



Research Paper

Secessionist Movements and the Quest for Restructuring in Nigeria: A Threat to Peace Building and National Security.

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‘Political instability in Nigeria is a function of the negative use of ethnicity which in turn generates a reaction from the marginalised groups who seek to establish themselves through violence,’ (Adetiba, 2013). ‘A simple constitutional issue has deteriorated into tribal and ethnic War in Nigeria.’ (Bugaji, 2021).

ABSTRACT

Although the agitation for secession has been reoccurring in Nigeria for decades, it has been relatively in peace until it led the thirty month Civil War in 1967. However, the resurface of violent agitations for secession by the Indigenous People of Biafra IPOB in recent time said to constitutes a great threat to National Security and survival of Nigerian State. Thus, this study was conducted: To interrogate the reasons behind the continuous agitation for secession by Igbos after the Nigerian Civil War. To investigate the claim of marginalisation as a major reason behind the activities of IPOB and to examine the security implications of the activities of IPOB on Nigerian State. The methodology adopted is qualitative research. Hence, various secondary data were collected and analysed using secondary analysis and the major finding are: the major reasons behind agitation for Biafran State is political rather than marginalisation; Igbos have been fully in absorbed into Nigerian politics, economy, civil service, and not left behind infrastructural development and IPOB constitutes a great threat to Nigeria’s National Security looking at the activities of the group like instigating statements of the leaders of the group, formation Biafra security network which are capable of creating a State within a State. Therefore, the group became one of major problems confronting Nigeria State today. The study therefore recommends: Constitution amendments as the only solution to all issues in the national question in Nigeria not violent agitation for secession, local governments autonomy should be granted, zoning or power rotation provision shall made provision in the constitution for the rotation of power among the six geopolitical Zones and creation of Nigeria should be considered as God will.

Key words: Secession, Restructuring, Referendum, Self-Determination, National Security.

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I. Introduction

Various struggles for secession or disintegration have been witnessed by many countries of the world most especially in the federal States which are product of colonial creation. This is either because of their failure to properly manage their ethnic and religious diversities or wrong foundation of colonial amalgamation. Many countries of the world have at one time or the other experienced different forms of struggle for self-determination which took different dimensions (Chukwudi and Etal, 2019). For instance, the disintegration of the defunct Soviet Union in 1991 led to the emergence of fifteen independent sovereign states in the world map. The new States which had been the conglomeration of the states that hitherto made the Soviet Union. Similarly, the split of India into India and Pakistan in 1947 and subsequently the emergence of Bangladesh from East Pakistan in 1971 was another disintegration that world witnessed in the 19th Century (Choudhury, 1972). More so, the balkanisation of Korea into North and South and the pullout of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 was also another secession that occurred in 19th century. In Africa the dissolution of Ethiopia/Eritrea federal arrangement in 1962 had changed the map of the continent by recognising the two states as independent sovereign States (Jembere, 1999). Also, the referendum of July 2011, brought to an end African’s longest civil war in Sudan and the breakdown of the country into North and South Sudan as two different independent nation states in the 21st century (Sarwar, 2011).

In Nigeria even though the agitation for self-determination started immediately after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates, it had been relatively peaceful until 1967 when the then Governor of the Eastern region lieutenant Colonel, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, declared the region as new independent State of Biafra which led to the thirty month Civil War. The War led to the death of not fewer than two million people, and destruction of properties worth millions of naira. Since then, various groups started to emerged from all parts of the country agitating for secession to the extent that in recent times, there are agitations for Biafra, Arewa and Oduduwa republics (Alkasim,2021) and all these exist side by side with violent conflict for the establishment of Islamic caliphate

The intense pressure for secession by different groups and quest for restructuring by different individuals, states and regions led to predictions upon predictions that the country might collapse before 2015 election even though the country has remained intact beyond the imaginations of domestic predictors and some foreign countries. There are still another predictions that the country may split before the 2023 election looking at the series of agitations for restructuring by different groups and violence in the South East. It is against this background that this paper examined the threats constitute by secessions movements to peace building, and Nigeria's National Security.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In recent time Nigeria has been grappling with so many agitations for restructuring. The issue of restructuring is not a recent phenomenon in Nigeria. It has been recalled as one of the major boring issues, in what can be termed as part of our national question. The political process of the formation of Nigerian State has been associated with political inconsistencies and dangerous experiences of the dissatisfaction expressed by the most irredudant groups both in the Northern and Southern parts of the country. One of the most volatile issue on the front border of the national question is the agitation for secession which has been championed in recent time by the group called indigenus people of Biafra(IPOB).The activities of this group has over the years created uneasy relationship between Nigerian State and the groups most especially when the later turned violent as the means of achieving their goal.

