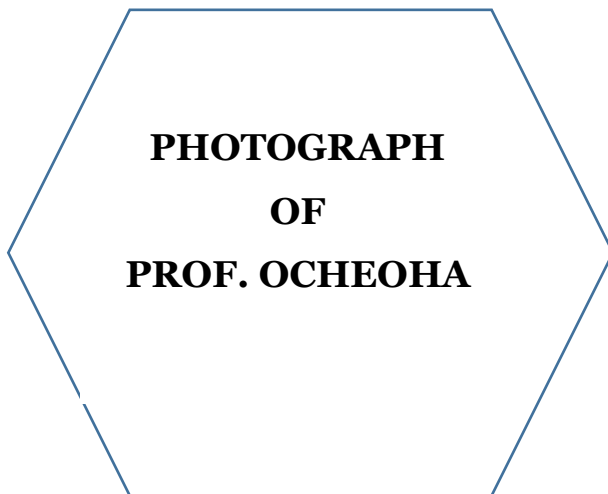


COVER PAGE

**GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY  
ENUGU, NIGERIA**

**11<sup>TH</sup> INAUGURAL LECTURE**



**TOPIC:  
RECURRING QUESTIONS  
ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL  
STABILITY: The Systems &  
Holistic Paradigm Option**

**Delivered By:  
PROFESSOR DR.  
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Professor of Political Science  
Godfrey Okoye University**

**Date: 16 November, 2022**

**Venue: Peter Mbah Law Auditorium,  
Godfrey Okoye University, Thinkers Corner, Enugu.**

**Time: 2.00pm**

**RECURRING QUESTIONS ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL  
STABILITY:  
The Systems and Holistic Paradigm Option**

**AN INUAGURAL LECTURE  
DELIVERED AT GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY  
ENUGU, NIGERIA  
ON 16 NOVEMBER, 2022**

**BY**

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ENUGU, NIGERIA.**

## **DEDICATION**

This Inaugural Lecture is DEDICATED to the Almighty God; the omni-potent and omni-scient; for the gift of knowledge and the numerous BLESSINGS He bestowed on me and my family...

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## **PART I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

There is little or no doubt that in the concepts and feelings of most patriotic citizens and denizens of Nigeria, as well as the views and reports of visitors, tourists and the mass media; Nigeria of the present era, is going through a critical period of national stress, characterized by high level of insecurity of lives and property, kidnapping, armed robbery and extra-judicial killings in various parts of the country. This scenario of events has raised many questions, with regards to peace, security and national stability of Nigeria, as one sovereign country; and how best to restore confidence and revive the national ethos of this country; both locally and at the international arena.

#### **Opening Questions:**

Questions had been asked spanning across the colonial epoch, the immediate-past colonial period and the post-colonial era; including the independence period; interspersed with inter-ethnic conflicts and the over thirty years of military inter-regnum which added salt to the national wounds of chaos and instability. These questions have been raised from various sectors of the Nigerian populace, across the African continent, among politicians, administrators and professionals. Such worrisome and recurring questions, include the following:

- (i) Was the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria, in 1914, really a political blunder?
- (ii) As a member of the United Nations and a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights; does Nigeria of today observe the International Charter on respect for sanctity of human life and the provisions of Chapter IV of its grund-norm, the 1999 Constitution titled Fundamental Rights, which is fully justiciable?

(iii) Should the present high rate of insecurity of lives and property, kidnapping of innocent citizens, payment of ransom, mass killing, and displacement of citizens from their ancestral homes by armed bandits, not be seriously combated by governments at all levels? These recurring questions will be dully addressed in subsequent segments of this lecture.

It is on the basis of the above state of affairs that this Inaugural Lecture is titled: “RECURRING QUESTION ON NIGERIA’S NATIONAL STABILITY: THE SYSTEMS AND HOLISTIC OPTION”.

We intend, in the course of this lecture to have a critical look at these recurring questions, from diverse perspectives; including a brief survey of few theoretical backgrounds to the topic and analysis of some notable models.

Most well-meaning Nigerians are optimistic that the national problems of this country are not insurmountable; given good governance and recourse to national unity and stability.

It is our duty as political scientists and administrators to proffer feasible solutions to the numerous problems bugging our country. It must be emphasized however that there is a world of difference between political science as a discipline and politics which as a dramatization of political activities by practitioners of diverse backgrounds.

In some quarters, politics is often misconstrued as an all-comers field, a game of numbers, of opinions and possibilities. This misconception notwithstanding, a good number of well-bred politicians, sincerely believe that to succeed in office, there is need for a harmonious relationship between the career bureaucrats and their political bosses in the interest of good governance and national stability. Politicians, need the academic background of seasoned and tested political scientists,

researchers and professional administrators; to guide them in taking the right decisions on various issues relevant to their success in office.

It is our unfortunate lot as political scientists and administrators that field politicians, at the grassroots and members of other academic and professional disciplines who have chosen politics as a career, including businessmen and artisans; often behave as if they can succeed in top political offices without expert inputs and guidance of political engineers. They mostly believe that politics is for everybody. All they want is good results and dividends of democracy. That is people's misconception about us, and also about our colleagues in the **Education Sector**. Yet, for better results, we must blend theory with practice because, “practice without theory is idle speculation; whereas theory without practice is incommunicable”.

The major Segments or Parts of the Lecture are contained in the table of contents.

## PART II

### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POLICIES

It is important to clarify at the onset that the subject matter of this discussion; “Recurring Questions on Nigeria’s National Stability”, is within the realms of policy initiation and execution generally; hence it is necessary to begin with explanations of a few key terms. **POLICY** in our present context, may be conceptualized as decision making at the highest level of an organization. From another perspective, it may be perceived as a general rule or principle within an organization, which is meant to guide future decisions, plans or actions.

From the above, we discern that policy formulation involves making selections from among alternative lines of action. We talk about policy options when we weigh or evaluate our possible selections, with a view to making a judicious choice among competing alternatives; and in conformity with our scale of preferences.

In terms of typology, we distinguish two broad divisions of policy; public policy and private policy. **Public policy** is made at governmental level. Therefore, it affects the general public within the area of jurisdiction of the government or public institutions. The highest level of public policy is the Law, e.g. taxation law and the Constitution, grundnorm or supreme law of any country.

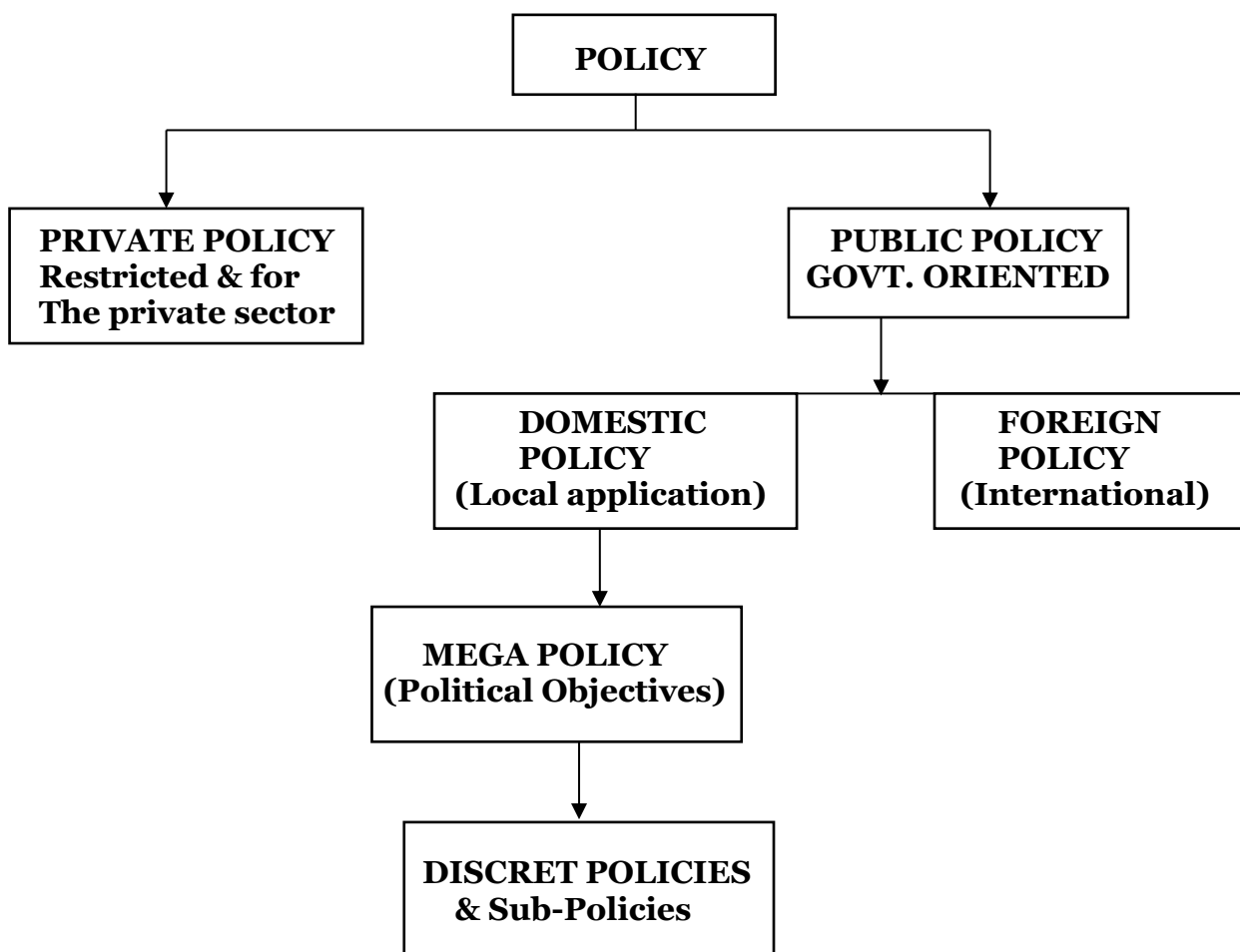
**Private policy**, on the other hand belongs to the private sector and is formulated by private companies or groups, for guidance of their members, management and staff. Their motives are generally profit-oriented. Public policies are wider in scope and their provisions often affect people in both the public and private sectors. In terms of scope or coverage, policy may be categorized into MEGA POLICY at the very top echelon of the organization formulating the policy; and discrete policy at the intermediate level. SUB POLICIES occur at the lower levels. It is clear



from the above analysis that our topic for discussion in this lecture, “Recurring Questions about Nigeria’s National Stability”, is a wide public policy which affects the generality of the Nigerian populace.

