

Towards the Ideological Definition of Nigeria

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Introduction: Nigeria was conceptualized as a colonial state following the Berlin Conference of 1886 that partitioned the nation as a colony of the British Empire.

Upon Independence by 1960, Nigeria has come to inherit all the colonial structures of the past under a tripartite system that is concomitant with regionalism along the lines of ethnicity and religion.

Since Independence, the centripetal and centrifugal forces has continued to define the identity of the Nigerian State along primordial lines and values.

To further exacerbate the preponderance of primordialism in the ideological framework of Nigeria, the values and principles of the foundation father's of the Nigeria nation has shown that there is need for a redefinition of Nigeria along ideological lines of development and national transformation.

This paper throws open the discourse that interfaces with the ideas of the foundation father's on one hand, and the tripartite system on the other hand, and how such an interface has defined the Nigerian nation state overtime with far reaching implications and consequences for the nation building process of the nation.

Conceptual Issues

How did the foundation father's of Nigeria defined the nation and how has that impacted the kind of identity and values that has shaped the history and politics of the Nigerian nation overtime.

Peter Enahoro in his book " The Complete Nigerian" a comical and satirical work on Nigeria pointed out that Nigeria got her name from Lady Lord Lugard after nights of heated passions and affection between Lord Lugard and his estranged mistress.

There is everything in a name as it conveys a sense of identity and consciousness. For nations that understand the philosophical and political dynamics of a name, that of naming a country, such countries know the philosophical implications of naming a nation or people.

For instance, the United States of America was made of European migrants from Europe but resisted to name their nation, the United States of America, after Europe. The choice of the name America came to underscore both the identity and consciousness of the European conquering migrants that founded the United States of America.

The choice of the name America was deliberate both as a way of protest and nationalism against their erstwhile European colonizers, particularly, Britain.

In the same way, despite the heavy presence and dosage of English domination of Scotland and Ireland, these nations preferred their indigenous and traditional identities as a mark of nationalist preservation and identity within the United Kingdom.

Nigeria is a British creation and so also the identity and consciousness. As a matter of fact, nothing exist such as Nigerians but a collection of loosed ethnic nationalities whose allegiance first is to their ethnicity than the Nigerian State.

It was against this background that Chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of the founding fathers of modern Nigeria described Nigeria as a mere geographical expression that

was derived from the geographical phenomenon of the River Niger, meaning the Niger Area.

A merger and coinage of these words by Lady Lord Lugard gave us the identity as Nigeria and Nigerians. The role of Lady Lugard in the definition of Nigeria is further prove that Nigeria is an imperial creation both in naming and identity.

Since the Independence of Nigeria by 1960, there has been several constitutional conferences aimed at the political restructuring of the nation but there has been no deliberate conscious effort by the national political ruling class at the decolonization of the naming called Nigeria. Other countries of Africa including Ghana and Burkina Faso have achieved the decolonization of the naming of their country but Nigeria has continued to stuck to the racial identity created by her colonizing powers.

The colonial heritage has shaped and defined the political structure and social configuration of the Nigerian Nation. The British colonial system created three regions initially, much later, four regions following the Wilkins Commission Report. The three regions have become a concomitant of the tripartite system fueled by rival ethnic and religious politics and identities. The tripartite system has created and sustained the falsehood that is both ahistorical and misleading that Nigeria is made of three dominant ethnic groups namely, the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. These three ethnic groups are a concomitant of the Northern region, Eastern region and Western region respectively. The tripartite system also suggests that the Northern region is predominantly populated by the Muslims under a Caliphate and Emirate System.

This thinking and perspective of Northern Nigeria has overshadowed the existence and identity of diverse ethnic groups of the region that are neither Hausa nor Muslims.

The same thing is applicable to the understanding of the ethnic identities and composition of people's of the Eastern region, most whom are not Ibos by extraction. We can extend the argument to the Western region that is often interpreted as a pure Yoruba enclave. The creation of a Midwestern region out of the Western region was a major protest against Yoruba led domination and identity of the Western region.

In the Northern region, the Wilkins Commission recommended the creation of a Middle Belt Region to allay the fears of ethnic minorities of the region against the domination and oppression of the Emirate System under the rule of the Fulani.

It is against this background that Sir Ahmadu Bello, a founding father of the Nigerian nation declared that the nation called Nigeria was the estate of their Great Grand Father, Usman Dan Fodio. It was their responsibility as Muslims to rule the nation from the Sahara to the Atlantic Ocean using other ethnic groups as willing tools in the process of nation building.

We live in a modern Nigeria where there is no doubt about radical Islamic expansionism and the Fulanization of Nigeria is taking place based on the definition of Nigeria by her foundation father's.

We shall follow up this discussion when we look at the ideas of the founding fathers and the contemporary challenges of modern Nigeria in the political and social ramifications.

Historical Background of Nigeria

Nigeria in full, Federal Republic of Nigeria-is the largest of the West African coastal states. Its population of 55,074,000 (1970) is the largest of any country in Africa. With an area of 356,699 square miles (923,773 square kilometres), it is the 13th largest state on the continent. Located approximately between 4° and 14° N, and 3° and 14° E, its territory extends about 650 miles (1,050 kilometres) from north to south, and 700 miles east to west. It is bordered on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, on the west by the Republic of Dahomey, on the north by the Republic of the Niger, and on the east by the republics of Chad and Cameroon. Part of the eastern boundary runs along the crest of the Adamawa Plateau.

