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AN ARTICLE ON:

NIGERIA AND THE POLITICS OF RESTRUCTURING:
SOUTH-SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

The concern of Nigeria is to keep the country as one united, indivisible, and economic nation. Nigeria's interest toward national unity cannot be over-emphasized. Nevertheless has not been able to handle its heterogeneity, particularly with the uneven economic differences of its various regions, states and geo-political zones. Despite the efforts of government to foster unity and permanent national integration, ethnic rivalries, regionalization, and recently, restructuring, true federalism and devolution of powers have become the predominant factors that have threatened the unity and integration of the country. Nigeria's integration is reflected in such indices like projects locations across the country. For example, crude oil is tapped in the Niger Delta region by the oil companies like ExxonMobil, Chevron, Agip Oil, etc. whereas their headquarters are either in Lagos or Abuja. And refineries are in Sapele and Kaduna. The study

adopts historical and descriptive methods of enquiry and gathered relevant data from secondary sources. The findings of the study revealed that despite government's efforts to fix the country, the South-South and the South-East still feel grossly marginalized. The study recommends among others things that the government should put in place policies that will favour the rapid development of these zones.

Keywords: *Restructuring, federalism, true federalism and devolution of powers.*

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a federation with its Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in Abuja. It might not be necessary to elaborate here, that before Abuja became the Federal Capital Territory to Nigeria, the seat of power for this most populous black African nation was first sited in Calabar during the post independence of 1960 before it was moved to Lagos and then presently to Abuja. Nigeria has 36 States including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in Abuja.

However, the onus or the crux of the matter of conflicts and agitations for true federalism or what is today, popularly known as restructuring in parts of the country seems to stem from government's neglect or preferential treatment to some geo-political zones that make up the entire political entity, called Nigeria. Some of such preferential treatments as is upheld currently in National Newspapers and Radios, etc are reflected, particularly in the presidential appointments of Ministers, Senior Special Assistants and Special Assistants to the President, where some sections of the country are seen to have more appointees in the presidency than others.

Nigeria is a multi-faceted and a heterogeneous country with about 180 million people according to 2006 National Population Census, and it is generally characterized by ethnic cleavages, apart from religious differences. With its political independence in 1960, Nigeria had evolved dramatically over the years to the present state. It may be in the sense of the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria, that Odum, M. (2003), *Politics and Governance*, in: Onu, G. *Issues in Politics and Governance in Nigeria* admitted that "Today, the language of money (not ideas) and acts that are symptomatic of interminable ideological heterogeneity has become part of the zone's political shibboleth" the "contradictions arising from perceptions, behaviours, phenomena and tendencies". I seem to agree with Odum's position in the sense that if we want to call a spade a spade, in other words, if we want to unmask the politics that is covering the intents of the agitators for restructuring, and speak in plain terms, I think that the truth is that the zones want more allocations, more recognition and more federal government presence in the zone of federal government. But, Miall (1992) in Nnoli (2003) held that "from this perspective an integral aspect of social existence, and history is a succession of conflicts and conflict resolutions". Nnoli further stated that, "conflict becomes problematic when it explodes into violence." On his part, Gurr (1980) opined that conflict as overt, are coercive interactions in which two or more involved participants engage in mutually opposing actions, and use coercive behaviour to destroy, injure, thwart or otherwise control their opponent."

However, Nigeria practices simultaneously, the federal as well as the presidential systems of government. The problems associated with federalism have thrown the country off-balance to the extent that some sections of the country have vehemently begun to call for secession. Ekpe (2016) identified some of these problems of federalism to include: being too expensive to maintain, difficulty in decision making, expression of dual loyalty, encouragement of regionalism, increasing tension and conflicts, etc. Nnoli (2003) defines conflict as the quest for true federalism. Restructuring and devolution of powers as the case may be in Nigeria today, is gathering momentum by the day. The issue of restructuring has become a viable and most frequent topic for academic and journalistic discourse both in our nation's universities and other tertiary institutions as well as in the pages of news papers, magazines and even in other means of communication in our country today. Restructuring, which recently seems to be a new concept in the annals of politics

in Nigeria has been so widely embraced especially by the South-South and South-East even including South-West geopolitical zones of the country.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that Nigeria consists of six (6) geo-political zones, namely: North East, North-West, North-Central, South-South, South-East and South-West. Among the frontline proponents of the idea of restructuring Nigeria in recent times are the former Vice President of Nigeria, Alhaji Atiku Abubarka who mentioned that Nigeria needs restructuring; this was followed by former President of the country, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (rtd) before the issue became the order of the day, where many Nigerians and some socio-political organisations now sing “restructuring” as a song (Sun Newspaper, 11th September, 2016).

