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JUSTICE AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: LESSONS FROM THE 2014 SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (SNC)

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Abstract

Overtime, the journey toward national development has been given an economic orientation such that emphasis on trade and financial investments are sine qua non. Within the Nigerian context however, it has been demonstrated that even when these are necessary elements abinitio they have not proved themselves to be sufficient. Through the method of philosophical analysis, the authors of this paper argues that for any meaningful development to take place within Nigeria, it is pertinent to consider the principle of justice in the light of the proposals that emanated from the Sovereign National Conference (SNC) in 2014. It is the position of this paper that until the outcomes of the SNC are considered in the light of this principle, the quest for good governance that will usher in national development in the country may still be far off.

Keywords: Justice, National Development, Nigeria, Politics, Sovereign, National Conference.

Introduction

In Nigeria, the creeks in the Niger-Delta region and the northeastern Nigeria lie beyond the direct and continuous control of the federal, state, and local governments due to the activities of dominant insurgent groups. These areas are controlled by a range of insurgent groups, such as ethno-religious crisis in Jos, *Boko Haram*, *Armed Bandit*, and Fulani herb men in the North-East and, in the Niger Delta, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF), and the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF).¹ These are instance of perceived injustice which speaks to severe poverty, unemployment, and elite corruption causes aggression within the affected masses.² If these factors are in place, then

national development and a peaceful status quo are beyond negotiation. The aim of this paper is to address these problems especially as it pertains to the Nigerian state.

The principal focus of this paper is to articulate the connection between justice and the Nigerian state by mediating the place of the Sovereign National Conference of 2014, whose sole character is linked with the improvement of the common people. From this understanding, it becomes pertinent to consider how the quest for justice that will usher national development in Nigeria via the proposals of the commissions of the SNC. Unless, this is critically assessed, it is doubtful if any meaningful development may be attained by the state. Emphasis on the economic dimension to state craft may be very important, as Marxists such as Walter Rodney³ have strongly argued. It is however important to note that when there is lack of political will, guided by justice, tangible results may be difficult to attain. To make the contention of this paper lucid enough, the next part of this discourse focuses on the meaning of national development. Followed by, the idea of justice, taking inspiration from John Rawls and other notable Western scholars will be considered before delving fully into the proposals of some committees of the SNC. Hence, the last part of this paper deals with conclusion and recommendations.

Philosophical Analysis of the Idea of National Development

The term 'national development' has been variously construed by theorists and scholars at different time and places, and in different contexts, especially with how it is retained within the Nigerian socio-linguistic domain. Attention however, will first of all be given to the idea of 'development.' When people talk of development, there is the tendency of jumping at growth of some sort. This often leads to confusing growth with development whereby every 'act of growth is erroneously considered to be an act of development.'⁴ But can people actually maintain that to grow is to develop? If people cannot equate growth with development, how then do these two concepts possibly relate and or differ? This forms the main basis of our consideration of development in this section. What then is development? Generally, development is the progressive unfolding of the inner potentialities of a given reality. It is to de-envelop, that is, to bring out to light: existential, functional and epistemic, of what was enveloped, folded or hidden. As it applies to a people, development is the integration of the various givens: natural, physical, acquired and human, of a people towards the full working out, permanently and cumulatively, of their being as persons, of their community, and of their real productivity.⁵

Development is "both a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has secured the means for obtaining a better life."⁶ Consequently, development can be defined as a process of unfolding, evolving, or maturing that entails a movement from a lesser stage to a greater one. Therefore, to develop is, in some cases to increase in dimension, to mature, and in some others, to come out full and perhaps complete.⁷ Implicit in development is the Aristotelian principle of Potency and Act, whereby what develops moves from a state of actualization, which manifests or unfolds what hitherto manifested in its former state of actuality. In other words, what develops moves from present stage to actuality to a new stage of actuality in progression? In

development, therefore, there is what it develops into, and every object of development realizes its potentiality as it develops.⁸

To be deduced from this logic of development is the fact that African States; Nigeria in particular prominently features on the list of undeveloped countries. As is the case with many country of the two-third world, her indices of economic poverty are many and well-documented. The collapse and or absence of infrastructure, the astronomically rising number of talented and intelligent but unemployed citizens, ignorance and disease in a land inhabited by citizens of unactualized potentials, to mention but these, would make Nigeria eminently qualified to be in the league of undeveloped countries..⁹

The gravity of poverty in the world makes it tempting for rich and poor nations and for many experts on the economy to assume, often without sufficient scrutiny of the assumption, that the economy holds the key to authentic development, and maximization of material prosperity is the hallmark of human fulfillment. Development so conceived is the availability of more money, abundance and consumption of more and more goods, invention of machines and tools of increasing sophistication and efficiency, infrastructure of breath-taking beauty, etc. Since the notion of development tends to influence, if not determine, philosophy of education, education is itself reduced to science and technology, the acquisition of techniques of invention of gadgets, and the skilful plotting of strategies for making profit. But economic growth is only one aspect of human existence, one set of operations among others sets of operations to be deployed for the attainment of the best way to live. Our personal and collective fulfillment would be jeopardized if and when development is conceptually and practically reduced to economic growth.¹⁰ With these articulations in place, it is therefore pertinent to query the place of national development.