Modern Nigeria dates from 1914, when the two British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were joined. The country became independent on October 1, 1960, and three years later adopted a republican constitution but elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Relics of British rule are still to be seen in various aspects of Nigerian life. The official language, English, is likely to remain

unchanged, since there are more than 200 different languages spoken by the many national groups living in the country. Trade and cultural contacts with the more distant English-speaking countries of Ghana and Sierra Leone remain stronger than those with the adjacent French-speaking Dahomey, Niger, and Cameroon. (For associated physical features, see CHAD, LAKE; GUINEA, GULF OF; and NIGER RIVER; for details of cities, see IBADAN; LAGOS; for historical aspects, see WEST AFRICA, HISTORY OF.)

The great diversity of peoples and cultures in Nigeria is largely a result of the location of the country at the meeting point of transcontinental migration comics from north to south, west to east and southeast to northwest. There are over 200 ethnic groups in the country, each of which has its own customs, traditions, and language. The larger groups include the Hansas (perhaps 6,000,000), the Fulanis (perhaps 5,000,000), the Yorubas (perhaps 10,000,000), and the thos (perhaps 1,000,000) Other prominent but less numerous groups include the Bolna, of Benin City, as well as the thibins, in the forest belt; the Tivs and Nupes, in the middle belt; and the ammia, in the Chad Basin. The greatest concentration of ammuler ethnic groups occurs as already mentioned in the mid die belt, where there are over 180 Himputatic groups. In the Niger Delta, the home of the Ijaws, social organization was altered radically during the period of the slave trade, Part because of the forced migration of peoples from the interior into the area and in part because of contact with European traders. The distinct cultural group which emerged stressed its cultural separation groups rather than its common descent. Jaja of Opobo, a 19th-century chief renowned for defying the British, was an Ibo who grew up among the Ijaw people of the Niger delta.

Racial and religious groups

Nigeria is a country of black-skinned peoples. The peoples of the savanna zone in the north tend to be taller than those of the forest belt of the south. Arab penetration into the Chad Basin has resulted in much racial mingling; the Shuwa Arabs and the Kanuris of this region are of mixed Negro and Arab origin. The cattle-owning Fulanis still maintain non-Negro features, but the town Fulanis have intermingled with Negroes. (The origin of the Fulani people-also known as Fulbes, Fulas, Fellatas,

or Peuls-remains undeter- mined. Earlier migrations resulted in their establishing states throughout the Sudan region, from Fouta Toro in Senegal, to Macina in the Sudan itself. Speculation has attributed to them a West African, an East African, and a Middle Eastern origin.) Much intermingling has also occurred in the south, particularly in the coastal port towns of Calabar, Abonnema, and Warri, where many Syrians and European traders settled in the course of the last 70 years.

Much of the country was originally animist in its beliefs, worshipping idols. At the time of the 1963 census, about 47 percent of the people were Muslims, and 35 percent professed Christianity. Though these figures might suggest that few people now worship idols, the fact is that many professing Muslims and Christians remain idol worshippers. Religious freedom is entrenched in the constitution, and to some extent in all parts of the country; but especially in the Lagos and Western states, Muslims and Christians live and work together. The greatest concentration of Muslims is in the northern states, where 72 percent of the people profess Islām. In the Yoruba west, Christians are slightly more numerous, and in the eastern states they make up 77 percent of the population.

The main Christian groups are Roman Catholic, British Methodist, Anglican, and American Baptist. All of these church groups, as well as some Muslim sects, own and run schools and hospitals throughout the country. The development of education in the country has always primarily been the responsibility of religious groups, and about 90 percent of literate Nigerians have attended missionary institutions. This pattern is now being modified, however, because, since the civil war of the late 1960s, some states have taken over the control of schools from missionary groups.

Ethnic and linguistic groups

Hausa is the most widely spoken African language in Nigeria. It is spoken by the Hausas and the Fulanis but is also the lingua franca in the northern states. As a result of the Fulani conquest of Hausaland in the early 19th century, and the subsequent imposition of Fulani rule, the two groups live together in the same towns and villages. The religion of both groups is Islām. The town Fulanis, who are less orthodox in their religion, remain a distinctive aristocratic group. While they

intermarry freely with Hausas and other groups, they nevertheless continue to control the administration of the Hausa towns. The cattle-owning Fulani, on the other hand, are not only more orthodox but also more disinclined to intermarry. Pure Fulani blood is therefore found more often amongst these nomadic herdsmen, than it is in the towns. The pastoral Fulani, while more ardent Muslims than those of the towns, are also, paradoxically, less subject to Islamic influences. They also speak the Fulani language-Fulfulde-rather than Hausa. Unlike the Fulanis, the numerically dominant Hausas are settled cultivators as well as renowned traders. Cattle, however, including those owned by the settled Hausa farmers, are cared for by the Fulanis. At the time of the British conquest, the Fulani had established a rather unwieldy empire that extended beyond Hausaland to include vast areas occupied by the small groups of the middle belt, but before the Fulani conquest, which occurred in the early 19th century, the Hausas were organized into large states, of which the most prominent were Zaria, Kano, and Gobir.