But, before proceeding on further discussion on the politics of restructuring in Nigeria, it must imminently be placed on record that, before the formation of the six geo-political zones in Nigeria as mentioned above, that the country was operated under the regional structures of North, South, East and West. In the course of our study, we would be able to establish whether it is these regions that gave birth to the six geo-political zones in Nigeria or whether they were purely creations of other political intentions of government.

However, it is these geo-political zones, especially, the South-South and the South-East geo-political zones that form the bulk of agitators for restructuring in Nigeria, today. It is an established fact that the majority of the people of Nigeria lives in the rural areas and are cut off from the rapid growth and development of the urban centres. Ray Onyema Obinozie in Okereke (2003) asserts that the third Nigerian National Development Plan 1975-80, also ranked rural development high in its policy pronouncements. But as J. B. Idode in Ekpe (2016) observed, there is a great disparity existing between the promulgated goals of rural development and the actual results of implementation efforts.”

One may ask to know why the South-South and the South-East tops the chat when it comes to agitation for restructuring. Could it be that they feel that they are “the goose that lay the golden eggs” but other parts of Nigeria are merely beneficiaries? This scenario seems to align with Walter Rodney’s thought about Africa’s contribution to European Capitalist Development when he said, “it is necessary to re-emphasize that development and underdevelopment are not only comparative terms, but that they also have a dialectic relationship one of the other: that is to say, the two help produce each other by the interaction, Western Europe and Africa had a relationship which ensured the transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe. The transfer was possible only after trade became truly international (Rodney, 1972). Recently in Nigeria, Southern leaders have even gone ahead on Thursday, 17th August, 2017 to issue a threat to Nigeria that “without restructuring and devolution of powers there may not be 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Over the years, Nigeria as a country has witnessed myriad of political problems which, if looked closely, were and are still the fall outs of socio-political groupings in the country. For the past 17 years or there about of democracy in Nigeria, the country had been faced with several socio-political upheavals than we had during the military regimes.

During President Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration (1997 – 2003), the political quagmire almost made many Nigerians to think that Nigeria could only be ruled by the military. In 2003 and 2007 when President Umaru Musa Y’adua was in the helm of affairs of Nigeria, the Niger Delta Militants embarked on series of oil pipe line bombings and vandalism, kidnappings of expertrates, insurgencies, etc to the extent that the President had to declare amnesty for most of the militants to volunteer the surrendering of their weapons, arms and ammunitions. However, during the six years rule of President Goodluck Jonathan (2009 – 2015), the political scene of his administration was marred by the notorious Boko Haram insurgency which has spanned grievously into the President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration since his inception on 29th May, 2015 till date. The presence of Boko Haram has caused so much devastation to the country in terms of destruction of lives and properties.

But unfortunately for Buhari’s administration quite unlike the previous ones, other powerful socio-political groupings like [Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra](#) (MASSOB), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and most recently the **Fulani Herdsmen** have variously ravaged parts of the country, killing citizens

and destroying properties worth millions of Naira, particularly in the South Eastern part of this country.

Based on the foregoing, therefore, one may feel safe to assume that Nigeria has not been able to handle the heterogeneity of its nature, couple with the uneven economic differences of its various regions, states and geo-political zones.

Despite the efforts of government to foster oneness, unity and permanent national integration, ethnic rivalries, regionalization, and, most recently, true federalism, restructuring and devolution of powers have become the predominant factors that have threatened the issue of national integration in Nigeria.