1.3 Objectives

- a)To know the reasons behind the agitation for secession by Igbos after the Nigerian Civil War.
- b)To investigate the claim of marginalisation as a major reason behind the activities of IPOB.
- c)To interrogate the security implications of the activities of IPOB on Nigerian State.

1.4 Methodology

The paper is a product of secondary analysis. Data was collected from findings on the existing documents such as: textbooks, journals, newspapers, conference proceedings etc. The scope is between 1999-2022 because of the resurgence of various secessionist groups with different motives in the Nigeria which include: Movement for Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra(MASSOB), Islamic movement of Nigeria (IMAN),Niger Delta avengers/militants,Jama'atu ahlusunnah Lidda'await wal-jihad(Boko Haram) and indigenus people of Biafra IPOB to the extent that we woke up to hear Biafra, Arewa and Oduduwa republics and witnessed a hoisting of Flagg and declaration of some local governments in the North East as part of Islamic caliphate by Boko Haram terrorists.

1.5 Perspectives on Restructuring, Secession, and National Security:

Scholars have been using the terms secession and separatism interchangeably(Pantazopolous ,1995).The concept of separation or "separatism" mean different things to different people ranging from a demand from a constituent unit of a federal state for greater regional autonomy or agitation for secession from a federating unit by way of declaring independence. Hence, "separatism," covers both restructuring and secession: By secession, it means the desire of some portion of the population or part of a sovereign state to break up from the country or the federal union. Ojibara, (2016) perceives secession as the process by which a group seeks to separate itself from the State to which it belongs, and to create a new State. On the other hand, Restructuring simply means agitation for decentralisation of a federal state to give more power to the constituents or component units of the State most especially power over the control over the resources under their domain(Adangor,2017).The word "restructuring" originated from verb form "restructure" which in turn is derivative of the word "structure". Therefore, when the word restructure or "restructuring" is used it means there are structures because if there is no structure, there will be nothing to restructure. Avbuere (2019) refers restructure as to rearrange, reorganise or reposition a system, to correct the structural defects with the hope for better and more effective performance. Restructuring has become a buzzword in Nigeria in recent times because of differences in perspectives on what it means. Does it mean devolution of power from Centre to the States? Does it means, resources control or addressing fiscal imbalances? Does it mean creation of additional States,

local autonomy, creation of state police or does it mean rotating of presidency between North and South or among the six geopolitical zones? People calling for restructuring are not clear on what they mean by restructuring of Nigeria (Dapo-Asaju and Bamgbose,2019).

Referendum simply refers to a vote in which everyone of voting age can take part to answer of certain national questions which government require to know the popular opinion among its citizens. Hence, referendum become one of the political tools guiding policy makers(Nwutora,2016). Referendum permit citizens to express their opinion on proposed legislation before it becomes laws. It should be noted that referendum does not give citizens right to invalidate an existing law but, only to suspend or annual that is yet to be effective. For instance, Referendum was used in Britain on June,23rd2016 on the British exit from European Union which 52% of British voted to leave the Union against the opinion of Prime Minister David Cameroon forcing him to resign his position. Also, used in Nigeria in the second republic on the issues of inclusion of abortion right in 1979 constitution and borrow of I.M.F loan which were rejected by Nigerians.

