NATIONAL INTEGRATION: THE BURDEN OF SELF DETERMINATION.

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Abstract
The experience of post-colonial independent nations shows that true self-determination entails political and economic independence as well as putting in place systems and structures that guarantee the political stability of a nation and the overall welfare of its citizens. This paper aims at showing that national integration is essential to self-determination and that citizenship as an ideology, rule of law, creation of national identity through common narrative and building of inclusive institutions are veritable mechanism for achieving national integration, and invariably fostering self-determination. The paper underscores the problems that militate against national integration such as power politics and conflicting ideologies, and the politics of re-tribalization. It adopts analytic and descriptive methods and argues to the conclusion that some forces which might appear as having debilitating effects on national integration are in reality critique of existing socio-political and economic structures and as such proper interpretation of national history is a component of national identity for which national integration is a safeguard.

Keywords: Nationhood, Ethnicity, Self-determination, Burden, National Integration.

Introduction
Despite the growing statist posture of most developing nations, they have had much difficulty with realizing true self determination and sovereignty. As a corollary of nationhood, self-determination poses particular problem in the developing world because the developing world is divided along tribal, cultural, religious, and ethnic lines (Baradat, 2008, p.244). In an attempt to establish national cohesion, some of these nations have tended to take shelter in paternalistic authoritarianism of its rulers under the name of guided democracy. But this has not helped matters because of lack of authentic political culture that makes reaching consensus among the people possible. The result is that they have grave difficulty with building a notion of people to which sovereignty first belongs, and afterwards to the state in a derivative sense. To achieve the notion of popular sovereignty which fosters self-determination, this paper proposes that certain measures such as appropriation of modern nation of citizenship with its characteristic features of freedom and equality, upholding of rule of law, building of inclusive institutions and fostering of national identity through authentic national history be put in place. It is only when proper national integration is established that self-determination, at least in the political sense, could be said to be guaranteed for a divided nation cannot truly lay claim to self-determination.

In Nigeria, power politics, conflict of interests and ideologies, re-tribalization, arrogance of the military and ignorance of the new elites and politics of identity have contributed a lot in making realization of national integration impossible. Politically the nation still very much depends on the political arrangement put in place by the British. As has been argued by Achebe (2012), Chinwizu (2013) and Kukah (2011) there is a structural imbalance in the way access to power is provided for among the ethnic nationalities. It is a case of obvious inequality of opportunity. This accounts for general discontent expressed by some section of the country. Given

the fundamental nature of the problem it is no surprise that despite the many attempts to put in place policies that could make for national integration and establish Nigeria as a politically and economically sovereign nation, the desired goal of the policies have continued to escape the people. It is to address this problem from the root cause that this paper sees in upholding of the principle of citizenship a solution to the problem. It is by treating Nigerians as citizens rather than subjects of the state that consciousness of equality of all persons irrespective of ethnic affiliation will be established. This would require respect for rule of law, commitment to building inclusive political institutions and creation of national identity through authentic national history. In articulating a response to the problem addressed by the research, the paper uses analytic and descriptive methods. It is the opinion of this paper that national integration which is essential to true self-determination will be achieved once the modern notion of citizenship is upheld and consolidated in practice through other mechanisms such as rule of law etc.

The Nature of Self-Determination
        In existentialist metaphysics it is said that existence precedes essence. In other words, it belongs to man to define what he is. What he is does not predate his existence. Indeed, it is on coming into the world that the individual strives to make of himself what he is. Man is the architect of his own destiny. He is the sovereign director of his life through his choices and decisions. As the French Existentialist Jean Paul Sartre (1943) puts it, man is condemned to be free; he cannot but be free. It is this freedom that grants sovereignty to his being. It is by his daily choices and decisions that he determines what he is. In nowhere is this idea of self-determination more real than in the idea of state. The concept of self-determination is used in this paper with reference to statehood rather than the ontology of the human person. It is therefore a political metaphor. If one substitutes "state" for man it becomes clear how self-determination is synonymous with sovereignty and as such of the very essence of statehood. While freedom confers legitimacy on human self-determination, it is the law that grants legitimacy to the sovereign state. In Hobbes' language as alluded to by Francis Fukuyama (2011),

> the sovereign derives his legitimacy from an unwritten social contract by which each individual gives up his natural liberty to do as he pleases in order to secure his own natural right to life, which would otherwise be threatened by the 'war of every man against every man' (pp.298-299).

As a concept, the historical development of self-determination is divided into three stages. The first stage is said to cover the period from the nineteenth century, through the Wilsonian period to about 1945. Then nineteenth century was known for growth of nationalism. Then nationalism was not geared toward the breakup of empires but the reunification of nations. According to Hurst Hannum of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in PEACEWORKS No.7 document published by Patricia Carley (1996:3) "It was only after the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires began to disintegrate that self-determination became a rallying cry of smaller national groups as a means of dividing, rather than unifying the territory."

