HISTORY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY (1960-2020)

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Abstract

The paper discussed some historical events in Nigeria since independence and their relevance to Nigeria's development in the 21st century. This topic is particularly apt this 2023 being Nigeria's year of general election so that the nation could avoid costly mistakes of the past. Educational, political, economic, cultural, infrastructural and religious events that took place between 1960 and 2020 were briefly reviewed. It was observed that there has been persistent low budgetary allocation to the education sector. On the political development, it was observed that a particular ruling class persistently refused to allow the principle of democracy and justice to reign in this country specifically by blocking rotational principles as it affects the President, Governors and Local Government Chairmen by making sure that it was not enshrined in Nigeria's constitution after any constitutional conference. Yet, that was critical to secure the ever elusive peace, justice and political stability in this country. The paper therefore recommended adequate yearly budgetary allocation to the education sector, amendment of Nigeria's constitution to enshrine rotational Presidency in particular and practice of true federalism.

Key Words: History, Relevance, Development

Introduction:

There is no doubt that peace is essential for any meaningful development in a nation. This is because even if a country has all the needed human and material resources required for development to take place, development will still elude such a country where there is neither peace nor political stability. But this essential peace cannot be achieved through mere legislation of a parliament or by a command from the Head of state no matter how powerful.

One area of study that is essential for a nation's development is history. Although people frequently pray that 'history should not repeat itself', the truth is that 'history usually repeats itself – first as a farce, secondly as a tragedy' (anonymous). And so, the wise, should learn from the lessons of history.

According to Ikime (2006), history contributes to national development (since it is used) to remind ourselves of what has happened in the past, how these happenings continue to influence present practice and what options are available for future planning. Thus, history contains elements that can be usefully developed to assist in providing some answers to the national problem. For instance, history provides explanations for the first coup d'etat, the civil war and how close Nigeria came to disintegration following the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election, and recently, the political instability that the 2023 general election. Thus, the paper tried to establish the relevance of history to national development.

History

Without too much technicalities, history is simply the study and use of the knowledge and experiences gained from past events which are significant in any particular issue to take wise or rational decisions. However, there exist quite a number of definitions of history. One plausible definition of history was given by Daniels (1972) as reproduced in Ikime (2006: xii):

History is the memory of human group experience. If it is forgotten or ignored, we cease in that measure to be human. Without history, we have no knowledge of who we are or how we come to be, like victims of collective amnesia groping in the dark for our identity. It is the events recorded in history that have generated all the emotions, the values, the ideals, that make life meaningful, that have given men something to live for, struggle over, die for. Historical events have created all the basic human grouping- countries, religions, classes – and all the loyalties that attach to these.

Relevance

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defined relevant, (the adjective) of the noun relevance), as 'closely connected with the subject you are discussing or the situation you are thinking about'. And so, in this paper the close connection of history (lessons) and national development of Nigeria in the 21st century was discussed. The high point of this term paper is that we should be proactive in the significant past events that took place in Nigeria within the period under review to take rational decisions in the socio-political affairs of this country.

Development:

Meenyinikor (2011) stated that development as a concept has different definitions by different persons. For instance, Anikpo (1996) opined that classical economists see development as growth in the gross national product, per capita income and infrastructural facilities. To political scientists, development constitutes in its essence, political stability and liberation from oppression. To the educationist however, development involves doing away with illiteracy. Generally speaking, development is a process of positive increase or gradual growth physically, mentally and emotionally or in size, amount and degree, thus becoming bigger, better, stronger or more advanced. For the purpose of this paper, Nigerias development refers to positive increase or gradual growth and advancement in the nation's economic, educational, political, scientific and technological expansion. To effectively harness each of the above aspects of development, we must proceed from their respective historical background, digging their root or tracing their origin.

Educational Development of Nigeria

As Nigeria advanced in age after her independence in 1960, the nationalists who took over the leadership of this country from the colonial masters started to effect reforms in the education sector. Before 1964, primary schools operated what was known as standard 1-6. By 1964, it operated Elementary 1-6 (Obunadike, 2013). Schools operated the 6-5-2-3 system. This meant 6 years of primary (elementary) school, 5 years of secondary education, 2 years of Higher school certificate (H.S.C) also called the Sixth Form, and 3 years university. The University College,

Ibadan introduced a one-year associateship course for selected Grade Two teachers in 1961 while the University of Nigeria, Nsukka launched a 3 year Bachelor of Arts and Science combined honours degree in education (B.A and B.Sc (Ed) in September 1961 (Fafunwa, 1995: 216). The Advanced Teachers' Colleges, later renamed Colleges of Education, were established in 1962 (Enyi, 2011).

