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Nigeria Civil War and Human Security a Discursive Exploration

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Abstract

The paper examines civil war and human security in Nigeria as a discursive exploration. War is a phenomenon that cannot be avoidable around the globe but it can be managed, particularly ideological war. However, when a war becomes bloody that claimed lives and properties in a state or between states it must be eradicated and put to an end. The objective of this paper is to assess the implications of civil war in Nigeria on human security and livelihood. This civil war was deadly in Nigeria's history. The methodology relied on secondary data of analysis; of which scapegoat theory is the theoretical orientation for this work. The findings revealed that Nigeria's civil war is the root of political and economic insecurity in Nigeria. The paper concluded that the civil war has damaged the spirit of brotherhood and unity in the country; while the study advocated for genuine brainstorming, negotiation, and compromising that can address ethnicity management as one of the prime recommendations.

Keywords: Civil War, Economic Security, Human Security, Political Security, Nigeria

1. Introduction

War is a phenomenon that has indices of many dimensions from political, economic, social cultural, and personal reasons which give birth to frustration and aggression; and its result cannot be imagined until the end of the war. War at times emanated from the conflict of mind, ideology, frustration and feeling of marginalization, and economic subjugation. The ideological war as a phenomenon has come to stay in the power politics of dominant countries of the world. The implication of war is a challenge to human security and livelihood; it destroyed lives and properties and also cripples economic development (Weinstein and Imai, 2000). This is a reflection of Nigeria's endemic problem, a scenario of two and half civil war that retarded the economic development of the country.

The Nigeria civil war of 6 July 1967 to 15 January 1970 created an unhealed wound to the political and economic fabric of the Nigerian State. The Nigeria civil war had a lasting negative effect on the existence of humanity in Nigeria. Human security is one of the basic dividends of democracy was

denied during the Biafra war (civil war) and after the war as there was no freedom from fear and no freedom from want. The psychological feeling of marginalization and economic subversion is competing with the political stability and survival of the country to date; as some sects in the eastern region are clamoring for independence; while some are agitating for political power at the center. The content analysis of George Obiozor, the president of Ohanaeze shows curiosity that the eastern part has the key interest in the number one executive power (President) as he confirmed that the southeast is demanding the President not the Igbo head of state (Vanguard, 2022; Premium Times, 2022). These are the seed war either knowingly unknowingly germinating against the unity of the country.

Another sect of the group was established in the inception of the fourth republic known as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) which was led by Ralph Uwazurike, a human rights lawyer and activist. This group was struggling and agitated for the goal of the unfulfilling Biafra War of 1967 (National

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News, 2020). This group opened the way for a radical group of Indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) which was formed in 2014 by Nnamdi Kanu an Igbo political activist trained in Britain.

Human security development is paramount to state development in terms of economy, politics, national security, and technology development. This is the security that has a welfare package to the standard of living, and one of the variables to measure the healthy state. Human security is absolute freedom from fear and from want (Ted, 2017). However, some literature is of the notion that there is no significant relationship between human security and war (Okoli, 2016); in the time past war has been a great challenge to the survival of human security in a state. The Nigeria civil war had caused havoc to the livelihood of the polity. Some work on Nigeria's civil war shows the positive effects of the war on humanity and better continuity of the State (Morton, 2017; & Sulhazan, 2018). And from another perspective, a lot of literature has revealed the negative effects of civil war on the political, economic, social, and technological development of Nigeria (Chukwuemeka, 2021; United States Directorate of Intelligence, 2021; Hasan, 2022). These variations of views serve as a point of departure for critically assessing the impact of civil war on human security in Nigeria. The justifications of the study have both practical and theoretical uniqueness. The practical uniqueness plays a pivotal role in revealing how civil war affects the economic and political security of the country; and the implication of civil war on the existence of humanity beyond the claiming of lives and properties. This research will add value to the existing literature on security studies in the area of civil war and human security. Thus, the paper seeks to assess the impact of civil war on the human security of Nigeria State.

1.1 Research Questions

- 1. What was the situation of human security development before the civil war?
- 2. What are the impacts of civil war on human security for economic and political security?

