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## RESTRUCTURING NIGERIA, INTERNAL INSURRECTIONS AND TRUE FEDERALISM: THE WAY FORWARD

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### Abstract

The study evaluated the current topical issues in the Nigeria's political discourse, 'restructuring, internal insurrections and the call for the practice of true federalism' as a means to the greater development of the country. Its method was descriptive which sought to analyse the current situation of the country. It relied on the avalanche of secondary data, derived from published document, books, reports, journals records and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended. The constitution contain sixty eight items in the exclusive legislative list, thereby making the federal government too powerful, and reducing the States and local governments to appendages instead of coordinate centres of governance. The Frustration-Aggression paradigm of Ted Gur was adopted as an explicatory framework to clarify the agitation for restructuring, the basis for the anomic political participation and the agitation for the practice of 'true federalism' as the means to the end of slow development of the Nigerian state. It recommended devolution of functions to the state, equal number of states between the north and the south and a novel pattern for the election of the president, and fiscal federalism as the way forward.

**Keywords:** Restructuring, Internal Insurrections, Federalism, Plebiscite, Way-forward

### Background

In recent time in Nigeria, there have been increasing calls for the restructuring of Nigeria. The calls have come across the political divides, and from the North and South. It must be stated that more people from Southern Nigeria are the most vocal on the issue. It would be recalled that Nigeria was born in 1914, principally because the British colonial officers who were administering the two protectorates (Northern/Southern) lying contiguously, could not continue to bring finances from England to balance the annual budget of Northern protectorate, which could not generate adequate Internally Generated Revenue (IGR), while the Southern protectorate was having surplus budget. In April 1939, the Southern protectorates were broken into, Eastern and Western provinces (Ekundare, 1975 p. 13), which marked one of the major political developments in Nigeria.

The possible reasons which accounted for this political developments were; the Northern Province had a functional administrative structure in the 'indirect rule' system; the second factor, was the fiscal poverty of the province, which made its balkanization into two provinces an unviable fiscal option. Dialectically, many non-Muslims, non-Hausa/Fulani were brought into the hegemony of Hausa-Fulani rulership. The mismatch between Northern and Southern Kaduna, Southern Borno, Southern Yobe and Northern Adamawa, Zuru in Kebbi, and the bulk of the people of the middle belt, became trapped into the emirate structure, which was defined by the indirect rule administrative system. They suffered untold segregation since then and now thereby making the agitation for restructuring for these people an urgent one. Some of the reasons for the agitations are;

- (i) that the amalgamation is more than 100 years old hence obsolete and therefore it is due for a review;
- (ii) The North and South should have the same number of States rather than the current 19:17 ratio which is unacceptable, because it confer unfair advantage to the North,
- (iii) The South demand fifty eight (58) more local government areas, six(6) more senators and twenty eight (28) more House of Representative members to equate the North;
- (iv) Suffocating quota system in the federal service where the Northern states have unfair advantage;
- (v) those who are contributing nothing gets ninety percent and those who contribute everything get an insignificant amount of what they contribute, compared to those who contribute nothing.

- (vi) Insurgency is rife, in the Niger Delta, because the region has been discounted from the development equation of the federal government, where most of the funds are derived. Infrastructure is not extended to the region; yet this is the region in which the regional governments about 1958 refused to contribute resources to salvage when the departing colonial officers formed Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) in the pre—60s.
- (vii) When 'majoritarian tyranny' is used to stifle development to stop the legitimate direction of political reality, people will use unorthodox means to fight, the outcome is always 'anomic political participation'-insurgency.
- (viii) Fiscal federalism –sales tax (VAT), Port tax that universally belongs to States, province or regions where the consumption take place, should be returned to the States. The areas of Nigeria that do not contribute in any measure to the derivation through goods and sales tax (gst) get the largest chunk;
- (ix) the practice where states and the local government areas wait for oil and gas funds, monthly in the spirit of the federalism must be checked;
- (x) the 1960 and 1963 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, allowed 50 per cent of revenue obtained in a region to be retained by the regions, 20 per cent to the federal government, and 30 per cent to the distributable pool account. This formula of fiscal federalism is what is being agitated for in the anticipated restructured Nigeria.

