



**UZU:**

**JOURNAL OF HISTORY  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
(UJHIS)**

***VOL. II. NO. 1, DECEMBER, 2009.***

**Published by**

**THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, NNAMDI  
AZIKIWE UNIVERSITY, AWKA, NIGERIA.**

**UZU: JOURNAL OF HISTORY  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
(UJHIS)**

**Vol. II. No. 1, December, 2009**

*Published by:*

**The Department of History and International Studies,  
Nnamdi Azikiwe University,  
Awka, Nigeria.**

---

*All right reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publishers.*

---

**ISSN: 2006-1528**



**The Authors and Department of History and International Studies,  
Nnamdi Azikiwe University,  
Awka, Nigeria.**

# **Editorial Board**

## **Editor**

**Prof. Ngozi E. Ojiakor**

## **Associate Editors:**

**Dr. (Mrs.) Ifeyinwa Emejulu  
Dr. Uche Igwe**

## **Review Editor:**

**Samuel C. Okeke Esq.**

## **Editorial Secretary:**

**Ikenna Odife**

## **Business Editor:**

**Rapheal C. Eze**

## **Editorial Consultants:**

**Prof. C. C. Agbodike**  
*Nnamdi Azikiwe University,  
Awka Nigeria.*

**Prof. Onwuka N. Njoku**  
*University of Nigeria,  
Nsukka*

**Prof. A. O. Olukoju**  
*University of Lagos, Akoka,  
Lagos*

**Prof. M.B. Abasiattai**  
*University of Uyo, Uyo*

**Prof. C. U. Anyanwu**  
*University of Nigeria,  
Nsukka*

**Prof. U. D. Anyanwu**  
*Imo State University,  
Owerri*

# Contents

Editorial Board.....	v
Editorial Policy.....	vi
Notes on contributors.....	vii
1. <i>National Stability and Development in Nigeria: The Place of Religion</i> - Prof. C.C. Agbodike	1
2. <i>The 2007/08 Post Election Violence in Kenya and Its Implications for Democratic Growth in Africa</i> - James Agena, (Ph.D)	14
3. <i>Unseen Casualties and Victims of Gulf War: Interrogating Diplomacy and Deceit in International Relations, 1991-2003</i> - Victor Ukaogo, Ph.D	25
4. <i>Constraints on the War against Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> - Elochukwu, Anas E.	38
5. <i>Twelve Months of Content Analysis of Opposition Press Newspapers in Nigeria in the Heat of Annulment In 1994</i> - Ekanade Olumide, Ph.D	49
6. <i>Nwene Mutapa &amp; Rozwi Empires: An Analysis of the Rise and Collapse of two Pre-Colonial African States</i> - Dr. Uchechukwu Igwe, - Michael A. Popoola	59
7. <i>The Relevance of Deities in Igbo Oral Tradition (The Imo River Mythology)</i> - Dr. Nwankwo Uchenna Martins	68
8. <i>Women and Archaeology</i> - Dr. Ify Emejulu	73
9. <i>Nation Building in Post-Colonial Nigeria</i> - Nwachukwu J. Obiakor	79

# Nation Building in Post-Colonial Nigeria

## Introduction

Since the attainment of independence from the British colonial overlords in 1960, Nigeria has been faced with the task of building a stable and virile nation. This herculean task has proved almost impossible because of the heterogeneous nature of the country's population which has been posing a great challenge to the idea of actualizing the 'One Nigeria' dream. The country is divided along tribal leanings and dominated by the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Yoruba in the West and the Igbo in the East, among the over three hundred ethnic and sub-ethnic units that constitute the forced union.

Nigeria being an artificial creation, with a colonial stamp of "Made in England"<sup>1</sup> was aimed at making a country out of a set of British colonial territories, or better put; uniting politically autonomous neighbouring peoples under British colonial rule in one colonial state. Prior to the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914 for easy colonial control, the peoples of the various groups that were fused into one political entity existed independently with autonomous, social and political organizations. The attainment of independence, according to Professor G.O. Olusanya provided,

A new and exciting opportunity, a fresh adventure in the task of nation-building, of true development, of the rediscovery of the true identity of the hitherto colonized peoples and of the ordering of society in such a way as to take its place amongst the progressive countries of the world.<sup>2</sup>

This assertion replicates the scenario of the new country that attained her independence after a 'tea party' in London, unlike what was experienced by most African countries; who fought to get emancipated from European colonial subjugation.