Another important linguistic group consists of the 10,000,000 Yoruba-speaking peoples who, like the Hausas and the Fulanis, have ancient connections with the Middle East. The Yorubas, although they are farmers, often live in large pre-industrial cities. Each Yoruba subgroup is ruled by an influential paramount chief, or oba, who is usually supported by a council composed of chiefs of various ranks. The oni of Ife, who is the accepted spiritual leader of the Yorubas, and the alafin of Oyo, who is their traditional political leader, are the two most powerful rulers; their influence is acknowledged throughout Yorubaland. The various Yoruba subgroups also share a traditional religious system. It features the worship, through cults and secret societies, of gods such as Ogun, the god of war and iron; Shango, the god of thunder and lightning; and Orisha Oko, the goddess of farmland.

The Ibo-speaking peoples, whose leaders unsuccessfully attempted between 1967 and 1970 to establish the independent state of Biafra, are one of the largest linguistic groups in Nigeria. They live in small dispersed settlements and have never organized into large political units. Traditional Ibo society has rather been ultra democratic; the largest political unit has been the village group, ruled by a council of elders rather than by a chief. The Ibos have a reputation throughout West Africa for energy and

individualism. The relatively rapid progress of Iboland owes much to community efforts made at the village level, or through the extended family system. Other large linguistic groups include the Ibibios (who live near to the Ibos and share many common characteristics with them), and the Edo people of Benin City, whose culture has largely been influenced by their Yoruba neighbours. In the middle belt, the Tivs and the Nupes form the largest groups. Both are settled cultivators, but while Nupe society is hierarchical, that of the Tivs tends to be decentralized.

The distribution of population. The main concentrations of people are in the forest belt west of the Cross River and in the western half of the extreme north. In parts of Iboland and Ibibioland, the population density exceeds 800 persons per square mile (compared with the average national density of 154 persons per square mile). With the exception of Rwanda and Burundi, southeast Nigeria therefore constitutes the most densely settled area in Africa south of the Sahara. This concentration of agricultural people nevertheless occurs in a region which has heavily leached and impoverished soils, and a food-deficit consequently exists. Many migrants therefore leave the region to seek employment in the cities or in other rural parts of the country. The second region of dense population in the forest belt occurs in the cocoa growing area of Yorubaland, which attracts many migrants from the congested districts of Iboland and Ibibio-land. In the extreme north, there are also two areas of dense population—the Sokoto area and the Kano-Katsina area. The Kano concentration is based on intensive agriculture in an area of relatively fertile soils, but the densely settled areas around Sokoto and Katsina have somewhat impoverished soils and do not produce enough food for the local population. The average density in these northern areas is about 500 persons per square mile.

Smaller pockets of dense concentrations of people, averaging about 400 persons per square mile, occur in the tin fields of the Jos Plateau, in southern Tivland, and in the Okene district. The remaining, and by far the greater, part of the country is somewhat sparsely settled; vast areas of the middle belt, the Lake Chad Basin, and the Cross River district are virtually uninhabited. While most of these sparsely peopled areas suffered from extensive slave raids during the 19th century, there are some areas, such as the Niger Delta, the Cross River area, and parts of the middle Benue Valley,

which, because of their difficult environment, have never been densely populated. The dense concentrations around Kano, Sokoto, and in parts of the cocoa belt occur, on the other hand, in areas that were protected by powerful chiefs and were therefore relatively peaceful during the period of the slave trade.

Demographic trends and migrations. Although the census figures are unreliable, there is sufficient evidence to show that demographic trends in Nigeria are similar to those in other developing nations. High birth and mortality rates are characteristic, although, during the last 30 years, there has been a decline in the rate of infant mortality and an increase in life expectation. There has consequently been a rapid growth in the population, which, reported as about 55,700,000 in 1963, was expected to increase to 70,000,000 in 1972. Except for the influx of a small number of skilled workers from Europe or of traders from the Middle East, the growth in population has been by natural increase. A considerable movement of population nevertheless does take place within the country.

Past census figures indicated that internal migrations took the form of a south to north movement of migrants who settled in the cities of the north as well as a north to south movement of seasonal migrants, from the Sokoto and Kano areas, who travelled to work in the cocoa-growing areas of Yorubaland. A larger number of people migrate westward from Iboland and Ibibioland as well as out of the Niger Delta. Most of these migrants work as labourers in the cocoa- or rubber-producing districts or as self-employed tenant farmers, cultivating food crops for sale to the neighbouring towns. Many Nigerians also migrate to work in the neighbouring West African countries, such as Dahomey, Ghana, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, and even Sierra Leone. Before the deportation of many aliens from Ghana which began in 1969, about 1,000,000 Nigerians were living there. On the island of Fernando Po, however, which is part of Equatorial Guinea, Nigerians work on four-year contracts, at the expiration of which they normally return home.

From the economic point of view, Nigeria's most important characteristic is its size. Its population is the largest, and its gross domestic product the third largest (after that of South Africa and that of Egypt) in Africa. From 1967 until January 1970, the economy was disrupted by civil war. Until then, the 1960s had been a period of fairly

rapid economic growth, with an annual average rate of increase in real gross domestic product of 4.5 percent in 1960-66-slightly faster than the average rate of increase for less developed countries as a whole. The growth of industrial production, from a small initial base, was particularly fast-an 8.5 percent annual average rate of increase, compared with about 6.5 percent for all less developed countries combined. Agricultural production, however, rose at a much slower rate-2 percent per year, or about the same as in other less developed countries.