The subject of this discourse is the dialectics of the consciousness of the above circumstances, issues and practices. Beside the above issues, Nigeria is confronted with the twin problem of both Nation and State building made possible by poor governance. How has many other states with similar colonial and socio-economic challenges made considerable progress, while Nigeria keeps crawling like the proverbial tortoise, against enormous human and material resource endowment with regrettable development indicators? The inability of the political elites to convert these resources into development indicators has generated frustration, which has heightened the agitation for restructuring, encouraged anomic political participation and made the call for the practice of true federalism more urgent.

### The Study Area

The British Economic civilization (1760-1840), otherwise known as the Industrial Revolution laid the foundation for the birth of modern Nigeria.

The quest for external markets for disposing of the excess goods generated by the Industrial civilization landed the British in Badagry and by 1861, they had annexed Lagos. The area came under the Royal Niger Company by the charter governed by George Taubman Goldie. They were in the North by 1900 Lokoja and later Zungeru. Both the Southern and Northern protectorates became separately British possessions affirmed by the 1648 Westphalia Treaty, which was consolidated by the 1884/5 partition of Africa conference.

In the Supreme Court's judgment in the resource control case on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2002 in the Attorney General and others, averred that until the advent of the British colonial rule in what is now known as the federal Republic of Nigeria (Nigeria, for short), there existed at various times, various sovereign States known as emirates, kingdoms, and empires made up of ethnic groups in Nigeria. Each was independent of the other with its mode of government indigenous to it. These sovereign states were either making wars with each other or making alliances on equal terms. This position existed through the land now known as Nigeria. This is why Chief Obafemi Awolowo, said 'Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression (Sagay, 2009).

The Nigerian nation came into existence in 1914; it obtained political 'independence' in 1960, and became a 'republic' in 1963. It is a country of triple heritage of civilisations (Islam, Christianity and Animism). A country differentiated by customs, traditions, language and civilization common in no one way. In the North there were two great empires, the Sokoto caliphate, which came after the Kanem Borno in the North-East. When the British colonial masters arrived about 1861, they waged war on northern Nigeria, defeated the caliphate, and imposed British colonial rule all over northern Nigeria. They took the ethnic nationalities of the Middle belt that were neither Muslims nor Christians and subordinated them to Hausa/Fulani rulers under indirect rule system (Turaki, 2014). These subordinated people, have been marginalised and are now agitating for restructuring in order for them to obtain the lost freedom and bring to an end, the discrimination that they are currently experiencing.

Chief Richard Akinjide supported this position when he stated that '*the interest of Europeans in Africa and indeed Nigeria was economic and it is still economic (2000)*'. The factors which accounted for the birth of Nigeria and the forms of governance and development thereafter, generated the agitations for the

restructuring of the country and the problems of the study.

The significance of this study was to interrogate (i) the rationale for the incessant call for restructuring from both the North and the South; (ii) evaluate the causal factors for insurrections; (iii) cross-examine the nature of Federalism (iv) and propound the way forward to continued existence of Nigeria.

The data for this study was drawn from an array of published documents including books, reports, journals, the constitution, special reports, and records retrieved online.

### **The Problem Statement**

Nigerians have lived together for over a hundred years, what must have prompted the agitations for the restructuring of the country in recent time? What are the issues, which require re-organization and examination? The major problem, which prompted the agitations, include but not limited to;

(a) The entity Nigeria was not created in the interest of all the citizens of the North and South, but rather in the interest of both the *British and Northern Nigeria*. This was because the briefs written by Lord Lugard to the colonial home government, to approve the amalgamation of both the Northern and Southern protectorates averred that; (i) The North was poor and they have no resources to run the protectorate (because taxes were paid in kind). (ii) They have no access to the sea; (iii) The South has resources and that they have educated people, iv) It was not the British Government policy to bring the British tax payers money to balance the account of the Northern protectorates, hence there should be amalgamation of both the Northern and Southern protectorates to have one territory just as the French federation. (iv) The British then amalgamated the administration of the North and South (and not the people).

v) After the amalgamation between 1914-1960 the British prevented contact between the North and the South (making nation –building extremely difficult shortly before 1960, when they South/North met, they saw themselves as strange bedfellows). It was in the interest of the British not to allow the educated Southerners to pollute the Northerners with their liberal ideas.

b) The population fraud – Geographical theories have it that the Sahel Savannah is often sparsely populated, while the coasts have dense population. This is true of all countries in sub-Sahara from Mauritania to Cameroon, but Nigeria is the only exception (2005, Tell Magazine - March 7). It was a British styled political construct which they wanted to create in Nigeria (England, Wales and Scotland) to have the majority in the North just as England, and Western region referred to as Wales, followed by the Eastern region known as Scotland, hence the deliberate rigging of census figures, to establish majority where there were none (2005, Tell Magazine- March 7).