But most of the education reforms and developments that took place in Nigeria in the next three decades later (1970-2000) started with the historic National Curriculum Conference of 1969 held in Lagos. That historic conference eventually brought the following reforms and development in Nigeria education: publication of a new National Policy on Education, introduction of the 6-3-3-4 system of education.

The Universal Primary Education (UPE) was launched nation wide in 1976. The same year government took over all voluntary and other agencies schools. Earlier, the National Youth Service Corps scheme was launched in 1973 to inculcate in the students, a spirit of community service and a sense of commitment to national goals and aspirations (Fafunwa, 1995:255).

The UPE was a major educational development programme launched by the President Obasanjo regime but was bedeviled by the following challenges – and this should be a major history lesson: inadequate planning, shortage of funds, shortage of teachers, workshops and equipment, etc.

The 6-3-3-4 system of education led to abolition of the Sixth Form (Higher school certificate two year course) introduced in 1956 being part of the 6-5-2-3 system. Students now move directly from secondary school to the university.

The University courses were therefore restructured from the 3-year to the 4-year degree course pattern. The Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) was established in 1977. Also the National Teachers Institute (N.T.I) was established in 1976.

The period between 1976 and 1980 witnessed unprecedented growth at all levels of education – primary, secondary and tertiary. The Federal Military Government launching of the UPE scheme in 1976 led to phenomenal growth in pupil enrolment. Nigeria took a giant step towards the emancipation of education in Nigeria from the structures of service to the few to freedom of educational opportunities for the many. What remained was for the various governments of the Federation to improve the quality of education at this level in terms of well-qualified teachers and adequately equipped classrooms.

The Federal Military Government gave massive support to primary education between 1976 and 1978. The state governments regarded UPE as the baby of the Federal Government and therefore left the funding of it almost exclusively to the Federal Government. In 1978 the price of oil slumped in the world market and forced the government to reduce the UPE building grants from N3,500 to N2,500 per classroom (Fafunwa, 1995). States, Local government and parents were asked to participate in the financing of UPE. The Federal Government grants to the states were badly managed and attempts by the Federal Government to monitor the grants came to naught. Unfortunately, most of the grants were diverted into other non-educational projects.

By December 1983 when the military returned, many states were in arrears for several months in the payment of their teachers' salaries. This resulted in large scale strikes and closure of schools

with school children staying at home for several months. The primary education system was in gross shortage of everything. Primary Education had collapsed in most parts of the country. The glaring poor quality unavoidably affected the rest of the entire education system. This marked the beginning of the fall in standard of education and a big history lesson to all the stake-holders in the education sector.

Universal Basic Education (UBE) in Nigeria

Politics apart, President Olusegun Obasanjo should be respected, if not honoured as a great patron of basic education in Nigeria. It was during his tenure as Military President that the Universal Primary Education (U.P.E) was launched in 1976. Also, it was when he changed attire to become the civilian President that he launched the Universal Basic Education (UBE) on September 30, 1999. Basic education was designed to be of 9-year duration. It was to be free and compulsory. It also include adult and non-formal education programmes at primary and junior secondary education levels for the adults and out-of-school youths (FRN,2004). The specific goals of basic education, Junior Secondary Education and adult and non-formal education).

To ensure the success of this programme, the UBE Act 2004 was passed into law. It provides for compulsory universal basic education and stipulates penalties for parents, societies or institutions that fail to comply with these provisions. However, like its predecessor (UPE) the UBE still suffer the following problems: poor or dilapidated infrastructure in schools, lack of teaching and learning materials, poor budgetary allocation to the programme, low performance of teachers and the students; the three components of the UBE scheme being handled by Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) makes the UBE scheme cumbersome (Azubike, 2012). Further more, punitive measures for parents who withdraw children from school (as stipulated in the Act) appears to be on paper only.

Also, retired teachers or the ones who died in active service and those who have left the job for one reason or the other are not replaced through regular recruitment of younger and more productive teachers. This is an indictment on the government in charge of Basic Education.

Educational Development in Nigeria: 2000 – 2020.

The results of the educational revolution of the UPE and the UBE era were reflected in these two decades under review – 2000 to 2020. The Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme which continued as Universal Basic Education (UBE) brought educational emancipation in Nigeria. Basic education for all led to proliferation of education – primary, secondary and tertiary institutions.