Post-independent Nigeria soon got enmeshed in series of political crises that continually heated up the polity. These developments served as invitation to the military, who struck on January, 15 1966 in a coup d'état to save the country from collapse. The military take over changed the shape of Nigerian politics in the sense that it implanted political instability in the form of successive military coups and counter coups. These coups and counter coups were aimed each time at stopping the drift of the nation to anarchy and salvaging it from disintegration as well as restoring sanity and probity into the chequered socio-political and economic life of the country<sup>3</sup>.

Several other factors, like threat of secession, corruption, election crisis, lack of political ideology, inter-ethnic crisis, religious crisis and the Niger-Delta crises among other factors often reared their ugly heads like the hydra-headed dragons that threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria.

## Concept and Attributes of a Nation

A nation is a group of people who share common history, culture, ethnic origin and language and with its own government. It can also be a sovereign entity whose citizens are united by a common language and commonly shared attitudes, religious

sense and behaviour. It is a sovereign territory with its own laws and government and with no legal authority outside of its territorial limits. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defined a nation as a country considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area under one government.<sup>4</sup> The Longman Dictionary described it as a country or large group of people of the same race and language.<sup>5</sup> Nwabughuogu is of the opinion that a nation in the original sense, is a body of people having the same language, culture, common historical experience and popular will and living in the same territory.<sup>6</sup> In the strict sense, a nation denotes a group of human beings that have much in common with ethnic group and ethnicity, but have a more political connotation since it implies the possibility of a nation-state. Although the word nation is commonly used as a synonym for state or country, a nation is not similar to a state. Countries where the social concept of nation coincides with the political concept of state are referred to as nation-states. Many of the modern states are in this category or are trying to legitimize their existence in this way, although there might be disputes and contradictions as to the appropriateness of this. This is because of the usage of the words nation, country and state to refer to nation-states. This is the situation in Africa, where the majority of the new states that emerged in the post colonial era have their origin in the territorial demarcations drawn by the European colonial overlords, following geostrategic considerations, and regardless of the ethnic origin of the people. Under this ethnic heterogeneity, the emergent states faced the onerous task of building a cohesive political base among the people that make up the union, dropping racial, cultural and religious considerations. This has in no mean way posed a great threat to nation building in Nigeria.

The attributes of a nation include a common history, which implies that a nation is constructed around a common history; that is chronologically recorded events in the past which their ancestors went through to establish their home. A common language is the bedrock of a nation. Without a common language, a nation cannot evolve. Culture, history and religion are dependent on language. Common language enhances the communication and day to day activities of the people living in a specified boundary. This attribute links the nationals in Diaspora with their root. A defined boundary is another attribute of a nation. People of the same ancestry, language and culture tend to live together in a clearly demarcated environment from other people. These factors strongly guarantee their independence and security. A common religion is also an important though contentious factor used in defining a nation. Most African nations maintained their indigenous religious affiliations until the colonial era that distorted this and imposed their own religion. This development notwithstanding, religious considerations cannot be de-emphasized in defining a nation.

These attributes were possessed by most nations or what is today referred to as ethnic groups in Nigeria before the amalgamation and colonization of Nigeria. These ethnic groups were nations that existed independently with indigenous socio-political and economic institutions before they were moulded together by the British colonial overlords to form Nigeria.