On the other hand, the idea of self-determination originated from the French and American revolutions to the World War period particularly in the Woodrow Wilson speech of Congress in 1917 who argued that 'there will be no peace without acknowledgement that political power of the authority comes from consent of the people. Self-determination was reinforced in the League of Nations in 1919 which advocated 'the right of every people to choose the authority under which they live, which is to be free from alien masters. Archibugi(2003) divided self-determination into two: 1) the right of colonial people to become State. 2) Right of minorities of State to become autonomous or join another State. Self-determination has been recognised not only in the United Union but, in the regional organisation like African Charter on human right adopted by Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1981 and was used in the decolonisation struggle and the dissolution of defunct Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. However, because war, turmoil and chaos which often characterised by self-determination. Thus, not recognised by the constitution of many countries. For instance, Nigerian constitution of 1999 as amended by the provision of Section 1 sub-section (2)that the federal republic of Nigeria shall not be governed nor shall any persons or groups of persons take control of the government of Nigeria or any part thereof, except in accordance with the provisions of this constitution. Furthermore, Section 2 sub-section(1) of the 1999 constitution said Nigeria is one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign State.(FGN,1999 Constitution).

National Security according to Gadzama(2018) refers to protecting of lives and properties of the citizenry, the safety of critical national assets and corporate existence and territorial integrity of the country. Robinson, Obayori and Kingsley (2014) posit that National Security exists in two forms that is: internal and external security. According to him internal Security is the act of keeping peace within the territory of an independent nation by upholding the national law and defending it against any internal security threats. On the other hand, external Security has to do with protection of the State from foreign domination and activities of other States in the international system. It is important to note that the nation of security after the Cold War evolved and expanded into seven dimensions referred to human security aspects which are: political, economic, health, community, personal, environmental and economic security.

THOERETICAL FRAMEWORK: The theory utilised by this study is group theory. According to Mbachu (2013) there are two different Group theories. Mathematical group theory which deals with algebraic structures known as groups and political group theory which is one of the systematic tools in studying of the political system. The Political group theory assume that people struggle to achieve their objectives in groups not individual. The political theory was developed from the writings of Bentley (1968) Truman (1951), Smith (1964), Lande (1973), Varma (1975), Jordan (1999) and (Duruji, 2010) in their studies of different groups within a political system in order to understand the importance of groups in human society. The major assumption of the theory is that demands and desire are made to the government on the ground of groups and the stability of government is maintained by balance of groups within its jurisdiction. The theory also assume that success or otherwise of government is determined by the way and manner it handle the various groups under its domain(Chukwudi and Etal ,2019).Therefore, the theory is found relevant to explain the inability of government in Nigeria to exert effective control and shape the activities of different groups which seriously affect the most sacrosanct function of government of maintaining law and order and security in the country because ever since the start formation of groups like Movement for Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Islamic movement of Nigeria (IMAN), Niger Delta avengers/militants, Jama'atu ahlu sunnah Lidda'await wal-jihad (Boko Haram) and indigenouse people of Biafra IPOB in Nigeria, these groups have been posing security challenges ranging from insurgency, terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, stopping of vehicular movements, in discriminatory attack to security personnel and citizens among others. In addition, Group theory is being used to explain the purpose of the formation of different groups in human society and the threat constitutes by these groups. Thus, the theory was found relevant to examine the nature and threat of the security implication of the indigenouse people of Biafra group.