At this period, self-determination did not refer to statehood for ethnic or national groups; instead it was chiefly a political principle that referred more to some sort of autonomy. Statehood was premised on fulfillment of certain political and economic requirements such as determined geographic size and viability of economy. The question of right was relative rather than absolute. Towards late nineteenth century and early twentieth century self-determination had turned out to be "much more important political goal of promoting world peace." With the charter of the United Nations, the term came to be applied specifically to states and not to peoples or groups; it is this that would lead the evolution of the word from principle to a right. The 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples provides the sense in which the concept is understood in this era as it spoke out on the promotion of the right to self-determination. Self-determination was used synonymously with decolonization. Here the idea of the territorial integrity of the state was underscored such that there was no place for secession. At this stage self-determination referred to the right of the colonial state to independence rather than rights of all people to self-determination. The 1970s marked the end of decolonization and further

evolution in the meaning of the concept. Today, it tends to refer equally to both the ethnic and cultural rights of minorities and the territorial absolutism of decolonization. This popular view of self-determination is yet to be accepted by any state and recognized by international law (pp.3-4). Drawing from these ideas expressed in the document referred to above, it could be said that self-determination entails self-rule and choice of political destiny and a prerogative that defines relation within and among existing states. The concept would include in its meaning the protection of individuals and collective rights, since by virtue of the nature of the state, each member of the constituent parts gave up its rights to the state as guarantor of its freedom and security.

State Creation and Self Determination: Post-Colonial Experience
         Self-determination is corollary of nationhood. Modern states or colonial states are artificial and generally product of historical circumstance. This is because they did not evolve gradually and naturally from an ethnic nationality or tribal community. They are result of amalgamation of different ethnic or tribal nationalities. It means that these nations or ethnic groups pre-existed the formation of the state. The states as it were owe their origin from colonists whose primary aim was often more economical than political. Although colonial state has always been seen negatively in terms of its origin, it needs to be admitted that the formation of colonies-turned-into-states is a lesson on loyalty to a much wider and larger group than to one's ethnic identity. It is openness to a wider world which most Africans have come to embrace. Otherwise, what explains the fact that there has not been a serious boundary disputes in the continent since the partitioning of Africa. The problem of national integration is not territorial but political and economic, and has to be addressed as such. Africans are fortunate that there had not been serious animosity among the diverse ethnic groups before colonization.

In a bid to assert their right to govern themselves and to choose the best way to organize themselves as a polity, most nations on gaining independence from the colonists came up with ideologies and philosophies of development that, in their estimation, would help to enhance their sense of sovereignty as nations. In Africa, as elsewhere, nationalism was a natural thing. As Sargent, L. T (2006:28) referring to John J. Brenilly rightly remarks, nationalism "is intimately linked to development of the modern state (defined in terms of legitimacy, sovereignty, and territoriality), which both shapes nationalism and which nationalists claim for themselves." The problem with post-colonial states according to Acemoglu and Robinson is that, although the colonial root was overthrown with the attainment of independence, it was merely replaced by an elite which has no interest in the welfare of the people. The result is that basic structure of society has remained the same (2013:4). In Latin America this situation applies to the transition from the colonial tradition of the Conquistadors to the twentieth century regimes.
         The direction of the development of institutions is determined by a combination of factors. In moments of crisis, of great contradiction and opposition, it is the group that succeeds in forming effective coalition that can structure events to its advantage. It means that nothing is predetermined. All are contingent on the interplay of forces. The masterly work done by Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) shows how the powerful, the wealthy and the elites of various times and circumstances combined with what has been identified as historical forces and "critical juncture" to shape political and economic institutions across the continents. The experience of failure of most post-colonial states to achieve self-determination has to be seen in this light. In Nigeria, institutional reforms have not been effective because of power politics. People contest for positions in government, not because they want to serve the nation but because their attention is on the wealth that power puts at their disposal. There have been opportunities since independence to get the nation on the right tract, but the country has always derailed because those who gain power use it for their own interest. The civil war, the return to civilian government and the Truth Commission and Reconciliation Commission of the Obasanjo era were critical junctures in Nigerian history which lacked the needed confluence of facts or events to disrupt the existing balance of political or economic powers in the country. The military that fought for national unity were driven by motive of power and extractive economic interests. The government that prepared the 1979 and 1989 Constitution in view of the return from military to civil rule was biased in favour of a section of the Nigeria

nation while showing disregard for minority right. The regimes of the military were characterized by creation of more states, but the northern region was always made to have some political advantage over the south by being given more states. Right from the time of the amalgamation of the two protectorates into one country made of three regions to the present "36 states and a federal capital territory along with 774 Local Government councils" spread across six geopolitical zones, the focus of the leadership has been on the politics of power sharing. As Kukah, M. H aptly puts it,