Public policy can also be divided into domestic and foreign policies. **Domestic policy** has local, national and domestic applications within the confines of a given state or country. **Foreign policy**, on the other hand, is made in course of the relationship between independent countries within the international community. Foreign policies take more time to formulate than domestic policies; and are not easily changed at will, because the collaborations of other sovereign states are involved.

**The Chart below summarizes our discussion on policy formulation and typologies of policy.**



**Fig. 1: Illustration of Scope and Typologies of Policy**

In the distant past, there was **Policy/Administration dichotomy**; whereby civil servants advise on policy options while professional politicians take decisions on the policy they prefer to be adopted. This system of a rigid boundary between policy and administration is now obsolete and anachronistic.

In the modern balance, we now have a cordial and collaborative fusion of policy and administration in most innovative organizations; especially in the public sector. Public policies are often within the critical ambit of those who are the targets or consumers of the policies, because public funds and the tax payer's money are involved.

It must be emphasized however, that **NO ONE POLICY IS GOOD FOR ALL THE PEOPLE, IN ALL PLACES AND AT ALL TIMES**; hence the need for policy reviews.

By way of an illustration of the need for fusion of policy and administration, we may cite examples from the piece-meal implementation of the Universal Free Primary Education by the three Regions of Nigeria; North, East and West, in the 1950's; a decade before Nigerian Independence.

## PART III

### THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE LECTURE

Our theoretical foundation of this lecture, shall examine four models or theories of policy analysis and decision making, as follows;

- (i) Satisficing Model by Herbert Simon
- (ii) Rationality Model by Gross
- (iii) Transactional Analysis by Eric Berne; and
- (iv) The Systems and Holistic Paradigm, by E.S. Quade; which is our major guiding model to the study.

#### **(i) Satisficing Model by Herbert Simon**

Our first theoretical exploration will lead us to Herbert Simon's "**Satisficing Model**", which distinguishes the modalities of decision making between economists and political scientists or administrators. We may open this discussion with the maxim; "**whereas economists optimize and maximize; Administrators satisfice**".

Generally, the typical economist in government will insist on maximum satisfaction at minimum cost. The Administrator or political scientist, on the other hand, will prefer to provide a project or service which is in dire need by a community, faster and earlier, even at a higher financial cost than the economist's proposal; in order to satisfy a vital need to which the community had looked forward for decades. This is the justification of the new **bottom up approach** in public sector management, whereby the managers collaborate with the users of facilities and provide them in order of their priorities at reasonable cost.

Simon, (1960); *The New Science of Management Decision*, equates decision making with management. He argues that administrative decision making permeates all levels of an organization; hence vital needs

should be provided within relatively short span of time. For instance, it is a more humane approach to a community's need for urgent water supply; to provide them with some boreholes within two years, than for them to wait for forty years before their thirsty members could enjoy a central state-wide water supply for the entire state, which took many more years of reticulation to bring the pipe borne water to their village.

In real life situation and because of conflicting pressure group prejudices and subjective biases, it is unlikely that a decision that is acceptable in all respects and to all concerned, will be achieved. In this regard, Simon has introduced a new terminology in the literature of administrative decision making within the realm of public policy analysis, namely the concept of "Satisficing". No living organization will wait until the consent of everybody concerned is obtained before taking decision on a vital issue. According to Simon, all that is necessary is a "satisfactory" rather than "optimal" decision, that is, one that is acceptable as an adequate response to the stimulus. This mode of decision making is what Simon termed "Satisficing", as contrasted with Optimizing or Maximizing. Time is of essence in most organizations which are human constructs. You cannot satisfy everybody's need all the time, because of the greed of a few. Therefore, a wise administrator will take necessary action to meet the need of his society, once its acceptance by the greater majority reaches the "satisficing" level of acceptability by the users concerned. This is Herbert Simon's theory of Satisficing, in practice.

## **(ii) Gross: Rationality in Decision Making**

Among the theoretical models selected for this lecture, is Rationality in Decision Making by Gross. Different groups, particularly policy analysts, researchers and politicians at the Head of Ministries, Departments and Agencies, who have diverse interests, are often involved in decision making; hence we cannot rule out biases of either the professional policy analyst and/or the politician, legislator or decision-maker in the selection of public policies, recommendation and adoption.

Consequently, **policy analysis must cope with politics** because politics, ethics and the analytical environment are inter-related. Even if policy analysts and public officials are not politicians, they depend on politicians because the allocation of resources and public funds are involved. If a politician does not produce results in form of what his constituency demands, his term in office may be limited.

In the light of the above prevailing state of affairs, Gross, (1979), emphasized that, Public policy is made in a political environment; It affects, what problems are analyzed and by whom, and what decisions are made as a consequence and how they are implemented.

In a bid to minimize the element of biases in public policy analysis, that Gross wrote extensively on Rationality in Decision Making. Rationality is equated with objectivity, equity and justice in dispassionate terms; and as the very anti-thesis of bias and subjective value systems in decision making. Gross in his treatise on rationality, emphasized the need for improving on the policy process through analysis and the creation of imaginative alternatives. An administrator or decision-maker must be

able to defend his actions on the basis of rationality, to avoid being accused of feathering his own nest through biased recommendations or policy decisions.

Rationality entails ability to defend a decision or policy on the basis of equity, justice and fairness to all concerned. The criticism of the rationality theory by Gross is anchored on the contention that rationality is culture, religion, time and environment bound; hence there is no absolute rationality. We may distinguish two broad categories of rationality viz absolute rationality and bounded rationality. Absolute rationality exists only in the academic minds of policy analysts. What is rational in one culture, religion, ethnic group or environment, may be an anathema in another; e.g eating of pork as between Christians and Muslims. Bounded rationality is a logical defense mechanism for a biased decision maker. For instance, the Governor of a State whose indigenes had recorded very low admissions to Federal Universities because of the limited number of admissions offered them, under the restricted quota system; and considering his need for more graduates to serve in his state ministries, schools etc; may decide to raise funds internally and establish a state-owned and funded university. If this Governor decides to reserve 60% of the students admitted to the university, for indigenes of his state, all on free tuition scholarship, with the balance of 40% of student enrolment shared for non-indigenes offered admission on payment of all advertised fees; one may not accuse him of discrimination against non-indigenes. This is one instance of bounded rationality aimed at training high level manpower for a given state.

### **(iii) Transactional Analysis Model by Eric Berne**

Our third theoretical model is Eric Berne's transactional analysis paradigm, which was developed by Eric Berne. It increases self-awareness

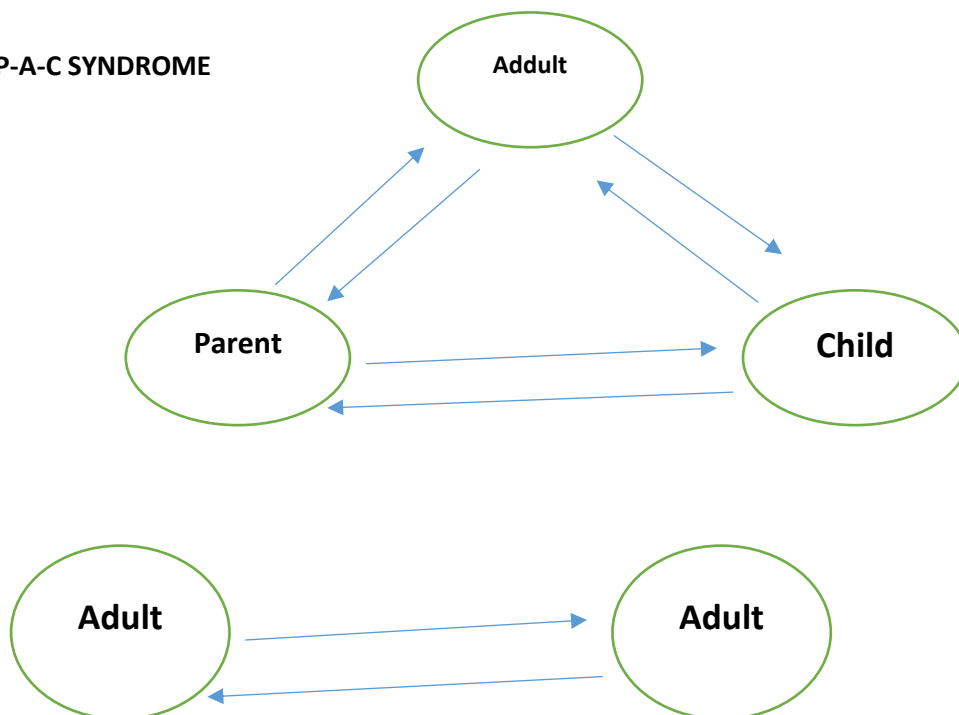
and promotes personal reflection. It also helps people find more effective ways to communicate. Berne's transactional analysis is an improvement on Freud's ego states of:

- the id,
- the ego and
- the super ego.

Berne's Parent-Adult-Child (P-A-C) Syndrome emphasizes that in conflict resolution and in social interaction, it is best to communicate in **Adult-to-Adult state**, as equals, ready to conciliate and compromise, in a bid to attain a mutually acceptable position.

Transactional analysis is an advanced form of psycho-analytical theory and method of therapy wherein social interactions or transactions are analyzed to determine the ego state of the communicator: whether **Parent-Like; Child-Like; or Adult-Like**, as a basis for understanding behaviour.

BERNE'S P-A-C SYNDROME



MUTUAL CONCESSION RESULTS IN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ADULTS

## **Fig. 2: Illustration of Berne's P-A-C Syndrome**

The four life positions that result in Berne's Transactional Analysis are as follows:

- I am not okay; you are okay
- I am okay; you are not okay
- I am not okay; you are not okay
- I am okay; you are okay

Just as the best state of affairs in Berne's T/A is the Adult-to-Adult Ego state; the resultant life situation when we apply the T/A syndrome in discussions leading to resolution of conflicts and mutual satisfaction of parties is the I AM OKAY; YOU ARE OKAY state.

We shall, therefore, use the Berne's T/A Syndrome, in collaboration with the Systems and Holistic Paradigm; as our strategy for resolving the Nigerian problem of national instability and evolving a new constitution that is mutually acceptable to the greater majority of Nigerians.