Restructuring from Perspective of Social Groups: The colonial foundation of Nigerian State and federalism are critical in the understanding of the problems which manifested immediately after independence and crises which characterized Nigerian State in recent time. This is as a result of distortion and misconception of the focus of 1914 amalgamation as a well as the fear of domination and mutual suspicion among the multiple ethnic groups which were reinforced by Richard constitution and regional politics played by the politicians the First Republic(Jega,1996). It is important to know that prior to the creation of Nigerian state, the various empires and kingdoms: Kanem Bornu, the Sokoto caliphate; the city states of the Niger-Delta; the largely decentralised Igbo-speaking people; the old Benin Empire as well as the Yoruba Empire of Oyo were never thought of coming together as one political entity but, were merged to form Nigerian State without acknowledging the diversities and differences which existed among them. Therefore, the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates led to the series of constitutional conferences in both London and Nigeria producing Clifford Constitution, Richard, Macpherson, Littleton constitutions which all collapsed as a result alleged fear of domination by one of the either three dominant ethnic groups or regions. The political crisis in Nigeria could said to have begun from the exclusion of Northerners in the legislative council established by the Clifford constitution of 1922 and reinforced further by the division of the country into three unequal region of Northern, Western and Eastern regions by the Richard constitution of 1946 in which the hitherto Southern Protectorate was spitted into two Western and Eastern regions while the Northern Protectorate was remained unsplit and named the Northern region even though larger than both Southern and Eastern Regions combined together. Further More, The creation of bicameral legislatures in North and West regions but, unicameral in eastern region by the Macpherson constitution of 1951 also contributed to the alleged fear of domination in the Country(Adetiba,2013). Similarly, the creation of Mid-Western Region by 1963 Republican constitution further deepened the crisis of mutual suspicion and fear of domination in Nigeria.More so, the January 15th coup and July 27th 1966 counter coup furtherpolarized the country into ethnic division and mutual suspicion among the three dominant ethnic groups because of the killing of prominent Northern and Western Politicians include: Abubukar Tafawa Balewa, Ahamdu Bello, S.L Akintola, Okotie Eboh among others(Paden,1986).In fact, Apart from Lt-Col. Unegbe all the high ranking army officers killed were from the Northern and Western regions(Amadi,1973).The unification decree No 34 of 1966 which abolished federalism and introduced unitary system introduced by Gen.Ironsi even though abrogated by Gen. Gawon who reintroduced federalism in Nigeria. The further division of the country into twelve states by Gen. Gawon led to the declaration of Eastern region as Biafra State by the then Governor of the Eastern Region Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. The Number of States were increased to nineteen states with the creation of additional seven States by Gen. Murtala Muhammad in 1976.Subsequently, the creation of Kastina and Akwa Ibom in 1987 by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida brought the number of States to 21 states. Similarly, additional nine states were also created in 1991 which brought the numbers to thirty states and lastly six states were created in1996 by Gen. Sani Abacha which brought the number of States to the current thirty six. The further split of the country into the six geopolitical zones even though not as official as the States also shape Nigerian federalism and added to the ethnic problems to the extent that geopolitical zones become one of the national question issues. While the Northern region has nineteen States, the South has seventeen States. Also the number of the current local government is 774 local governments, which Northern Nigeria has 405 local governments while the South with 369 local governments councils(Adangor,2017).However, despite the fragmentation of country from regions, to states, six geopolitical zones, the conduct of constitutional and national conferences of 1995,2005,2014, local governments reforms, series of constitution provisions regard to formation of political parties and winning of election, constitutional amendments, zoning introduced by political parties, federal character commission all in order to allay the fear of domination and allegation of marginalisation, the fear of domination and resources control has continue to occupy and characterised the dominant national question issues in Nigeria calling for restructuring and secession by different individuals and groups in the country.

Secessionists from the Perspectives of Separatists: The first threat to secede came immediately after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorate by emir of Zaria who was one of Northern delegates during the Constitutional Conference which held in Ibadan for the review of 1946 constitution who argued that unless North was allotted 50 per cent of the seats in the proposed House of Representatives, it would seek “separation” from the rest of Nigeria.Also,Yoruba also threatened to leave out from the country if the decision of the British colonialists to make Lagos as independent of the Western Region was not reversed (Adangor,2017).Subsequently, in 1964 the premier of Eastern Region Dr. M. I. Okpara, declared that Igbos would secede if North insisted that there was no secession clause in the 1964 constitution. Similarly, in 1964 United Middle Belt Leader Isaac Shehu declared that Tiv people felt unwanted and threatened to pull out of the north and Nigerian federation. Moreover, Issaac Adako Boro leader in the Delta region threatened to secede Niger-Delta region and Nigeria in 1996 by declaring the Region as an independent State(Ogunmupe,2021). Following the 1960s Igbos coup and northern revenge counter coup led to the creation of creation of the

twelve States from the previous four regions which as a result the then governor of Eastern region Lieutenant-colonel Chukuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu declared the region as independent State of Biafra(Paden,1986)

‘I Lieutenant-colonel Chukuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, military governor of eastern Nigeria by virtue of the authority and pursuant to the principles recited do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known and called eastern Nigeria together with her continental shelf and territorial waters shall hence for the be an independent sovereign State of the name and title of ‘the republic of Biafra(Amadi,1973)’.