The concept of national development is another way to address nation building. According to Joseph Omeregbe, national development is the ability to defined the frontiers of a nation, it connotes high percentage of mass literacy, a buoyant economy, and in short, being in possession of all kind of material goods, which are calculated, to make man's life happy and also guarantee national security."Through this process the society ensures growth in wealth acquisition and mental enrichment and the betterment of the quality of life and living conditions of all the people. This explains why Udoidem defines national development as a gradual process of unfolding for the better or growth of nation; a type of growth that affect the nation as a whole or a development process that is patriotic and nationalistic. This implies that national development in patriotism and nationalism is the desire to contribute meaningfully to the progress of the nation, as well as the adequate vision and willingness or readiness to work for the progress of the nation.

The term national development can be used in its broadest sense in reference to spiritual and material growth or maturation of the totality of the nation which includes the individuals, that is, men and woman that make up the nation, in their various works of life, and in the environment

- physical and psychological- in which they live. It means the harnessing, tapping or exploiting, or the realization of the potentials of the national resources- human as well as material and environmental resources. National development implies progress or advancement of a nation in positive terms, in Nigerian parlance; it means to move the nation, the country or the state forward. National development projects, therefore, have to be, as matter of natural necessity, forward looking. National development in concrete terms means a lot of things in various respects of human life. It means better awareness and better appreciation of the essence of life and its conditions.¹³

Thus, every nation is deemed to be either, developing, stagnating, de-developing or under-developing, but never completely and exhaustively developed or underdeveloped. In other words, national development remains relative term, for a nation is said to be developed or developing relative to its earlier state and status, as well as in relation to other nations. In the final analysis, every act of development is relative to certain background from which development is assessed.¹⁴

As part of the effort to ensuring a meaningful national development that will translate into the lives of the peoples, the SNC of 2014 was initiated in Nigeria. Before examining the SNC and how just it was to serving the need dose for national development, it is important to explore another key concept -justice.

Justice and the Quest for Good Governance

Justice is a central concept in ethics. It is one of the most important concepts in socio-political as well as legal philosophy. Also, the concept of justice has become real and very topical in contemporary societies. This is because government and public institutions have grown to be very complex in their relations with citizens.¹⁵ Everyone has insight into what the reality of justice is. Whenever somebody cheats us or our group is marginalized in the share and distribution of national resource and property, we say that is not justice. However, justice can be defined simply as fairness.¹⁶ According to Aristotle justice consists in *treating equals equally and 'unequal's unequally, and in proportion to their relevant differences.'*¹⁷ One of the earliest definitions by Thomas Aquinas says that Justice is the firm and constant will to give to each one his due. The notion of justice is based on the fundamental equality of all men. Since all men are fundamentally equal, they should also be treated as equals. To treat them unequally is injustice. If for example two people commit the same offence and are equally guilty they should be given equal punishment. If for example, one of them is sentenced to four years imprisonment while the other is sentenced to only two years imprisonment, there would be no justice in such a judgment. Similarly, if two people do the same amount of work, they should under normal circumstances be given equal reward -equal reward for equal work, otherwise there would be injustice. All this presupposes that all men are fundamentally equal and should therefore be treated as equals. This is the basis of justice.

For many people justice is associated with fairness, entitlement and equality. Justice is a

moral obligation to act on the basis of fair judgment between rival claims. For example, in healthcare ethics, the concept of justice can be segmented into three classifications: fair distribution of scarce resources which is called *distributive justice*, respect for people's rights which is called *rights based justice* and respect for morally acceptable laws which is known as *legal justice*. Thus, Akpenpuun Dzurgba, Justice is a response to the needs of other persons.¹⁹ Though, justice demands that everyone has the right to be treated equally in terms fairness when it comes to access to medical treatment, but in practical terms a number of different factors like age, place of residence, social status, ethnic background, culture, sexual preferences, disability, legal capacity, hospital budgets, and insurance cover may influence actual access to treatment thereby making injustice inevitable.

