



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. 12, No 3, October, 2018
Special Edition:
Nigeria Federation: Myth or Reality?

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF UYO, NIGERIA

International Journal of Social Sciences. Vol. 12, No.3, October, 2018 Special



**International
Journal of
Social Sciences**

Attitudinal Barriers to Nigeria Federalism

by

Etim O. Frank
Department of Political Science and Public Administration
University of Uyo, Nigeria
wajorde@gmail.com; 0803-380-5713
okonfetim@uniuyo.edu.ng

Abstract

The study examined the foundations of federalism and particularly the attitudinal dispositions of Nigerian political elites, from the perspective that the greatest hindrances to the practice of federalism in Nigeria are the attitudes of the political elites mostly from the North. The orientation of the study was descriptive and the procedure- documentary analysis, by which it examined the classical meaning, principles and practices of federalism at the global level in contrast to what obtains in Nigeria. It revealed the colonialists partly contributed to the attitudinal disposition of the Northern elites; they attributed high population density to the North, which the 1962 census figures disproved, as a result the census was annulled for an ad hoc one in 1963; the mentality of the Northern political elites that Nigeria is their possession, hence anything that would happen must be at their behest developed from this mental set. The unification of public service of the North, West and the East by the late General Aguiyi Ironsi, generated the fear of domination of the public service in the North by the Ibos. The North seized the opportunity using the military to sustain the lopsided federalism through military governance till this day. The study then recommended robust persuasion of the Northern political elites by their Southern counterpart as one step that should be taken pursuant to correcting the situation. At the same time, it posited some radical set of actions, including giving the youths impetus to upset the economic balance of Nigeria, as another means towards attitudinal change of the elite's corps for the benefit of all Nigerians.

Key words: Attitudinal, Barriers, Nigeria, Federalism.

1. Introduction

The history of Nigeria's formation started in 1861, with 1914 as its highpoint, the past of the terrain indicated that the territory of Nigeria as it was then, consisted of different nations, Kingdoms and empires existing separately. The colonial exercise brought them together without 'an article of association' which would often spell out the basis of voluntary alliances, as the history of older federations have shown. In what is today Southern Nigeria, existed the 'Oyo empire, the Benin Kingdom, the old River protectorate, old Calabar Kingdom and many others. The North had the Kanem Borno empire, the Hausa states and the kingdoms of the middle Belt region such as the Jukuns, Tiv respectively. The south east had the republican and sedentary Igbo groupings. All these were cultures and civilizations which the colonial masters wielded together yet managed separately until 1947 before they could meet themselves in the Richard constitutional conference.

The elites of these various groups started scheming within and without to foster the interests of their ethnic groups over the others. Intense ethnic and geo-ethnic parochialism within the state and region became a slogan, as groups competed to inherit political power from the colonial authority that would be going someday. It is instructive to submit that Nigeria was created to serve the interest of the colonial authority at the time and after, because it would enhance administrative economy of scale. As a result of the socio-economic and cultural evidence they met on ground. It became expedient to merge the southern with the northern protectorates to create Nigeria. The immediate rationale being that; first, less colonial European personnel were willing to come to West Africa-Nigeria for administrative purpose, because of the prevalent of mosquitoes, malaria and subsequent death. Secondly, it was becoming economic burden to continue to out-source funds from Britain to balance the budget of the northern protectorate who were increasingly unable to generate enough internal revenue (IGR) to meet its budgetary estimates. The colonial authority, had to borrow resources from the southern protectorate to augment the revenue situation in the northern protectorate. Thirdly, the British were wearied of sourcing funds from the southern protectorate for the north, had to amalgamate the hitherto separate people in 1914 under the name Nigeria.

After the Second World War in 1945, there was increasing agitations to prepare most colonial territories for self-government, coupled with the rise of intense nationalism by the political elites. The pressures for independence were rekindled by the following factors;

- i) The declaration of the 'Atlantic Charter proclamation signed by Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which granted to all persons the right of self-determination to live under any government of their choice.
- ii) The UNO which came on board and keyed into the 'Atlantic Charter' and freedom of all people to be free, encouraged the nationalist struggle.