1.2 The objective of the Study is to:

Examine the impact of civil war on human security in Nigeria. The Specific Objectives are to:

- 1.Examine the existing situation of human security development before the civil war.
- 2. Evaluate the impacts of civil war on human security for economic and political security.

1.3 Basic Assumptions

- 1.The prospects of human security development are high before the civil war.
- 2. The civil war had more negative effects on human security during and after the civil war

1.4 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to Nigeria with more discussion on the eastern region within the focal period of the civil and after the war. The dimensions of human security in these studies are economic security and political security with the civil war; other variables that will add to the objectivity of this paper will also be discussed; more emphasis will be placed on the impact of civil war on human security on economic and political security in Nigeria.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Many kinds of literature discuss the subject matter of civil war and human security, but the relevant literature that is more important to this topic will be addressed for clarity and objectivity of the work.

2.1 Civil War in Discourse

Civil war as a phenomenon is inherited in human nature due to differences in human behavior and views. The psychological difference in individual thinking fundamental to the rise of war; while at the same time difference in culture and belief as a way of life can generate premises for war. According to Garba and Garba (2005), there have been a series of explanations that give clarity to the emancipation of civil war. The civil war originated from personal greed and grievance (Collier, Hoeffier, and Soderbom, 2001; Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2001; cited in Garba & Garba, 2005). This psychological factor when it becomes uncontrollable generates civil war. The social-cultural perspective emphasizes ethnicity consciousness and high population as a pressure that can create dissatisfaction, and fear of minorities which tends to lead to political and economic struggles emanating from ethnic differences and a sense of marginalization (Hildyard, 1999). The combination of the variables that originated civil war can be traceable to politics, economics, history, sociology, psychology, and the struggle for identity (Adedeji, 1999; Suliman, 1999).

The Nigeria civil war from 6 July 1967 to January 15, 1970 (30 months civil) was the first war of its kind in sub-Saharan Africa after the independence of Nigeria (Akresh, 2011). There is no war without a foundation; there are remote and immediate causes of Nigeria's civil war as it was observed by both the international and national scholars. The foundation of the civil war was the two-fold of amalgamation 1906. and respectively; that is the amalgamation of the southern protectorate when Lagos colony was joined with the south in 1906 and the amalgamation of the northern and southerner protectorate in 1914. This was a marriage of inconvenience that sowed the seeds of bitterness with sycophant unity; which was not well noticeable at the beginning but its reflection can be seen in the political crisis of the Aba women riot of 1929, the National Youth Movement (NYM) political crisis that emanated of 1938, and Kano riot of 1953 (Ogundare, 2021). The character of the amalgamation and these crises show that the different ethnic groups that came together under one roof are not one.

Chukwuemeka (2020) asserted the remote causes of Nigeria's civil war as the national census controversy of 1962/63, the general election crisis of 1964, the Western Region election of 1965, free expressions of tribal sentiment in political campaigns, the tendency to suppress Opposition in Politics, the introduction of Decree 34 by Ironsi's administration who intended to make Nigeria a Unitary State, domination of Northern Nigeria in their regime by the Southerners, Introduction of the Northern Oligarchy into the administration of Nigeria. While the immediate causes are the 15 January 1966

coup that claimed the lives of the northerners and the westerners, the military coup of 29 July 1966, the personal clashes between Lt. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu and the head of state General Yakubu Gowon, Aburi accord agenda, and the inability of General Yakubu Gowon to guarantee the security of the Igbos in the north, and the state creation (Chukwuemeka, 2020). The implications of the civil war had adverse effects on the political and economic development of the country.

2.1 Human Security in Explorations

The concept of human security is to ensure the freedom of individuals in the state (Bellany, 2020). The dimensions of human security are political, economic, food, health, environment, personal, and community security (UN, 2005). Human security is complete freedom from want and freedom from fear (Ted, 2017). The concept guarantees better welfare and improvement in the standard of living in a state. The essence of human security among the country around the world has drawn the attention of global politics to standard measures of measuring the human security index. The Global Peace Index (GPI) is a measuring instrument for human security produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), an independent, non-partisanoriented, and non-profit think tank (Institute of Economics & Peace, 2019). Human security is measured in terms of the level of peacefulness enjoyed by the state. This was conducted among 163 independent states, which comprises 23 indicators of freedom from violence or fear of violence; it includes the duration of internal organized conflicts, number of ongoing internal and international conflicts, and deaths from internal and international conflicts. The level of peace and safety of the people can be measured in comparison with indicators such as the level of political security, perceived criminality in the state, and the number of internally displaced persons and refugees in the population of a state (Institute of Economic & Peace, 2019).