The rapid increase in exports, at about 9 percent a year, as against under 5 percent for less developed countries as a whole, was partly due to the expansion of production of crude oil, of which Nigeria was the world's 12th largest producer, being responsible for about 1 percent of the total output. Other world markets in which Nigerian exports are important are those for palm oil and palm kernels (of which Nigeria accounts for over a third of the total), cocoa, and groundnuts.

Despite a rate of growth that is rapid by the standards of other less developed countries, Nigeria still has one of the poorest economies in the world. Of the countries for which estimates were available in the mid-60s, only five-Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania, Upper Volta, and Burma had a gross national product per capita that was lower than the \$150 estimated for Nigeria. Mineral resources. Oil, natural gas, coal, tin, and columbite are Nigeria's most important minerals. Proved reserves of crude oil are over 400,000,000 tons, with estimated reserves amounting to at least another 400,000,000 tons. The discovery of oil and its production in commercial quantities dates only from the late 1950s, although prospecting had been going on for many years before that. All of the reserves are in the southern part of the country (south of a line through Benin, Owerri and Calabar), with most of the output at the beginning of the 1970s coming from onshore fields in the Niger Delta area. Natural-gas reserves, both associated and unassociated with oil, are large, but most of the gas produced has to be flared for lack of a market. Coal reserves are estimated at over 350,000,000 tons, 110,000,000 of which are in the East-Central State around Enugu, the remainder being in the northern states. As a fuel, Nigerian coal is unlikely to be competitive with local oil in the long run. Extensive deposits of lignite (an imperfectly formed coal) also exist in the south, but technical exploitation difficulties

exclude their economic use. In the northern and eastern states there are deposits, as yet unexploited, of tin as well as of columbite (a black crystalline mineral used to make niobium, which is used to make alloy steels).

Biological resources. Approximately a quarter of Nigeria's total area of over 357,000 square miles (924,000 square kilometres) is in use as arable land and under permanent crops, about 24 percent consists of permanent meadows and pastures, and about 34 percent is forested. Thus, in relation to the size of the population, there can hardly be said to be a shortage of land, although the prevalence of the shifting cultivation system means that such a shortage is emerging in some areas. This system has the merit, however, of protecting the soil against both erosion and loss of fertility. Most of the commercially exploited timber resources are in the Benin lowlands immediately to the northwest of the Niger Delta, the main types being obeche (a whitish hardwood, used for furniture making), abura (a pinkish-brown wood, used for veneers), and mahogany. Hydroelectric resources. There is a widespread net- work of rivers, many of which are potential sources of hydroelectric energy. At the end of 1966, total installed generating capacity was 417 megawatts, of which only 21 megawatts was hydroelectric, from stations in the Jos plateau. Since 1968, however, the Kainji power station has been in operation, with an initial capacity of 320 mega-watts, eventually to be raised to 960 megawatts. With additional stations planned at Jebba and in the Shiroro Gorge, total hydroelectric capacity could exceed 1,800 megawatts during the 1970s.

Agriculture, forestry, and fishing. Agricultural production, including forestry and fishing, although still accounting for over half of the gross domestic product, has nevertheless represented a declining proportion of it in recent years. Since over 70 percent of the active population is still engaged in agricultural occupations, it is evident that output per man in agriculture is well below that in other sectors of the economy. Produce grown mainly for domestic consumption (most of it not marketed) is worth about five times that grown for export. The main food crops grown in the southern states are yam, cassava, and cocoyam, and in the northern states maize, guinea corn, rice, millet, cowpeas and cattle. The range of export crops is wide. The eastern states concentrate on producing palm oil and kernels, the midwest on rubber,

the west on cocoa, and the north on groundnuts, cotton, and hides and skins. In the past, a marketing board in each of the regions has handled the main export commodity and guaranteed prices to producers, while a central marketing board has been responsible for exports-selling on behalf of the regional boards. With the creation of new states or of new state boundaries the marketing system had not been fully readjusted by the beginning of the 1970s. Interim arrangements, however, preserved the essentials of the old system. Output of all crops has tended to be variable, but, in general, output of export crops appears to have been growing faster than that of local food.

The output of cocoa, groundnuts, and rubber has expanded particularly fast in recent years. In 1966-the year preceding the civil war-the following quantities in short tons were exported: cocoa, 190,000; palm kernels, 394,000; palm oil, 143,000; groundnuts, 573,000; groundnut oil, 104,000; groundnut cake, 133,000; rubber, 70,000; and cotton (mostly for the local textile industry), 15,000. Of these, palm kernels, palm oil, and rubber were the only crops to be significantly affected by the civil war, and by the early 1970s output of these commodities was again substantial. The timber industry also suffered from the war, but even before that output had been falling away from the high level of production of the early 1960s, because of destruction of forests for the purpose of temporary cultivation. Forest products amount to about 4 percent of gross domestic product; another 3 percent is accounted for by fisheries. Lake Chad is the main source of fish, yielding about 25,000 tons per year.