The above declaration led to the three year Civil War (1967-1970).On the other hand, The demand for an independent nation of the Yoruba people did not start with the Sunday Igboho declaration of Oduduwa republic, it started immediately after the annulment of 1993 presidential election which the Yoruba people felt marginalized because of what they perceived as stolen of their mandate. However, secession agitation in the Yoruba land died after 1999 election with the returned of Yoruba General as elected president in person of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo(Sahara Reporters,7th,April,2021),Until recently, resuscitated by the calling for the creation of an independent Yoruba republic by Sunday Igboho(BBC,14th Febuary,2021).Furthermore, the Ogoni people protested environmental catastrophe caused by oil drilling companies until the introduction of amnesty programme by Yar’dua administration. The idea of Arewa republic also did not start with the ultimatum given by the Northern Youths to the Igbos residing in the north on June 6th, 2017, that they should vacate Northern Region before 1stOctober,2017. It started with the Arewa People’s Congress (APC) which was formed immediately after 1999 election by one Sagir Mohamed, who argued that it was the North and the South East that voted Obasanjo into power but, the new president turned out to favour the South West, his Yoruba ethnic group, who did not vote for him saying that it was North and East wereMarginalized(Echezona,2002).Similarly, prior to the formation of indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) the struggle for the Biafran State had been championed by Movement for Sovereign State of Biafra founded in 1999 formed by an Indian trained lawyer Chief Ralph Uwazuruke(Maiangwa,2016).Although at the initial stage MASSOB claimed to be peaceful as advertised in what it called 25 stage plan to achieve its goal. However, the group changed to violent and aggressive leading to arrest and charged of Uwazuruke with treason in 2005 until granted amnesty in 2011 by the president Jonathan who directed that all members of MASSOB across the country be released. However, only two years after released of MASSOB members, the Indigenous People of Biafra was formed because of what they described as compromised of MASSOB leadership by Nigerian Government(Adibe,2016).

The IPOB and Changing Character of Secessionist Agitation in Nigeria: The indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) is a separatist group which emerged to agitate for self-determination of the Igbo people. It is important to note that the republic of Biafra was Secessionist State which existed during the Civil War in South East (Chukwudi, and Etal,2019). The major aim of IPOB is to restore the defunct Biafra State and to fight the unfair treatment of Igbos in the present political dispensation which they said to have been made relatively deprived in the economic, political, cultural, government presence among others (Ekpo and Agorye,2019). Although IPOB was formed in London, it used London based Biafra radio to start spreading its views to the people of the South East. The violent conflict between IPOB and Nigerian security agencies started after the arrest of the group leader by security agencies. Thus, the federal government sought both legal and military solution which led to proscription of IPOB declaring the activities its activities everywhere in the country as illegal and act of terrorism and military operation titled operation python dance was also launched against the group(Chukwudi,2019,Okwumba, and Etal ,2019). The court gave Nmandi Kanu bail which he disappeared after an army invasion to his family home in Afaraukwu Umuahia in October,2017(Vanguard,5th July,2021).Thus, his bail was revoked by federal high court in Abuja on March,2019 and the judge ordered his for re -arrest. Hence, on 27th June,2021 Nmandi Kanu was rearrested by join team of security operatives in Kenya and brought to the country for continuation of hearing on June 28th 2021 arraigned at the federal high court Abuja on charges include terrorism, treasonable felony, unlawful possession of firearms and management of unlawful society among others(Dailytrust,29th June,2021;Guardian 14th July,2021).

Restructuring from the Perspectives of Resources Control or Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria: Apart from secession, the next boring issues in Nigeria is the issue of resources control resulting from differences in natural resources endowments and the role of State in the authoritative redistribution of incomes and determining of who get what, when and how among the diverse ethnic groups, States and regions. This led series of accusation and counter accusation regard to the ownership and control of these endowments. The crisis began with discovery of oil as the major source of revenue coincided with the 1957/58 constitutional conference. Revenue allocation or the statutory distribution of revenue from the Federation Account among the different levels of government has been one of the most contentious and controversial issues in the nation’s political life(Chibueze,2011).Since 1946 Nine commissions, six military decrees, one act of legislature and two supreme court judgments have been adopted to address the fiscal imbalances and relationships in Nigeria (Chijioke and Etal 2012)which all in vain to provide an acceptable revenue allocation in the country because of the challenges