The Fragile States Index (FSI) is another useful indicator for measuring human

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security. This index is produced by the Fund for Peace (FFP), a self-reliant educational organization of non-profit high-quality research development to prevent violent conflict and promote sustainable development (Fragile for Peace, 2019: 33-41). The FSI examines four pivotal areas of human security development which are cohesion, economic, political, social, and cross-cutting. Twelve conflict risk indicators are used to measure the condition of a state. and these can be compared over time to determine whether they are improving or worsening (Fragile for Peace, 2019: 33-41). The cohesion indicators are the security apparatus, the fragmentation of state institutions, and the group of grievances. Human security economic indicators are uneven economic development, economic decline, human flight, and brain drain; political indicators are human rights and the rule of law, state legitimacy, and public service. While, social and cross-cutting indicators are: demographic pressures. internally displaced persons and refugees, and external intervention (Fragile for Peace, 2019: 33-41).

The Environmental Performance Index (EPI) University and by Yale Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum. These great research institutes perform their experiment by ranking 180 countries on 24 performance indicators; which cover environmental health and ecosystem (Yale University, Columbia University, & World Economic Forum, 2018). The categories are heavy metals, water quality, air quality, fisheries, forests, biodiversity and habitat, climate and energy, air pollution, water resources, agriculture. More specifically, the indicators range from wastewater treatment, tree cover loss, and species protection to sanitation (Yale University et al., 2018).

GPI, FSI, and EPI are standard measuring criteria for human security development. And all these measuring standards and their indicators show that human security cannot survive in a violent and conflict environment. This indicates that civil war is a challenge to human security survival in Nigeria.

2.2 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

explores the theory of paper scapegoating which is also the application of frustration and aggression within the context of behavior attitude. Scapegoat theory refers to the tendency to blame someone else for one's calamity, a process that often results in feelings of bias, and prejudice toward the person, region, sector, or group that one is condemning. The feeling of prejudice results in frustration that produces aggression (Glick, 2002). The origin of this theory is traceable to the bible says to the goat upon which Aaron cast all the sins of Israel and then banished to the wilderness. Though the goat was blameless, was severely punished for the sins of the people of Israel. Psychology does not only use the model to explain a situation when a person is paying for the price of a sin that he has not committed but also to explain a situation where someone shifts his/her blame on another person.

Scapegoating serves as an opportunity to explain failure or misdeeds while maintaining one's positive self-image. If a person who is less privileged or unfavored doesn't get a job that he or she applies for can blame an unfair system or the people who get the job that he or she desired, the person may be using others as a scapegoat and may end up hating them as a result (Glick, 2002). When two personalities are fighting the people under them suffer as a scapegoat for unknown sin.

The Relevant of the Theory to this Work

The relevance of this theory to Nigeria's civil war and human security is a discursive exploration. The theory explains how the political leaders used the citizens as a scapegoat for their self-interest. The personal clash of difference between Yakubu Gowon the head of State between 1966 -1975 and Lt. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu within this focal period (1967-1970), used the Nigerians as a scapegoat for the failures. The unlearned idea of Yakubu Gowon over the Aburi Accord resulted in the creation of twelve states through the intellectual advice of educated members of his cabinet and a personal hegemony struggle for leadership of

Ojukwu which was color on the surface as the deprivation of the easterners from political power by the death of Bragdier Agunyi Ironzi through the 29 July 1966 coup; as the evidence of deprivation of the easterners from political power. This scenario paved the way for making the Nigerian citizens as scapegoats during the civil war, of which the eastern region felt more of the lost in terms of loss of lives and properties; which is a great challenge to the human security of Nigeria.

3. Methodology

The paper adopts an inductive approach and a descriptive design that involves a systematic collection, presentation, and analysis of data on the civil war and human security in Nigeria. The employs secondary data of analysis, which are existing information data on the civil war and human security in Nigeria such as past research on the subject matter, Texts, both hard copy and online journals, magazines, and Newspapers. Detailed description and exploration form the basis for analyzing the data in this study.