### **Nigeria in Historical Perspective**

The artificial entity referred to as Nigeria came into being with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates into one political unit in 1914 by Lord Lugard. The artificiality of Nigeria's boundaries and the sharp cultural differences attest to the fact that Nigeria is merely a British creation.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the amalgamation, what is known today as Nigeria was comprised of a vast territory inhabited by peoples of different linguistic,

cultural, ethnic and religious groupings living in their own separate land mass. These groups of people were brought into one artificial nation by the necessity of British economic interest. The British acquisition and colonization of Nigeria took successive stages, ranging from the annexation of Lagos and its proclamation as a colony in 1861 and 1886 respectively, thus marking the first phase of British colonization of the Nigerian people.<sup>8</sup>

In 1900, the entire people and areas had come to be recognized by other colonial powers as a British colony. By 1906, the colony and protectorate of Lagos and the Southern Nigeria were joined into the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria.<sup>9</sup> These developments prepared the ground for the colonization of Nigeria. British colonialism provided Nigeria with a common national name, a common capital city, a *lingua franca* and certain common institutions,<sup>10</sup> but employed divisive measures in the administration of the new Nigeria. Colonial policies were deliberately aimed at preventing the growth of national unity.<sup>11</sup> The British colonial overlords never regarded Nigeria as one people. This was evident in the divide and rule strategies adopted by the colonists in administering Nigeria which set the stage for ethnic rivalries that later became the bane of Nigeria's national development. By 1960, Nigeria was independent and in the process of attaining independence, Nigerian leaders ignored this incontestable fact of ethnic heterogeneity and hurriedly inherited a federation which consisted of three regions in which one major ethnic or national group was dominant in the respective regions. Today, Nigeria is grappling with political instability and the British government, the very architect of the Nigerian state, have continued to dole out pills for the nation's recovery from this terminal ailment.<sup>12</sup> At independence, Nigerian leaders believed that nation-building was to be easy and an automatic process, as their independence from the British colonial overlords were got on a platter of gold, unlike what obtained in most African states where they paid a heavy price for their emancipation. This widely held conception turned to be false as Nigeria was immediately faced with a lot of factors that eventually metamorphosed into crises to contend with. Unfortunately, close to fifty years after independence, the dream of actualizing a united, stable and developed Nigeria is still elusive.

### Challenges of Nation Building in Nigeria

For a better understanding of the nation building process in Nigeria, it will be pertinent to view the nation both as a political arrangement and as a cultural phenomenon that is tied to the development of the state. However, the British colonial overlords that laid the foundation of Nigeria deliberately discouraged the formation of national identity. This initial lack of consensus has resulted in numerous political crises that have pitted one ethnic group against another, as such nation building in post-colonial Nigeria has become a deliberate effort to create an imagined political community that will foster peace and unity.<sup>13</sup> The heterogeneous nature of the country's population, however, has constituted a challenge to the idea of homogenization, since the division of the Nigerian society, that is to say, the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Yoruba dominated West and the Igbo in the East, has been, incompatible with national unity and has thus weakened the social and political cohesion of the country. This among other factors discussed below, have constituted a clog in the wheel of nation building in Nigeria.

### Colonial Heritage

The people of Nigeria inherited an artificial nation from the British colonial overlords. The artificiality of the Nigerian nation is seen in the heterogeneity of the ethnic

composition. The British colonists pulled what was supposed to be different nations into one political and economic unit for easy administration and exploitation. Having found herself to be one by the accident of colonialism, Nigeria is now compelled to build a united nation on a faulty foundation. This is the root of virtually all the factors threatening nation building efforts in Nigeria.

### **Ethnicity and National Integration in Nigeria**

Ethnicity is used to categorize human groups who have a conviction that they have a common identity and common goal because they have common origin; traditions, history, language and culture.<sup>14</sup> In pre-colonial Nigeria, what is today nicknamed tribes by the colonists were ethnic nationalities that possessed the attributes of nationhood. Ethnicity is a major obstacle to the process of nation-building in Nigeria. This is because ethnicity promotes selfishness on the part of the ethnic leaders, who advance their selfish interest to the detriment of the national interest. It encourages group loyalty, promotes mediocrity, and above all, sectionalism which has continued to threaten national integration and development. The embers of ethnicity in Nigerian political setting were fanned during the colonial era, in that formation of political parties were along ethnic lines. At the development of nationalist struggle in Nigeria, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the North, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in the East and the Action Group (AG) in the West were formed.<sup>15</sup>