Publication of the 4th edition of the National Policy on Education in 2004 was necessitated by the need to take care of the following educational developments:

- (a) The lifting of the suspension order on Open and Distance Learning programme by Government;
- (b) Revitalization and expansion of the National Mathematical Centre (NMC),
- (c) Establishment of Teachers Registration Council (TRC).

- (d) Introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into the school system;
- (e) Prescription of French Language in the primary and secondary school curriculum as a second official language;
- (f) Prescription of minimum number of subjects to be taken by SSCE candidates.
- (g) The integration of basic education in the programme of Quaranic schools to ensure equal opportunity and effective implementation of UBE;
- (h) Repositioning science, technical and vocational education in the scheme of national education for optimum performance; and
- (i) General contextual change to reflect the state of professional practice in education, among others, (F R N, 2004).

Similarly, the 5th draft edition of the National Policy on Education (2007, unpublished) needed to be revised and updated so as to;

- (a) Situate the education sector within the overall context of government's reform agenda enunciated in the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS);
- (b) Reposition the Nigerian education sector to effectively meet the challenges of Education For All (EFA) initiative, MDGs and NEEDS;
- (c) Improve and refocus education quality and service delivery for accelerated attainment of NEEDS goals;
- (d) Reflect, accommodate and respond to use, the provisions of the UBE Act and the implications for the education sector;
- (e) Incorporate all new sub-sector policies to reflect global development;
- (f) Achieve public ownership of the National Policy on Education and improve compliance with its provisions.

The 6th edition (2013) therefore, highlighted and emphasized the following.

- (a) The consolidation of kindergarten, Primary and Junior Secondary Education to 10 year Basic Education in line with the UBE and its establishment Act;
- (b) Improve quality assurance, restructuring and enhancing the capacities of Federal and states/FCT Inspectorate Services through effective performances evaluation;
- (c) The development and maintenance of up to date National Education Management and Information systems (SEMIS).
- (d) The effective use of strategic planning to improve the quality of education provision and service delivery.

Evaluation of effective implementation of the provisions of this 6th edition of the National Policy on Education was not covered in this paper. This edition of the National Policy on Education structured the Nigeria education system into:

- Early child care and development (ECCD) 0-4 years (fully in the hands of the private sector and social development services);
- Basic Education: aged 5-15 years (covering kindergarten 1 year, 6 years of Primary Education;) and 3 years of Junior Secondary Education.
- ◆ Post-Basic Education of 3 years in senior secondary schools and technical colleges; and

Tertiary Education provided in Colleges of Education, Polytechnics, Monotechnices and the Universities.

It is worthy of note that private schools have almost completely taken over both Basic Education and Post-Basic Education. This is because government has continued to make low budgetary allocation to education. Also, regular recruitment of teachers to replace the retired and dead ones as well as those who have left the service are not made.

Supervision of public schools is not adequate and worst still, highly politicized. Private schools take advantage of these lapses as most parents have lost confidence on the government schools and send their children and wards to private schools inspite of the exorbitant fees and levies charged by the private schools. Many public schools are now almost completely deserted and overtaken by bushes and reptiles and of course criminals.

Political Developments in Nigeria 1960-2020.

After the struggle by Nigerian leaders, Nigeria was granted political independence on October 1, 1960. It soon became clear that the art of governing was not an easy one especially due to some decisions taken during the colonial rule. Nigeria has not actually known political stability. Instead, there has been serious political rivalries among politicians of the major ethnic groups.

The First Republic: 1960 – 1966.

in 1959, (Omolewa, 1986). None of the political parties won an overall majority. A coalition was therefore formed by the two political parties that scored the highest votes, namely, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizen (NCNC).

The Action Group (AG) was left to form the opposition. The three political parties represented the major ethnic groups, setting the stage for tribal polities and political rivalry in Nigeria.

Infact, the bitter rivalry between the leaders of the major political parties, namely, Dr. Azikiwe and Chief Awolowo stamped the culture of regional and ethnic (tribal) politics in Nigeria.

Details of this negative trend in Nigeria's political development might not be covered in this paper. It should be summed up that by 1960 when Nigeria became independent there was as yet no Nigerian nation. Instead, each region mistrusted its neighbor. Events went from bad to worse leading to the military coup of January 1966.