3.1 History of Human Security Development Before the Civil War

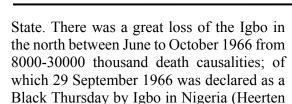
Human security in Nigeria is undergoing progressive development through effective development planning. United States Directorate of Intelligence (2021) asserted that there are economic prospects for Nigeria State, which is undergoing a gradual process before the civil war damages. Civil war is a challenge to economic progress and growth this is because it increases the strength of economic imbalances in a nation (Rohner, 2018). The transitivity stage of Nigeria's economy was halted during the civil war; which set back the hope of Nigerians.

In reality, the political leaders at this particular point in time were inexperience, and full of sedimental politics (Ogundare, 2021), but there are elements of cooperation to some extent across the country as the ceremonial president came from the eastern region (Dr. Nnamadi Azikwe), the prime minister from the Northern region (Alhaji Tafawa Balewa), and Samuel Ladoke Akintola the premier from the Western region which was in co-operation with the

federal government. The only opposition at this particular time was the Action Group faction of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. However, there is unity despite the diversity in the country; the seeds of ethnicity bigotry have not come to a noticeable clear term in the country. Though Nigeria was not in good shape there was a reflection of hope for human security before the 1965 Western crisis, the 15 January 1966 coup, and the outbreak of the civil war. Nigeria is a developing country and is passing through the stress of development with better hope for the future which was completely halted by the civil war.

3.1 Origin of Nigeria Civil War

The Nigerian 30-month Civil War was the first civil war in Nigeria's history since independence (Ugochukwu, 2020). The civil war was more of a psychological phenomenon a result of political, ideological differences, and moral- disagreement issues between the federal government of Nigeria and the eastern region governor. The Nigeria civil war known as the Nigeria-Biafra War was believed by many works of literature as a personal clash between General Yakubu Gowon (The Nigeria Head of State) and Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu (The Eastern governor of Nigeria), (Garba & Garba, 2005; Okolo, 2010). The trigger force of the war was the death of the prominent Nigerian politicians to the military coup of 15 January 1966, the death of Brigadier General Aguvi Ironzi the first military head of state to the second military coup of 29 July 1966, and the installation of the junior highrank military officer, who is the highest rank military officer from the northern part as the head of state after the death of Ironzi in person of General Yakubu (Ogundare, 2020). Personally, the eastern region governor Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu counts this as an unworthy character and against the order of the military chain of power distribution. Personal feelings of deprivation arose from Ojukwu's character and behavior, which sense resulted in a of political marginalization and deprivation as a senior officer to Yakubu Gowon who is the head of



& Moses, 2014). The need for peace and orderliness paved the way for intending reconciliation outside Nigeria organized by the Ghana head of State for the two military leaders at Aburi in Ghana on 4 January 1967. An accord was signed of which Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu knew the implications but was unknown to General Yakubu Gowon on the terms of the confederation government. Some literature emphasizes that deficiency of education by Yakubu Gowon at this time made him sign the confederal accord in Aburi (Akinbode, 2021). With the arrival of the two personalities back to Nigeria, the game changed as the educated Nigerians enlightened the military head of State Yakubu Gowon against the danger of Confederation toward the country's division. The interpretation of the accord gained different interpretations from the two sides. The ball game changed as the head of state could not comply with the Aburi Accord, failure to comply with the accord triggered more the fire of the civil war; the final blow that broke the back of the caramel was the creation of Twelve states on 27 May 1967 which was pronounced on June 1967 against the wish of Eastern region Governor. This was done to weaken the political strength of Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu in the region (Kwasau, 2014). The unreliable Biafra war broke out on 6 July 1967. Thus, the frustration and aggression of the feeling for political marginalization and ethnic politics of Ojukwu led to the declaration of the secessionist Republic of Biafra which led to the unforgettable 30 months of civil war; which damaged Nigeria's political economy structure.

