phenomena of corruption seems to be our unofficial ideology, our lingua Franca, the universal language which is spoken and understood in every nook and cranny of Nigeria (Momoh, 1991). Political as well s bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria has often manifested in bad leadership and official misuses and abuse of political and institutional positions and powers against the helpless citizens who are supposed to be the beneficiaries.

Over the years, quality leadership and dispensation of genuine bureaucracy at all levels have been sacrificed at the altar of greed, selfishness, dishonesty, indiscipline and all forms of corrupt practices. Nkwocha, (2008) has observed with dismay that corruption has penetrated the Nigerian socio-economic environment in different forms, like inflation of contracts, smuggling of contraband goods, money laundering, oil bunkering, election rigging, political God-fatherism, settlement syndrome, drug Peddling, sale of fake drugs, minting of fake currency, examination malpractices, leakage of examination papers, sexual harassment in tertiary institutions, organized high technological crimes like advance fee Fraud (419) etc.

It is generally believed that political and bureaucratic corruption which has characterized governance and service delivery in the country over the years are responsible for the high level of poverty and unemployment which on the other hand have increased crime rate, insecurity, lawlessness and other societal vices most especially among the youths. The high rate of corruption in this country has battered the image of Nigerians particularly those in Diaspora who are associated with everything corrupt. Odey (2001) quoted in Nkwocha (2008) highlighted the trauma suffered by Nigerians in Diaspora in this way: "today in Nigeria, corruption has become a structural sin so contagious that it hardly leaves any body without a smear. And since the country was justifiably stigmatized as a den of corruption, all Nigerians are generally reared like dogs, dreaded like criminals, cautiously approached like dangerous snakes and avoided like leapers".

In line with the above, Nigerian leaders, past and present had over the years adopted different measures to rid the country of corruption and also to create a new and better image of Nigeria among the international community. These measures include the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) adopted by the Buhari-Idiagbo regime. Babangida's Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), Abacha's War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC), and Shagari's Ethical Revolution. Others include the establishment of two anti-corruption agencies: the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) by former president Obasanjo's administration. The rebranding of Nigerian project, due process in the award of contracts and the publication of monthly allocations to states and local governments in the country are all geared towards eradicating or at least reducing corruption in governance.

Unfortunately however, things seem to have remained same. This is because the Nigerian leaders, the political class and the bureaucrats pay lips service to the fight against corruption and swim in corruption themselves. It is indeed sad to see this country that is bless with so much talents and resources to give the black race a beacon of hope and pride, careering down the road of decadence. (Yemisi Shullon 2012).The current administration of president Muhammadu Buhari has raised

the fight against corruption to a super level of national interest and had gone to the extent of prosecuting some past political office holders, retired military and serving army chiefs who were implicated in one form of corruption or the other. However, the administration has been accused of being selective in the pursuit of the fight against corruption, for instance the recent freezing of the bank account of Mr. Ayo Fayose governor of Ekiti State who is of the opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is an abuse of power by the Anti-Corruption Agency and the presidency since the governor is supposed to be covered by the immunity clause as provided by the constitution of the land until he leaves office.

The unfolding drama at the 59th National Assembly on budget padding, the Arms Deal Scandal of the previous administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, Job recruitment scandals and admission racketeering in our institutions of higher learning where admission seekers and job applicants are expected to pay between five hundred thousand to one million for choice jobs and course such as medicine, law, engineering etc. to the institutions and admission officers either directly or through their agents, even when some of the beneficiaries are not qualified for such offers, the allegations of bribe taking by first class judges of the Supreme and Appeal Courts to pervade justice and the counter allegations of inducement and attempts to force and persuade the accused judges and justices to give judgments in favour of president Buhari's party members and political Associates, and the belief in some quarters, that it was their refusal to abide by this, that was responsible for their arrest and harassment by the Department of State Security (DSS). If all these allegations are proved, then it has made nonsense of the anti-corruption crusade of the present government of President Muhammadu Buhari. Amaneze (2016) in his Column titled "Corruption and the corrupted Judiciary" has frowned at the alleged drama between the Department of State Security (DSS) and the alleged corrupt Judges whom they accused of taking bribe from politicians to pervade justice but ironically the accused Justice Okoro and Ngwata had instead alleged that the Former Governor of River State and Minister of Transport under president Muhammadu Buhari government Hon. Chibueke Amaechi had approached them to give judgment in favour of his party against the candidate of the opposition People Democratic Party (PDP) and that their refusal had earned them the harassment from the DSS. All these are national embarrassment to which the country and the Nigerian citizen must fight against to its logical, if the country must worth anything among the comity of nations in the wider world.

Government policies and programmes should be made to stand the taste of time and be a good and lasting legacy for the nation and not for parochial and vindictive purposes. The government as the writer noted earlier had been accused of enforcing one-sided anti-corruption fight. The US congress man Tom Marine collaborated this when he stated that president Buhari's anti-corruption drive is selective as it has focused almost exclusively on members of the opposition party, overlooks corruption among some of his closest advisers (Abimbola 2016).

5.2 Nepotism

Nepotism among the leadership on the other hand is another major issue that has over the years challenged the growth and development of the country and have indeed continued to work against the unity and peaceful co-existence of the different sections of the country. The first Republic Collapsed because of much attachment to sectional interest above the national unity. In the second Republic, the federal system of government was adopted and certain principles such as the democratization of the membership of political parties, ensuring that political parties spread their membership to all sections of the country. Another measure adopted by the leadership of the country to reduce much attachment to sectional interest and inclination was the adoption of the Federal character principle which stipulated the sharing formula and allocation of the common wealth of the nation and political positions in order to allay the fear of domination by any section of the country.