The South-South and the South-East zones, in their bids to call for true federalism or restructuring, as the case may be have even become victims of contradictions to themselves. For instance, the South-East is calling for restructuring in which they sue for self-actualisation, self-sufficiency and self-reliance, but at the same time they are presenting presidential aspirants for the 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria. The question is, if the South-East were to secede, would they also have the opportunity to contest for the presidency in Nigeria, come 2019? This contradiction may be why Odum (2003) in his reflections on politics and governance in the South-East considered thus:

“The issue of politics and governance in the South-East has, in recent times, thrown-up certain contradictions that are irreconcilable with the kind of potentials existing in this geo-political zone. In spite of the availability of men with integrity and bright ideas, this zone is gradually capitulating to the shenanigans of political charlatans ... The pattern of politics and governance in the South-East has proven problematic, especially in recent times. The problems witnessed in this regard have equally enthroned crises of development. Politics within the zone, has taken a pattern that conforms to what is obtainable in a disorderly environment or a society without coherent political ideology.”

However, in the above assertion there is not much difference between the South-East realities and those obtainable in the South-South geo-political zone. It would be recalled that Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995 opined that *by our actions, we have denigrated our country and jeopardized the future of our children – I predict that the scene here will be played and replayed by generations yet unborn – the riddle of the Niger Delta will soon come – the agenda is being set at this trial. Whether the peaceful ways I have favoured will prevail depends on what the oppressor decides.*” As Bassey *et al.* (2015) also stated that, “Leaders of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) are declared criminal sponsors of terrorism as the deportation from Angola and the detention of MEND operative Henry Okah indicates” (Bassey, 2015).

Such contradictions as stated above are clearly seen in a situation where the South-South zone is presently agitating vehemently for the cleaning up of the Ogoni land by the federal government. They are also threatening for secession with a call for restructuring of the economy, but at the same time has also issued ultimatum for both the Northerners and the Westerners to return to their respective regions. This is exactly what the South-East has also done recently after they had been given quit notice by the Arewa Youth Movement. The South-East also has sent the Northerners packing from their land.

Therefore, this study is set to attempt some solutions to these very serious and pressing socio-political situations in Nigeria.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study shall be divided into two segments, namely: **Main Objective** and **Subsidiary Objectives**.

The **main objective** will be to attempt an investigation on Nigeria and the politics of restructuring using the South-South and the South-East perspectives to draw the conclusion of the study.

Whereas, the **subsidiary objectives** shall include:

- i. To find out what restructuring is all about.
- ii. To ascertain whether there are differences between restructuring and true federalism.
- iii. To establish the reason why the federal government has not adhered to the calls for restructuring in Nigeria.
- iv. To find out why the federal government tend to renege on its earlier promise to restructure Nigeria.
- v. To diagnose the possible benefits of restructuring in Nigeria, if adopted.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is in many ways. First of all, the study will enlighten Nigerians as a whole of the trending socio-political events, particularly such that bothers on agitations for self-determination in parts of the country. Secondly, the study will enhance public policy formulations and the making of relevant legislations by government to meet the felt needs of the people of Nigeria, irrespective of their ethnic cleavages, religion, culture or tradition. The study will be useful to scholars; both lecturers and students, particularly those in the Department of Political Science/Public Administration. Finally, the research will make a useful material for further researches.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Concept of Restructuring: Restructuring has become the latest trending word in the political landscape with political and non political actors pushing forward their ideas of the word that was not too long ago, an anathema to many state actors. Given the view of some that Nigeria is presently a federation, it is not surprising that different political actors would give different perspectives to the concept of restructuring. Among those to have given life to the concept of restructuring are General Ibrahim Babangida, former Vice President Atiku Abubakar and some pro-democracy activists. Their ideas on what restructuring means is presented hereunder. By Emmanuel Aziken, Political Editor, Clifford Ndujihe, Dapo Akinrefon and Charles Kumolu, General Ibrahim Babangida will strongly advocate for devolution of powers to the extent that more responsibilities be given to the states while the Federal Government is vested with the responsibility to oversee our foreign policy, defence, and economy. Even the idea of having Federal roads in towns and cities has become outdated and urgently needs revisiting. That means we need to tinker with our constitution to accommodate new thoughts that will strengthen our nationality.