vii) Consequent to the facts deposed to earlier by Lord Lugard in his memo;

the government of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria  
was unable to balance its budget and was dependent

on annual grants from British government. In the year before amalgamation, it was at the  
level of £136,000 and had averaged

£314,500 for the years ending March 1912 (Adedeji, 1971 p.27).

viii) The Southern protectorate government was paying £70,000 annually to the Northern government as its share of the revenues from import duties (Adedeji, 1971 p.27). These are the sub-structural basis for the agitations to organize Nigeria differently (restructuring). This is because as a federation, the component states, regions or provinces ought to bring some fiscal resources to the table before sharing, but as it is, only one section is doing so, while the other which enjoy the largest share goes to sleep. The above situation constitute but a problem because it generate frustration and aggressive behaviour in the form of insurgencies, beginning with the twelve day revolution of Isaac Boro, the Biafra resistant 1967-70, June 12, 1993 crises and the refusal to allow Goodluck Jonathan to ascend the Presidency until the doctrine of necessity was invoked, against the normal cause of governance.

The Principal Issues which has made the agitation for the restructuring of Nigeria a categorical imperative for many of its advocates include the following instances; (i) every constitution provide for the president and the vice who steps in when the principal is dead. When Yar Adua died, the northern elites would not let the Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan to occupy the office, until the 'Doctrine of Necessity' was invoked. A vacuum existed in Nigeria's governance for over six months. (ii) The increasing cases of religious intolerance and the seeming complicity of the state is yet another. A Christian woman was evangelising in Abuja, she was murdered by Muslim extremists. Three reverend gentlemen in Southern Kaduna who were on evangelism were murdered, six Christian students were burnt alive in Kebbi State Polytechnic on religious argument. In Enugu State, Muslim extremists under the guise of herdsmen attacked a seminary and killed three priests. All these are instances besides the burning of churches. In Federal universities in the North for



example Usman Dan Fodio and Bayero, universities respectively, Christian students are not allowed to have a Chapel. (iii) Terrorism by Fulani herdsmen have been on the increase to the point that Australian Think Tank, Global Terrorism Index (GTI) named the herdsmen as the fifth deadliest terrorist group in the world (*Guardian Editorial*, 2016 p. 16). They have invaded farmlands in the South, massacred the farm owners without arrest by the state, which smack off complicity. The cases included the Ondo state incident where a former Secretary to the Federal Government (Chief Olu Falae) was kidnapped. In Nimbo village in Enugu State, the herdsmen ransacked an entire village, killed about 45 people; in Agatu, Benue state, an entire village was killed. In all of these cases, no security agency has arrested and prosecuted anyone of these Herdsmen as terrorists. (iv) Discriminatory admission policy into federal universities. While the children from the South are expected to score 200 points and above, those from the North are expected to score lower benchmark. (v) The recent sectional appointment of security officers; Inspector General of Police (IGP), Director of State Security (DSS), Chief of Army Staff (COAS), National Security Adviser (NSA), Comptroller General of Immigration (CC), all these are headed by Northerners. Could it be that the South have no one qualified enough to be selected to occupy any of these positions? Why would the president alienate the Western and Eastern regions in his key appointments? These instances triggered off the call for restructuring.

### Framework of Analysis

An understanding of the agitations for the re-organization of the Nigerian State is better perceived through the perspective of Ted Gurr's classic 'Why Men Rebel'. Gur averred that the basic rationale for the agitations as in Nigeria was because of the 'Frustration-Aggression', which arises in the situation in which they found themselves inured in Nigeria. This refers to the tension between your actual state, and what you feel you should be able to achieve. It is the perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities. Deprivation occurs when your value expectation cannot be obtained.

The summation of Ted Gur's thesis is that (i) Psychological Frustration – Aggression theory states that the primary source of the human capacity for violence is the frustration – aggression mechanism. Frustration does not necessarily lead to violence, but when it is sufficiently prolonged and sharply felt. It often does result in anger and eventual violence. (ii) The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity (Gur, 1970 p. 24). (iii) The other variable which predisposes one to violence are; the culture – which approve violent action as the means to an end, hence the herdsmen are using it currently to have their way. This predisposes other cultures to also adopt violence as a means to protecting themselves. Is it not a surprise that none of these herdsmen have been apprehended and convicted until date given the level of the violence, which they have perpetrated, throughout the country? (iv) The society – when it tolerates violence as a way of life. (v) Political environment – where the leadership is seen as illegitimate and therefore predisposes people to violence means for its replacement. (vi) The concept of 'born-to-rule', which permanently exclude others from the prime governance position generate violence as a means to gain access. This is what breeds violence in the political system.