Military Intervention in Nigeria:

Nigeria became a republic in 1963. There was the first general election after the Nigeria independence and it took place in 1964. That election was characterized by allegations of large scale electoral malpractices. It was believed that the figures of voters were altered to satisfy the NPC and its new ally, the southern-based Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) which combine to form the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). They were opposed by a new alliance called the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). The situation was made worse by the parliamentary elections in the Western Region in 1965, for it was widely believed that the results announced did not represent the outcome of the voting. This must be a very relevant history lesson as Nigeria was going to the polls for the next general election.

After the election results were announced, the people embarked on rioting, looting and mass killing of those who belonged to the party opposed to the AG leader and the UPGA alliance. The situation was made worse by the inaction of the Prime Minister who belonged to the NNA as he refused to intervene, pleading that he had not seen evidence of serious violence. The situation became so bad that on 15 January 1966, the military intervened and took over government. That military take over was through a bloody coup which introduced much bitterness in the minds of the Hausa who lost their much-loved leaders. Finally the military officers from the north staged a counter coup on 29th July, 1966 in which the Head of State, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi was killed.

There was a massacre of the Igbos in the north estimated at over thirty thousand. This eventually led to a civil war which lasted for thirty months.

On 29 July, 1975 there was yet another coup which brought in the regime of Mohammed/Obasanjo. This particular coup could have been avoided if the then Head of State, General Gowon did not suddenly announce in 1974 that the proposal to return power to the elected representatives of the people in 1976 was unrealistic.

The Second Republic, 1979-1983.

On 1 October 1979, a new civilian administration was sworn in with Alhaji Shehu Shagari as the First Executive President of the second republic. Whatever happened, the second republic lasted for only four years and the military again took over power on 1st January, 1984. Major general Mohammadu Buhari became the Head of State.

Nigeria's fifth successful military coup d'etat took place in the early hours of Tuesday, 27th August 1985 (Omolewa, 1986). Thank God the coup was bloodless. This coup brought into power Major-General Ibrahim Babangida as Head of State. But Babangida administration turned out to be a study in unkept promises and deceit. He had one of the longest military regimes in Nigeria, spanning 1985 to 1993. He shifted hand-over dates from 1990 to 1992. He justified his action as captured in the African Concord of 1987 as follows: "an abrupt baton change would do our democracy no good- it has to be broadly spaced and institutionally supervised". He was notorious for such deceitful statements like 'we will not be in office a day longer than necessary". Babangida did not know whom he would hand-over to but knew whom he would not hand over to. He eventually, annulled the June 12, 1993 Presidential election generally believed to be won by Chief Abiola which threw the nation into anarchy and nearly led to a second civil war. Infact, few people believe that Nigeria would survive as a united country after the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election of the acclaimed winner of that election. Tell News Magazine of July 27, 1998 captured it this way. "M.K.O Abiola's death has changed the political landscape and struck at the very root of the country's existence as a united entity".

When President Babangida the dribbler saw that he had been blocked, he handed over to Prof. Ernest Shonekan as Head of the Interim National Government (ING) on 27 August, 1993. Before stepping aside with his principal aids, Babangida diplomatically positioned his right – hand man, General Sani Abacha at the corridors of power. Abacha eventually over threw the puppet government of Ernest Shonekan on November 17, 1993. The brutal Sanni Abacha administration held sway with all sorts of human right atrocities' till 8th June, 1998 when he handed over to Abdull

Salami Abubakar who eventually conducted election that returned Nigeria to a democracy on 29th May, 1999 with President Olusegun Obasanjo heading Nigerias Third Republic.

The 1994-95 National Constitutional Conference.

The National Constitutional Conference Commission (NCCC) was established in January 1994 under Decree 1 of 1994. According to Nwala (1997), the NCCC was given authority to organize the Constitutional Conference, collect Memoranda on agenda of the Conference, collate documents and sample memoranda and submit same to the Conference. It should be noted that Dr. Nwala was one of the most outstanding and active delegates to that Conference.

The annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election was the immediate cause for the National Constitution Conference . but the remote and general cause is the struggle of the Nigerian people for democracy, for equity and for Justice. It was a struggle to end all forms of military dictatorship and unjust determination of a section of the country to monopolize political power at the expense of all other sections of the country. It was indeed a struggle for the actualization of true federalism, local autonomy and initiative.

The perennial cause of Nigeria's political crises was captured by Tayo Akpata in Tell Newsmagazine of March 30 (1998:5) as follows:

'The impression ought not be given in any nation that leaders can only be produced from one set of wombs''.

Key Decision of the 1994-95 National Constitutional Conference

On Political Structures and Framework of the Constitution.