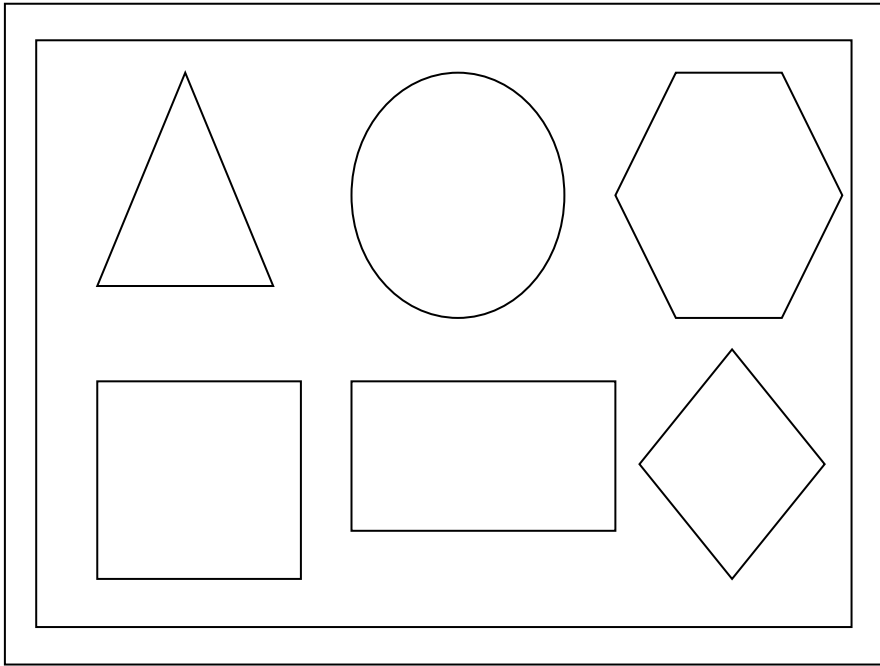
### **(iv) The Systems and Holistic Model of Policy Analysis by E.S. Quade**

The highlight of our theoretical foundations of this lecture is the Systems and Holistic Approach to Policy Analysis, as propounded by the renowned policy analyst, E.S. Quade (1975). He postulates that the policy is not merely a method or technique, but rather a concept on method of looking at problems at the policy level, with a view to assisting the policy maker, to evolve better decisions in future.

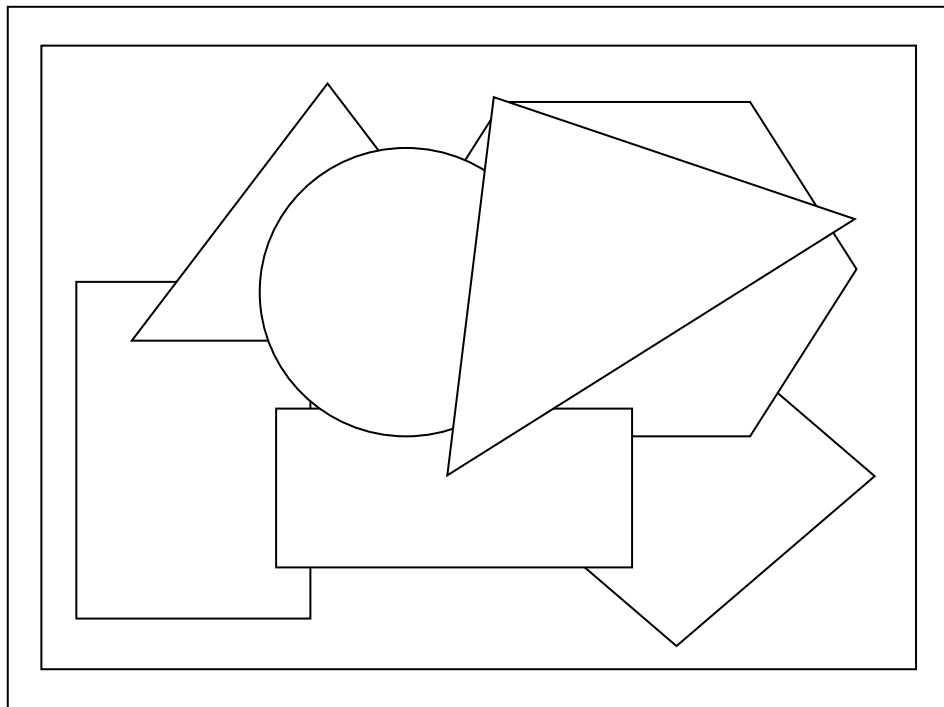


Briefly, in the systems and holistic theory, the system or entity is the whole; whereas the sub-systems are the various parts of the whole. Therefore, “THE WHOLE IS GREATER THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS”. Thus, it is argued that whereas in mathematics,  $2 + 2$  equals 4, anywhere, any day; in the calculus of our systems and holistic policy in political engineering,  **$4 > 2 + 2$  or  $2 + 1 + 1$ . In other words, four is greater than  $2 + 2$  or  $1 + 1 + 1 + 1$ .** The whole system is greater than the sum of its parts because the various parts of a system, i.e the sub-systems working in isolation, are not equal to the whole or entire system; just as the various parts of a car do not constitute a functional car, till they are assembled in the right order; as illustrated in the two diagrams that follow. You may further demonstrate this point by dismantling your wrist watch or cell phone to ensure that they lose their functionality anytime they are not assembled in the right order.

The following charts clearly illustrate the differences between an Ailing System with Non-interacting sub-systems; and Healthy state or system with interactive sub-systems.



**Figure 3(a): Diagram of a Non-Interactive Sub-system: An Ailing Organization**



**Figure 3(b): Diagram of an Interactive Sub-system: A Healthy System or Organization**

The systems approach is also used in the **diagnosis of organizations**; just as medical doctors diagnose diseases in human beings using scientific tests. In a **healthy state or organization** (Figure 3b); the various parts of the whole system interact in a symbiotic and cordial relationship in order to achieve the goals and objectives of the organization. In an **Ailing Organization or System** on the other hand, (Figure 3a): the various sub-systems are either not interacting at all; or where they interact, they do so in an anti-thetical and non-cordial relationship. Such a system cannot achieve the objectives of an organization.

In consonance with the above analysis, if we apply the systems and holistic model within the holism concept to the Nigerian society of today, we find that the system or whole entity is the Nigerian nation; while the sub-systems or component parts are the federating 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, the six geo-political zones, the 774 Local Governments and their constituent communities. The whole system, Nigeria; is greater than the sum of its parts or sub-systems working in isolation.

From the above analysis, we may now pose another recurring question: is Nigeria of today a **Healthy** or an **Ailing state; a failing state** or a **failed state? ...**

Since the answer to the above question is in the negative, something is wrong with our present state of affairs in Nigeria. Therefore, all patriotic citizens have a duty to restore our ailing Nigeria to a healthy and viable state. There are ominous signs in the air with regard to national stability of our country. Therefore, it is our duty as patriotic citizens to resolve the identified problems of our country and restore Nigeria to the parts of

sanity, peace, progress and stability. This is the task of this lecture; to heal the nation's wounds, using the theoretical explorations in the preceding segments.

The table that follows portrays the respective population and Landmass of the 36 States of Nigeria and Federal Capital Territory. This will facilitate our discussion of revenue allocation and resource control among the component parts of Nigeria.

Regions	N/S	States of Nigeria	Landmass by km <sup>2</sup>	Population
North Central	1	Niger State	76,363	6.2m
	2	Kwara State	36,825	3.2m
	3	Benue State	34,059	5.7m
	4	Plateau State	30,913	4.4m
	5	Kogi State	29,833	4.2m
	6	Nasarawa State	27,117	2.6m
North West	7	Zamfara State	39,762	5.3m
	8	Kebbi State	36,800	5m
	9	Sokoto State	25,973	5.8m
	10	Katsina State	24,192	9.3m
	11	Jigawa State	23,154	6.7m
	12	Kano State	20,131	13.4m
	13	Kaduna State	46,053	8.3m
North East	14	Borno State	70,898	5.7m
	15	Taraba State	54,473	3.3m
	16	Bauchi State	45,893	7.5m
	17	Yobe State	45,502	3.3m
	18	Adamawa State	36,917	4.5m
	19	Gombe State	18,768	3.6m
South South	20	Cross River State	20,156	4.2m
	21	Edo State	17,802	4.6m
	22	Delta State	17,698	5.3m
	23	Rivers State	11,077	7.1m
	24	Bayelsa State	10,773	2.3m
	25	Akwa Ibom State	7,081	4.7m
South West	26	Ogun State	16,762	5.9m
	27	Ondo State	15,500	4.9m
	28	Osun State	9,251	4.2m
	29	Oyo State	28,454	7.5m
	30	Lagos State	3,345	15.4million
	31	Ekiti State	6,353	3.3m
South East	32	Abia State	6,320	3.8m
	33	Ebonyi State	5,670	3m
	34	Imo State	5,530	5.1m
	35	Anambra State	4,844	5.5m
	36	Enugu State	7,161	4.3m
	-	Federal Capital Territory	7,315	2.7m

**Table 1: States of the Federation by Population and Landmass**

**Source: Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (2019)**



## PART IV

### APPROACHES TO THE NIGERIA NATIONAL PROBLEM

From the above analysis of the systems and holistic paradigm to policy evaluation; and the transactional analysis model; it is clear enough that Nigeria of the present era is at the cross-roads of instability and chaos. The country is riddled with problems of insecurity of lives and property, instability and chaos; displacement of people from their ancestral homes, mass poverty, youth unemployment, hyperinflation, kidnapping and general anarchy. We may ask: why should identifiable bandits, rebels and terrorist who kill innocent citizens with sophisticated weapons on daily basis, be described as “Unknown Gunmen”, instead of criminals and enemies of our country? How many bandits and kidnappers have been arrested, charged to court and prosecuted to conviction?

Section 14(2 (b) and (c)) of the present Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, states in unequivocal terms, as follows:

*b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government, and*

*c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.*

The above provisions notwithstanding; as well as the justiciable provisions of Chapter IV of the same constitution, titled **Fundamental Rights**; Nigerians are in deplorable states of insecurity and terror. Security is the first law of nature; hence without security of lives and property in any country, there will be no safety, no peace, no property and no progress.