- iii) West African students union preached against colonialism and demanded self-government.
- iv) The British Labour Party in 1945 encouraged the independence of dependent territories.
- v) The independence of India and Pakistan soured up hope, for others.
- vi) The experience of ex-service men in the first and the second World Wars, which debunked the myth of white supremacy (Frank, 2013).

The above factors set the machinery for self-government in the front burners of national discourse, with the problem being what form and principle of government would be most suitable for a state that was highly heterogeneous. This was in the late 1950s. However, 1954 marked the epoch in which the Federalist arrangement was introduced given the hiccups which emerged from all previous models of governments. It is important to note that, for many Nigerians, federalism was an important mechanism for allaying their fears -fears of political and economic domination. Federalism emerged in Nigeria as result of social forces at work within the ethnic divide in the country, to be practices within the context of Parliamentary -Westminster model of government. The federal principles within a parliamentary-Westminster system soon created operational problems of attitude to the principles.

The objectives of this study included among others (i) to bring to the fore the reasons for the adoption of federalism as a governance system and its administrative format. (ii) to elucidate the political factors which has led to the formation of attitudes by the political elites, which serves as hindrance to the administration of federalism in Nigeria and finally, to canvass viewpoints for the Southern political elites to apply in their engagement of their Northern counterparts in the operation of federalism in Nigeria

The Foundations of Federalism

Federalism as a principle of state governance had been propagated by several political theorists both classical and modern. They included in the classical group, Englebert Von Volkersdof (1577), Jean Bodin, (1660), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778), Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704) as well as Johannes Althusius (1654). The modern theorists would include the Federalists, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison (85 articles and essays making up the federalists' papers). The theoretical foundation was laid by Althusius in the 'Confederatio non plena', that federalism is a type of system in which the component parts maintained their full sovereignty (Dietz, 1999:300), where the desire for peace and security motives are the compelling factors, the obligations of the confederates are laid down in definite laws, accepted by the oath of the participating parties.

The Althusiusian federal theory provided inter alia for;

- i) The mutual defense of the members against external and internal attacks and for the obligation to render assistance quickly and to be loyal allies in times of war and peace.
- ii) For the friendly settlement of disputes between the members of the confederation through conciliation or arbitration, obliging them not to make war against each other and not to assist any one of the confederated states in attacking another;
- iii) The contributions to common expenditure in war and for the equitable distribution of territorial gains or monetary indemnities.

This theory was complemented by that of Chancellor Sully, Henry IV of Germany. The Sullyian theoretical exposition averred that;

- i) The members of the union remained sovereign states, however, their sovereignty was no longer as absolute as it had been under the plans of Dubois and Podiebrad.
- ii) The states could not secede from the union and the confederation exercised a certain influence upon its members with respect to their conduct of foreign policy.
- iii) The union is perpetual (Dietz, 1999).

The description of classical Federalism was conducted through documentary analysis where it indicated that the component states in federalism cannot be subjected to the central government authority. This position had been canvassed by Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) both great legal minds who stated that 'no general authority was nominally and legally transferred from the member states to the federal council because of the indivisibility of sovereignty or statism.

The Values of Federalism

The juxtaposition of these two theories would generate the following values which enable Federalism to function effectively.

- i) Trust – the capacity of the central or federal government to operate on truth of holding the property of the states for the good of all. The assurance that justice would be done in all situation. Trust in the system generates faith in it, that at all times, justice would be done.
- ii) In all cases, the federal government was not strong enough to be really superior to the governments of the component parts...the component part retained a high degree of sovereignty.
- iii) Tolerance- there is tolerance of one another for the sake of peace among the states.
- iv) There is the idea of compromise
- v) There is the obligation to obey the central government yet remain sovereign.
- vi) Justice -the concern of fairness, justness, fair play and equitableness as a prelude for peace.