> Nigeria has remained trapped in a time warp. It has not succeeded in extricating itself from the colonial trap that is suffused with inherited prejudices, and distorted social histories. History has continued to serve as a platform for the reinforcement and concretization of age-old regional, ethnic and religious prejudices. The result is that in politics, economics, education, academic, religion and every area of our national life, these prejudices continue to dog and shape the choices we make in our relationships (2011:2)

The policy of "divide and rule" deployed by the colonists is replayed in marginalization. The infamous decrees No.1 and (17/1/66) NO.3 (8/2) of 1966 had conferred so much power on the state that it turned the state into a monster with regard to its enemies, real or imagined. By 1984, with its Decree NO.1 it became clear that "the military government was assuming powers that were total and all encompassing in theory and practice" (Kukah, M. H, 2011:210). The Abandoned Property Edict after the civil war and the Indigenization Decree of 1972, were policies, which had adverse effect on national integration. The wound created by 1976 coup and execution of soldiers from a particular region of the country created new wounds. With the regime of Ibrahim Babangida, Nigeria witnessed the era of consolidation of the power of the president and the manipulation of the military against the civilians. He took particular interest in entrusting key offices to his trusted Muslim friends and northerners. This approach to governance was consolidated during the Sani Abacha regime. The experience of marginalization triggered off movements of resistance in the form of "quest for justice and equality" in Nigerian society. Today, there is so much talk about restructuring and devolution of power. Again the focus is on power sharing between the federal and state governments or regional governments. Today, Boko-Haram and the Herdsmen embrioglio appears to have defied the intelligence of the military and the political will of the ruling elites thereby making the future of the nation precarious.

Factors Militating Against National Integration
    (a) Power Politics and Conflicting Ideologies
Nationalism is an ideology that helps to make for national integration of the different ethnic and tribal groups that make up a modern state. However, where there is an ideology that runs counter to the nationalist spirit, there is bound to be conflict and division. In Nigeria there is this problem of contrasting ideologies: the feudal theocratic vision championed by Ahmadu Bello in 1960 and the secular democratic vision articulated by Chief Obafemi Awolowo in 1978-79. In a nation that is multi-religious in character, it is unhealthy to make the religious-political doctrines of one group to dominate the political space. This is for the simple reason that it leads to the victimization of those whose religio-political outlook is not taken into consideration. In the words of Chinweizu (2013) the will to disintegration and division is evident in "the adoption of shariya by Arewa (Far North) states which had thereby repudiated the secular democracy constitution of Nigeria. By adopting shariya as their constitution they committed de jure secession from Nigeria" (p. 72). The citizens in a nation burdened by religio-political ideological divide cannot witness effectively to national integration. A statement attributed to Abu Zaid (2011) in Chinweizu (2013) reveals that it is the objective of the Muslims "to have a sovereign land where sharia is being practiced in the strict sense so that the dialogue will be between the Islamic country and the country of the unbelievers" (p. 75).
    (b) The Politics of Retribalization
Colonialism brought the top-down state-building system to Nigeria. This means that kinship as a basis for local social organization, as was the case in many parts of the indigenous tribal cultures of Nigeria will have to be replaced. In the south east, among the Igbo, the introduction of warrant chiefs helped to undermine the power

of the local chiefs or tribal heads. This was done to allow the colonialist to have access to the people so as to subvert them in order to introduce their own style of governance. With the lure of Western system of education, the new elites were basically uprooted from their cultural milieu that was characterized by strong loyalty to kinship ties. With the state as their patron, they naturally turned their loyalty to the system that gives them social significance. They found in the salary they earned a new path to prosperity that did not depend on being allotted one's share of the communal land

This outreach to a larger and more impersonal community was re-enforced by the struggle for independence during the nationalist era. It is to be remarked that in Europe, from where the modern style of societal organization came to Africa, the organization of local community around "tightly bounded kinship ground claiming descent from a common ancestor" (Fukuyama, P.230) had disappeared at much earlier time. It was only to kings and aristocrats who had fortunes to bequeath to their children that kinship continued to be of real importance. There was little or no constraint on individuals to dispose of their land and chattels during medieval times. This meant that European society was "individualistic at a very early point" (p.231).

It beats the imagination to think of an ethnic nationality considering other ethnic groups in terms of mere object of use or property rather than subjects. The view by the Fulani Oligarchy that the rest of the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria are properties of Othman Dan Fodio is most unwholesome for national integration. The intolerable language of appropriation of other ethnic groups and their lands by the Sokoto Caliphate tantamount to reducing them to mere serfs and their lands to estates belonging to other subjects, the Hausa-Fulani. It has been argued by some commentators that the root of this feeling of superiority traceable to the history of colonization in Nigeria. The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates that make up the present Nigeria, Chinweizu tells us, was "on the explicitly stated principle that Northern Nigeria, "the husband", would financially live off the dowry/revenue/resources of Southern Nigeria, 'the wife' (2013:13). The husband metaphor had once grown into the ideology of "Born to Rule." Thus, the political structure of the country is such that power politics takes the centre stage of political engineering. The outlandish imbalance in the structure of political relationship between the ethnic groups has been such that struggle for power is inbuilt: the Machiavellian politics of struggle where one has either to wrestle to gain power if one hasn't it or to stay in power if one already has it as a rule. Statesmanship gives way to power tussle.