Restructuring and devolution of powers will certainly not provide all the answers to our developmental challenges. Nonetheless, it may help to reposition our mindset as we generate new ideas and initiatives that would make our union worthwhile. The talk to have the country restructured means that Nigerians are agreed on our unity in diversity; but that we should strengthen our structures to make the union more functional based on our comparative advantages. Former Head of State, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida during prayers to mark his 75th birthday celebration at the Hilltop, Minna, Niger State added to this desire is the need to commence the process of having State Police across the states of the Federation. *“This idea was contained in my manifesto in 2010 when I attempted to contest the presidential elections. The initial fears that State Governors will misuse the officers and men of the State Police have become increasingly eliminated with renewed vigour in citizens’ participation in, and confidence to interrogate power. We cannot be detained by those fears and allow civilization to leave us behind. We must as a people with one destiny and common agenda take decisions for the sake of posterity in our shared commitment to launch our country on the path of development and growth”*.

Atiku Abubakar, Former Vice President and presidential aspirant of All Progressives Congress (APC), Atiku Abubakar *“There is no doubt that many of our states are not viable, and were not viable from the start once you take away the federation allocations from Abuja. We have to find creative ways to make them viable in a changed federal system. We can constitute a body of non-partisan experts to suggest other ideas. But in all, we must devolve more powers and resources from the federal government and de-emphasise federal allocations as the source of sustenance of states. We need to start producing again and collecting taxes to run our governments in a more*

sustainable way with greater transparency and accountability. It's restoration of federalism"

According to Akin Osuntokun, Political Adviser to former President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who is a former Managing Director of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Restructuring is simply a call for the restoration of federalism – the foundational constitutional structure to which all Nigerians subscribed as encapsulated in the independence constitution of 1960. This constitution was violated in 1966 and the violation set in motion a chain of events that has culminated in the present abnegation of a 36 states structure against the four regional structure that emanated from the independence constitution. All the ills presently plaguing the country are directly or indirectly a consequence of the wrong anti federalist diversion Nigeria took in 1966.

The violation has concomitantly resulted in the unitary command culture of military dictatorship in which the constitutionally prescribed decentralization and devolution of powers have been subverted and supplanted with centralization of power of independent and self-sustaining federating units. Chief Supo Shonibare is a chieftain of the pan-Yoruba socio-political organization, Afenifere and has bore his mind, "I would wish that we have a Federation with independent self-sustaining Federating units able to develop infrastructure, critical amenities, undertake other developmental projects, education and health without a Centre body interfering. We already have geo-political zones. Why don't we have say 6 or 8 Regions from that template, enable the Regions exercise the functions presently being exercised by the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) in the various States and co-ordinate such functions and utilize economies of scale. Each Region should be at liberty to create more States in their region as their constitution stipulates. Minority rights will be entrenched in the Federal Constitution to protect minorities in the Regions and enable them evolve into States. We do not need bi-cameral National Assembly, the Regional Assembly can collectively act as checks and balances on the unicameral National Assembly on issues and functions presently exercised by the present bi-cameral National Assembly chamber. We will reduce costs and also enable closer engagement with the electorate from the region." On his part, the Former General Secretary, National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers Union (NUPENG), Chief Frank Kokori stated that Functional structure will end calls for restructuring. Kokori a veteran in the struggle for a better polity explained his assertion thus: "In Nigerian terms when people talk about restructuring, they say they need true federalism. I don't know what true federalism is because federalism is federalism.

"A nation that practices it as a system of government must abide by its tenets. That is what the constitution says. Because of the military incursion into politics in 1966, Nigeria became a unitary government. So they were not following the tenets of the constitution that allows for devolution of powers to the federating units. It is on that basis that the minorities are demanding to restructure. If we had real federalism, there will not be agitations. Real federalism was what we had before 1966 when the regions had their own institutions. "The reason agitations are going on this country is because certain people feel they are marginalized but I know that the whole country is marginalized because of bad governance and corruption. I am for real federalism, the federal government should be left with some residual powers on defense, currency Foreign Affairs, and others while the states should be given powers over other affairs. To douse the present agitation in the country, the federal government needs to be serious. If you ask me what I really want for this country, I will want us to revert to the 12 states that Gowon created. We should have that structure instead of having many states to the next that every village wants to be a state. If we do that, Nigeria will move forward. Let's return to regionalism with six zones as federating units – Ikokwu Second Republic politician, lawyer and a member of the Ime-Obi, inner caucus of Ohanaeze Ndigbo, Chief Guy Ikokwu.