- vii) The values of federalism are timeless and important for this generation, but also because the values seem in danger of being forgotten hence it must be subject to *Judicial review*.

2. Statement of the Problem

The practice of Federalism as a system of Government in Nigeria since its adoption in 1954 has been fraught with technical problems, its meaning, organization and administration. This is because it was defined by the military and succeeding civil regimes have been reluctant to redefine and administer it according to its theoretical foundation.

The practice of federal system of government in Nigeria, constitute an aberration of principles and meaning of federalism as conceptualized in classical era, and exercise in America from where Nigeria adopted its presidentialism. The huge contents of the exclusive legislative list and low content of the concurrent list, has reduced the status of the federating states in the federal system, to be an extension of the central government.

Federalism that is to wit, aimed at peace within and security from without, however, the meaning, practice and the structure of its practice in Nigeria, generate resentment, centrifugal forces of disintegration rather than centripetal pull to unite the country. This accounted for centrifugal forces such as the Niger Delta militancy, Odua-People-Congress (OPC), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), which all have caused the state to spend resources that have alternative uses on them.

The resolution of this problem is important otherwise it would continue to divert the attention and resources of the state away from development issues.

The principal issues are; understanding the meaning and structure of the practice of federalism and allowing same to take place in Nigeria. A change of the attitude by Nigerian ruling elites and the general populace is critical in this respect.

3. Aim and Objectives

The purposes of this study were to identify first, the human obstacle pursuant to the operation of pure federalism in Nigeria. This was found to be the fear that when real federalism is operative in Nigeria, certain section of the country would be denied the use and access to resources located in the other's territory. This would be taken care of through dialogue, negotiations and mutual agreement as it had been done elsewhere. Secondly, it sought to point out constitutional and administrative mechanism which has sustained this lopsided structure of government. It was intended to assuage the fear of others, that whenever these obstructions were remove, federalism would stand on its proper footing. Finally, it sought to speed up the rate of development Nigeria according to the capacity of each group. This would enhance labour mobility of Nigerians from one zone to the others where conditions of service and business may be better than the other.

This would create the capitalist spirit of competition to do better and Nigerian would have development as the outcome of governance and federalism.

4. Materials and Methods

The angle of this study was descriptive with the purpose of re-counting and explaining as well as validating some of the events which gave credence to the proposition that it is the attitude of Nigerian ruling elites in the practice of federalism, which account for the social imbalance in the system. There are three main components of this research orientation viz; observation, Case-study and Survey approaches respectively. However, the procedure was the observational perspective (viewing and recording of events) which was applied in this study in conjunction with documentary analysis of classical literature on federalism. These sources provided the qualitative data which were analyzed in the study by which inferences were drawn.

The overall purpose of the application of this study perspective, was to bring to the fore the picture of the situation, even as it may not be able to establish cause and effect relationship. However, it would be able to isolate the variables that might have given rise to the phenomena under investigation.

The goal was to obtain information concerning the current nature of the practice of federalism in Nigeria. We sought to describe what exists with respect to variables or conditions in the situation. The data generated was meant to assist in causing a change in the attitude of the elites and the citizenry in the understanding of the phenomenon of federalism and practice it as it was meant to be.

It enabled this study to identify that the attitude of fear pervades many Nigerian of mostly northern extraction that the practice of real federalism may deny them access to the federal revenue. The observational component of this method, created greater understanding of the issue of federalism through the data collected to describe the situation more entirely than it was before this study (Ndiyo, 2005). The study was analyzed through a related democratic value framework.

5. Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework of analysis adopted for this study is known as 'Democratic values; Platform for Federalism' espoused by Sodaro *et al.* (2008). It was considered the most appropriate context to explain how the attitude of Nigerians, particularly that of the ruling elites, hinders the practice federalism in Nigeria by not respecting certain values on which federalism strive upon. According to Sodaro *et al.*, (2008), federalism would do better on the following premises;

- a) Democratic values:
 - i) Freedom from authoritarian rule, freedom of expression, religion, movement, and so on.
 - ii) Inclusion-democratic rights and freedoms must be for everyone.