All these variables created significant discrepancy and great frustration, which result in aggressive violent behaviour in the system. These explicate the numerous insurgencies in Nigeria ranging from, the Odua People's Congress (OPC), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign States of Biafra (MASSOB), Herdsmen terrorism and the South-South militant uprisings and many more that may arise in the future, except something is done to ameliorate the situation.

### Manifestation of Insurrections

Insurrection is the act of rising in revolt or in rebellion against an authority, which is founded or operating on an unacceptable premise. It is an instance of revolt, protest fighting against mostly the structure of the state in which certain nationalities find themselves in, which often heighten the degree of 'frustration and intensify the extent of -aggressive' sentiments held. The bottled-up frustration, are expressed in an aggressive behaviour, which often manifest in violent destruction and loss of human life.

The current resurgence of insurrection is because of the remorseless penchant of successive governments to treat the issue of the ecological disaster and economic deprivation spawned by oil exploration in the region with disdain. This is because there are issues in the Niger Delta that need to be responded to appropriately. These are issues of socio-economic injustice in the region. Here are a people whose oil wealth has been used to develop other parts of the country while they have become impoverished. This has been the situation for over five decades. When crude oil is found in the North, would they allow Niger Deltan to be in charge of those supervisory agencies and dictate the terms for intervention in those areas where oil would be produced? For as long as the issues that have led to the agitations have not been resolved, a new generation in

the region would rise to ask the same questions (Onomuakpokpo, 2016: 17). The agitation has a life of its own. These are part of the fundamentals for insurrections.

The cases of the insurgencies cuts across the geopolitical zone of Nigeria, hence making the need for re-structuring of the Nigerian state urgent and a categorical imperative. Some of the instances of insurrections in Nigeria in the past and presently are;

- i) The North threatened to break away from the federation in 1950 if their minimum demand for equal representation between the North and the South was rejected in the planned parliament. The Action Group (AG) made a similar threat in 1953 in the dispute over the principles of revenue allocation and the attempt at the excision of Lagos from the Western region (to remain a federal capital territory), as did the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the East in 1964 first, over the disputed census figures of 1963, and later in the same year, over the arrangements for the conduct of the federal elections (Dudley, 1978 p. 63) of 1965. The indications here are that every region was complaining about the structure even the North, which claimed large population but was asking for equal representation. A seeming contradiction.
- ii) Isaac Adaka Boro 12 days revolution against the inclusion of the Izon/Ijaw nations in the Eastern region 1966 and the emergence of Ironsi as the head of state after the first coup d'etat.
- iii) Herdsmen and Boko Haram Terrorism in the Middle-Belt, West and the East.
- iv) The 1992 Zango-Kataf crises in Kaduna State.
- v) The famous Jos crises in Plateau state.
- vi) The 1995 Tafawa Balewa (Sayawa) crises in Bauchi State
- vii) The current IPOB/MASSOB in the Eastern States
- viii) The 1953, 1966 and 1995 Kano crises against Southern Ibos/Yorubas
- ix) Northern ethnic minorities suffocating under Hausa/Fulani domination (Kaduna, Borno, Yobe, Kebbi) respectively.

These are manifest cases of internal insurgencies, indicating that there is certainly something wrong with the present structure of the Nigerian state.

### **The Nature of Federalism**

When tribes, races, communities with different cultures that hitherto did not relate harmoniously are forced together as a political unit in a federation, federalism becomes the most credible form of government that is relevant (Frank, 2013 p.157). This is to uphold the sancrosantity of private and group rights and liberties. It would enhance the ethnic nationalities to hold and practice their culture and have control over their resources, while belonging to large political entity. One would contribute to the sustenance of the central government with part of the resources because of the advantage confer by belonging to a larger political entity.