"The military command after the civil war unitarised the country and diminished the percentage of the formula of derivation. For instance in 1946 the derivation formula for the regions which controlled their resources was 100 per cent, while in 1951 the British recommended 50 per cent derivation, whereas in 1953 the western region actually disbursed a 100 percent of resources they controlled. The 50 per cent derivation continued from 1960 at independence up to 1970 when Gen. Yakubu Gowon reduced the derivation formula to 45 per cent and by 1975 it was reduced to 25 per cent. Nigerians should know that in the first coming of Gen. Buhari it had crashed to 1.5 per cent and Gen. Babangida then raised it to 3 per cent and thereafter it moved to 13 per cent. With the

increase of states from 12 to 36 by the military class, and the accumulation of the legislative list to the central government, the Nigerian states today have become so pauperized as appendages that they cannot even pay the salaries of their workers let alone their gratuities and pensions. Therefore, the Nigerian Unitary system of administration which we have now is not only an illegal constitutional contraption, but also an unworkable political system and a harbinger of a perverse, chaotic, political and economic conundrum. Under these unitary systems Nigerians are getting poorer and poorer. The issue of restructuring of Nigeria's political system is already partly documented in the 2014 Abuja Confab which has been endorsed by the federal executive council under former President Jonathan, and handed over to President Buhari.”

Igbo Quit Notice by the Arewa Youths: The treat issued to the Igbo residents in the Northern part of Nigeria by the Arewa youths seems to be gathering momentum by the day. In Lagos state, the emphasis on the ultimatum given by some Arewa youth groups to the Igbo to quit northern parts of the country on or before October 1, 2017 or be forced to do so, was intensified. The Federal Government urged Igbo and other Nigerians to ignore the notice and go about their normal activities just as Governors of the 19 northern states disowned the Arewa youths, assuring that they have put measures in place to ensure there is no breakdown of law and order.

In strong terms, the Kaduna State Governor, Nasir El-Rufai; Arewa Consultative Forum, ACF; Ohanaeze Ndigbo; and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, MASSOB among others, condemned the statement by 16 Arewa youth groups with Governor El-Rufai calling for their arrests as ACF stated that the groups had no right to issue such a statement. The National President of the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum, AYCF, Alhaji Yerima Shettima, had handed down the ultimatum at a well-attended press conference held at the Arewa House, Kaduna. The ultimatum followed a successful sit-at-home order enforced by the Nnamdi Kanu-led Indigenous People of Biafra, IPOB on May 30, 2017, which the five South-East states complied with.

The text of the press conference was jointly signed by Nastura Ashir Sharif (Arewa Citizens Action for Change); Alhaji Shettima Yerima (Arewa Youth Consultative Forum); Aminu Adam (Arewa Youth Development Foundation); Alfred Solomon, (Arewa Students Forum); Abdul-Azeez Suleiman (Northern Emancipation Network), as well as Joshua Viashman (Northern Youth Vanguard).

The National President of the Northern Emancipation Network, Abdul-Azeez Suleiman, who read the text of the press conference, noted that the Igbo had become a threat to national unity and their quit order was necessitated by the Igbo persistence in the actualisation of Biafra, saying this had led to the impediment of other people's rights in the South-East by “the Indigenous People of Biafra and its overt and covert sponsors.”

Suleiman said: “With the effective date of this declaration, which is today, Tuesday, June 6, 2017, all Igbo currently residing in any part of northern Nigeria are, hereby, served notice to relocate within three months and all northerners residing in the South-East are advised likewise.

“All northern civil societies and pressure groups are, by this declaration, mandated to mobilise for sustained, coordinated campaigns at their respective state Government Houses, state Houses of Assembly, local government council secretariats and traditional palaces.

“Our first major move shall be to reclaim, assume and assert sole ownership and control of these landed resources currently owned, rented or in any way enjoyed by the ...Igbo in any part of Northern Nigeria” (Willy, 2017).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adopted John Rawls Theory of Justice propounded in 1971 in which the author attempted to solve the problem of distributive justice (the socially just distribution of goods in a society) by utilizing a variant of the familiar device of the social contract.

“The Theory of Justice is a work of political philosophy and ethics by John Rawls, in which the author attempts to solve the problem of distributive justice (the socially just distribution of goods in a society) by utilising a variant of the familiar device of the social contract”.

“In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls argues that the concepts of freedom and equality are not mutually exclusive. His assessment of the justice system leads him to conclude that for justice to be truly just, everyone must be afforded the same rights under the law” (Rawls, 2005).