The most notable affront of government by bandits, was the kidnap of 276 female students from their hostels in the Government Girls' Secondary School at Chibok. More than ten years after their kidnap, many of them are yet to be found or released, while their bewildered parents and

relations mourn and yearn for justice. Perhaps the most daring and bloodier exploit was the dastardly attack and bombing of an Abuja-Kaduna bound passenger train by bandits and terrorists on Monday, 28 March, 2022. Media reports stated that nine of the passengers were killed on the spot; the wounded were taken to hospitals for treatment; while 62 passengers were taken captive by the bandits and terrorists. The last batch of 23 of the abducted victims, were released on 08 October, 2022, after some eight months in captivity... (FRCN Network News, 09 October 2022).

On this dastardly incident, another recurring question which calls for answer on security grounds is: “should the government or any of its agencies negotiate with bandits or criminals, for release of innocent victims illegally held in captivity; and presumably on payment of ransom? Is there any rule of law or criminal justice in Nigeria today?

Commenting on the train attack incident in a press interview published in the Vanguard Newspaper edition of 3 April, 2022; General I.B.N. Haruna (Rtd); lamented as follows:

*The attacks are a continuing breach on national security which has remained fully unchallenged in the context of restoring confidence in security and government. It is part of the menu for the de-democratisation of Nigeria... We cannot pretend not to know that some people want this country disintegrated.*

This comment by a retired General of the Nigerian Army is indicative of the fact that the security intelligence of Nigeria and the entire network of our defence paraphernalia are defective and not alive to their statutory responsibilities. Therefore, the leadership of Nigeria, military, political and administrative, are in a state of coma.



It is this leadership vacuum that made a foremost Nigerian novelist, Achebe, (1983), to emphasize in his novel, *The Trouble With Nigeria*, that:

*The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership... In spite of conventional opinion, Nigeria has been less than unfortunate in its leadership. A basic element of this misfortune is the seminal absence of intellectual vigour in the political thought of our founding fathers; a tendency to pious materialistic wooliness and self-centred pedestrianism.*

### **Coercion or Diplomacy; Peace or War**

It is unimaginable to think or believe that the Boko Haram bandits and insurgents negotiate with governments for the quantum of ransom to pay for release of innocent victims kidnapped by the terrorists. The Nigerian military intelligence and the Armed Forces should have eliminated these terrorists if they are really determined to restore human rights, sanity, peace and stability in Nigeria.

In defense and security studies, the five major indices or threats to security are summarized in the Acronym: ESSIT; which is deciphered as:

**E** – spionage

**S** – ubversion

**S** – abotage

**I** – nsurrection; and

**T** – errorism      \* (NIPSS, KURU, SEC 15, 1973)

If these indices are not nipped in the bud as soon as they manifest, they will soon escalate to uncontrollable crisis. This is the unfortunate fate of present day Nigeria.

The various indices of power at the international arena, can be summarized into two categories, viz: Peace or War; otherwise known as Diplomacy or Coercion. Diplomacy is preferred to Coercion or recourse to

war because it is more friendly and with longer-lasting results. We should always avoid war because war is an ill-wind which blows no one any good. As a last resort, War is another form of diplomacy wherein guns and bombs take the place of negotiation and battle fields become the conference table. We should therefore always prefer to **JAW-JAW**, rather than **WAR-WAR** (*NIPSS, KURU, SEC 15, 1993*).

It is our hope and prayer that a rapid transformation of the decadent Nigerian society will emerge, with the honest adoption of an entirely new constitution for Nigeria, operated by a new breed of patriotic and philanthropic Nigerians.

At this juncture, we shall use the lessons of the systems and holistic model in ensuring that Nigeria of today is transformed into a healthy nation that is capable of achieving the goals and objectives.

After due analysis of the systems and holistic model which we have adopted as our paradigm for conflict resolution that is designed for resolving the recurring questions of Nigeria's peace, unity and national stability; we will now proceed to utilize this model of policy; and apply same to the numerous problems militating against Nigeria's peace, unity and stability.

## PART V

### FEDERATIONS AND CONFEDERATIONS

A Federation is a sovereign state or country, comprised of a number of quasi-autonomous federating units which may be called Regions, States or Territories. Legislative powers are shared between the Central Government and the federating States or Regions; with the Federal Government having sole authority over items on the Exclusive legislative list; while sharing powers with the States on items which are included on the Concurrent list.

There are two broad typologies of federation;

- (a) **Federation by Aggregation** is one where a number of previously independent or semi-autonomous states, voluntarily decide to come together and form a Federation. Examples of such a federation are Canada, U.S.A and Tanzania.
- (b) **Federation by Devolution or Disaggregation** is a country which was formerly administered as unitary state, but later splits into a number of semi-autonomous states or regions, adopting a Federal Constitution. Examples are Nigeria and Sudan. Federal Constitution was introduced in Nigeria by the Macpherson's Constitution, in 1954.

A **Confederation** is an autonomous or sovereign country which is made up of a number of semi-independent Regions or States, each of which has its own Constitution. Examples are: Switzerland, Canada and the European Union.

These Regions/States decide voluntarily to form a confederal union for purposes of defense, external affairs, currency, customs union etc. There is usually, by general consent, provision clause for secession, which allows any of the Confederating Regions or States, to secede from the

confederal union; just as Britain pulled out of the European Union in 2021.

There are very few confederations in the world today. We had earlier made reference to the structure of Government of two most famous Confederations, Switzerland and Canada.

### **Federation or Confederation for Nigeria? The Aburi Accord**

There had been several Nigerian constitutional conferences before, during, and after the military regimes; some of which produced new constitutions. The climax and high water mark of the 1966 Nigerian crisis was the personality clash between General Yakubu Gowon, Military Head of State of Nigeria and Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, Military Governor of the Eastern Region of Nigeria. In a bid to resolve this crisis, a constitutional conference was convened at Aburi in Ghana on January 04 to 06, 1966. This was designed as a peace move, initiated by then Military Ruler of Ghana, Lt.- Gen., Joseph Arthur Ankrah. The Nigerian delegation to the Aburi Conference, included the Military Governors of the four Regions of Nigeria, with the Head of the Nigerian Navy, Commodore Joseph Wey, the Inspector-General of Police, Alhaji Kam Salem and the Military Administrator of Lagos; Mobolaji Johnson. The conference agreed that force should not be used to settle the Nigerian problem; and on reorganization of the Nigerian troops. The conference resulted in a constitutional document, designated **The Aburi Accord**, which recommended a **Quasi-Confederation for Nigeria**, with a Federal Capital at the center and four strong Regions to which more powers and control of natural resources were devolved. We recall that at Aburi, Ojukwu told Gowon that it was better for the states of Nigeria to move slightly apart and survive as a nation, than to move too close together and perish in the collision.

The Aburi Accord which would have been a saving grace for Nigeria, was eventually broken over disagreement on the indivisibility of Nigeria, Army Commands for the confederating regions; revenue control and non-insertion of a secession clause for any of the constituent Regions. Sequel to the mass killing

of Easterners, mostly of the Igbo ethnic group in the North and repatriation of non-indigenes from the East to their respective Regions, Ojukwu eventually declared Eastern Nigeria as **an Independent Republic of Biafra**, in May 1967.

The failure of the Aburi Accord and the secession of Biafra from Nigeria, resulted in the 30 months Nigeria-Biafra civil war, which ended with the surrender of Biafra and its reintegration into the Federal Republic of Nigeria in December, 1969. With the surrender of Biafra to Nigeria, Gen. Gowon declared the outcome of the war as “NO VICTOR, NO VANGUISHED”

## **PART VI**

### **ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE NIGERIAN QUESTION OF NATIONAL STABILITY**

In part IV of this lecture, we briefly examined possible approaches to Nigeria's problem of unity and national stability. There, we noted that in strategic studies, the five major indices or threats to security are summarised in the acronym, ESSIT. We also discussed briefly two broad approaches to conflict resolution and national crisis, namely: coercion and diplomacy; and opted for the diplomatic and peaceful strategy which is more humane and has longer lasting effects. We concluded that in human affairs, it is often better to resort to peace than to use brute force and belligerency, because of the destructive effects of war

Here in part V of this lecture, we shall discuss previous attempts to resolve the Nigerian question of unity and national stability. Outside Africa, we had a glance at two famous and successful democracies of the world: Swiss Confederation and the Canadian Federation which had existed for centuries with relative peace and unity. Nigeria, an erstwhile colonial state, which gained independence from Britain barely 62 years ago, is our centre of focus in this discourse, hence, we will start with previous attempts at resolving the question of its national peace and stability.

#### **Brief Origin of Nigeria's Attempt to Resolve its National Question of National Stability**

There had been several attempts by successive Nigerian governments, during colonialism, and subsequent civilian and military regimes, to constitute political reform conferences and constitutional review committees, with a view to resolving the political problems of the diverse ethnic groups, regions, and states of Nigeria; and ensuring unity, peace and stability in our country.

The earliest of this was the 1920 Conference, with the latest being the 2014 National Conference convoked by former President Jonathan. Instructively, between 1920 and 2014, there have been about 11 national conferences held to fashion out ways of ensuring and guaranteeing national cohesion and stability through a reengineering of workable federal structure for the nation. Thus, there has been at least one national conference held in Nigeria in every 10 years of its existence (Tenuche and Achegbulu, 2020). Conferences held prior to independence were aimed at addressing issues of low representation of Nigerians

in the colonial government. More importantly, the perceived imbalance in the structure of the country has also generated some criticisms and reactions from the political elites at the time, even prior to independence (Basiru, 2010; Onyeoziri, 2002). The conferences include:

1. 1920 Accra Conference, leading to the drafting of 1922 Clifford Constitution
2. 1950 Macpherson Constitutional Conference
3. 1953 London Constitutional Conference that revised the 1951 Macpherson Constitution, with a view to adopting a federal structure
4. 1957 Nigerian Constitutional Conference, London
5. 1966 Adhoc Constitutional Conference
6. 1975 Constitution Drafting Committee
7. 1977 Constituent Assembly
8. 1987 Constitutional Review Committee, leading to the codification of 1989 Constitution
9. 1994-1995 National Constitutional Conference
10. 2005 National Political Reform Conference
11. 2014 National Conference (Tenuche and Achegbulu, 2020; Babalola and Onapajo, 2019; Basiru, Salawu and Arogundade, 2016)

The above conferences conducted on Nigeria's national life were attempts to restructure the nation in order to give momentous answer to Nigeria's national question of national stability. A striking feature of these conferences were that latter ones always builds upon the outcome of the previous ones. Thus, sometimes, inheriting their benefits and challenges at the same time. One of the major drawbacks of these conferences were their inability to achieve their set objectives, particularly due to partial or total lack of implementation of their resolutions and recommendations.