Chinua Achebe tells us that Sir James Robinson had selected Harold Smith "to oversee the rigging of Nigeria's first election" to ensure that 'its compliant friends (in Northern Nigeria) would win power, dominate the country, and serve British interests after independence' (2012:50). Although Smith had to suffer the loss of his job on account of his refusal to do so dirty an assignment, the Governor General Sir James Robinson was by his conduct sowing the seed of unwholesome compromise in the polity. The complexity of the British Government in the whole transition exercise began with bringing in a new governor general from the Sudan to be at the helm of affairs without any provision made for a Nigerian successor. It was the intention of the foreign government to keep him in Nigeria for sometime even after the independence. He visibly threw "his weight behind Abubakar Tafawa Belewa, who had been tapped to become Nigeria's first prime minister" (Achebe, 2012:50). It could be said that corruption in Nigeria was inherited from the British: politicians became pawns for foreign business interest, public servants looting the commonwealth, and elections and national census were manipulated. By making the caliphate the successor to their colonial power through election rigging, the colonists were perpetuating colonial mentality: rule by forceful imposition rather than by the mandate of the people. As it were the amalgamation of 1914 which gave birth to the very existence of Nigeria as a state was a forced union of two separate colonial administrative entities, the Northern Nigeria created in 1900 and the Southern Nigeria in 1906. The polemics against colonialism, particularly its racial ideology gave rise to some ideological currents that tried to reaffirm African cultural identity and personality. Négritude was a unique force in this regard. It is therefore not surprising that the independence of African countries brought with it new form of self-consciousness. After its independence, Nigeria, for one, strove to work out its own educational curriculum given the fact that the

content of educational curriculum during the colonial era was organized to serve the interest of the colonialists. The philosophy of education had to set out a new agenda and orientation for the Nigerian and African people. This would go to re-enforce the cultural romanticism associated with Négritude. This reverse movement from love of anything foreign to pride for what is indigenous quickly brought with it a kind of ethnicity and retribalization as ethnic nationalities turned inward to idealize values and vision of reality proper to them. In politics the other (ethnic group) was considered an enemy who would want to take over power for the interest of his people. The consequence was the emergence of tension between tribal and national interest. It is not uncommon to speak of leaders privileging those of their own tribal and ethnic group in appointment to key offices or positions in government. Merit is generally set aside in recruitment of workers, and where examination and interviews are conducted, it was usually perfunctory and an opportunity for amassing wealth by those in charge of recruitment as they demand for "fat envelops" from the job seeker if she is to get the job she applied for.

The ignorance and incompetence of military juntas who took up the mantle of leadership from the deposed national fathers exacerbated the problem. Despite the fire-service devices in the form of policies aimed at containing the situation, descent towards and attachment to ethnic affiliations have been entrenched. The metaphor of "national cake" has been used to designate integration in terms of material and economic fruits of participation in the national life. Today the much talked about restructuring has tended to underscore regionalization as if granting some measure of autonomy to the region is the panacea for bad governance. It may grant to regional leaders power of decision and authority over issues bothering on security and provision of social amenities, but it does not guarantee that the power and authority will be at the service of the people. At the regional level, the authorities could still promote extractive political and economic institutions as is the case with present federal structure. Where the institutions of the state that could foster proper democratic and just society is not functional, empowering of regional or state government to exercise autonomy in the areas of security, education and health could be destructive of federalism and a grave threat to national integration. This is not to say that empowering the state or restructuring of the state to make room for regional autonomy is not needed. Indeed, with the way in which the federal government is run today, empowering of state governments and eventual restructuring are most urgently needed to save the polity. As it were, there are rules that govern institutions and political institutions determine who has power and how the power is to be exercised.