Over 80 percent of the domestic demand for fish is met by imports, mostly from Iceland and the United States. Mining and quarrying. Mining represents the fastest growing sector of the Nigerian economy, accounting for over 5 percent of the gross domestic product, compared with less than 1 percent in the late 1950s. The most spectacular increase has been in oil, the output of which amounts to over 20,000,000 tons. The oil industry was seriously affected by the civil war, but recovery has been fast, with output exceeding 1,000,000 barrels a day early in 1970. The oil refinery near Port Harcourt, which has a capacity of 45,000 barrels per day and which was supplying nearly all the domestic demand before the civil war, came back into

operation in 1970, after war damage had been repaired. Even before the civil war, the output of coal, used mainly by the railway and a cement company, and for electricity generation, had been declining. The tin industry, which was less affected by the war, produces ore, practically all of which is smelted locally and exported as metal. Production is about 13,000 tons. Columbite output, so the 2,50 twas in 1969, ka A prishe Mandacturing while the pidly in only when it's domestic pro the bo the economy, production is of market, unlike the was sedated by the civil war and by its imports Major industries in terms of value A ou textiles, NIK KHANE in matering is all siz range from rural cottage industry to small was industry to Vargs modern industrial plants, Over two-thirds the last category is foreign owned. Most of the remainder is owned by public authorities, only a sovell proportion is privately owned by Nigerians. Energy. With its oil, naturals, and coal deposits, and hydrodecine issues, Nigeria has a wide range of potential vances + saszy, Output of electricity in 1970s 1,549,20 kilowatt-hours. The discovery and exploitation of the oil is still to be fully reflected in the pattern of energy consumption, which before the coal, 21 percent; petroleum products, 09 percent; natural gas, & percent; and hydroelectricity, 1 percent.

Financial services. The Central Bank of Nigeria, founded in 1959, performs central banking functions. There are 11 commercial banks, The Nigerian Industrial Development Bank provides medium and long-term finance to private firms. Since the war, during which the financial sector tended to be dominated by government borrowing requirements, prospects for normal operations have improved. Foreign trade. The value of Nigeria's domestic exports more than doubled in the ten years before the war, reaching a total of more than \$780,000,000 in 1966. In the same period the ratio of exports to gross domestic product rose from 15 percent to 17 percent, due to foreign exchange earnings from the growing oil industry. By 1966 this commodity, which earned nothing a decade earlier. Had become the most important single export, contributing 33 percent of total export earnings. Next in importance were groundnuts (15 percent), followed by cocoa (10 percent), palm kernels (8 percent), rubber (4 percent), palm oil (4 percent), and groundnut oil (4 percent). This pattern of exports, disturbed by the war, was re-establishing itself in the early 1970s.

Imports grew more slowly in the ten years before the war, rising by about 67 percent to a total of \$717,000,000. Nigeria thus moved in this period from a position of chronic trade deficit at the outset to one of a potentially regular surplus. The war destroyed this favourable position, but only temporarily. The war also changed-perhaps more permanently-the pattern of imports, with chemicals (over 10 percent of the total) and machinery (about 9 percent) displacing food and cotton piece goods at the top of the import list. The United Kingdom, still Nigeria's main trading partner, in 1970 bought 30 percent of Nigeria's exports, and supplied 29 percent of its imports.

Management of the economy. The private sector. The Nigerian private sector is numerically dominated by cash-crop farmers and small-scale local businessmen, operating in both urban and rural areas. So far, how- ever, few Nigerian businessmen have been successful in building up large industrial firms, most of which are owned by foreign private investors or public authorities. The public sector. Government accounts for about 5 percent of the gross domestic product, even when its of directly economic activities, such as manufacturing, are excluded. Apart from manufacturing projects (which me represent a total investment of over \$98,000,000), the government owns a shipping line, an airline, sporting facilities, broadcasting stations, and hotels. Of these only the shipping line has operated at a profit. The public authorities also provide incentives to private firms, including tariff protection, import duty relief on materials, assistance.

Accelerated depreciation allowances, and some relief from income tax as well as assisting the growth of private industry by providing credit, industrial estates, and technical Taxation. Taxation arrangements are complicated by the federal constitution, according to which part of the revenue collected by the federal government has to be redistributed to the states. The allocation of revenue between the states and the federal government, and between the states themselves, is a constant bone of contention; at the beginning of the 1970s a satisfactory accommodation still had not been arrived at. The most important source of all governmental revenue is import duties, which ac- count for about a third of the total, followed by excise duties (under 20 percent) and mining royalties and rents (about 15

percent). Personal income tax accounts for less than 10 percent, and company tax for about 5 percent, of total revenue. Fiscal policy has been orthodox, with budgets being balanced in the early 1970s. Public finances were, however, severely strained during the civil war.

Trade unions and employer associations. The Nigerian trade-union movement is weak, in spite of having a membership equivalent to about 65 percent of all those employed in establishments with ten or more employees. Membership is spread throughout hundreds of small unions, and there is no single effective central organization. The largest employers of wage labour are the government and public corporations, which fix wage rates unilaterally. The larger private employers have formed the Nigerian Employers Consultative Association, in the hope of encouraging the growth of a collective-bargaining system.