that each had come with rather than addressing contending and contentious issues. These are some of the committees suggestions: 1. Philipson Commission (1946): recommended the use of derivation and even development as criteria for distribution of revenue. 2. Hicks-Philipson Commission (1951): proposed the use of need, derivation, independent revenue or fiscal autonomy and national interests as the criteria for revenue sharing. 3. Chicks Commission (1953): The commission suggested derivation. 4. Riesman Commission (1957): It recommended need, balanced development and minimum responsibility. Percentage division of 0% to the north, 31% to the east, 24% to the west and 5% to Southern Cameroon. 5. The Binns Commission (1965): This commission rejected the principles of need and derivation. In its place, it proposed on regional financial comparability and percentage division of 42% to the north, 30% to the east, 20% to the west and 8% to the mid-west. 6. Dina Commission (1969): It recommended national minimum standards, balanced development in the allocation of the States joint account and basic need. 7. Aboyade Technical Committee (1977): It recommended a national minimum standard for national integration (22%), equality of access to development opportunities (25%), absorptive capacity (20%), fiscal efficiency (15%) and independent revenue effort (18%). Other criteria are: 57% to Federal Government, 30% to State Governments, 10% to Local Governments and 3% to a special fund. 8. Okigbo Committee (1980): It recommended percentages on principles: Population (4%), equality (4%), social development (15%) and internal revenue effort (5%). Percentages for governments: Federal (53%), States (30%), Local Governments (10%), Special Fund (7%). 9. Danjuma Commission (1988) it recommended percentages: Federal (50%), States (30%) Local Governments (15%), Special Fund (5%). Other laws and decrees on revenue allocation include Decree 15 of 1967, Decree 13 of 1970, Decree 9 of 1971, Decree 6 of 1975, and Decree 7 of 1975 among others. There was also revenue allocation principle and formula modification again in 1990 following the approval by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) of the recommendations of the National Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (NRMAFC). The commission was set up by Decree No. 49 of 1989 as a permanent body to oversee revenue sharing arrangements especially the mobilization and sharing of revenue to ensure fiscal efficiency (Uwatt & Umoh, 2004 cited in Tom and Ataide, 2021). The revenue allocation in Nigeria between 1985-1989 adopted FG got 55%, SG 32.5%, LG 10%, 1.5 oil mineral producing states and 1.0% reserved for the ecological problems. Also between 1999-1993 the revenue allocation was in 1990 FG 50%, SG 30% LG 15% and 5% Special Fund. In 1991 FG 50% FG, SG 30% LG 15% LG and 5% for the SF, in 1992 50% FG SG 25%, LG 20%, SF 5%, in 1993 FG 48.5% SG 24% and LG 20% between 1994-1998 was 48.5% FG, 24% SG, 20% LG and 7.5% SF. 1999-2007 FG 41.3% 31% 10% LG 2007 to date FG 52.68% 26.7% 20.60%. However, The changes of Nigerian political economy resulted from privatisation of some of the major sectors of the economy, deregulation, funding arrangement of primary education and primary health care couple with new security issues, increased in the number of the state and local government led to the revisit of the revenue allocation formula in the country by the revenue mobilisation allocation and fiscal commission proposed this new figure of 45.17% | For the FG, 29.79% SG, 21.04% LG 1.0% Ecological 0.5 % Stabilisations 1.3% and Natural Resources 1.2% (The Punch, 8th April, 2022). However, the distribution regard to the value added tax (VAT) which was initially that the Federal Government received only 20% of the VAT proceeds; to cover administrative costs of collection while states and local governments received 50 and 30% respectively. In 1996, the formula was revised to 35%, 40% and 25% to the federal, states and local governments respectively. This formula was further revised to 25%, 45% and 30% in 1996, while in 1999 the ratio changed to 15, 50, and 35% to federal, states and local governments respectively. The distribution of VAT proceeds among states and local governments is based on derivation (20%), equity (50%) and population (30%) (Eneh, 2015).