The experience of the military in Nigeria, like the monarchies in history, show that under absolute political institutions, those who wield power set up economic institutions to enrich themselves and augment their power to the detriment of the society. Where power is broadly distributed in society, with reasonable constraint rather than rest on an individual or a narrow group, political power rests on a plurality of groups. Of course, pluralistic political institutions are not enough, since a centralized and powerful state is also crucial. Distribution of power without central control, we are told, can only produce Somalia. There is always the need for a real authority that can control and sanction what one does (Acemoglu, p.80). In Nigeria, for instance, where laws are used for the protection of the elite around the corridor of power, it is difficult to ask those to whom the state has contracted some project to give account of their stewardship. One finds abandoned projects littered across the country without anyone being held responsible for not executing them. If restructuring tantamount to granting of autonomy to regional or state governments, there would be no reason to think that it will not end up the way other policies which aimed at national integration did, and perhaps worse since it may provide framework for championing disintegration. What is needed in the demand for restructuring and devolution of power is finding a just mean. This is because political institutions could be said to be centralized and to a large extent pluralistic, yet they would hardly be regarded as "inclusive political institutions" given the failure of rule of law which concentrate power, in practice, in the hands of a narrow elite, the president or governor, etc. The lesson of state creation is there to teach us. The multiplication of the number of states and local government councils are admittedly attempts at power sharing which have failed to respond adequately to the problem of injustice. This

process has alienated citizens and created more disenchantment. Fragmentation of the state has continued to feed the greed of local ethnic elites while initiating new fears as yesterday's majority group might turn out the minority with its fear of oppression and domination (Kukah, 2011:341-342).

In a state where the priority of the elites is to extract income and sustain their power through maintaining their cronies, resistance to centralization is achieved through infighting triggered by rival ethnic groups attempting to take control of the extractive institutions. The ambition of the Obasanjo government to stay on in power by changing the constitution tells a lot about the nature of political institutions in Nigeria. Political absolutism could function at national level as much as at the regional levels. It is to be noted that the direction of development of institution is determined by a combination of factors. In moments of crisis, of great oppositions, it is the group that succeeds in forming effective coalition that can structure events to its advantage; thus positing the path to be taken. It means that nothing is predetermined. All are contingent on the interplay of forces. In Nigera, the political and social situation that saw Jonathan out of power comprises of the crisis of Boko Haram, the accusation of corruption and the formation of coalition that brought Buhari and his APC to power. What was at stake was capturing power for the advantage of the party members. Since the political parties are made up of corrupt elites with opposing interest, sectional interest, the government of Buhari has not been able to effect the change which it had trumpeted during the political campaign that preceded the elections. And so the extractive institution continues while the polity remains under tension. Once more Obansanjo who rejected restructuring during his tenure is back on the political scene "to ensure" that a strong coalition is raised to bring about the much talked-about restructuring of power in Nigeria in order to create, it is imagined, inclusive institutions that are pluralistic. But this is mere antics to stay relevant and play the godfather of Nigerian political elites, a role he loves so much.

(c). Identity Politics

The Islamic revolution in Iran has created resurgence of religious identity across the globe. What the revolution has succeeded in doing is placing western civilization in a bad light, such that a fortiori it has come to be perceived as irreconcilable or contradictory to other cultural forms of life. It is in this sense that secularism and liberalism have come to be regarded as antithetical to non-western cultures. Incidentally it is the same liberalism and secularism which paved way for assimilation of millions of Arabs (refugees and migrants) in Europe and America that is under attack through politics of identity, particularly religious identity. In Britain, a most liberal of nation, the Moslem population today is coming up with a project of inauguration of Islamic emirate which with rise in political Islam could lead, in the future, to grave conflict between liberal secular vision and fundamentalist religious worldview. Nigeria has continued to have its share of this rise in identity consciousness. Within Islam it has given rise to Boko Haran which has constituted itself a threat to national security. In politics, there have been separatist movements and revendicators of political and economic rights. The lack of moral and political will on the part of the state has helped in constituting these groups into economic and social nuisance. It is an expression of abnormality that in a religiously pluralist nation a given religious group should think of imposing its form of life on others. Religious imperialism, like economic and political imperialism is an evil that all civilized cultures must resist. The traditional association of national identity with religion is no longer tenable given the characteristic cultural pluralism of modern states. The fact remains that, as Onifade, C. A & Imhonopi, D (2013:75) remark the minority question, religious fundamentalism and conflict, ethnic politics, indigene-settler dialectic, youth restiveness, clamour for a sovereign national conference or conversation about the terms for continued existence of Nigeria as a nation have been threats to national integration.

The Essential Ingredients of National Integration

The ideology and philosophy of national integration could be achieved through construction of myth or metaphor or the projection of certain identity. In India, nationalists had used the image of "mother India" to stir national consciousness. By 1962 it was already felt by majority of the Indians that national integration as a national goal has remained illusive (https://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/1962_14/4-5-