At independence, Nigeria was confronted with the thorny issue of structural imbalance. To drive home this point, some historical phrases of our founding fathers readily comes to mind. For instance, the Sadauna of Sokoto and Premier of the Northern Region once said "the mistake of 1914 has come to light." The above comment was an obvious response to the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates, and also to point to the differences and diverse nature of Nigerian tribes, peoples and population, noting that they must be taken cognisance of when managing the newly independent State. Relatedly, Chief Obafemi Awolowo describes the entity, Nigeria, as "a mere geographical expression" (Basiru, Salawu and Arogundade, 2016)

However, the most contentious issue of Nigeria's existence as a State has been the issue of resource sharing. This has continued to defy solutions made to it through various conferences as adumbrated above, covering both civilian and military regimes respectively. The 1994 Abacha's Inaugural Speech of that year's conference clearly demonstrates this when he comments thus:

*A contentious controversial issue that has dogged our nation's political history is the question of revenue allocation. The primacy of this problem is evidenced by the series of memoranda which the Constitutional Conference Commission received on the subject. Since independence successive Administration has grappled with the question of an equitable statutory distribution of revenue from the Federal Account. In fact, this issue predates our independence when the question was whether allocation should be based on derivation or on need. We have always looked for a formula which takes into account the facts of nationhood, and the overall national interest. Any useful and long lasting revenue allocation formula has a conform to the political structure of t h e country. One of the valid observations which have been made is that, revenue allocation should complement rather than substitute revenue generation (Abacha, 1994, quoted in Tenuche and Achegbulu, 2010, p. 3).*

Furthermore, the return to civil rule in 1999, also created a new round of agitations, with various Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) like The Patriot, led by Chief Rotimi Williams, pressured the newly democratically elected president, chief Olusegun Obasanjo to convoke a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) whose output will be a true reflection of the wishes and aspirations of the peoples of Nigeria (Babalola and Onapajo, 2019). In their argument, the 1999 constitution was a document of the military. And that the opening phrase of "WE THE PEOPLE" was dubious and fraudulent, as there was no true representation of the peoples of Nigeria during the drafting of the constitution (Basiru, Salawu and Arogundade, 2016). There were also remarks by other CSOs that the structure of the nation's federalism needs to be completely overhauled. This pressure led to the former president, Obasanjo to convoke the National Political Reform Conference (NPRC). In addition, similar pressures by CSOs also led immediate past president Jonathan to convene the 2014 Sovereign National Conference.

It is against this background that this focuses attention on the two recent political reform conference organised by two former presidents of Nigeria, namely:

- The 2005 National Political Reform Conference of former President Olusegun Obasanjo and



- The 2014 National Conference of immediate past President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

### **The 2005 National Political Reform Conference (NPRC)**

The National Political Reform Conference was inaugurated by its convener, the former President Olusegun Obasanjo, on February 21, 2005, at the International Conference Centre, Abuja. In his Inaugural Address, Obasanjo emphasised that “the NPRC is not designed to dismember or disintegrate the country”, adding that “it is not established to encourage mudslinging, nor to organise protest or subterranean political activities that would be detrimental to effective discussion”. The conference, under the chairmanship of Justice Nikki Tobi (JSC), has been suggested by various groups in Nigeria that it should be called a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) wherein the outcome of the conference will have a binding force on the State, as well as on the agents of government. However, this suggestion from members of the public were rejected, particularly, by the Presidency and members of the National Assembly, who believed that christening of the conference as SNC, was an attempt to water down their respective positions and powers. The reason for this rejection was not unconnected with its outcome in neighbouring Benin Republic. The SNC convened by President Mathew Kerekou of Benin Republic, led to the stripping of his powers at the end of the conference (Omitogun and Onigu-Otite, 1996).

In bowing to pressure, former president Olusegun Obasanjo convened a national conference, with a title different from the wishes of the people. He called it the National Political Reform Conference. In his inaugural speech on 21<sup>st</sup> February, 2005, the president notes thus:

*Our history as a nation shows very clearly that we have been through some difficult times. We have missed great opportunities. Our historical experience at constitutional making and political reform shows that we may have some structural defects that require adjustment so as not to constrain the deepening, widening and consolidation of democratic values and practices (Obasanjo, 2005, p. 6).*

The statement of the president shows an unwillingness or lack of zeal to make fundamental changes in the nation’s body polity. Rather, it is just willing to make “adjustment”, which some critics have said were for his personal benefits and that

of the political establishment at the time. For instance, and according to Professor Ben Nwabueze, the NPRC comprised a

*motley of persons handpicked by himself and the State Governors as well some members of certain ethnic groups and other associations --a completely undemocratic body with no mandate from the people or from the ethnic nationalities and civil society organisations. There was no enabling law establishing it and backing up its work (Nwabueze, 2013, para. 2)*

The “handpicked” 400 delegates of the conference received about 2million memoranda which the conferees paid lip service to because the president had already crafted the agenda for the conference by setting “a no-go area” (Obiagwu, 2005; Onuorah, 2005). The pre-eminence and superimposition of the presidency on the conference led to several controversies that led to the abrupt end and disbandment of NPRC (Nwabueze, 2013). This has been dubbed as another wasteful adventure the political establishment, as it failed to meet the aspirations of the people (Ajayi, 2006; Oladesu, 2005). Another reason for the abrupt end of the conference was that it was speculated that Obasanjo had introduced a third term bid into the conference, as a way of legitimising a selfish agenda (Tenuche and Achegbulu, 2020)

## **2014 National Conference**

The 2014 National Conference was inaugurated on 17<sup>th</sup> of March, 2014. The pressures of various groups in Nigeria has necessitated the convoking of the Conference by former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. Jonathan set up a presidential dialogue committee under the leadership of senator Femi Okuruonmu. Four weeks later, the Committee submitted its report with recommendation to convening a National Conference. On the 17<sup>th</sup> March, 2014, the president inaugurated the National Conference of 492 delegates, led by Justice Kutigi (JSC) (National Conference, 2014).

Tenuche and Achegbulu (2020), identified key factors that pressured the president to convoke the national conference. These were:

- The need for the north to regain power in 2015
- Jonathan’s decision to run for a second term
- Mutual fear of ethnic domination
- Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast, seeking to dismember the country
- The clamour for a new constitution

- Intensification of kidnapping in the south
- Corruption and lack of accountability by the political elites,
- Anti-people-oriented policies, etc.

In order to restore order and calm in the polity, the president convoked a National Conference in 2014. Following the announcement of the conference, most groups in the country have set their minds on key national issues that must take the centre stage during their deliberations. The positions of the South regarding the reconfiguration of the national polity were strongly put forward by leaders of the South East, South South and South West respectively. That of the middle belt was also strong, but they were voiced by the Northern Delegate Forum, which were not necessarily a common position of the totality of the Northern Region.

The demands of the different geopolitical zones, save the core north, are summarised as follows:

### **SOUTH-SOUTH**

1. Nigeria reverts back to the 1963 constitution
2. Resource control to ensure that oil producing states exercise some control over the production and management of mineral resources in their area and only pay royalty to the central government

### **SOUTH WEST**

1. Nigeria should revert back to the old regional governments with the regions having their separate constitutions

### **SOUTH EAST**

1. Full integration into Nigeria as citizens after the Biafran war with equal rights and parity of states in the geo-political zones

### **MIDDLE BELT**

1. The Middle Belt demanded for the protection of minority rights
2. Creation of additional states to accommodate the interest of minority groups in the North
3. Development of solid minerals in their respective states
4. Power rotation

## 5. Completion of the Ajaokuta Steel Project

The conference had 20 committees that deliberated on a wide range of issues of national interest to include: corruption, economy, political, religious, socio-cultural and national security issues, etc. The various committees set up are on: Agriculture, National Security, Devolution of Power, Human Rights and Legal Reform, Politics and Governance, Environment, Judiciary, Political Restructuring and Forms of Governance. Others are: Transportation, Science and Technology, Civil Society, Labour and Sports, Foreign and Diaspora Matters, Land Tenure and National Boundaries, Economy, Trade and Investment, Public Service and Political Parties and Electoral Matters, Immigration, Energy, Religion, and Public Service (National Conference, 2014).

Overall, the delegates agreed on a number of issues of common and national interest arising from 19 committees, leading to the drafting of over 600 resolutions after exhaustive deliberations and amendments of committee reports. However, and for the purpose of this lecture, we shall concern ourselves with key resolutions made by the conferees of the 2014 national conference.

### **On State Creation**

The conference recommended for the creation of 18 new states, three per geopolitical zones to include: Apa, Edu, Kainji, Katagum, Savannah, Amana, Gurara, Ghari, Etititi (South East zone), Aba, Adada, Njaba-Anim, Anioma, Orashi, Ogoja, Ijebu and New Oyo. Aside the 18 proposed new states, the south east was allowed latitude to have an additional state so as to be at parity with the other geopolitical zones in the country, except the north west.

### **On Chapters 2 and 4 of the 1999 Constitution**

The Conference recommends that chapters 2 and 4 of the 1999 constitution should be merged and be made justiciable as it is the practice in other civilised democracies

### **On Fiscal Federalism and Resource Control**

The conferees failed to reach a consensus on the acceptable formula for revenue distribution and allocation. However, it recommended that the government should set a Technical Committee to address the issue by determining the appropriate percentages, and advise the government accordingly

## **On Revenue Allocation and Public Finance**

The National Conference recommended that funds should be distributed from the federation account in line with the three tiers of government: Federal (42.5%), state (35%) and local (22.5%) respectively.

## **On Forms of Government**

The conference recommended a modified presidential system of government to suit local circumstances, combining both presidential and parliamentary systems of government. The president shall pick the vice president from the legislature and shall not appoint more than 18 ministers to work with him

## **On the Legislature**

A bi-cameral legislature should be maintained. However, all elected members of the legislative arms of all the tiers of government should serve on part-time basis

## **On Power Sharing**

Presidential powers should be rotated between the north and the south and particularly, among the six geopolitical zones

## **On Local Government**

The local government will no longer be a third tier of government. States are given the freedom to create as many local governments as possible within what their resources can cater for.