- 1. Nigeria shall be one indivisible, indissoluble, sovereign, democratic, united country founded on the principles of equity, fairness and justice.
- 2. Federalism: the country is to run true federal system with clear demarcation of powers and functions among the various levels of government.
- 3. Three-tiers: a three tier system of government consisting of the Central Government, state Governments and Local Governments is to be maintained. Each tier remains autonomous in those powers and functions assigned to it by the constitution.

Power-sharing and Federal Character Commission.

- 4. Ways are to be charted by which all political, economic, bureaucratic and social resources and opportunities of the country could go round to every ethic group. Such measures should be inserted into the Constitution.
- 5. Rotation of Offices: Presidency, Governorship and Chairmanship of LGAs.
 - Realizing that the election of the nations Number One Citizen has been a major source of our political crises and upheaval, and determined to fashion out a constitution that will be acceptable to the majority of Nigerians, and mindful of the need to avoid concentration of power in the hands of a few, or a sectional group and the need to allay the fears in certain quarters that the position of the number one citizen of Nigeria is reserved for a particular area of the country, or that particular sections of the country cannot aspire to occupy that coveted number one seat, the conference in its wisdom, and by consensus agreed that the Presidency shall rotate between the North and the South. In the same spirit, the Conference

further decided that this principle of rotation shall go round the ladder and therefore, the Governorship of a state, shall rotate amongst the three Senatorial Districts of the state, while the Chairmanship of a Local Government shall rotate among the three sections into which each LGA shall be divided by the State Electoral Commission.

- 6. Presidency-Tenure: Tenure of 5 years at a time for a maximum of two terms without self-succession was recommended.
- 7. That office of Governor is also limited to a tenure of 5 years at a time for a maximum of two term without self-succession.
- 8. That of the LGA Chairman is three years for 2 terms without self-succession in each term.
- 9. Nigeria is to maintain the existing Presidential system. On June 12, 1993 and the political crisis it engendered, the conference decided that, "In the future, there shall be no interference with democratic elections by any government, its agent (eg. INEC) or any person whatsoever, except in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land".

Post-Conference Development

Instead of accepting and acting on this beautiful draft constitution proposed by the Conference for a new constitution, the Head of State, General Sani Abacha on 27th June 1995 during the hand-in of the Draft Constitution prepared by the National Constitutional Conference (NCC), ordered public debate on The Draft Constitution. According to him, this was "to receive in-put from the general public to enable Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) to consider the documents in the context of National interest."

It should be noted that the PRC has no authority under the Decree 3 of 1994 to alter the Constitution as presented by the 273 representatives of the people and 96 representatives of the Government.

Following the directive by general Abacha for a public debate on the Draft Constitution, the former Secretary to the Federal Government (SFG), Alhaji Aminu Saleh directed the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to organize such nation-wide debate and collate the outcome. The SFG openly criticized the major decision of the NCC to the point of almost describing the document as worthless. The sensitive provisions of the Draft Constitution were. Rotational President, Multiple Vice – Presidency, Revenue Allocation, Federal Character Commission, etc.

The Nation-wide debates organized by NOA produced interesting results. For example, the issue of Rotational Presidency only the seven states of the north (then) – Bauch, Jigawa, Kaduna,

Kano, Katsina, Kebbi and Sokoto, did not support the proposed Rotational presidency. The rest 24 states in addition to Abuja supported the principle of Rotational Presidency. To cut the long story short, Abacha's Government eventually jettisoned some vital provisions of the new constitution especially the Rotational presidency, Multiple Vice Presidency, the new Revenue Allocation formula, etc.

In a memorandum distributed to the delegates of the NCC on 14th October, 1994, Alhaji Mahmodu Atta criticized the Rotational Presidency which the Conference had adopted by Consensus a few

days earlier. He described the provision of Rotational Presidency as undemocratic and said it should be left to the political parties to decide.

PRC's Response to the Proposed 1995 Constitution.

On October 1, 1995 General Sani Abacha addressed the nation over the decision of the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) on the Draft Constitution and other serious and weighty issues. It was the Constitutional Conference that helped to prevent an immediate break-up of the country following the annulment of June 12, 1993 election and the emergence of the military in the governance of the country (Nwala, 1997). The military Government of General Abacha had tied the issue of the date for hand-over of power to the completion of the work of the National Constitutional Conference.