Consequent upon the above, McPherson Constitution of 1951 introduced federalism as a form and structure for the organization of the Nigerian State. This was captured in the independence constitution, which collapsed in 1966 with the first coup d'etat. Federalism led to faster development in the three regions of Nigeria. The Northern, Western and the Eastern regions developed faster through competition. It is the nostalgia of that age and the lag of development of the present times, which has led to the avalanche of the quests for restructuring and a return to the golden era of Nigeria's growth. Federalism is a form of government in which power is distributed between the central or federal, and the regional, provincial or state, cantonal, territorial and local government in a single political system. One of the essences of federalism is to ensure the maintenance and the sancrosantity of private, cultural and other rights of people or group of people. These rights include the ownership of all resources beneath the ground and above the sky. However, provisions are made by all to place some of these resources for the maintenance of the federal functions for all to benefit. The gains and the burden of federalism must be borne by all the composite units in the federation. This is what has been constricted by the current structure of the Nigerian state.

### **The Way Forward: Restructuring**

In this section of the discourse, the study was concerned with recommending indispensable steps required to place Nigeria on the path of faster development as other nations have done. These are;

- a) Restructuring through Statism and Confederation: This is in the form of states, regions or provinces creation. This is meant to emancipate certain groups of minorities from domination, equate the number of states (provinces or regions) between the North and the South, and douse the possibilities of future conflict in Nigeria. The issue is to equate the number of State and local government areas between the North and the South.
- b) Election of Mr. President: Nigeria copied its System from the USA; hence, we dare to recommend the

Electoral College system for the election of Nigeria president thus; there should be six (6) swing states, three (3) in the North and three (3) in the South. These swing states should be Sokoto, Kano and Yobe where they would be assigned twenty (20) electoral votes each, this will make sixty (60) votes for the North. Three additional States should be created in the North, bringing the total to twenty-two (22) States, with three having sixty (60) votes, while nineteen (19) States would hold six (6) electoral votes each. When  $(19 \times 6)$  these are added to the sixty (60) electoral college votes held by the three (3) swing States, one hundred and seventy four (174) votes will be required from the North for any prospective president. In the South, the three (3) swing States would be Lagos, Bayelsa and Akwa Ibom with sixty (60) Electoral College votes. In order to equate the number of States, provinces or regions with the North, five (5) more new States would have to be created in the South (Rivers, Delta, Ogoja and 2 in the Ibo area) to bring the number to twenty (22). Nineteen States would have six (6) electoral votes each bringing the total to one hundred and fourteen  $(14 \times 6 = 174)$ . The total votes to be obtained through the Electoral College from both the North and the South would be three hundred and forty-eight (348) votes. This would ensure acceptability of the President as against the present system.

In the North the following States or provinces or regions should be created in the (i) North East - *Amana or Savannah* State – this would free the minorities' ethnic groups in Southern Borno and Yobe and Northern Adamawa states respectively, from the clutches of the Kanuris, who acquired dominance from the period of the Kanem Borno Empire. (ii) Kebbi State – Zuru State or by any other name- this is because the people are being oppressed by the Hausa-Fulani majority. (iii) Kaduna State- Gurara State for the people of Southern Kaduna in order to free the people from long years of servitude. Alternatively create a province and merge all the minorities (Borno, Yobe and Northern Adamawa) with their kiths and kins in the Middle Belt. These are time bombs waiting to happen with unprecedented consequences. This is to avoid a repeat of Zango-Kataf of 1992 or the preponderance of Jos type of crises.

In Kwara state, the Yoruba ethnic groups should be detached to make a state with their kiths and kins, while the Hausa/Fulani group join their kins in Niger or Kebbi state.

### c) Restructuring: Devolution

The 1999 Constitution- certainly require restructuring because as the Rotimi Williams (SAN) has observed, 'we the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria did not make, enact or give to ourselves the 1999 Constitution. A few persons elected by the Military junta collected some views, collated them and wrote a report'. The military Government thereafter, made and gave to their Nigeria subjects, the constitution. The document was in fact hidden from Nigerians, until a few days before the handover date of 29<sup>th</sup> May 1999 (Sagay, 2009 p.58). The Exclusive Legislative list in the constitution, has 68 items, while the 1960/63, had 45 items. This means a unitary rather than a Federal constitution. The constitution requires restructuring to address several other issues, which constitute the problem of the study.