- iii) Equality in this context means that rights and freedoms must be accorded to everyone on the same basis.
 - iv) Equity- means fairness.
 - v) Tolerance-means acceptance of those who are different from ourselves and a willingness to live in harmony with them on the basis of full inclusion and legal equality.
- b) The rule of law- is the principle that the power of the state and its officials must be limited by the law and that no one is above the law.
 - c) Popular Sovereignty- is the idea that the people determine how they are governed (Sodaro *et al.*, 2008).
The point here is that in any federal state where the above values are prevalent, it would not be difficult to allow federalism to operate the way it should and vice versa.

Attitude Barrier to Nigeria Federalism

Attitude according to Gordon Allport averred that they are complex and an acquired state through a responsive expression towards a person, place, thing or event (the attitude object) which in turn influences the individual thought and action. Attitude can be formed from the person's past and present. Kartz (1934) asserted that attitude developed and held serves the following purposes' (i) instrumental (ii) Adjustive or utilitarian (iii) Ego-defensive (iv) value-expressive or knowledge functions. It is the value-expressive attitude that is related to this study. This refers to the attitude created from the one's life experiences.

i) Attitude of the Political Elites

It is instructive to note that modern democracy is not 'government by the people' but government by the elites who are accountable to the people. The role of the elites in sustaining federalism in the political processes is thus, crucial (Sodaro, 2008). When the elites who operate the government embrace democratic values and sustain the principles of federalism, the values would spread among their followers and federalism, would be sustained in any polity including Nigeria. However, it is in the interest of the Northern political elites, to allow immature federal structure, because it enhances their primitive accumulation. The eighth senate had embarked on constitution amendment without addressing the substantial issue which would have devolved power and change the structure of Nigeria. It is the country's key elites who must sit at the table and hammer out the details of a new (Sodaro, 2008) practice of federalism. The Dutch elites stabilized federalism in Netherland. F.W.de Klerk and Nelson Mandela brought democracy to South Africa. The true test of the elite's leadership skills in Nigeria would come when they are able to sit down and resolve the contradiction of federalism.

ii) *The Population Tyranny*

By the 1950s the British colonial authority had conducted a census for colonial Nigeria. The massive power of the North rested on the census figures produced by the British officials in the early 1950s. All attempts to confirm those census figures since have proved a failure and this has become the most bitterly contested issue in Nigeria politics. After the census in 1962, it was found out that the Northern region no longer had the numerical majority over the rest of the country combined. The Northern People Congress (NPC) leaders found these results unacceptable and cancelled the results. The result of 1962 census returns were never officially published. In a fresh census in 1963, the North improved on its 1962 figures (Akinkuotu, 2005). This single statistical manipulation, has affected the form and practice of federalism in Nigeria till this date.

iii) *The Prejudice of Ownership Mentality*

Sir Tafawa Balewa the then leader of the NPC had never wanted the British colonial authority to leave because they had some understanding. In March 1947, he had warned the nationalists who wanted the British to leave, that if the British withdrew, the Hausas would carry their conquest to the sea...

private ownership of oil wells is all owned by persons of Northern extraction. This prejudice has made it, difficult to fix whatever is found wrong in Nigeria, which can only be done at the North's behest. This is why they are yet to be convinced It is this state of mind which has caused some Northern 'intellectuals' to averred that crude oil in the Niger Delta, belong to them in the North. They cited the instances where that there is something wrong with the current structure of the Nigeria state, in order to share the 'restructuring' sentiment. This explain their rationale for descaling every issue that relates to reforming the current form of federalism in Nigeria because it grants greater expediencies to the North.