## **On Immunity Clause**

The immunity clause should be removed if the offences attract criminal charges to encourage accountability by those managing the economy

## **On Anti-corruption:**

A Special Courts to handle corruption cases should be established in the light of undue prolongation in the trials and prosecution of corruption cases in the regular courts. A non-conviction-based asset forfeiture law should be enacted with broad provisions to deal with all issues of proceeds of crimes by the anti-graft agencies and the courts.

As is of common knowledge, the Jonathan administration did not implement the recommendations of the National Conference. The reason for his non-implementation of the resolutions and recommendation was attributed to the defection of key members of his party (the People's Democratic Party) to the opposition party (the All Progressive Congress). According to Jonathan,

*It is also important to point out that the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Tambuwal, who was a member of my party, the PDP, had already moved out with some members to the opposition. That meant a reasonable part of the National Assembly were already anti-government. When you know that the parliament is under that kind of situation, it would have been imprudent on my part to take such a document—which I consider crucial to our development yearning—to a parliament that will not give it due consideration (Good Ebele Jonathan, quoted in Majeed, 2022, para. 13 &14).*

Finally, the recommendations of former President Jonathan conference were not implemented; more so as Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), lost the presidency to Muhammadu Buhari of the rival All-Progressive Congress (APC) at the Presidential Election of 2015.

## PART VII

### CONCLUSION

Nigeria in its over 60 years of independence, had weathered the storms, through numerous constitutional reforms, thirty-five years of military rule; 30-months civil war; to its present era of insecurity, mass poverty, human rights abuses, general unemployment and hyperinflation. We now have a chance to salvage our country from its numerous woes; hence, this attempt at saving our nation from the precipice of disaster, through constitutional reforms and a reconfiguration of the country into the recommended Confederation of Nigeria. All that is required now, is for our security and intelligence units, in liaison with the Armed Forces, to swing to action, end the present high wave of insecurity of lives and property; and pave the way for the enthronement of the United Confederation of Nigeria.

It is strongly believed that the new Confederal Constitution will restore stability, peace, unity and mutual trust among the members of Nigeria's multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious nationalities. There is strength in number and unity. We may recall our foremost theoretical foundation to this lecture; **the whole is greater than the sum of its parts**. Therefore, Nigeria as a united entity is greater than its various parts or sub-systems; the states, geo-political zones, local governments and constituent communities, working in isolation.

We had, in course of this lecture, done comparative analysis of the structures of various governments in Nigeria. We had also analyzed the failure of the Aburi Accord which would have averted the Nigeria/Biafra civil war. Finally, we examined the convocation of two national conferences by former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2005 and former President Goodluck Jonathan in 2014, respectively.

The Obasanjo conference disintegrated after the South-South delegates staged a walkout on June 14, 2005. Therefore, the conference did not submit any report. In the case of the Jonathan conference, the conference completed its assignment and submitted its reports to government. Unfortunately, President Jonathan could not implement the recommendations of the 2014 conference because Jonathan failed to renew his tenure at the 2015 Presidential election; the winner, President Muhammadu Buhari showed no interest in looking at the 2014 conference report for whatever it is worth.

It is our hope and prayer that the recommended systems and holistic paradigm approach to problem solving and conflict resolution; in combination with the Transactional Analysis Model of Eric Berne; will restore peace, unity and stability to Nigeria, through the unanimous promulgation of the Constitution of the United Confederation of Nigeria. This, we believe, will heal the wounds of insecurity of lives and property; usher in a new era of peace, unity, stability and progress of Nigeria, as the ***de facto*** giant of Africa.



## PART VIII

### RECOMMENDATIONS

After the fore-going background on the theoretical framework of this lecture, with emphasis on the Systems and Holistic Paradigm and Eric Berne's Transactional analysis; we now come to the most crucial aspect of this lecture; the Recommendations. In other words, sequel to the fore-going analysis of the numerous Questions on the National Stability of Nigeria; what are the recommendations of this Inaugural Lecture and how can they be implemented? We may begin with these two soul-searching questions: Do most patriotic Nigerians wish that this country should stay together? If the answer to this question is positive, on what terms must we stay together? *To be or not to be?* That is the question! It has to be.

It is therefore, the thesis of this lecture and our foremost recommendation, that Nigeria be urgently RECONFIGURED INTO: THE UNITED CONFEDERATION OF SIX REGIONS; or simply the NIGERIAN CONFEDERATION. This recommendation is borne out of our strong conviction that it is only under a unanimously agreed confederation that Nigeria will survive as one united, peaceful and stable multi-ethnic; multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural country that will, sooner than later, attain in reality, our desired aspiration of being the **de facto et de jure** and undisputed GIANT OF AFRICA; and one of the leading countries of the world in the fore-seeable future.

We prefer the term Reconfiguration; which is more of a willing reunification of an erstwhile estranged and distrustful ethnic nationalities; than the hack-neyed term, Restructuring which is akin to tinkering the constituent Regions and States into a forced union, without the full consent of the amalgamated components.

It is further, strongly advocated that our earlier and more honest motto: **UNITY IN DIVERSITY**, be restored as the truly Nigerian motto.

Also our **Independence National Anthem**, which truthfully and strongly asserts the fact that “**Though tribe and tongue may differ, in brotherhood we stand**”; should be restored as a call for our unity, progress and stability.

In the succeeding sections of this lecture, we shall proffer modalities for the composition and constitutional frame work of the recommended Confederation of Nigeria; with lessons from our past political history.

### **Constitutional Framework of Nigeria**

The present structure of the Federation of Nigerian could be described as a quasi-unitary Federation and a military-imposed constitution. In most stable federations there are more items on the concurrent legislative list than on the Exclusive List of the Federal Government. This was the situation in the 1960 Independence Constitution and the 1963 Republican Constitution. In the present Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999; there are as many as 68 items on the Federal Exclusive List, that is more than twice the mere 30 items on the Concurrent List; hence it was designated a military-imposed grundnorm, rather than an autochthonous civilian or the people’s constitution.

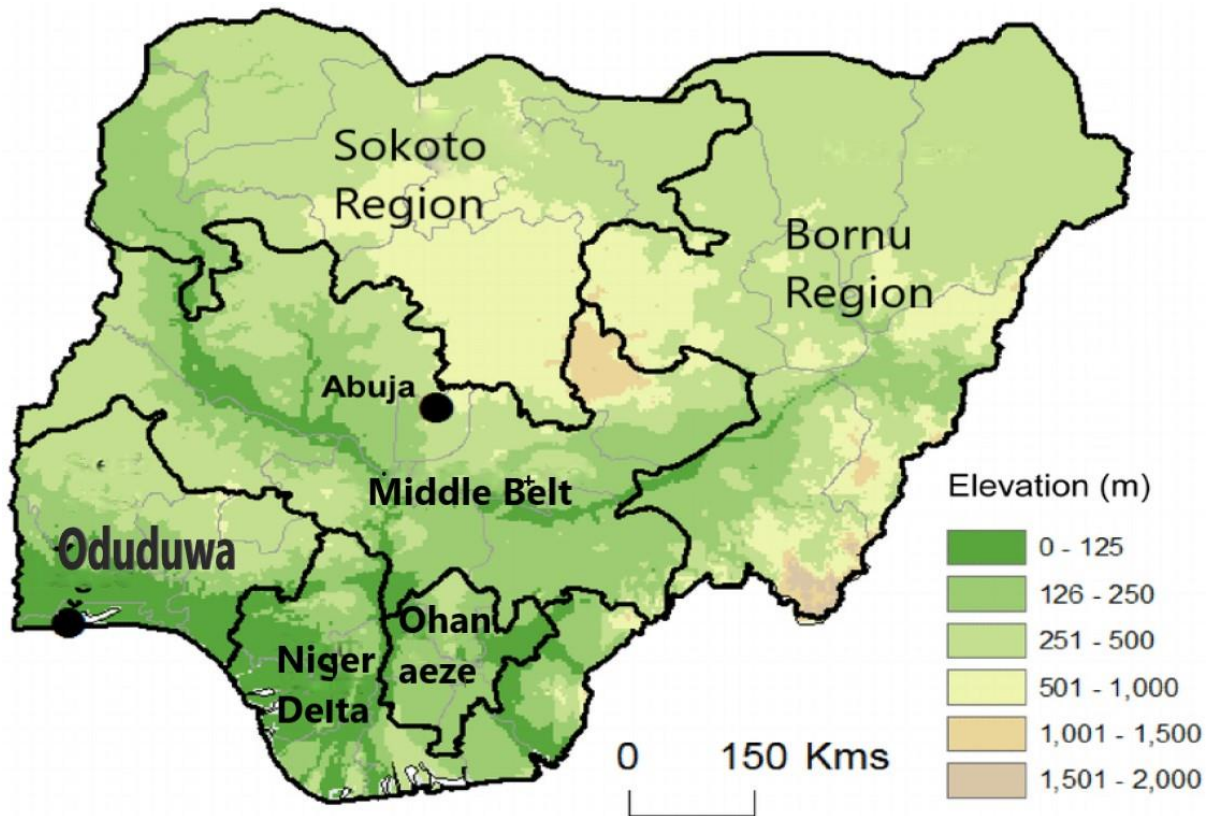
The new constitution should provide for six strong and balanced Regions at the confederal level. **The Regions should have equal number of seven states each**, i.e 42 States in Nigeria, with the Federal Capital Territory at Abuja. Therefore, the North West Region should retain its present seven states; the other five Regions should have one new state each (for the four presently with six states) and two new states created for the South East Region which presently has only five states, to bring it at parity with the other five Regions.

It is further recommended that the Confederating six Regions should bear new indigenous names of their choice, as distinct from the present points-of-compass names which are indicative of erstwhile separatism. The suggested new names of the confederating six regions are as follows:

**Table 2: Proposed Six Confederating Regions for Nigeria**

<b>Names of Present Geo-Political Zones</b>	<b>Recommended New Regional Names under the United Confederation of Nigeria</b>
1. North-East Zone	<b>Bornu Region</b> of Nigeria
2. North Central Zone	<b>Middle Belt Region</b> of Nigeria
3. North West Zone	<b>Sokoto Region</b> of Nigeria
4. South East Zone	<b>Ohanaeze Region</b> of Nigeria
5. South-South Zone	<b>Niger Delta Region</b> of Nigeria
6. South West Zone	<b>Oduduwa Region</b> of Nigeria

The following is the map depicting the recommended confederal six regions of Nigeria.