The first political crisis that threatened the existence of Nigeria; - the 1962/63 census and the 1964 Federal elections, respectively had their roots in ethnicity. Both events were related by the fact that their results would decide who wielded absolute political power in the country. In as much as the allocation of seats in the Federal House of Representatives was based primarily on the census result, each political party tried to influence the census results in the region where it controlled. Population census has been a source of political unrest, which is not peculiar to Nigeria, but to many developing heterogeneous societies.<sup>16</sup> Politicians seized this opportunity to cause mischief in order to achieve their selfish interests. Records of census crises in Nigeria abound starting from the 1962 census crisis to the 1963 census which also came with its own controversies. The then governor of Eastern region, Dr. M. I Okpara and his Mid-western counterpart, Chief Dennis Osadebey in collaboration with the Action Group (AG) rejected the census figure on the grounds that the figures were highly inflated in favour of the northern region.<sup>17</sup> The politicization of the census figures became a recurrent decimal in Nigerian post colonial history. All the census exercises conducted in the post independence Nigeria were manipulated to favour a section of the country (the North) to the detriment of the Southern part of the country such that the country recorded series of criticism after the 1973, and 1991 censuses. The 2004 census results were also rejected by most states of Southern Nigeria on the grounds that the results arbitrarily favoured the North.

The embers of political controversy and disquiet in Nigeria were again fanned in 1964 during the Federal elections of that year.<sup>18</sup> There were political alliances among the major political parties; the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and the Action Group (AG) metamorphosed into the United Progressives Grand Alliance (UPGA), while the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the New Nigerian Democratic Party (NNDP) formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). The election was characterized by massive rigging, bickering, undemocratic acts, intimidation and persecution of the opposition among other actions that made mockery of parliamentary democratic process.<sup>19</sup> Election Crisis has thus posed a great threat to the sustenance and existence of Nigeria, as credible



elections have continued to elude Nigerians since independence. The 1964, 1979, 1983, 1998/99, 2003 and 2007 elections in Nigeria were marred by electoral malpractices. The 1993 election that was adjudged the freest and fairest election in Nigerian history was annulled by the military government of General I. B. Babangida. The hope of having a credible election in Nigeria in the near future is turning into a chimera, unless the recommendations of the Justice Mohammed Uwais headed Electoral Reform Commission is implemented to the letter. These political crises in Nigeria in no mean way were fanned by ethnic chauvinism and thus continued to threaten Nigeria's socio-political development.

### **Military Intervention in Politics**

Nigerian political development is bedeviled with military coups and counter coups d'états that have stagnated the pace of socio-political and economic development. The political crisis that rocked Nigeria in the early years of her independence served as invitation to the military. The military had to strike to save the country from collapse.<sup>20</sup>

Since the successful coup of January 15, 1966, there had been successive military coups and counter coups; the July 1966 coup, July 1975, February 1976 botched coup, December 1983, August 1985 and the Abacha palace coup of August 27, 1993. These coups left big scars on the face of Nigeria as each left the country with a litany of problems to contend with. Of Nigeria's fifty years of independence, the military spent thirty one years in governance. These developments exposed the country to political instability as there were constant changes in government which hindered continuity in government policies. There were ethnic undertones in all the coups in Nigeria. The Northerners saw the Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu led coup of January 1966 as a coup masterminded by the Igbo and thus retaliated in the July, 1966 coup that brought General Yakubu Gowon to power. The North continued to hold sway in both military and civilian governments of Nigeria until the return to civil rule in 1999.

### **Threat of Secession**

The issue of secession was an offshoot of inter-ethnic rivalry, which had its root before independence. The Chief Anthony Enahoro's 1953 motion for self-government for Nigeria in 1956 triggered resentment from the Northerners, hence the secessionist threat from the Northern region.<sup>21</sup> The proposal to separate Lagos from Western region, which the Egbe Omo Oduduwa rejected, almost made the Westerners to moot secession.