Contemporary economic policies. Before the civil war, there were virtually no restrictions on imports or foreign exchange remittances, and generous incentives were offered to foreign investors. With the onset of the war, this situation inevitably changed. Import restrictions and exchange controls were imposed, severe legislation against strikes was enacted, and efforts were made to raise extra tax revenue from private companies as well as by imposing indirect tax increases. At the same time a new Companies Act required all foreign companies to place their local operations under subsidiaries incorporated in Nigeria, and a new petroleum decree gave the government wide discretionary powers in the oil industry. The change of emphasis in general economic policy engendered by the war is likely to be permanent. Problems and prospects. Among Nigeria's current economic problems are a high rate of population growth, a growing problem of unemployment (particularly among students leaving school), a potential shortage of local food, and an accelerating rate of price inflation.

Other problems stem directly from the three-year war that ended at the beginning of 1970. Among these, the relief and rehabilitation of the areas affected by the war are the most pressing. The huge internal debt built up during the war will also constitute a drain on public finances for several years. That the prospects for the Nigerian economy in the 1970s are nevertheless good is due partly to the large market it offers

to potential investors, partly to the stimulation of economic development resulting from restrictions on imports during the war, and, most of all, to the expansion in the oil industry. Earnings from oil could end the foreign exchange shortage at a crucial stage in Nigerian development. This hopeful prospect assumes continuing political stability in a country in which many (E.I.U.)

The structure of government. The constitutional frame- work. Although the two British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914, the government of the two territories remained essentially different until 1946, when the first legislative council for the entire country was established. This situation arose largely as a result of cultural differences as well as of wide variations in the degree of development of political institutions among the many ethnic groups in the country. Thus, the north, much of which had a Hausa- Fulani administration in pre-British days, was administered by indirect rule-a system whereby the British governed through established feudal overlords. The south was directly administered by the British. The 1946 constitution provided for a central legislature for the whole country as well as for three Regional Houses of Assembly-one for each group of provinces. This was in accordance with the thinking of Nigerian politicians, who became prominent after World War II, demanding independence and a federal form of government with strong powers vested in the states. The 1951 federal constitution, however, gave only limited powers to the states, until, three years after its adoption and as a result of mounting pressures from the states, residual powers were transferred from the federal government to the states. By the modified federal constitution of 1954, the states became responsible for direct taxes (including income tax), school education, health, and most aspects of economic development. The weakened federal government retained responsibility for defense, external affairs, aviation, railways and some key roads, postal services, higher education, customs and excise, and banking. The federal government was, however, permitted to assume more powers in time of war or whenever any state threatened the continued existence of the federation.

When the army assumed power in January 1966, the legislative sections of the constitution were suspended, and the political structure of the country transformed by

the creation in 1967 of twelve states, instead of four. With the end of the 30-month civil war in January 1970, a return to civilian rule is eventually expected. It is anticipated that a federal constitution will be maintained. State and local governments. When, in 1960, the United Kingdom granted independence to Nigeria, Nigerian politicians inherited an unwieldy federation in which one state—the Northern Region—had a much greater size and population than the other two states combined. Before independence there was, therefore, a sustained demand by minority groups within the federation for more states. Although, however, the 1954 constitution provided for the creation of more states, none of the state governments was willing to "dismember" its territory.

The creation of the Mid-Western State out of Western Nigerian territory in 1963 followed a major political crisis in that part of the country, during which the federal government invoked its emergency powers. It was not until May 1967, on the eve of the Biafran secession, that the federal military government created 12 states in place of the previous four. Under the civilian regime that ended in 1966, the federal government consisted of a Council of Ministers presided over by the prime minister, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. Legislative powers were vested in the Senate and the House, while executive powers were vested in the Council of Ministers. The head of state was the president, who was elected for a five-year term, after which he could be re-elected. Each region, or state, had a similar constitution, in which there was a governor; an Upper House, or House of Chiefs; and a regional House of Assembly. At the local government level, there was considerable variation from one state to another. In the feudal Northern Region, the state was divided into emirates, in each of which the emir, a traditional ruler, resided over the local council. In the Western Region, where the Yoruba people had established centralized administrations in precolonial days, each local government unit was ruled by an oba and his chiefs. Administration in the Eastern Region was, however, of a totally different kind. As the sphere of influence of a chief rarely extended beyond the territory of a village, the region was constituted in provinces, each of which had an elected Provincial Assembly, presided over by a provincial commissioner appointed by the state government.

Since the assumption of power by the army in 1966, the country has been ruled by the Supreme Military Council, consisting of the commander in chief of the armed forces as head of state and chairman, 12 military governors, and the heads of the army, navy, police, and air force. There is also a Federal Executive Council, presided over by the commander-in-chief General Gowon and made up of civilian representatives, one from each of the 12 states. The representatives, who are designated commissioners, are appointed by the commander in chief. Each state is governed by an Executive Council, which also consists of civilian commissioners appointed by the state governor, who is also chairman of the council. Local council areas are each administered by a single administrator, appointed by the state governor.

The political process. Elections. Political activity at all levels was banned when the army came to power, but during the previous civilian regime, election to the federal and state legislatures, as well as to local councils, was on the basis of one man one vote. The franchise was extended to all adults, except in the Northern Region, where women were not allowed to vote. No government party ever lost in any election. To maintain itself in power many governing parties, both at the federal and at the state level, resorted to fraudulent practices and to the victimization of political opponents, many of whom were imprisoned. The life of the federal and state legislatures was five years.