Right from the on set, few believed the sincerity of the Abacha regime in convening the conference. Many thought that he was buying time by it and that at the end of the day, he would either throw the draft constitution and the resolutions of the Conference into the dust-bin, or doctor the whole document to suite his agenda and that of the ruling circles in the country. That was exactly what eventually played out.

General Abacha messed up the major decisions of the National Constitutional Conference (NCC). He radically altered some decisions of the NCC. The most outstanding changes were those on number of zones for purpose of rotation and power-sharing and introduction of the position of Prime Minister. Instead of two Zones- North and South, the government approved six zones:-North –East, North – West, North – Central, East, West and Southern Minorities (Nwala, 1997: 212).

The most important decision of the NCC which Abacha through the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) set aside were on: Rotational Presidency, independence of the central Bank of Nigeria/which he put under the control of the Ministry of Finance and then the Head of State); CBN also lost its existing autonomy over the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC). Others include membership of Foreign Religious Organizations, prohibition of government funding of religious pilgrimages, devolution of power and legislative list etc. but the most unpopular decision of the Provisional Ruling Council was the prolongation of the transition programme to three years.

An Over-view of Civilian and Military Leaders in Nigeria since Independence

Sir. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa – 1960 - 1966 (Civilian Prime Minister)

General Gowon – 1966 – 1975 (military)

General Murtala Mohammed – 1975 – 1976 (Military).

General Murtala Mohammed – 1975 – 1976 (Military)

General Olusegu Obasanjo – 1976-1979 (Military)

Alhaji Shehu Shagari – 1979 – 1983 (civilian).

General Mohammadu Buhari – 1984 – 1985 (Military)

General Ibrahim Babangida – 1985 – 1993 (Military)

Prof Ernest Shonekan (ING) – 1993-1993

General Sani Abacha – 1993-1998

Chief Ohesegun Obasanjo – 1999 – 2007 (Civilian President)

Alhaji Shehu Musa Yaradua – 2007 -2011 (Civilian President)

Dr. Goodluck Jonathan – 2011-2015 (Civilian President)

Mohammadu Buhari – 2015 – 2023 (Civilian President)

Analysis of the above review of the Nigerian presidents, both military and civilian shows that the North has Produced ten president who ruled for 53 years while the south has ruled for only 9 years.

Tayo Akpata was right when he commented that the impression ought not be given in any nation that leaders can only be produced from one set of wombs.

Peace, unity and stability of this country has been stinkingly blocked by such people like Alhaji Mahmoud Atta who criticized Rotational Presidency describing it as undemocratic and said it should be left to the political parties to decide (Nwala, 1997:192). This repugnant position was adopted in the 1999 constitution which Nigeria has been using. Anti-democratic forces of the Northern oligarchy has been defending this evil posture tenaciously. No wonder any Presidential election which tried to change the status quo must either be annulled or rigged in broad day light.

Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, it was concluded that there has been a culture of inadequate yearly budgetary allocation to the education sector in Nigeria. Also, the cognitive domain (mental development) has continued to dominate the affective and psychomotor domains leading to massive unemployment and corrupt society. On the political development, ethnic politics has been allowed to grow dangerously as the country is now irretrievably heading for disintegration. Possible remedies like rotational presidency has been effectively blocked by a particular ruling class which has been favored by the status quo. Economically meaningful diversification has not succeeded as oil has continued to dominate the country's foreign exchange market. Agriculture is yet to receive the needed boost and encouragement. To complete the damage, insecurity has continued to take the upper hand as it has defied all known solution. The pretended battle against corruption has been lost as those who are supposed to be at the forefront of that battle have always failed to show good example. However, all hope is not lost if the leadership of this country could, suddenly make a u-turn and demonstrate the needed political will.

The Way Forward

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

1. There should be adequate annual budgetary allocation to the education sector even if the 26% recommended by the United Nations is not feasible.

- 2. The educational curriculum should be reversed to emphasize more on the psychomotor domain and the affective domain rather than the cognitive domain by emphasizing more on the entrepreneurial studies and vocational education.
- 3. The countries constitution should be revised without further delay to enshrine the principles of democracy and justice by adoption rotational presidency.
- 4. The nation's economy should be diversified by investing more on agriculture and harnessing the nation's solid mineral rather than concentrating on petroleum. Those leading the country must find a way of delivering agricultural inputs like fertilizer, machinery, herbicides, insecticides, etc. to the real farmers, not contractors and politicians.
- 5. We must fight the twin demons of insecurity and corruption with sincerity and determination because unless the country conquers them, they will continue to undermine all the other endeavours.

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