The most prominent secessionist move in Nigerian history was the move by the Eastern region led by Chkwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu as a result of the marginalization of the region, and the pogrom in the North where thousands of people of Igbo extraction were massacred with the Federal government keeping mute about the development. The quit notice given to the Easterners in the North; and the "North for Northerners, West for Westerners, East for Easterners, and the federation is for all" Campaign,<sup>22</sup> worsened the situation. These developments led to the declaration of the Republic of Biafra by General Ojukwu, the then Governor of Eastern Region. This culminated into a thirty-month civil war that almost destroyed the unity of Nigeria.

In the present day Nigeria, secessionist movements still exist. The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) led by Chief Raph Uwazurike has made several representations to the United Nations (UN) and other world bodies for the recognition of the Biafran State. The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) and the Mujahid Dokubo Asari's Niger Delta Peoples' Volunteer Force (NDPVF), are examples of freedom fighters among the Nigerian Union. Some of them clamour for outright severance while others gave conditionality for their continued stay in the union.

### Religious Intolerance

Nigeria is a complex society made up of diverse cultural and religious groups. According to Agbodike;

Religious diversity has tended to generate mutual suspicion, distrust, intolerance and conflicts among Nigerians which has, at times, threatened and endangered the corporate existence of the country. The process of nation-building in Nigeria is well known to have often been punctuated by conflicts which have been dictated by unmitigated show of religious jingoism.<sup>24</sup>

Religious intolerance is a major obstacle to national integration. The two dominant religions in Nigeria are Islam in the North and Christianity in the South. Nigerian history is replete with cases of religious riots between the two dominant religions mostly in the Muslim dominated north. Ethno-religious violence started in Nigeria with the bloody Maitatsine riots in Kano in 1980, where about 4, 177 people were killed.<sup>25</sup> Since then, Nigeria had recorded numerous religious riots which include the Gombe Mayhem of 1985, Kafanchan riot of 1987 and the Jihad of 1991 by the Shiite in Katsina. There were also the Kano riot of 1991 directed against the proposed crusade of Reverend Reinhard Bonke, the Funtua crisis of 1993, the Bauchi riot of 1995, the Kaduna Sharia riots and the consequent reprisal attacks in Aba and Onitsha. The Jos, Bauchi and Borno religious crisis also claimed lots of lives and properties. The most recent of the religious crisis in Nigeria was the February, 2009 Jihad of the Boko Haran Islamic sect in Borno and Bauchi States of Nigeria. The national and state governments have not yet devised measures in checking this issue; rather Panels of Inquiry are constituted to ascertain the causes of each riot, of which the report at the end would be swept under the carpet.

The adoption of State religion and the consequent institution of Sharia Legal System in some Northern states of the federation have continued to promote disintegration in Nigeria. Sharia Legal System was first adopted in Nigeria by the former Zamfara State Governor, Alhaji Ahmed Sani Yerima in 1999. Many other States in the North followed suit and this development led to series of crises that resulted in the loss of lives and properties. The establishment of State religion and law is against the provision of Section 10 of the 1999 constitution. Religious crisis in Nigeria has persisted because of the inability of the government at the centre to bring the perpetrators to justice. Religious intolerance is a great threat to national unity, political stability and religious harmony in Nigeria.

## Constitution

A people oriented constitution is one of the basic ingredients for effective nation building. In Nigeria, the issue of the drafting and amending constitution since independence was done by the military. Apart from the 1963 constitution, all other constitutions of Nigeria were made under military tutelage and oversight.<sup>26</sup> The military governments had in various situations prepared and handed down constitution to the civilian governments without the peoples input. A cardinal principle in constitution making is ensuring that it is the 'original act' of the people. The drafting and amendments of the constitution should be the collective duty of the entire constituent units. This problem has continued to linger in Nigeria, in the sense that efforts made and being made by the current National Assembly at restructuring and amending the 1999 constitution designed under the military government has failed woefully.

## Leadership, Political Parties and Ideology

Nigeria since independence lacked a national leader. Leadership in the Nigerian context demands extra skill, political maturity and wisdom, selflessness, and the ability to rise above one's ethnic group and approach problems from a national perspective.<sup>27</sup> This cannot be realized in Nigeria with the current craze for zoning of the presidency, as the political leaders are not working towards having a de-tribalised leadership, rather every ethnic group is craving to have a test of the coveted seat.