iv) *Unification and Federalism*

On January 15, 1966 the first Military coup took place few days after the Commonwealth meeting in Lagos. The young officers were empowered by General Ironsi the most senior officer in the military. In the mind of General Ironsi, 'the regional political structure of Nigeria' was quite divisive. He therefore would prefer the unification of Nigeria through the public service. He then setup a one-man panel in Chief Francis Nwokedi to work on 'the administrative unification' of the public service in Nigeria. He realized lately and added another person 'a non-Igbo' to him to accomplish the duty. The Ibos were already occupying top civil service job positions in the country. To the Northerners, this was an attempt to dominate them administratively having just lost their men in and out of the military in the coup d'état that had just taken place. On the submission of the report, General Ironsi then abolished the regional public services and united all into a central one, to be operated from Lagos, thereby abolishing the Northern, Western and Eastern civil services. This by all purposes and intend was going to give advantage to the Easterners because they already possessed the educational advantages required to manage the bureaucracy. The suspicion generated by this led to a counter coup d'état.

The differential spread of Western education between the North and the South created suspicion of loss of job in the new Federal civil service. Whereas the South feared domination by the North in the political life of Nigeria with population tyranny, they feared occupational domination given educational advantage of the South. This amounted to mutually assured suspicion.

Empirical Attitude against Federalism

The major task of this section of the study was to show empirically the attitudes of the political elites in the past, which militated against the practice of federalism. Technically 'attitude' in addition to Allport's postulates would refer to a settled way of thinking and feeling about an issue or a phenomenon or an emotional and mental prism for viewing and interpreting issues. It arises from the knowledge, attitude and practices of a group towards issues. This is then passed to the succeeding generation.

- i) After the failed coup d'état in 15th January 1966, General Ironsi had issued Decree 8 on May 24 1966 intended to unify the regional public services into one. He then appointed Chief Francis Nwokedi an Igbo, as the sole administration to Inquire into the feasibility of the unification. This decree sought to unite Nigeria into a unitary state (Ejoor, 1989). There are two issues that arose from this, viz; there was the case of selfishness on the side of the Ironsi to have appointed an Igbo man to singularly carry out the task. It sparked-off fear in the north of Igbo domination in the public and civil service given their educational advantages. It is instructive to note that the variables of selfishness (Ironsi) and fear and suspicion by the north led to the loss of trust between these two groups till this day.
- ii) After the counter-coup of July 29, 1966, and during the meeting of the military high command, the late General Muritala Mohammed and Major Martins Adamu, insisted on the principle of 'Araba', 'let separate' secession in the country. To aid the northern secession, the soldiers of northern origin, hijacked a British VC 10 Plane which was London bound. The Plane's captain 'Alan Kerr' was forced to fly the family of 96 soldiers who partook in the counter coup to Kano. They order northern civilians and civil servants in Lagos to evacuate before they destroy all government infrastructure within 48 hours (Siollum, 2009:). Earlier in this work, we had earlier made allusion to the use of threats of secession as a political bargaining tool. The Eastern region applied it in 1964 over the 1963 census figures. The West used it over the threat to excise Lagos from the west to remain as the Federal capital. The Niger Delta led by Isaac Adaka Boro displayed it in the 12 Day revolution in 1966. The attitude that any ethnic group can make it alone without the other out of the Nigeria federation is roving over the land.