Challenges of Revenue allocation in Nigeria,

- 1) There has been tussle between the federal government and thirty six states over the issue of which government has the right to collect VAT until the recent judgment of federal high court which upheld that FG lacks powers to levy and impose taxes that are not listed under the items 58 and 59 of the part 12 of the second schedule of 1999 constitution as amended.
- 2) Most States and local governments are still being over dependent on the Federation Account.
- 3) Oil Producing States and Oil Producing Local Government or Communities: regard to who has the right to the ownership of oil that will receive the 13% derivation.
- 4) The persistence call for increase of derivation beyond 13% as it was done to the regions before the discovery of oil.
- 5) The federal government has always taken the "lion share" and delegating more constitutional functions to the states (Chijioko and Etal 2012).
- 5) State/local government joint account which affect the function of local governments.

1.6 Analysis of Research Objectives and Discussion of Research Findings

Objectives One: Although there are many reasons given by Igbos as their justification for reasons behind the continues agitation of Biafra State after the Civil War these include: Lack of Rehabilitation after the

Civil War despite the introduction of (3Rs)Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Rehabilitation, the introduction of Indigenisation Decree of 1972 which they said to be done, when the economy of Igbo was weakest and crippled by the Civil War, persistence manipulation of census figures, unequal creation of States, local governments, and concentration of revenue at the center, violation of Federal Character Principle, domination of Nigeria by Hausa/Fulani among others(Nsoedo,2019).However, findings from the secondary data revealed that the agitation for Biafra State is more political rather than marginalisation, when look at speeches of Igbo leaders like Eke Ekweremadu Biafra, who said that agitation would become unpopular if the Igbo presidency is actualised (daily trust 4th July,2021).And if the agitation for secession of Igbos is because of the failure to occupy the peak position in the country, there are other regions which have not produced since 1966. For instance, the North East. In fact, even since the third of fourth republic only three regions have so far produced presidents: Northwest, Southwest and South-South, the remaining are yet to do so.

Objectives Two: The Biafra agitation has continued to be reoccurrence looking at resurface of movements for the actualisation of Biafra and later Indigenous People of Biafra emergence almost four decades after the Civil war making the future of Nigerian State to remain uncertain looking at the various movements emerged to agitate for Biafra State claiming marginalisation of their region and the refusal of Nigerian State to forgive them over Biafra Civil War and fully integrate them in the national politics and economy(Ojibara,2016). Although the two groups initially claimed to be peaceful organisation, they later turned to violence. It cannot be said there issues that need to be addressed however, the violent strategy adopted is what has not been good to the country and has never been best in addressing grievances in any nation of World. Again, if we look at it critically, Igbos are not marginalised in Nigeria looking at their participation in national politics, economy, civil service, and other essential sectors in the country, analysis of the secondary data revealed how the coalition government was formed in the first republic between the Northern Political party and Eastern political party leading to the election of Igbo man as first indigenous president of Nigeria in person of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe because of the failure of single party to form the National Government. The then Northern People Congress(NPC) entered into alliance with National Concern For Nigeria Citizen(NCNC) to form the collation government in 1959 because the NPC got134 parliamentary Seats, NCNC 89 Seats and AG 73 Respectively. Thus, North entered coalition with NCNC to produce prime minister which if AG and NCNC had entered into alliance, the NPC would have been made the opposition party(Adetiba,2013).Similarly, in the second republic the vice president was an Igbo man in person of late Chief. Alex Ekwume, (1979-1983). In the fourth republic during the eight year tenure of Obasanjo four out of the five senate president were Igbos. These are: Even Enwerem (Imo State) Anyim Pius Anyim(Ebonyi State) Adolphus Wabaran (Abia State) and Ken Nnmani (Enugu State) Only Ahaba Okadigbo was from Delta State(South-South) which the third position in the Country. Also, when IPOB was formed, the secretary to the government of the federation was an Igbo man of person of Senator Anyim Pius Anyim, the chief of army staff, Lieutenant General Azubike Ihejirika: the deputy speaker house of representatives Emike Ehidioha, coordinating minister of the economy and minister of finance Dr. Ngozi Okonja Oweala among powerful appointments which Igbo were holding. However, it should not be denied, there are some issues regard political appointments in the first tenure of Buhari administration on the concentration of major appointment in some of the regions but, that too might not be un connected with the fact APC was formed between Hausa/ Yoruba, the Igbos were never part of it until later in the second tenure.