- In the first part of the book, Rawls asks: if everyone were stripped of their privileges and social status and made entirely equal, what kind of justice system would they want to be subject to? He includes that the only logical choice is to pick a system that treats people equally, regardless of their race, class, gender, etc.
- In the second part, he discusses how his theory of justice would affect institutions today. Without pointing fingers, he makes it clear that no one is living up to his standards.
- In the third part, he describes the good effects that a real justice system can have on society.

Implications of the Theory of Justice to this Study: John Rawls’ theory of justice is generally considered appropriate and quite applicable to this study. It is so in the sense that, a good number of the geo-political zones in Nigeria, particularly the South-South and the South-East areas are largely agitating for self-determination. They do this using various threats. But, Rawls provided that following logical choice is to pick a system that treats people equally, regardless of their race, class, gender, etc. He upheld this in the first part of his book when he asked to know what kind of justice people would want if they were to be stripped of their privileges and social status and made entirely equal. Of course, all the political units are clamoring for this equal right and treatment. But, according to them, “we have not been fairly treated for years” (Nnoli, 2003).

In the second part of John Rawls’ theory of justice, the proponent expected that his theory should be able to affect institutions. But, he concluded without making any accusation to any institution, that none of these institutions have lived up to standard. In other words, and in the case of Nigeria, we have seen the corrupt nature of our institutions.

To start with, can we boldly say that our educational system has lived up to expectation or, would one be able to admit that our judicial or security systems are free from corruption? The courts, the Nigeria Police Force and the DSS today, in Nigeria have one issue or the other. For instance, why would a notorious kidnapper, by the name, Chukwudumeme Udumadike (alias Evans) be arrested by the Nigeria Police Force and be granted bail; why would our Department of State Security (DSS) some months ago stormed into the houses of Justices of the Supreme Court, carted away bags of money, according to them, and cannot prosecute those judges and, today, those Supreme Court Judges have been recalled to their former positions, and so forth.

The third part of John Rawls’ justice theory described the good effects that justice system can have on society like Nigeria. This entails that if all segments of the people in Nigeria are given equal rights, that it can reduce conflict if not entirely eliminating it. This may be the reason why Nnamdi Kalu is pledging to give peace a change if Federal Government calls for referendum for the restructuring of Nigeria.

Conclusion

In sharing the views of Bernard Balogun who writes from Wuse District in Abuja, I do not subscribe to the idea that we should revert to regional system of government. In spite of the importance of restructuring, there is absolutely nothing wrong with the states-structure. Rather, we should curtail our spending habits; those that govern us should show proper sense of accountability and commitment to their offices and the people they lead.

We urgently need quality leaders. We need leaders who are focused, visionary, committed to their oaths of office. We need leaders whose drive and zeal are to propel development. Leaders, quality leaders, who think more of those they lead and less of themselves. We need leaders who will create the enabling environment for youths and unemployed graduates to acquire professional skills that will equip them for entrepreneurial ventures. We need leaders with the fear of God. More than ever before, there is the urgent need for attitudinal change in all ramifications of governance in Nigeria: it has to start from the top to bottom approach.

Recommendations

- (i) Government should evolve people-oriented policies that would meet the felt needs of the different geo-political zones and ethnic groups in the country.
- (ii) Government should, through the national assembly make legislations that will facilitate the development of the various geo-political zones in the country.
- (iii) Government should ensure that multi-national corporations operating in the different geo-political zones consider local content initiatives as their priority by employing qualified indigenes of the zones into their management positions in their companies.
- (iv) Government should compel the multinational corporations to relocate their headquarters to their various operational bases in the country.
- (v) Government should compel the operating multi-national corporations to set aside a certain percentage of money for the humanitarian and community development programmes in the various zones of their operations.
- (vi) Government should not pay deaf-ear to the proposed Ogoni clean up exercise of the federal government. In other words, speedy action should be taken to carry out that exercise as that will go a long way to curb excessive socio-political upheavals in the South-South geo-political zone, particularly the Niger Delta region.
- (vii) Government on its own part should listen to the agitations of the people on the issues of Restructuring, True Federalism and Devolution of Powers to the geo-political zones, if that will ameliorate the pending crises that stay on the face of this country in recent times.

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