6/national integration.pdf). In Nigeria, attempt at national integration has been pursued in the form of policy making but the difficulty has always been that of implementation of the policy as tribal and personal interests come into play in the process of implementation. Edosa, E (July 2014:70-71) drawing from work done by Ojo (2009) mentions eight strategies put in place by the government ranging from, (a) the amalgamation, (b) nationalization policy, (c) National youth service corps (NYSC) scheme, (d) unity schools, (e) national language policy, (f) federalism, party politics, (g) new federal capital territory, to (h) state and local government creation. Referring to works done by Osaghae, (1994), Yakubu, (2003) he mentions four other integrative mechanisms put in place by the state. These are (a) national festival of art and culture, (b) national sports festival, (c) national football league, and (d) policy of federal character (Edosa, E:2014, p.71). He adopts the position of Otite (2000:197) that ethnic pluralism is a force and a part of social exchange and therefore rather than be a course for disunity, should from the point of view of dialectics lead to continuous synthesization. Onifade, C. A & Imhonopi, D (2013) mention the unified policy on tertiary education as one of the policies put in place to ensure that Nigerian universities would become instruments of national unity. Admission of students and staffing of the universities and other institutions of higher learning were done on a broad national basis.

Despite thirteen policy measures taken by the government to ensure national integration, it could be said that the desired unity has not been achieved. The Nigerian nation has gone extra mile to fight a horrendous civil war in defense of national unity, yet it appears to elude the nation till date. Fatile, J. O & Adejuwon, K. D in Osuntokum, A., Ukaogo, V & Odoeme, A (www.lasu.edu.ng/publications/management_sciences/jacob_fatile_bk_013.pdf) have come up with further strategies for integration which include that (a) non-governmental organization should aid in promoting national integration through enlightenment and co-operation; (b) the civil society promoting self-reliance in the process of development. The civil society could play the role of moderator of the power of the political elite. It is here that the impact of the autonomous community and national debate would be significant; (c) formation of a nationalist party with a candidate that focuses on nationalism. In this way, they argue, the state could be an agent of distributive justice; (d) instituting ethical commission for the evaluation of policies. Fatile and Adejuwon referring to Horowitz remark that it is change in the behaviour and values of the members of the society that would lead to lasting social peace and the abolition of ethnicity. This, they insist, calls for persistent education and formation of attitudes and values which would reduce the importance of kinship and ethnic identity that are the bane of national integration (p.335).

Besides policy making which Nigeria has been committed to since its birth as a nation, it is important to build a culture of nationhood by articulating basic philosophy or ideology of integration in a multi-cultural nation as Nigeria. That the colonists set in place structures that were meant to serve their interest is consistent with the logic of colonization. It is the duty of a free nation to demonstrate its ability to think for itself as a sovereign and united people. It is in this regard that it is essential that the conception of sovereignty be properly understood and upheld. Although it has been argued that the amalgamating ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria do not share common tradition and history, it has to be borne in mind that history and tradition do not precede a people, they are made by the people. In other words, Nigerian history and tradition strictly speaking began with the amalgamation and assumed authentic form with her independence. From the moment the various tribal groups and ethnic nationalities came under one colonial master, the British government, they began a common history and tradition; what could be called the colonial heritage. The truth is that as Nigerians, we have been involved in building one national history right from the moment the nationalist envisaged putting in place measures to ensure the freedom and independence of the nation called Nigeria. The amalgamation as the birth of Nigeria is the melting pot of all ethnic histories. The struggle for independence was part of the process of nation building for it was done with a certain nationalist consciousness. The experience of World War II, the declaration of the United Nations and the cold war were such that the colonist did not see much advantage in delaying the independence of its colonies. The result is that Nigerian national fathers did not have enough time to work as a team to build common values and common interest before independence was tossed before their face. And the colonial master who ordinarily was unwilling to leave, and a shrewd in the art of divide and rule, contrived a

scheme by which its influence could still hold sway even after handing over power to the new state leaders. The colonist handed on a vision of politics that is most unhealthy for nationhood, namely, *politics as struggle for power*. It behooves on Nigerians to articulate what true politics is and by so doing free themselves from the unfortunate side to their British heritage. It is only then that national history will be read positively and constructively for authentic nation building. This calls for the following measures:

(a) Philosophical and Ideological Attitude to Citizenship

For effective national integration which, in the opinion of this paper, is the burden of self-determination or sovereignty, it is important that citizenship be raised to a philosophy of integration. Modern state is constitutively a nation of sovereign citizenship. Citizenship is tied to belongingness to a political community. Citizenship is a political and juridical status of a person in a determined state or society. Modern nation is composed of sovereign people. Sovereignty here refers to the infinite value which the individuals possess as persons and by which they have claims that must not be set aside in favour of objective lower values. Freedom and equality are inalienable rights that give worth to the human person. The citizen, as person, is first and foremost a subject of rights and responsibility. He participates in the political community and exercises his right to vote. In antiquity and in traditional societies, participation in the political life of the city was limited to a number of persons designated for the role whereas the rest of the members of the community, though adults, were treated as mere subjects whose primary duty was to obey and comply with the order of the state for purposes of peace and general order in the society. Monarchs were considered sovereign whose power drives from divine mandate and as such, they were born to rule. This view of sovereignty and power is far from what the sovereignty and power mean in modern politics. For the moderns, sovereignty belongs to the people, the citizens, and the sovereignty of the state derives from that of the people by way of contract. It is the people that give mandate to the ruler. The ruler exercises sovereignty on behalf of the people. This is because all humans are free and equal, and no one has the right to rule the other without his consent. Equality is seen to flow from the right of man as man, and so it is an inalienable element in the 'ultimate structure' of reality. This equality is assumed to be grounded on the principle of "Every man to count for one and no one to count for more than one." As Berlin Wolf puts it, equality of treatment is expressed in "the sphere of legislative rights or of responsibility for action, or in the receipt of benefits, or in other respects, between any of which conflict all too easily occurs" (www.berlin.wolf.ox.ac.uk/published_works/cc/equality.pdf).