**Source: Author's design of the Recommended Confederation of Nigeria**

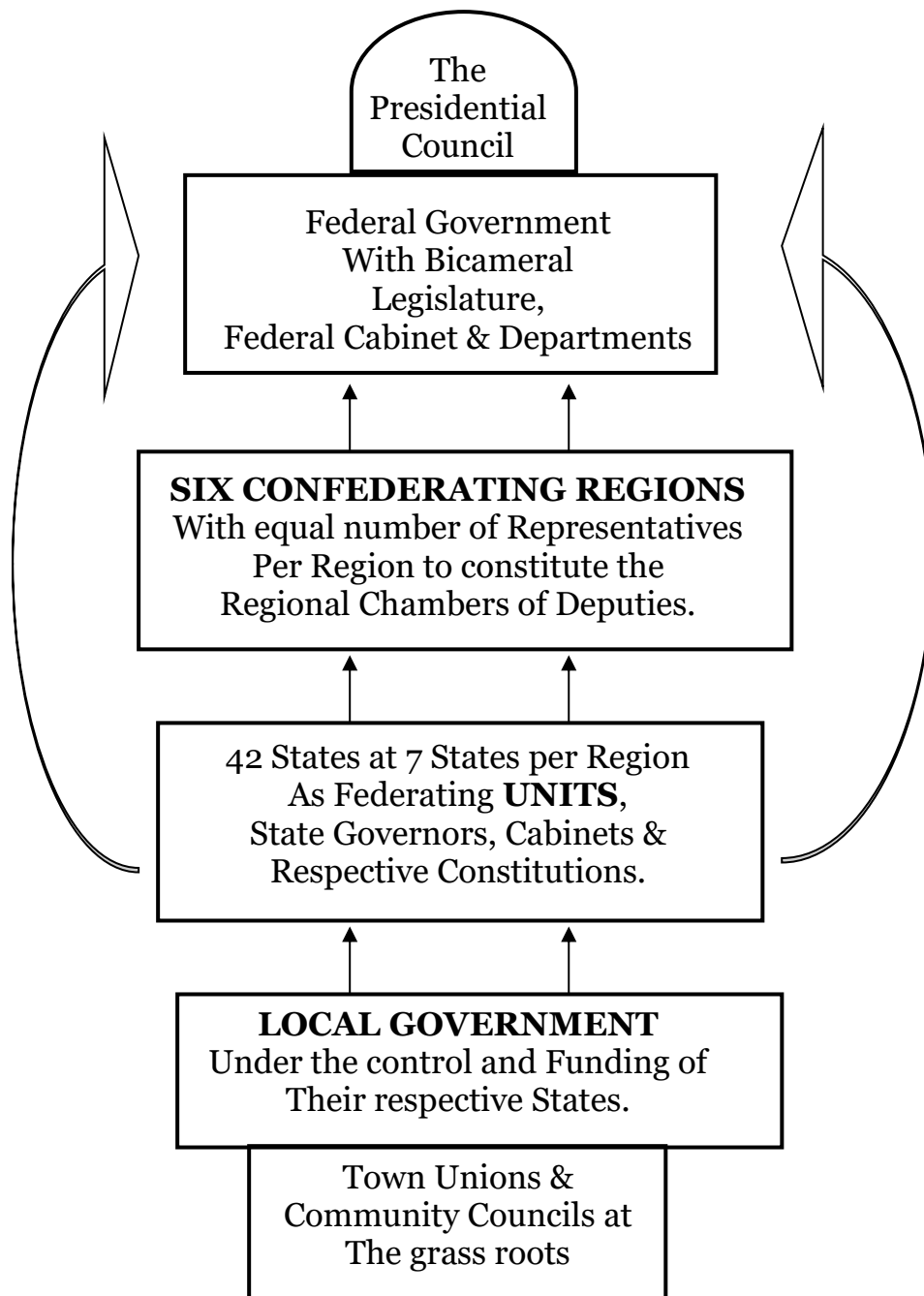
**Fig. 4: Map of the United Confederation of Six Nigerian Regions**

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM CONFERENCE AND REFERENDUM**

The reconfiguration of Nigeria into a Confederation is our major recommendation in this study. This will entail a drastic constitutional reform which will accommodate the **new 42 federating states; and the six confederating Regions**. The states having tasted the delicious fruit of quasi-autonomy under the present dispensation, would obviously prefer to retain that status in our recommended CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA. This is a novel approach to the transformation of Nigeria, into a peacefully negotiated strong and stable confederation.

A graphic representation of the recommended Confederation of Nigeria is depicted in the following CHART.

**Fig. 5: A Chart Portraying the Reconfigured Structure of the Confederation of Nigeria**



**Source: Adapted from The Swiss Confederation Model**

Sequel to the above, it is further recommended that there should be a clear and distinct constitutional provision for the **Chamber of Deputies**, as a mid-way House between the State Houses of Assembly, the National Assembly and the Presidency. The provision should ensure balance of power; as well as equitable allocation of political, economic, agricultural, educational and financial facilities to the confederating Regions; and further enhance even development.

This will also minimize over-dependence of the States on the Federal Government and their monthly pilgrimage to the Federal Ministry of Finance for the ritual of financial allocation. A strong **Youth Council** should be entrenched in the Constitution for the development of talents in sports, education, entrepreneurship and skills acquisition, which will reduce the present high rate of youth unemployment, drug addiction and criminality.

The new Constitution should have clear provisions for **rotation of power** and key offices like President, Governors and Heads of Legislatures, in a **well-defined order**; to checkmate recycling of politicians and relative deprivation of certain Regions/States.

It is a statement of fact that there are very few confederations in the world of today. This, notwithstanding, we have recommended a unique or peculiar confederal system of government for Nigeria, because the 1999 quasi-unitary constitution imposed on us by the military regime, is fast tearing the country apart and leading to disintegration.

The Conclave portal of the Enugu Sports Club, which is the intellectual arm of the Club, recently chronicled the following schedule to portray the separation history of some designated countries.

**Table 3: Some Timelines of Separatist Events in the World**

Nos	Year	Events
1	1776	United States of America separated from the United Kingdom
2	1830	Belgium separated from Netherlands
3	1965	Singapore separated from Malaysia
4	1961	Ireland split from the United Kingdom
5	1944	Iceland split from Denmark
6	1947	British India was partitioned into India and Pakistan
7	1971	Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan
8	1905	Norway split from Denmark
9	1992-1993	Two parts of Czechoslovakia agreed to go their separate ways as Czech Republic and Slovakia, in a separation codenamed <b>Velvet-Divorce</b>

**Source: Extracted from the Conclave Portal, Enugu Sports Club.**

### **PROPOSED MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE NEW UNITED CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA**

This study has strongly recommended a Reconfiguration of Nigeria into the New **UNITED CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA**. We further suggest as follows:

- (i) There should be six strong, united and balanced Regions as the confederating units, with equal number of representatives from each of the six Confederal Regions constituting the **Chamber of Deputies**; which in turn has an agreed number of representatives per state at the **Confederal Chamber of Deputies**.
- (ii) The recommended 42 states, at seven states per Region ( $7 \times 6 = 42$ ), will have their respective constitutions which must not contradict the constitution of the United Confederation of Nigeria and no secession clause.
- (iii) Each of the six confederating regions will have its **Regional Security Network**, in liaison with their States, each of which will have its state police command.
- (iv) The federating states will be fully responsible for the creation and funding of the number of local governments that they can

comfortably manage and fund, with special grants from the Regional **Chamber of Deputies**.

- (v) There should be more devolution of powers to the States and the Regions under the new Constitution; with control of minerals and other natural resources in their areas of jurisdiction.

The revenue allocation ratio of 13% under the Derivation formula at section 162 of the 1999 Constitution, which was slashed by the military regime from the previous 50% in the 1960 and 1963 constitutions; should be increased to a minimum of 25% under the new Confederal constitution, to encourage healthy competition and generation of Internal Revenue (IGR).

### **SOVEREIGN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA**

It is strongly recommended herein that a new confederal constitution be enacted into law as the grund-norm or supreme law of the United Confederation of Nigeria.

To give effect to the new constitution, there should be an ALL – NIGERIA SOVEREIGN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, with representatives of various Regions and States of Nigeria; including Representatives of notable professional organizations and unions, e.g the Nigerian Bar Association, COREN (Engineers); Medical Association, Trade Unions, Women groups, Religious Organizations, Mass Media, Youths, NGO's, Security Agencies and Traditional Rulers Council. Prior to their inauguration, a select group of experts in constitutional matters should be appointed, to prepare a Draft Programme for the conference, and procedural guideline. Representation should be on individual merits,



group accreditation and proven competence, rather than on political party basis.

The Report of the sovereign constitutional Conference should be translated into the major Nigerian languages and widely circulated for prior study, comments and suggestions by all at the grass roots. Thereafter, the final Report should be subjected to a **Nation-Wide REFERENDUM**. If the referendum result records a minimum of sixty percent YES VOTE, it should finally be ratified by an enlarged National Assembly of the Senate, House of Representatives and Speakers of all the State Houses of Assembly, sitting in a Joint Session. Thereafter, it will be passed to the President for his automatic promulgation into law as the peoples autochthonous CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA and Supreme Law of the Confederation.

### **Congress Operating Mechanism**

With regard to the mode of presentation at the ALL-NIGERIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, there should be a draft programme and working document prepared by experts, for guidance of the delegates. The basic pre-conference agreement and guiding principle is that Nigerian unity and indivisibility is not negotiable. We have agreed to stay together as a united confederation; hence our task at the Congress is to work out the **modus operadi** of the new constitution. We meet as friends, as brothers, sisters and equals; hence there should be no power blocks or any resort to **argumentum ad baculum**, i.e. threat to use force by self-acclaimed leaders of the majority; nor should the relatively deprived groups resort to **argumentum ad miseri-cordian** or appeal to pity, in their bid to obtain concessions. Rather Delegates should embrace mutual convergence towards the three recommended maxims, viz:

- (i) The whole is greater than the sum of its parts;

- (ii) The Adult-to-Adult approach to conflict resolution under the P-A-C Syndrome; and
- (iii) The I AM OK: YOU ARE OKAY, resultant unanimous outcome of the Congress.