At the time of independence in 1960, and until the end of civilian rule in 1966, there were three main political parties in the country. These were the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe; the Action Group (AG), a Yoruba party founded by Chief Awolowo, a former lawyer and trade unionist; and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), founded by the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the sardauna of Sokoto. Of all the parties, only the NCNC had some semblance of being a national party. In 1965 it controlled the governments of Eastern and Mid-Western Nigeria as well as the Lagos City Council in the federal capital. It had a strong following in the Yoruba west, but, like other Nigerian parties, was identified with an ethnic group-in this instance the Ibos of Eastern Nigeria. The most conservative party was the NPC, which, as the name implies, was a Northern Nigerian party.

Thus, when in 1954 and 1959 the NCNC and the AG contested all seats in the federal legislature, the NPC restricted itself to Northern Nigeria, and-because of the large size of the north as well as because of fraudulent election practices-was able to control not only the north but also the federal legislature. In each state there were a number of small parties, which were usually in opposition to the state government. Elements Progressive Union (NEPU)-led by mallam (a Thus, in the Northern Region there were the Northern title signifying "Muslim legal clerk") Aminu Kano, a Fulani teacher-and the United Middle Belt Congress; in the Western Region there was the Nigerian National Democratic Party, led by the late Chief Samuel Akintola, a lawyer and former Action Group leader; and in the Eastern Region there were the United Independence Party (UNIP) and the Dynamic Party.

Nigeria has a rich and varied cultural heritage, deriving partly from the varied racial elements in the population and partly from the influence of Middle Eastern and western European cultures. The oldest works of art so far discovered consist of late Stone Age terra-cotta heads associated with the Nok culture, which flourished in the region of the Jos tin fields from about 500 BC to about AD 200. The heads are considered to be of a technical standard indicating an advanced agricultural culture connected with iron and tin. Nok culture is thought to have influenced the celebrated bronze and terra-cotta heads of Ife and of ancient Benin. Ancient art works of wood and bronze have also been excavated at Awka, near Onitsha, as well as in the coastal areas of Oron. During the last two centuries, the cultural life of the south has been influenced by Europe, while Arabic influence has been manifest in the north.

Nigerian arts and traditions have revived manifest in the north Nigerian arts and traditions have revived since independence partly because of the realization of the desirability of preserving Nigerian culture and partly because of the patronage that Nigerian arts have received from abroad. Carved calabashes from Oyo, masks and ebony heads from Benin City, Awka, or Ikot Ekpene, or thorn carving from Shagamu are used to decorate the houses of the well-to-do, who also wear locally woven and locally dyed cloths, instead of, as in the past, using imported materials. Oil paintings of Nigerian subjects are also common.

The Institutes of African Studies at the Universities of Ibadan and Ife have done much to publicize and re-awaken interest in traditional folk dancing and in poetry, as also have the School of Fine Arts and the School of Drama at Zaria and Ibadan respectively. Vernacular radio and TV programs in at least ten languages include traditional music and dancing, folk operas, and story telling. Since, except in the Muslim north, writing became common only during the last 60 years, and since until recently few Nigerians showed any interest in folk traditions and local culture, it is believed that much of the country's culture has perished during the last two generations. Today, many ancient folk songs have been revived by popular singers who use modern musical instruments to produce sounds that villagers can hardly identify with the songs they inherited from their ancestors. Cultural institutions. In Nigeria, where In Nigeria, where superstition still waxes strong, many cultural institutions touch upon various aspects of life. Secret societies, such as Ekpo and Ekpe among the peoples of the South-Eastern State, were formerly used as instruments of government, while other institutions were associated with matrimony. According to the Fulani custom of sharo (test of young manhood), rival suitors underwent the ordeal of caning as a means of eliminating the less persistent grooms-to-be, while in Ibibio territory, girls were confined for several years in bride-fattening rooms before they were handed over to their husbands. These and other customs were discouraged by colonial administrators and missionaries, who disapproved of them. Some of the more adaptable cultural institutions have, however, been revived since independence; these include, for example, the EXPO and EKONG societies for young boys in parts of the South-Eastern State.

The Ideas of the Foundation Father's and Implications for modern Nigeria

Modern Nigeria like several countries of the world is plagued and faced with diverse challenges of nation building. These challenges ranges from that how the nation has been able to both mobilize and transends the numerous ethnic and religious challenges that has confronted the nation. In Nigeria, there is no gain saying the fact that the interplay of both centrifugal and centripetal forces mobilizing ethnicity and religion, has been the biggest challenge of nation building of the nation since Independence.

The contradictions in the tripartite system exacerbated by centrifugal and centripetal forces lead up to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967 to 1970. The Nigerian Civil War was an outcome of the structural and ideological definition of the Nigerian State that gave undue credence, importance and significance to the politics of ethnicity and religion. It was the foundation father's of Nigeria in the colonial context who created the politics of regionalism and ethnicity that snowballed into the first military coup of 1965 and the counter coup of 1965.

There is heated debate as to the origins and causes of the Nigerian Civil War both on the side of Biafra and Nigeria in terms of literature and books. The centrality of all arguments by scholars of both divide has been that the manipulation of regionalism and ethnicity by the foundation father's of Nigeria led to the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo fired the shots of regional politics when he expelled Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe from Lagos, the South West. Sir Ahmadu Bello consolidated on regionalism and ethnicity by naming his political as party the Northern People's Congress under the motto, One North, One Destiny.