Nigeria is bereft of a national political party as the political parties are formed along ethnic lines. Clear ideologies are also lacking, as the political parties are built around parochial interests, rather than around institutions. These have adversely affected Nigeria's national interest when it negates the personal interest of the leaders.

## Revenue Allocation, Resource Control and the Niger Delta Crises.

The clamour for resource control and a workable revenue allocation formula are contentious issues that continue to threaten the unity of the Nigerian state. The problem of an acceptable revenue allocation formula, to a greater extent, promoted the clamour for resource control<sup>28</sup>.

At the centre stage of the agitation for resource control in Nigeria are the minority nationalities of the Niger Delta Region who produce the oil which form the mainstay of Nigeria's revenue base<sup>29</sup>. Their agitation is based on the premise that when the Northern Region was producing the wealth of the nation, the principle of derivation dominated revenue allocation. But since the discovery and exploration of oil from the minority areas (the South-South), the minority interest had been played down<sup>30</sup>. The crises in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria took different dimensions as the people who produce the wealth of the nation have taken up arms in conflict with the government demanding for a better living condition. This crisis has lingered with no meaningful and sincere measure put in place to address the demands of the Niger Delta people. The creation of a Ministry of Niger Delta and amnesty programme of President Umaru Yar'Adua has not made any meaningful impact on the lives of the people. This factor is like a keg of gun powder waiting to explode, and has seriously threatened the peace, unity and stability of Nigeria.

### Conclusion: The Way Forward

The nation building process in Nigeria has suffered more setback than success, and thus efforts should be made to reinvigorate the struggle for a united Nigeria. Various governments have put some measures on ground towards national integration. These measures include state creation, the National Youth Corps Service Scheme, the Federal Character Commission among other government policies geared towards achieving the 'one Nigeria' goal. These measures have made little or no impact towards Nigeria's nation building programme owing to the ethnic heterogeneity and lack of commitment on the part of the leaders on the one hand and the people on the other. The task of nation building is a social contract between the people and the government and thus each party is obliged to show commitment towards the course of the nation. Ethnic chauvinism should be shunned and the positive aspect of *ethnocentrism* should be adopted to promote nationalism, development, solidarity and national development<sup>31</sup>. We must all get involved in all spheres of leadership as half of the battle in overcoming the challenges of nation building. History begin and end with us as individuals and the commitment and sacrifices we are willing to make in the public interest and in the interest of our land<sup>32</sup>.

Proper delineation of electoral wards and constituencies should be done for equal representation at the National Assembly while electoral reforms and the conduct of free and fair elections should be guaranteed. Creation of equal states among the six geo-political zones for equitable distribution of the national cake should be done as a matter of urgency. The government should create enabling environment for investors, employment opportunities for youths and as well provide the basic amenities of life for the people. The people on their part should perform their civic responsibilities and pursue national rather than parochial interests. These measures when conscientiously put in place would enhance national unity, stability and integration, otherwise, the end is near for Nigeria.