The liberty of the human individual entails emancipation from subjection. Human beings are fundamentally rational individuals. In other words, most people are capable of living freely. Man, though endowed with passion, is capable of directing and controlling his desires. He knows his own interests and could work to promote these interests. As it were, it is self-interest that is generally the motor of human action, for no one willingly acts against her own interest. Man, being free, is also responsible for his actions; he directs his interest in such a way that it does not unduly conflict with that of another. This means that he is also bound to work for the promotion of the common good. It is here that the state to which he has pledged his loyalty by entrusting his autonomy will have to moderate the conflict of interests that might arise between him and other individuals in the community. As it were, competition is natural but it should be fair and within proper bounds. To suppress competition in favour of an individual or group tantamount to violation of right to equality: equality of treatment, equality of opportunity. Equal opportunity extends to liberty. Equal opportunity does not mean that all will be equally successful. It only means that "everyone should have an equal opportunity to succeed" Ball, T & Daggar, R:2001). All forms of inequality are therefore obstacles to freedom and ought to be removed or at least minimized to ensure greater freedom of the individual. Freedom requires that the individual strives to find radical alternatives to the status quo. In this way the shackles and constraints contrived by inequality are broken so that the individual could pursue his interest without undue interference in his private affairs. The high value placed on the individual in the society is essential to democracy as articulated in the theories of popular sovereignty and the social contract.

b). Rule of Law

It is to be remarked that ethnic awareness is not necessarily contrary to democracy rather, it promotes political pluralism which is most apt for democracy. Those who claim that democracy encourages secessionist movement seem to ignore the dynamics of political pluralism. There is no doubt that there is a rise in the number of elites who seek to address their grievances by resorting to whipping up ethnic sentiments, but these anomalies could be rectified through just policies and practices that are geared towards national integration. Opposition is characteristic of politics and democracy. True practice of democracy presupposes respect for the rule of law. Law refers to a body of rule of justice that is binding on a community. Given the supremacy of the nature of law, all the members of the community are considered subject to it, such that there is not positive law that could override its prescriptions. It means that individuals who hold political power are considered to be subject to such laws. According to Fukuyama, what this means is that those who make laws "must legislate according to the rules set by pre-existing law and not according to their own volition" (p.246). Those laws which are made by legislatures, monarchs and warlords are considered, in this sense as legislations or positive laws. Where law is understood as something fixed, it means that the role of the law makers is to interpret the existing law in the light of new circumstances. This traditional understanding of law has been modified given the impact of secularism which denying religious claims, insists that laws are human creation even though they may require fidelity to certain procedural rules by which their conformity to "a broad sense of consensus over basic values" is guaranteed. The distinction which is formerly made between law and legislation corresponds to what today is regarded as constitutional law and ordinary law respectively.

Rule of law is meant to mitigate the imbalance associated with state building and its tendency to concentrate and use power. In Nigeria today, there is so much talk about devolution of power. This is spoken of in terms of power sharing among the federal and state or regional governments. In the context of corrupt and absolutist government, power sharing has everything to do with contesting of power among the elites. In other words, it is all about how much power of decision they can enjoy with regard to security and provision of social amenities. But this is virtually an incidental aspect of true power sharing. What is really important, and which makes for an inclusive political system is not so much the classification of power sharers or the hierarchy of power, since power could devolve in this manner without effectively changing the society in respect of inclusive political institutions. What is crucial is how the people participate in the making of decision for their own life. This is where democracy shows consummate relevance to the idea of "rule of law."