4. The Discussion of Findings

The Nigeria civil war was a great challenge to the existence of statehood and human security within the period of two and half years, and the aftermath hold some unbearable experiences to the psychology sociology experience of human existence in Nigeria as a state. The findings revealed that Nigeria's civil war is the root of political and economic insecurity in Nigeria even in the fourth republic; that has damaged the spirit of brotherhood and unity in the country. The inductive reasoning of the civil war from individual or specific (Odumegwu psychological orientation) generalization (Sociological perspectives of the eastern region). The generalization produced the feeling of political marginalization and subjugation in the lives of the Easterners. The impact of the civil war was felt more across the eastern region communities an unforgetting memory of scapegoatism in terms of destruction of lives and properties. Likewise, the war claimed more than 3 million Nigerians' lives; it was a great loss for Nigeria State as a whole. The war had retarded the economic growth and development of the whole country as more funds were channeled to reconciliation and rehabilitation of projects in the eastern part than in other regions of the country.

The feelings of marginalization are incurable wounds to date in the eastern part of Nigeria, which have created some groups clamoring for the independence of Biafra state in this fourth republic such as MASSOB in 1999, and IPOB in 2014 aiming to fulfill the unachievable goal of the civil war (National News, 2020). The activities of the IPOB are detrimental to the survival of human security in the eastern part of the country creating more insurgency and economic slowdown in the eastern part (Ordu, 2015).

The background to this problem of prejudice in the East today emanated from the Nigeria civil war. These have created two factions in the East today; one faction is clamoring for the executive position of the President which they believe is the eastern right time to rule in particular the 2023 election (Premium, 2022). Another group was agitating for complete independence from Nigeria State to form a Biafra state; a case of Nnamdi Kanu and his group. The two factions have something in common the feeling of political marginalization, suppression, and

subjugation in Nigeria. This has resulted in detriment to human security as many Nigerians cannot get to the big commercial citizens in the east such as Onisha market, Aba Market, and other big commercial cities as a result of insecurity and the IPOB operations within 2021 -2022 (Aligwekwe, 2022).

4.1 Civil War and Human Security in Nigeria

The civil war and human security in Nigeria are focusing on the dimension of economic and political security under a discursive exploration.

4.1.1 Civil War and Economic Security

The remote cause of the insurgency in the southeast region of Nigeria in the fourth republic can be traceable to civil war. This gained its foundations from the felt unfilled battle of Biafra independence of thirty months between 1967-1970; a civil war that lost almost 3.5 million civilians to war and starvation (Mahr, Oluwatosin, Krista, 2019; Moses & Heerten, 2018; & Conor Gaffey, 2015). The civil war is a great detriment to economic security and food security which increase the number of death casualties and low standard of living due to economic hardship and shortage in food supply at this period. The youthful population was lost this time which has a negative implication on Nation building economically.

Schneider and Treoger (2006) Stated that civil war in an economic perspective of the Civil War had significant impacts on the economy; during the Civil, the federal government banned several foreign transactions within the Biafran port this also a form to bring about an economic blockade and slowdown on the Biafrans. The Nigerian government also made sure that no significant trade was able to happen within the territory (Nafiziger, 1972). The detriment of this policy was obviously against the economic survival of the citizenry which is negative to the economic security of the state (Okolo, 2010). During the war, the Nigerian government gains the support of external intervention, which is of diplomatic agreement that paves the way for the British government to control the oil industry in the Niger Delta zone (Putt, 2023). The civil war paves the way for the strong dominance of Nigeria's oil sector by foreigners, which harm Nigeria's economy; and diplomatic foreign control; which reduce Nigeria's State to perpetual slavery in the hands of Western and European giants. The effects of the civil war on the economy were the economic retarded of the state, economic slowdown, food security challenges, unemployment, and empowerment challenges, which are negative to economic security development. The end product of the defeated Biafrans by the federal government produces different agitators and sectional groups seeking the president's sit; while others are seeking independence in the fourth republic; and most of the activities of these movements are practiced illegally to the challenges of economic security and livelihood. The environment is porous of insecurity and breach of fundamental human rights such as the introduction of sit down at home on Monday and some sensitive market days in the week by IPOB. This is both a challenge to political security and economic security. Chukwuemeka (2021) asserted that Nigeria's civil war is a detriment to Nigeria's economy both during the war and after the war. Hasan (2022) opines that the civil war in Nigeria is great damage to properties and lives, reduction of the workforce, and also negative to the prospect of economic growth of the