- iii) Towards the terminal end of the colonial rule, the minorities in the country complained of political suffocation under the three giant regions (North, East and West). The Willink commission was inundated with request for the creation of states out of the regions, The Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers (COR) state agitation to be created out of the Eastern region received high attention. The Igbos objected to the COR state movement because it would reduce the capacity and strength of the region compare to the others. In addition, the removal of Professor Eyo Ita, as the leader of Government business in the Eastern House of Assembly gave further impetus to the COR State agitation. The Eastern regional government gave a condition for the creation of the COR state, 'provided only that similar states would be created from other regions (Willink, 1958).
- iv) The Willink commission found the defined the Niger Delta as special areas which needed special intervention because of the difficult terrain. All the Ijaw areas were swampy, similar situation exists in the Calabar and the Midwest areas respectively. A special federal board (precursor to NNDC) the Niger Delta Development Board was therefore recommended to fast track the development of the areas. Its funding was to be made up of one percent of the Gross Domestic Product of both regions to which the area belongs and from the federal government. Both regions refused to contribute to the development of the area. Today, it is near impossible to get the Niger Delta to have the same political perspective with these regions.
- v) On revenue allocation- the Action Group Party (AG) wanted revenue allocation between the component units of the federation on the basis of derivation. With cocoa as the principal revenue earner this would have made the Action Group and the West the best off of the three regional government and the West had threatened to break away were it demands not to be accepted. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the north wanted revenue allocation on a per capita basis which would have favored the North with its large population. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) wanted revenue shared on the basis of 'need', taking a position with regard to the functional division of power between the federal and regional government (Dudley, 1978). The zero-sum attitude in the multi-ethnic state is a call for chaos.
- vi) Rulership mentality- where a group would assume that they were cut out to rule over the others. Elements from the north had asserted that they only have political power in the Nigeria state, hence they must call the shots while others follow. This is how they rationalized Buhari's appointments to the northerners. The appointment, lead to recruitment and promotions of the northerners with attendant effects that may last for long time. They are therefore opposed to restructuring which may remove power from them. This fear is bound to affect the spirit of federalism in Nigeria. It would not allow the restructuring of the federation to permit for the practice of federalism. Fear, mutual suspicion, hatred

and selfishness characterized the attitude of the political elites. These are values which are antithetical to the practice of federalism.

The Challenge of Attitudinal Change

Given the above exposition of the concept of federalism and the events thereof in a country with very little nation-building processes, the knowledge obtained in the political space, crystalized into attitude which obstruct the practice of federalism in Nigeria. It became 'ego-defensive and Value -expressive' attitudes.

Trust is one of the attributes required to ensure functionality of democracy and the principles of federalism. This is lacking in Nigeria between the North, South, East and the West, so compromise which underlie federalism cannot find a place. Trust is lacking among Nigerian political elites with serious consequences for the entire polity. This was aggravated by the colonial divide and rule policy which kept Nigerians apart many years after 1914. This has inhibited the cultivation of mutual confidence through interactions.

The test however is on what should be the content of persuasive appeal that would generate confidence among the political elites in both regions. The political elites must at all times have patriotic zeal rather than selfish goals. The challenge here is that, politics is what the elites do, only to be accountable to the electorates. Therefore, the content of persuasive communication should be to both elites and the electorates. The content of this should consist of the reason and examples to influence action and thought of both the electorates and their leaders.

Attitudinal change requires persuasive appeal designed to convince the elites and electorates to take a particular position to give real federalism a chance.

The summary of effective persuasion techniques would include:

- i) Persuade the electorates and the elites at the same time, to pursue issues of mutual benefits, this is because it is the elites' preferences that the electorates hang on.
- ii) If you promised something you must keep to it, otherwise do not expect that the electorates are there waiting for you. This is why many political actors lost their second term attempts at elections.

We must try to seduce others to the side of federalism, but the greater challenges are on the educational level of the electorates. How do you seduce or convince a largely illiterates' population? The education of the people must be given priority in order to help create better understanding among the ethnic groups, above what the elites could grant.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study set out to establish how the attitude of the elites affects democracy and the practice of federalism in Nigeria. The study has indicated that whatever the

attitudes of the masses may be in relation to the practice of federalism in Nigeria, the correct form of federalism may not come about in the first place, unless the country's key elites agree to its practice by agreement. This is because in the final analysis, politics is the practice of elites' preferences. We proceeded to establish that while 'militant' nationalism caused the colonial masters to resent Southern nationalists, 'proto' nationalism endeared Northern elites to them. Consequently, they fraudulently established a higher population density for the North in the pre-independence census, and when that was not to be in post-independence 1962 census, the figures were not made public until an ad-hoc 1963 census which reverted the figures between the North and the South.