In the economy sector the Igbos have not been left behind. In fact, the people of Southeast are drivers of Nigerian economy. Igbos own the largest properties in Abuja, massive economic interest in Lagos and most business in Kano and Kaduna States (Bugaje,2021) Igbos own 73% 12 of Abuja properties, control housing and hospitality business just as they exclusively dominated spare parts and building business in Deidei, Zone 5, Ape, Zuba And Marrarba (dailytrust,29th july,2021).In fact, Igbos investment in Lagos is not less than 300 trillion; it is double with that of Abuja 600 trillion. In Kano and Kaduna Igbos run up of 10 trillion while Borno, Yobe and Adamawa 5 trillion. In fact, no there is no state in Nigeria where Igbos investment in businesses do not exceed 5 billion naira (Ugegbe,2013) Also, in terms of migration and accommodation of Igbos are according to Okezie Ikpeazu, former Abia State governor said Igbos are residing everywhere across the country even close to Sambisa forest and more than 11 million Igbo are living in other regions outside Southeast(dailytrust,20th September,2017). In the case of road infrastructure analysis of the document obtained from federal character revealed that number roads for construction in the southern part is far than the northern counterpart. While the southwest leads in all years under reviewed, the North East has the lowest in all the years expect 2015 when the South East got the lowest see the table below.

Objective three: The implication of the activities of IPOB on Nigeria's national security: IPOB constitute a great threat to Nigeria's National Security because ever since the formation of IPOB, the group started to transmit pro-Biafra message to youths in South East and other outside the countries using London based radio Biafra and the activities of the groups have not been peaceful looking at violence, killing, arsons, and threat warning issued by the group at different time. For instance, on 31st august, 2015 a day after the military killed two and injured 30 IPOB members in Onitsha, the Biafra station aired a message that threat

violent retaliation against the military (Amnesty International, 2016) also in the interview conducted with Nnamdi Kanu in March, 2014 said, 'our promise is very simple. If they fail to give us Biafra, Somalia will look like a paradise compared to what happened there'. 'it is a promise, it is a threat and also a pledge we had enough of this nonsense.' Also, in an address to the world Igbo congress on 5th September 2015 Nnamdi Kanu told his audience, 'we need guns and we need bullets.' (Amnesty International, 2016). The formation of Biafra security service BSS by IPOB for the purpose of intelligence gathering also send a signal to the intention of the group of wanting to form a State within a State. Hence it was prescribed in August 2017 and military pythian dance 11 was launched against them (Ekpo and Agorje, 2019).

1.7 Recommendations

Based on the above findings the study therefore recommends that:

1. The zoning arrangement introduced by Nigerian political parties shall be made provision in the constitution that presidency should rotate among the six geopolitical zones, governorship among three senatorial zones, constituencies among the community/local government which made up the constituency.
2. Local governments autonomy should be granted that the conduct of government election should be restored to INEC, joint account should be abolished. In fact, full financial autonomy should be given to local governments without any interference from State and federal government.
3. There should be justice in appointments which have been made at the discretion of the president or governor to make sure that each region and ethnic group is adequately represented.
4. The creation of Nigeria shall be seen like being born in family and growing in a community which God created us without our knowledge and we accepted. Therefore, Nigerians should consider creation of Nigeria as God will and learn to accept to live with our diversities, the same way we live with our family members. Thus, we shall stop playing politics based on region, and ethnicity and consider every killing in this country as a killing to fellow human and something which need to be condemn by all.

II. Conclusion

The persistence struggles of agitation by the secessionist movements in Nigeria indicates the failure of Nigerian government to manage the emerging groups in its territory and the current agitation in the South East is nothing more than the about 2023 election presidency, when look at previous ones in 1999 and 2014. In fact, the whole issue about agitation is political rather than marginalisation. And if we look at the north despite having majority head of States, the region still suffer from insecurity, poverty, maternal mortality, lack of accessible clean water and dilapidated infrastructures. Obasanjo was president for eight years but, could not construct a decent road in his home town. Otueke people suffered from flood when it rains despite producing president from region (Premuimtimes, 29th June, 2021). Igbos have not been marginalised in Nigeria because they have been playing significant role in the politics, civil service and economy sector of Nigeria and IPOB constitute a great threat to Nigeria's national security looking at the violent activities of the group.

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