4.1.2 Civil War and Political Security

The Biafra Civil War was a challenge to Nigeria's political security; in the sense that during the war and after the war the country was not politically stable. There are a series of military coups after the war that increase the military regime's elongation of 29 years of military intervention in politics. The civil war revealed the political hegemony of the military head of state as the most powerful executive seat. According to Kissinger (1981), people did not like to be in the corridor of power but in the center of power to make decisions. The control and the domination of the state politically of Yakubu Gowon in control of Nigeria's military and the state economy made the military officers

have more interest in military control; of which the war disclosed how powerful the head of state was. The result of this was the military long-term regimes that were challenging the fundamental human rights of the citizens and low political participation of civilians in the government of their country. These have adverse effects on the political security of the state.

The Nigerian civil war erupted political and ethnic tension in the country after the war (Putt, 2023). The war raised political consciousness and ethnic politics in Nigeria of which the seeds had germinated and become uncontrollable in the present-day Nigeria State. The war has given birth to feelings of political marginalization, fear of minority groups, and disunity among the regions; which sometimes result in political violence and suppression in some parts of the country; mostly in the eastern part. These are more negative to the political security of the state. The negative effects of the civil war on the political security of the state were denial of the citizen's fundamental human rights, political instability, and the war increase in the tenure of military intervention in politics which led to the suspension of the constitution for the decree, political violence and continue agitation for independence of Biafra State.

However, there are some perspectives and notions that believe the civil war had a positive development on the enhancement of Nigeria. The positive effects are the improvement of national integration through the introduction of a new revenue allocation formula, the federal government becoming more powerful as other states depend on the central for survival, the National Youth Service Corp after the war, the creation of states that protect the fear of minority section, and it also helps to change Nigeria foreign policy in the global system (Keypoints, 2021; Morton, 2017: Sulhazan, 2018). The use of the human security index standard of measuring human security development such as GPI, FSI, and EPI and their indicators shows that civil war had more negative effects on the political and economic security of the state; which

adversely affected the political-economic structure of Nigeria State.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

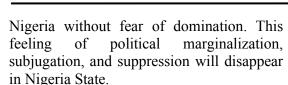
It is of reality that the Nigeria civil war revealed the diverse characters of Nigeria State: which have been managed despite political crises such as the Kano riot of 1953, the Western political crisis of 1962 between Obafemi Awolowo and his deputy Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the population census crisis of 1962/63, and the general election of 1964. Before the civil war Nigeria had been living in harmony under pretense; with the hope that the problem will solve itself or later it will be solved in the future. The 15 January 1966 military coup put a clause to this; of which the civil war escalated the differences and diversities which had been managed before independence and at independence. The management of unity in diversity is not bearable during the civil war, which is the bedrock that revealed the feeling and sense of political marginalization and economic marginalization, ethnic politics, fear of economic slowdown domination. retardedness, political downtrodden, instability.

The war is great damage to the political and economic security of the country resulting in the claim of lives and properties, insecurities, and the seed of political distrust and fear in Nigeria today; which is a challenge to the democratization of the fourth republic in Nigeria. This situation demands urgent attention and remedy for Nigeria's statehood development.

5.1 Recommendations

There should be genuine brainstorming, negotiation, and compromising that can address ethnicity management in Nigeria to the root of the matter.

There should be a genuine constitutional national conference that can project the development of the state; where the noticeable differences and the unknown challenges can be revealed and addressed. This conference must be able to fix back new Nigeria in citizens beyond ethnicity bigotry; where equity in political practices and participation will be fear to every region in



There should be an end to ethnicity politics and the placement of advantage in the game of numbers or population; the meritocracy system should be embraced with the spirit of ethics in politics. The Nigerian political parties should have political ideologies and a formidable party idealogy that is fair to all regions and citizens. Where all the competent politicians from all six geopolitical zones can have access to political power based on competency.

The spirit of Nigeria as the priority to defend must be welcomed by Nigerians, religion must be a personal issue to every citizen not an instrument of detriment to the development of the state. Religious politics must be discouraged; humanitarian brotherhood politics of bringing in reputable and merited people to politics must be embraced for the unity of the country as a whole.

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