It is important to note that this census fraud, had given the North undue advantage in every political sphere, so much that any discourse on federalism would require their cooperation for adjustment. It again gave them expediencies in the military recruitment, so much that in the days of military rule, they created more states and local governments for the North much more than other geopolitical areas. Thirdly, the North did not create unitary-federalism, rather it was the General Ironsi unification decree which instituted that and the subsequent political leadership, have not mustered enough courage to redress this since it turned out to be to their advantage.

The recommendations arising from this study for addressing the situation is two-fold; first, the Southern political elites would require robust persuasion to cause a change in the behavior of the political elites of the North on the desirability to cooperate for genuine federal practices to take place in Nigeria as in other climes. This is because when the elite corps in the North key into the imperativeness of this, the entire populace which they lead would buy-into the phenomenon. This should be complimented by simultaneous social crises with implications for the economy in the southern parts of the country. This imply that the Southern elites would sponsor in a very subtle way crises in the economic centers in the South and feign ignorance but be ready to defend their sons in the security circles. It is only when the economy is in crises as a result of the anomic participation by the social forces in the Niger Delta and in other incendiary locations that the elites would sit down for negotiations. The precedent to the amnesty programmes and conceding the presidency to the west after the June 12 crises is instructive.

Secondly, it would entail the Southern political elites to understand that the North is no longer monolithic, hence they should take the advantage of the Middle Belt states to cause them to see issues through the political prism of the southern elites, to address the situation through alliance. This means a divorce from the old north. When the middle belt states cooperate with the southern political elites, the persuasion would then be seen as becoming positive. This is because federalism is all about justice and compromise between the central and the government of the component's states.

The Southern opposition groups, political parties and Civil Society should form coalition, its adherents should engage in anti-regime activities. These could take the form of demonstrations, public campaigns on the issue, political sabotage and generate international pressures for change in the direction desired.

However, this caveat is imperative, the Southern political elites (Afenifere, Ohaneze, South-South Group) must be steadfast because the government and the groups that are benefitting from the lopsided federalism would normally co-opt the Southern officers opposed to lopsided practice of federalism with minor concessions or rigged elections or elect some of them into institutions that lack real decision-making authority, but retain the status-quo. This is the use of political bait (appointments which cannot be used to help others) which must be resisted. This struggle would not be easy, but it requires steadfastness consistency and nation-building.

7. References

- Akinkuotu. A. (2005, March 7). 'How Britain Rigged Elections, Census for the North-Former Colonial Officer', TELL, March 7, 2005 No. 10 p 33- 45
- Dudley, B. J. (1973). *Politics and Crisis in Nigeria-Instability and Political Order*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press
- Dietz, G. (1999) *The Federalist-A Classic on Federalism and Free Government*. Baltimore: John Hopkin University Press.
- Ejor, D.A. (1989). *Reminiscences*, Lagos: Malthouse House Press Ltd.
- Frank, E. O. (2013). *Comprehensive Questions and Answers on Government and Political Ideas*. Uyo: Inela Publishers.
- Karz, F. (2008). *State Enterprises in Breetonwood's Prescriptions*. NY, Woodworths Publishers.
- Ndiyo, N.A. (2005). *Fundamental of Research in Behavioral Sciences and Humanity*. Calabar: Wusen Press.
- Siollum, M. (2009), *Oil, Politics and Violence-Nigeria's Military Coup Culture 1966-1976*. New York: Algora Publishing
- Sodaro, M. J, Collinwood, D.W., Dickson, B. J., Klesner, J. L. and Sisk, T. D. Ed. (2008) Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education. *No title?*
- Wilink, H., Hadow, G., Mason, P. and Shearer, J. P. (1958). *Nigeria: Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying them*. London: Colonial Office.