c). Building Inclusive Institutions

There is no recipe for building politically and economically inclusive institutions. However, some factors have been identified to contribute to empowerment take off. It has been pointed out above that the politics of secession and regionalization is basically a critique of the existing political structure. As Acemoglu and Robinson rightly point out, "pluralism, the cornerstone of inclusive political institutions, requires political power to be widely held in society, and starting from extractive institutions that rest power in a narrow elite, thus requires a process of empowerment" (2013:458). This is why democracy is a most suited government since where it is genuinely practiced power is hardly concentrated in the hands of few elites. In democratic system, one finds three arms of government exercising power with checks and balances. The executive, legislative and judicial arms are independent of each other, yet working in synergy to make for a government under the rule of law. While the different arms enjoy some measure of autonomy, there is no absolute exercise of power in any way. Indeed, the legislative arm is the government as such, since it represents the will of the people. Its authority is based on the mandate of the people, and so could not be subject to the dictates of the executive's will. There is however the need for "the presence of some degree of centralized order." This is to ensure that social movements that might challenge existing regimes do not lead to lawlessness. Centralization is the primary mark of statehood. But where there are no checks against abuses of power, political institutions inevitably becomes extractive rather than inclusive.

It is required that there should be a pre-existing political institution that provides the environment for political pluralism. This makes the formation of a broad coalition easy to form and to endure. It is said that in Bechuanaland, which at independence became Botswana there existed three tribal kingdoms which to avoid the dictatorship and extractive regime of the Rhodes had sent their chiefs to London to request the protection of the crown. Given the modicum of pluralism embedded in their tribal institution, it was possible for them, when they became a protectorate, to act with unusual degree of legitimacy. Having been left to their own resources, at independence, they were one of the poorest countries in the world, but today Botswana could be considered one of the fastest growing countries in Africa.

Acemoglu & Robinson have argued that a free media and a broad coalition are needed for the inclusive political institutions. On one hand, a flourishing media helps to generate opposition by exposing corrupt practices and abuses of power. As it were, the media plays a vital role in the empowerment of the population. On the other hand "a revolution by a broad coalition makes the emergence of pluralistic political institution much more likely" (2013:366). On this account "the presence of civil society institutions that can coordinate the demands of the population so that the opposition movement can neither be easily crushed by the current elites nor inevitably turned into a vehicle for another group to take control of existing extractive institutions" (Kukah, M. H: 2011, p.460).

d). Creation of National Identity through Common Narrative

As human creation, a product of colonization, nation building is preceded by the existence of people of diverse socio-cultural and political history. It means that national identity is artificially constructed rather than being natural to the people. It is therefore required that for a true national identity to emerge, common narrative has to be put in place. In a country as Nigeria where civil war has created contrasting interpretations of history, it is important that the nation, through its intellectuals work out what is commonly accepted as the truth of the nation's history. So long as the different tribal groups read and interpret the nation's history different, they are bound to act as different nationalities. History or common narrative is essential to the construction of identity. Here history refers to "a process of human's making or unmaking of themselves in their dynamic relationship within the reality of time" (Pathrapankal, J: 2002, p.9). True national history would therefore neither be a denial of nor an escape from the events that have marked the relationships of the different ethnic or tribal groups within Nigeria. Indeed, it entails creatively affirming and transcending these events for the values that drive them in their historical march. In the Fourth Edition (2004) of the National Policy on Education mention is made of these values as follows:

(a) Respect for the worth and dignity of the individual;
(b) Faith in man's ability to make rational decisions;
(c) Moral and spiritual principle in inter-personal and human relations;
(d) Shared responsibility for the common good of society;
(e) Promotion of the physical, emotional and psychological development of all children; and
(f) Acquisition of competences necessary for self-reliance

History is informative and formative. It is therefore important to ensure that authentic national history is seen to have taken into consideration those values towards which national education policy is geared so that different constituent units be seen to share common understanding and national orientation. These call for openness which makes it possible for one to accept the truth without which mutual trust is impossible. Willingness to uphold common narrative is dependent, to a large extent, on the understanding of citizenship. Citizenship as has been remarked earlier and elsewhere is characteristically tied to nationalism and democracy which rule of law safeguards.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has centered on the thesis that national integration is essential to self-determination. To make this point clear the paper has tried to show that self-determination as the political will to uphold a people's right to self-governance presupposes the existence of a people as a political unit. Without the acceptance, formally or otherwise, of a given political entity, as a union, an integral body, it would not be possible to act as a moral person. As it were, self-determination is first a quality of personhood, the human person. It is only spoken of a moral person, in this case of a political entity in a derivative and metaphorical sense. As a political and economic mode of being, self-determination is ongoing since it involves continuous affirmation of the right of a group to forge its political destiny. In working out principles and policies to uphold this, it must be those principles and policies that are in tandem with national integration. In other words, the future of any nation as a politically self-determining entity is jeopardized each time practices and policies contrary to national integration are put in place. In the absence of national integration, self-determination remains a dicey project, and a nation so affected could always be characterized by precarity of life and tension. National integration is the appropriation and application of the common will in the realization of self-determination. The paper maintains the view that upholding citizenship as a philosophy and an ideology of integration, building inclusive institutions, application of rule of law and construction of national identity through common narrative will help enhance national integration, and invariably self-determination.

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