d) Fiscal federalism- The states in the confederation would have to evolve their fiscal survival strategies, either through the exploitation of natural resources, or from various forms of taxation. They would have to pay a percent of their earnings to the federal government for the performance of its functions. The ratio should be close as it was in the 1960s, where every state retained 50 percent of what it produces, pay 20 per cent to Federal government and 30 per cent into the consolidated revenue account, which would be shared on the basis of equality to all the states or provinces. The offshore resources would belong to the littoral states or provinces to share with the federal government on an agreed formula. It is instructive to note that, the current fiscal federalism model is not sustainable. What Nigeria currently has is a structure where 36 states, with the exception of Lagos State, depends overwhelmingly on the allocation of dwindling oil revenues from the centre on a monthly basis with very little efforts at Internally Generating Revenues. Nigeria witnessed rapid development in the past when regional autonomy encouraged competitiveness in areas of comparative advantages of each subsisting region. Now more than ever is the time to adopt the principles and practices of true fiscal federalism and restructuring that allow devolution of powers and control over resources from the centre to the State and local government (Editorial, Sept. 2016,).

e) Census - which is in the Exclusive legislative list, should ideally belong to the concurrent list of the constitution because States need to plan. This involved knowing how many people to plan for, number of hospitals, roads and where to locate these social infrastructures. State and Federal government should be entitled to conduct census. As long as population become a criterion for revenue allocation, it should also be the basis for contributing 20 per cent to the federal government and 30 per cent to the consolidated revenue to be shared equally. It should be devolved into the concurrent legislative list.

f) Labour, Trade Unions and Industrial Relations. The Federal, State and the local government have employees. They should determine the salary and wages of the workers based on their ability to pay. Fixing a



flat minimum wage by the federal government is antithetical to federalism. The point is that if each state had the autonomy to negotiate separately with labour unions, then they will fix their minimum wage. States in Nigeria have different levels of economic power and development and should be able to arrive at separate employment agreements with their workers (Sagay, 2009).

g) The claim by the Federal government of the 100 per cent resources of the Niger Delta negates the practice of Federalism. This is because the Southern States mines, minerals including oil fields, and natural gas having been disposed for more than 30 years of their rights over their natural resources. The nationalities of the Niger-Delta are saying that if indeed Nigeria is a federal state, then they must have control over their resources. This run counter to Section 44(i) which states that no property shall be compulsorily acquired in any part of Nigeria except in a manner and for the purposes prescribed by law that requires prompt payment of compensation and give the owner of the property right of access to court for the determination of his interest in the property and the amount of compensation he is entitled to. There is obvious contradiction here, which fuels insurrections.

vii) Registration of Business Names should be conducted in the states in which they are operating. This provision ought not to in the exclusive legislative list.

vii) The other issues, which ought to be transferred from the Exclusive legislative list to the concurrent are; prisons, Stamp duties, Value Added Tax (because it is tax on goods and services within a State, it should be a State tax and not a federal tax, hence in the residual list. Every state would have its constitution and parliament, its police (with the role of the federal police spelt out) but a unified legal system. The State would remain a secular one.

h) State Police- All States should be allowed to recruit and maintain their police Service with specific role meant to be jointly conducted with the federal police service. There could be regional or joint police service, where the Eastern or South –South States could have a common police service, as well as for other regions, provinces or group of states.

## Conclusion

As long as the status quo is retained in Nigeria, for so long shall the tension and internal insurrections continue to plague the country. When Nigeria is re-structured as proposed herein, a process of social engineering towards rapid peace, progress, security and development would have been initiated. This would lead inclusive and sustainable development and deepening cooperation for peace and security, which are the best weapons to prevent conflict and suffering in the current Nigeria. The freedom to live life to one's full potential would have been guaranteed. The ethnic minorities, who have been denied their rights to land to build places of worship and educational institutions, would once again be able to exercise their rights and let go pent up frustrations, which could have ignited into aggressive behaviour someday. Security from terrorist threats would be curtailed because the rules of engagement would be observed.

It is a categorical imperative to secure the rights, privileges of everybody, halt discrimination against ethnic minority cultures, and void prospective conflict. The processes of actualising some of the prescriptions canvassed here require plebiscite to be held. On two instances, this had helped in the past, to resolved thorny political issues; it should be held again with the aid of the United Nations in order to progress towards socio-political development. Finally, as much as the prescriptions herein are meant to reduce conflict, tension, and speed up development, it would ensure equity, effective citizenry participation in governance and support for the leadership, it may reduce but not eliminate conflict completely because it is part of human existence particularly in comity of ethnic nationalities. However, these are relatively positive steps to manage social conflict in the Nigeria social formation.

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