This kind of interpretation and definition of the Northern region had far reaching implications on ethnic minorities of the region who had no affiliation with the Caliphate System. It is what led to the emergence of the United Middle Belt Congress under Joseph Tarkaa that fought for minority rights of the people's of the Middle Belt Region.

The politics of regionalism and ethnicity has laid a foundation for politics and political agitations in Nigeria whereby , politics is not just the struggle for the allocation of values and resources, but in Nigeria, politics is the struggle for group identity and consciousness often along ethnic and religious lines. This colonial foundation has made it near impossible and difficult for political parties and participation to emerge in Nigeria along ideological lines that cuts across ethnic and religious sentiments. Ethnic and religious sentiments has continued to shape and define the political struggle and consciousness of the Nigerian people.

The politics of regionalism and ethnicity is further exacerbated by the zoning system and power rotation between the three regions of the North, West and East. This zoning arrangement and power sharing formula excludes minority ethnic groups thereby making power sharing the exclusive preserve of the three ethnic groups of Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba. The sharing arrangements rooted in the tripartite system has defined Nigeria as the right of the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, an idea and value system that is a negation of a true democratic society that strives on majority rule and social justice.

The idea that Nigeria is the estate of the heirs of Usman Dan Fodio has been roots of Islamic Fundamentalism and radicalization in Nigeria in the twentieth first century. Islamic Fundamentalism and radicalization both have international connections but the growing phenomenon is essentially factored in the dream and aspirations of some foundation father's who had a dream to dip the Koran in the Atlantic Ocean.

In recent times, the dream of Usman Dan Fodio Nigeria has withnesed an upsurge of militant Fulani herdsmen militia groups with the expansionist agenda to capture and create grazing colonies across Nigeria. The idea of grazing colonies has recieived the backing and support of the Federal Government of Nigeria through an Institutionalized process that now compels states and minority ethnic groups to sorrunder land and territories for the creation and establishment of Fulani colonies in Nigeria.

The Fulanization expansionism in Nigeria is factored in the very idea of using minority ethnic groups as willing tools to expand the estate of the fore father's. This thinking and philosophy is rooted in the values and belief system of the founding fathers who priced and favoured the ethnic expansionism of the Fulani at the expense of the ethnic cleansing and genocide of minority groups such as the Tiv, Eggon, Birom, Igala, Idoma etc.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo one of the foundation father's of Nigeria saw politics and development in Nigeria as way to primitive accumulation and wealth. The foundation father who believed in the politics of development but also supported the politics of wealth and opulence. Chief Awolowo declared that, he was going to make himself

formidable and wealthy as a way that was to consolidate on his intelligence and power of thinking.

Richard Joseph in his book, "Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria, the rise and the fall of the Second Republic" interrogated Nigerian politics against the background of material accumulation and power dynamics. In his conclusion, politics and the political ruling class in Nigeria are liken to a Feudalistic Class where political power is captured by violence for the pure motives of booty and sharing the spoils of public offices through a social system of patrons and client ties.

Richard Joseph perspective of politics and development in Nigeria has continued to provide insights into the political behavior and character of the Nigerian ruling political class beyond the Second Republic.

In recent times, Nuhu Ribbadu, a former chairman of Economic Financial Crimes Commission stated that almost all the contemporary public political office holders in Nigeria, including the President, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, were once indicted of corruption by the anti graft agency. The Ribbadu revelation is a proof of the prebendary politics of Nigeria anchored on the thinking and values of the foundation father's of Nigeria.

Conclusion

There is every need for all Nigerians from all spheres of life to rethink the house called Nigeria. Karl Maier in his book, " This House has Fallen" described the pitiful state of Nigeria under the weight of her leaders and the challenge of corruption.

It is against this background that this paper sees the eightieth birthday anniversary of Professor...as a wake up call for Nigerian academia and the public to philosophize and interrogate the epitomological foundations of Nigeria with the aim of charting a new course for the political and social transformation of Nigeria.

Other nations of the world have succeeded in the total decolonization process of their country. Nations of Asia like Burma, called in the past as a destination for drugs and prostitution, have shaken off the colonial past and identity by renaming their countries in the true spirit of national rebirth and reconstruction.

It is line with the true spirit of national rebirth that when Americans came together in the ratification of their nation, came up with the preamble in their constitution that

" We perceive these truths to be self evident that all men are born equal and free with certain rights that are endowed and inalienable to all men irrespective of their creed or nationality".

For hundreds of years the preamble to the constitution of the United States of America has been the foundation of the American nation that has guided the American nation from the past to the present. It is also the identity of the American people, some kind of creed that is recited and taught in all schools by Americans.

There is need for collective national values in Nigeria that defines her people and shapes her history and culture, values that promotes and guarantee freedom, equity and justice. Although Nigeria has national values and belief systems, but such values like peace, unity and progress, are quite vague and illusive looking at the expansionism of herdsmen occupation across Nigeria as well as Islamic Fundamentalism and radicalization in the North.

Perhaps like the wordings nations anthem, we need to build a nation where no man is oppressed. There is need to rebuild our nation on philosophical foundations that will remove doubts and fear in the minds of all average citizens , a guarantee that the ordinary and common person can aspire to the ideas of freedom and material greatness just like the children of the ruling political class of the nation.

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