The leadership of the country between 1983-1999 which was pre-dominantly military rule did not follow strictly the federal character constitutional provision because they indiscriminately favoured their own sections of the country mostly in the creation and allocation of states and Local Government Areas, in the sharing of political positions and ministerial appointments, employment opportunities, distribution and spread of infrastructural development. The result was acrimony, public out-cry over marginalization, Youth Restiveness, Militancy, Arm robbery and kidnapping. However, Succeeding Civilian governments and administrations have tried to uphold this principles to reduce the feelings of marginalization. In any case, there is a general feeling that the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari had drawn the nation back to the old memories of the early 1960s when nepotism was the order of the day.

Ekwoyusi (2016) had observed that apart from the outcry that the nation's economy has slipped into recession thus fueling galloping inflation and poverty in the country, there has been a consistent outcry against what many perceived as the “northernization” of Nigeria or what some have, simply dubbed the fulanization or Islamization of Nigeria in Buhari government. In another development a former Joint House Leader of the defunct people Redemption Party, who was also the chairman, Foreign Relations Committee and a member of the Defence Committee in the 2nd Republic, Dr. Junaid Mohammed in an interview with the Saturday Punch Newspaper accused President Mohammed of the worst form of "Nepotism" ever in the history of Nigeria. He gave catalogue of relations, friends and Associates of the presidents who have been appointed to one political office or the other. For instance he noted that the most influential in the presidency is one

Mamman Daura, the president's nephew, Abba Kyari the chief of staff to the president and the chief protocol officer is a son in-law to Mamman Daura, the minister who occupies the Sokoto State slot, and who was chosen against the wishes of the party (APC) and the people of the state happens to be the daughter of the younger sister of Mamman Duara's wife among other such appointments (Shaka Momodu 2016).

The Ohaneze Ndi Igbo and the Igbo community generally has accused President Muhammadu Buhari's government of segregation against the Igbos in his administration. They noted that the APC led government of Mohammed Buhari had shown that it has no regard for the constitutional procedure and federal character principle and had therefore continued to discriminate against some sections of the country either because of their religion or political affiliations. According to Amaneze Obi (2010), Buhari has openly shown disdain for the larger Christian South particularly the South East whom he claimed did not vote for him during the last general election that brought him to power. His dispensation of injustice and disdain to some segment of the country has become legendary and has manifested in his allocation of political positions and distribution of capital projects to zones and states of the federation in the 2016 and 2017 budget. This attitude of the president is what has resulted into the senate rejection of the 2016 thirty billion loan request of the presidency. Amaneze Obi has again noted that the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria rejected the president's thirty billion loan request because the South East and some other sections of the country were not factored to benefit from the infrastructures the loan would be deployed to, contrary to what the Debt Management Office made the public to believe.

Reacting to the lopsided nature of president Buhari administration's anti corruption crusade, United States Congress man Tom Marino stated that president Buhari has continually shunned inclusivity in favour of surrounding himself with advisers and ministers from the northern part of the country, the region he considers as home. (Abimbola 2016). Also reacting to the incessant killing of Christians by the Islamists herdsmen/terrorist in Southern Kaduna, the Kano State Chapter of the Christian Association of Nigerian (CAN) on 11th of January 2017, faulted President Muhammadu Buhari's crusade against corruption and the lethargic approach in addressing the alleged Wanton killing of Christians in Southern Kaduna. The chairman of the chapter, Bishop Ransom Bello said president Buhari's actions were reprehensive and lopsided. CAN said the anti-graft war waged by Buhari administration was targeted at a few persons, alleged not to be in the good book of the administration; (Shiabu Ibrahim and Shiklam John 2017)

He further note that the crusade against treasury looters was partial. He can't win the war against corruption by fighting a few, he can't win when his party members are protected, we all love this country, we should stop deceiving ourselves, we are living in deception, CAN said. (Shiabu Ibrahim and Shiklam John)

5. CONCLUSION

Emefiena Ezeani in his book “In Biafra Africa died stated strongly that Nigeria is a disabled giant of Africa and also a syndrome of anarchy and blood bath. The view of this scholar is not different from the views of most Nigerians who strongly believe that the challenges Nigeria faces today as a nation originated from the types of structure the British colonial government handed over to Nigerians at independence on October 1st 1960. Nigerians inherited a disunited and multifaceted entity as a nation. The general belief among African scholars is that amalgamation as was not constructed for internal coherence but rather for the administrative convince of the colonial masters. Since independence one of the major challenges that has plagued her peaceful co-existence has been how to harmonize, and manage the differences which exist between the various ethnic groups. This seeming unavoidable situation has often led to stagnation in the socio-political and economic development of the country.

Despite the disabled structure bequeathed to Nigerians, the leadership has not really done much to salvage the nation due to corruption, nepotism, favouritism and lack of patriotism and respect for rule of law. The failure of the political class to deliver on the much needed and expected democratic dividends such as sound economy, good health care services, education for all, employment opportunities, youth empowerment, adequate security, even distribution of the common wealth of the nation and the basic skill to manage the diverse interests of the multi-ethnic settings has resulted into ethnic-socio and political crisis, youth restiveness, militancy, attempts on secession, cry of marginalization and incessant demands for the restructuring of the nation's federalism.

Considering the delicate nature of the nation's unity and the diverse interests of the different sections of the country, there is urgent need to go back to the drawing board. Nigeria must be restructured to reflect the true tenets of federalism and in order to accommodate the diverse interests of Nigerian people as that is the only way to restore the confidence and trust already lost, if Nigeria must continue to stay together as one indivisible nation (Ijeoma, 2014).

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