## End Notes

1. Raph Uwechue, 'The Role of Ndigbo in Nigeria' Socio-political and Economic Development', a paper Delivered at the 2010 Faculty of Arts (Nnamdi Azikiwe University) Annual Conference. Awka, on Thursday May 6, 2010. p.1.
2. G.O. Olusanya, 'The Unfinished Task', an Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Lagos on Friday, 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1977. University of Lagos Press, 1978. P.4.
3. C.C. Agbodike, *Military Intervention in Nigeria Politics and Governance in Historical Perspective*, Awka, Valid Publishing Company, 2006, p3.
4. A.S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*, International Student's Edition. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 2005 p. 975.
5. See Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English p. 945. Also see the 'Nigerian Teacher (Primary and Secondary) and Nation Building in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', in *Nigerian Journal of Humanities and social sciences*. Vol. 3, 2009. p.72.
6. A.I. Nwabughuogu, *Problems of Nation Building in Africa*, Okigwe, Fasman Educational and Research Publications (FERP) 2004. p.1.
7. Ngozi Ojiakor, 'The History of Nigeria', in Ngozi Ojiakor and Iyke Ojih (eds), *Readings in Nigerian Peoples and Culture*. Enugu. NGIB Publishers. 2006 p11. See also J.S Coleman, *Nigeria Background to Nationalism*, London, University of California press. 1971/p46.
8. C.S Enuka, 'Nigeria Political Beginning: A Historical Analysis,' in Ngozi Ojiakor (ed), *Salient Issues in Nigeria History, Culture and Socio-Political Development*, Enugu, Emmy-Angel Publishers, 2007. p.31.
9. O.S Obikeze and E.A. Obi, *Government and Politics of Nigeria, (The Struggle for Power in an Africa State*, Onitsha, BookPoint Ltd: 2003 p.33.
10. Ngozi Ojiakor, 'The History of Nigeria', p.13
11. Ngozi Ojiakor, 'The History of Nigeria', p.14
12. Ngozi Ojiakor, 'The History of Nigeria', p.15
13. Bah Abu Bakarr, 'Approaches to Nation Building in Post Colonial Nigeria' in *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Summer 2004 p.1.
14. A.I Nwabughuogu, *Problems of Nation Building in Africa*\_p.49
15. C.C Ugwu, *Nigerian Peoples and Culture in Perspective*. Enugu, Our Savior Press. 2007 p.68.
16. N. J. Obiakor, 'An Appraisal of the Factors Inhibiting the Effective Practice of Federalism in Nigeria in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', an MA Seminar Paper presented to the Department of History, and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. August, 2009, p.19.
17. N. J Obiakor 'An Appraisal of the Factors Inhibiting the Effective Practice of Federalism in Nigeria in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', p.22
18. C.C Agbodike, *Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics in Historical Perspective* p.9.
19. C.C. Agbodike, *Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics in Historical Perspective* pp.9-10
20. C.C, Agbodike, *Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics in Historical Perspective* p.20.
21. N.J Obiakor, An Appraisal of the Factors Inhibiting the Effective Practice of Federalism in Nigeria in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century' p.17

22. Northern House of Assembly Debate, March 17, 1964; see also C.C. Agbodike, *Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics in Historical Perspective*, p10
23. Eze O.N. Igodo, 'Religious Tolerance: An Essential Ingredient for National Unity and Stability, Religious Harmony and Socio-Political Development of Nigeria from 1980-2008' in *Nigerian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, UNN Vol.3, 2009, p.85
24. C.C. Agbodike, *Topical Issues and Discourse on Nigeria's National Development*, Awka, SCOA Heritage Systems. 2006, p.33
25. Eze O. N Igodo, 'Religious Tolerance: An Essential Ingredient for National Unity and Stability, Religious Harmony and Socio-Political Development of Nigeria from 1980-2008' p.86
26. Chuma Adilieje, 'Federalism in Nigeria: Issues, Problems and Prospects' in *Nigerian Journal of Policy and Development* vol.3, Igbinedion University, Okada, 2004 p.289.
27. G.O. Olusanya, 'The Unfinished Task' p.11
28. Nwachukwu J. Obiakor, 'Niger Delta Crises and the Resource Control Debate in the Nigerian State, 1956-2007' an unpublished MA thesis presented to the Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. September 2009, p.36.
29. M. Kwanashie, 'Revenue Allocation Formula and the Political Economy of Nigerian Federalism' in E.O Alemika et al (eds), *Constitutional Federalism and Democracy in Nigeria*, Human Right monitor 2000 p.181.
30. Nwachukwu J. Obiakor 'Niger Delta Crises and the Resource Control Debate in the Nigerian State, 1956-2007', p.39.
31. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Tribalism: A Pragmatic Instrument for National Unity*. Enugu, Eastern Nigeria Printing Corporation 1964. Also see C.C Ugwu, *Nigerian Peoples and Culture in Perspective*, p.69.
32. Ibrahim A. Gambari, 'NIGERIA: The Challenge of Nation Building and External Relations', a paper presented at the Ado Bayero Lecture Series; Center for Democratic Research and Training. Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, on 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2006. (Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari was an Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations, New York).