Follow Up Actions on Constitutional Reform and New Confederal Constitution.

With reference to the Chart portraying the reconfigured structure of the **United Confederation of Nigeria**; a number of administrative reforms are imperative, as highlighted hereunder:

- (i) **The Presidential Council** under the chairmanship of the President, should consist of either six Vice Presidents, one from each of the confederal Regions, appointed by the President; or two Representatives each, per Region, nominated by members of their respective Regions at the Chamber of Deputies.
- (ii) To avert the deleterious effects of Recycling of key political office holders; and facilitate rotation of major offices among the Regions and the States; the President, and Vice President at the centre, the Governors and their Deputies; should be statutorily allowed by the new Constitution to hold office for **a single tenure of six years only**; without any renewal.
- (iii) The Chairmanship of the Chamber of Deputies at the Regional Confederation should rotate annually among Delegates from the Regions. Similarly, Chairmanship of the Governor's Forum of the federating states, should be rotated among the constituent governors annually.
- (iv) On **Revenue Allocation**, each tier of government should have its specific revenue sources and taxation jurisdiction, without duplication or conflict with other tiers. Mineralogy and control of

natural resources should be within the control of the Regions and States wherein they are located. There should also be a **National Equalization Fund Scheme** to promote financial cohesion, reduce economic disparity between the States; and ensure even development of the entire country.

- (v) Remuneration of political office holders should be drastically reduced below the present scandalous height. This will combat “**money Bag Politics**” and recycling of professional politicians. For instance, basic salaries and allowances should be computed on the number of sittings at the legislature and distances covered in course of official assignments. Alternatively, all allowances should be below the basic salaries; while any allowance above the basic salary should be taxed at the rate applicable under the current Personal Income Tax Act (PITA).
- (vi) To promote human rights as the inalienable right of all persons, there should be very strong security outfit at all levels for security of lives and property all over the confederation. The provision of section 14 (2)(b) of the 1999 constitution which states that “**the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government**”; should be transferred from Chapter II “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy,” which is non-justiciable; to **Chapter IV (Fundamental Rights)**, which is fully justiciable.
- (vii) Agriculture as erstwhile mainstay of Nigeria’s national economy should be mechanized, industrialized and modernized, to produce enough food and raw materials for both local consumption and for export; to earn foreign exchange, create employment for youths and improve the nation’s balance of payment. Live-stock farming should be **modernized** along international standards.

(viii) To avoid the phenomenon of herdsmen/farmers clashes, Nigeria should resort to modern ranches with veterinary services, as against the out-model practice of open grazing.

Below is a Table containing a recent report of World Cattle Production, wherein Nigeria was ranked as the 13<sup>th</sup> highest producer of cattle in the world.

**Table 4: World Cattle Production**

<b>Ranking Order</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>No. of Cattle (million)</b>
1	India	285 million
2	Brazil	187 million
3	China	139.72 million
4	USA	96.69 million
5	European Union	87.65 million
6	Argentina	51.06 million
7	Pakistan	38.30 million
8	Australia	29.20 million
9	Mexico	26.48 million
10	Russian Fed.	18.38 million
11	South Africa	14.18 million
12	Canada	13.94 million
13	Nigeria	13.90 million

**Source: Nigerian Livestock Resources Survey, 1990/92.**

**NB:** It should be noted that in all these countries, excepting Nigeria, their laws prohibit free wandering of cattle or open grazing. Cattle are reared in exclusive ranches, with facilities provided.

(ix) Education should be free and compulsory up to age 15 or secondary school age to produce high level manpower nation-wide.

Fiscal allocation for the education sector should be enhanced to the UNICEF proportion of about 27% of the Annual Budget; while scholarships and grants should be made available for students in tertiary educational institutions.

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## **APPRECIATION**

First and foremost, I hereby convey my profound gratitude, adoration and praise, to the Almighty God, the Divine Providence, and fountain of life and knowledge; for endowing me with the life, intelligence and good health which enabled me to conceptualize, write, and deliver this Inaugural Lecture on schedule. With the early demise of my beloved father, God in His infinite mercy, inspired a few other relations and benefactors, to see me through primary and secondary education with good grades. The benevolent Lord also paved the way for me to obtain my first degree at the University of Ibadan; by direct entry and on Federal Government Scholarship; and later my master's degree at the University of Ife, on study leave with pay, while serving as a Senior Administrative Officer in the Federal Civil Service. By His special grace also, I reached the height of my career in the civil service, as a Permanent Secretary for ten years and finally retired on the combined post of Secretary to the State Government (SSG) & Head of Service, Enugu State, in February 1997. My career in the academic service of four Universities which followed shortly after my retirement from the civil service was equally meteoric and providential as I rose to the rank of Professor, 13 years after. May the good Lord be praised.

I am immensely grateful to the top management of the Godfrey Okoye University; especially the proprietor, the most Rev. C.V.C. Onaga, Bishop of the Enugu Catholic Diocese, the Vice Chancellor and Chairman of Senate, Professor Dr. Christian Anieke and his team of Principal Officers, the Pro Chancellor & Chairman of Council, Prof. Dr. Chris Nwachukwu Okeke; Chairman and members of the Board of Trustees; for affording me the opportunity to hold high academic and management positions herein.

My appreciations also go to my colleagues in the University Senate, Fellow Deans and Heads of Departments, Directors, Lecturers and Professors, for the comradeship and conviviality with which we collaborated as colleagues in the University service. I thank the students and all administrative and non-teaching staff of the University for their dedicated service & corporation.

I sincerely appreciate all the good people who assisted in various ways to make this Inaugural Lecture of today, a success; especially the Very Rev. Prof. Monsignor Obiora Ike, a Professor in our University, now on International appointment as Head of the Globe Ethics in Geneva. He promptly forwarded to me useful materials on the Swiss Confederation which were used as a possible model for the recommended United

Confederation of Nigerian Regions. Two other friends, Rev. Fathers with doctoral degrees whose dissertations for the M.Sc degree in International Relations, I supervised, Rev. Fr. Dr. Ikechukwu Ani and Tobeckukwu Nnamani, deserve special commendation for their assistance with materials, prayers and kind words of encouragement.

Some distinguished members of the audience at this lecture are my good friends, relations and colleagues. I thank them for gracing this occasion with their dignified presence. They include members of the Ozo cultural society of Umulumgbe, whose President I am, and our secretary, Dr. Ezeigbo Obi, a retired School Principal; members of the Enugu Sports Club, especially my social colleagues in the Conclave section; my professional colleagues in the Nigerian Bar Association, Enugu Branch; Professors and Lecturers from the University of Nigeria; ESUT; and Ebonyi State University; members of the Knights of St. John International (various commanderies); the Enugu Scout Council, especially my fellow commissioners, my mni Alumni of the National Institute for Policy & Strategic Studies (NIPSS), KURU, especially our current President of the Enugu and Ebonyi State Chapter, Dr. Ifeanyi Okoye (mni) M/D of Juhel Enterprises; Parish Priests and Parishioners from the Holy Trinity Parish, Independence Layout & St. Anthony Parish Umulumgbe, my home town.

Members of the University of Ibadan, University of Ife, University of Lagos, and UNN Alumni Associations, Enugu Branch; are very warmly welcome. Your presence here enlightened my spirit. Kingsley Ezechi (Assistant Lecturer) and Okoli Immaculata, deserve special commendation for their expert roles in ICT Secretarial services; and for competently producing the draft of this lecture on schedule.

My family members who bore part of the brunt of my preparations for this lecture, I love you all and I salute you; especially my beloved wife, Barr (Lady) Ngozi Ocheoha (my learned senior); my daughter, Stephanie Uchenna Ocheoha of the Opus Dei; Alex & Ugo Vera Orji in Canada, plus other Ocheohas in Enugu & Umulumgbe here present. My love, loyalty and appreciation! May the Good Lord bless you all.

## **BRIEF PROFILE OF PROF. ONYEMA OCHEOHA, (mni): Ph.D.**

Professor Onyema Ocheoha may be briefly described as; a Career Administrator, Policy Analyst, Management Consultant, Educationist, Barrister at Law, Solicitor and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria.

He holds six degrees from five Federal Universities and one State University, as follows; B.Sc; Ibadan (1967); MPA, Ife (1977); LL.B; UNN (2004); Barrister-at-Law, Nigerian Law School, (2005); LL.M. Ebonyi State University, (2012); and a Philosophia Doctorum, (Ph.D.) in Political Science, University of Lagos, (1984); and four Post-graduate diplomas.

After his four year teaching career, prior to his Admission to the University of Ibadan, for his B.Sc degree in Economics and Political Science, on Federal Government Scholarship; Onyema Ocheoha started his civil service career as an Administrative Officer in the Federal Civil Service, Lagos; in April 1971. He transferred to his home state in August 1981, sequel to his appointment as a Permanent Secretary. He retired at the combined post of Secretary to the Enugu State Government (SSG) and Head of Service, in February, 1997. Thereafter, he went into academics and lectured at various Universities (UNN, ESUT, EBSU).

In 2010, Dr. Ocheoha was elevated to the status of Professor of Public Administration by the International Open University, Salonica, Greece. In 2012, he was appointed, Professor of Political Science by Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu. With regard to publications, Professor Ocheoha is currently sole Author of six books and joint author/editor of 5 other works. He has also authored over 50 other academic and professional publications; including Journal Articles, Conference Papers, Public Lectures and Memoranda. In Godfrey Okoye University, Prof. Ocheoha has served as Head, Department of Political Science & International Relations; Dean, Faculty of Management & Social Sciences and Director of General Studies.

Prof. Ocheoha is Chairman of the Ozo Cultural Society of his home town, Umulumgbe in Udi Local Govt. Area and has been conferred with four chieftaincy titles, among which are Okenwa Anamuruoha of Umulumgbe and Ezimmuta bu Ndu of Odo-Ozo Cultural Zone. In addition, he has been conferred with numerous distinguished awards and recognitions by various civil, religious, and professional organizations

Professor Onyema Ocheoha is happily married to Barr. (Lady) Ngozi Ocheoha. The couple is blessed with children, all of whom are university graduates of various academic disciplines and professions. Professor Ocheoha's hobbies include: Current Affairs, Debating, Lawn Tennis, Charity and Horticulture.