Justice as a universal concept is vital to everyone, but it means diverse things to diverse groups. For instance, *social justice* is the concept that everyone deserves equal economic, political, and social prospects notwithstanding your race, gender, or religion. *Distributive justice* on the other hand deals with equitable division of assets in society, *Environmental justice* is interpreted in the light of fair treatment of all people and society with regard to sharing of environmental burdens and benefits. Hence, *restorative or corrective justice* seeks to make whole those who have suffered unfairly while *retributive justice* seeks to punish wrongdoers objectively and proportionately. And *procedural justice* addresses the issue of implementing legal decisions in accordance with fair and unbiased processes. If rendering to each his own. These raises the question of what is "each his own", just as the classic definition that justice means "treating equals equally"²⁰ leaves open the question of who are equals? In the light of the above, it is clear that justice as a concept defies an univocal definition. The reason for the difficulty in defining justice is that we tend to identify our own self-interest with what is right and just. One way to overcome this is to think of justice as meaning what the law says it is. Thomas Hobbes once said that there could be no unjust law. All he meant by that was that justice is defined as any action, which complies with the law as it is. But the law itself does not always measure up to a community's of justice. Indeed, Justice Cardozo, a member of the United States Supreme Court, wrote:

*What we are seeking is not merely the Justice that one receives when his rights and duties are determined by the law as it is; what we are seeking is the justice to which the law in its making should conform,*²¹

The final test of the justice of a society is to be found in the way individuals are treated, how much freedom, how much opportunity, and how much of a share in the society's resources each has. Justice does not require mathematical equality in all things. It does require that everyone should be free that nobody should be arbitrarily denied opportunities and that if the distribution of resources is unequal, it should nevertheless be fair justice is a pre-requisite for peace. Hence, the requirements and demands of justice cannot be compromised under any circumstance. If otherwise is the case, enormous social, political and economic cost in terms of chaos, disorder and instability, which are directly consequent. From the foregoing, it means

justice is blind, blind to ethnicity, to the accidents of birth, to poverty etc. justice is said to be done when people get what they rightly and legitimately deserve. The denial of a widely universal application and relevance of the standard of justice is fraught with unspeakable consequence.

In the light of the above, John Rawls asserts that "Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought."²² The law is frequently equated with justice. Courts are designated 'court of justice', their buildings flamboyantly emblazoned with the word itself, or its symbolic representations of equity and fairness. Governments create ministries of 'justice' to oversee the administration of the legal system. Alleged offenders are no longer charged or persecuted, but 'brought to justice'. "But caution is required. The law occasionally deviates from justice. Worse, it may actually be an instrument of injustice, as in Nazi Germany or apartheid South Africa. Though the law may, in virtuous societies, aspire to justice, it is mistaken to bracket the two together,"²³

Justice, in any event, is far from a simple concept. Most discussions on the subject begins with Aristotle's claim that justice consists in *treating equals equally and 'unequal's unequally, and in proportion to their relevant differences.*"²⁴ He distinguished between 'corrective' justice (where court redresses a wrong committed by one party against another), and 'distributive' justice (which seeks to give each person his due according to what he deserves). Distributive justice in Aristotle's view was chiefly the concern of the legislator, but does not tell us what justice actually is.

Be that as it may, in the *Corpus JurisCivilis*²¹, a body of civil law codified under the order of the Emperor Justinian (c.482-565), Justice is then defined as "the constant and perpetual wish to give everyone that which they deserve'. And the 'precepts of the law' are stated to be "to live honestly, not to injure others, and to give everyone his due'. These expressions, though fairly general, do contain at least three important overlapping features of any conception of justice. "Firstly, it conveys the importance of the individual; secondly, that individuals be treated consistently and impartially, and, thirdly, that individuals be treated equally."²⁶ In the same token, Thomas Aquinas defined justice as: "the firm and constant will to give to each one his due."²⁷ The notion of justice as mentioned above is based on the fundamental equality of all men. "Since all men are fundamentally equal, they should also be treated as equals. To treat them unequally is injustice."²⁸ For example, if two people committed the same offence of theft and are equally guilty, they should be given equal punishment, It is in a bid to interrogate the nosedive that the Nigerian state has witnessed since the inauguration of the 4th Republic that the SNC surfaced. A crucial matter that the SNC seeks to examine is how justice can be approximated in several sectors of the nation such that national development may ensue. In the next section, we now give full attention to this imperative issue.

Justice and Sovereign National Conference (SNC): Towards National Development

The Sovereign National Conference has profound implications for Nigeria's stability and justice which are sacrosanct for her development, The call for the Conference may be traced as

far back as the late Chief Anthony Enahoro who foresaw the implications of not bringing the people of Nigeria together for a dialogue regarding the cohabitation as a recipe for disaster. It is being assumed that Nigeria is a sleeping giant - one with so much resources but merely able to provide. What is the cause of underdevelopment in Nigeria? Can it be traced to the workings of colonialism and neo-colonialism? How does the conference intend to tackle the problems of security in the country? How can Nigeria deal with corruption and embezzlement of public funds? In fact the bottom questions: which politico-economic alternative shall Nigeria employ in the drive towards development? How does Nigeria recognize the various ethnic fashions canopied within her? These questions (especially the latter) are very crucial and it is not an overstatement that even the common Nigeria has pondered over them. It seems to be the case that unless these questions are given answers and are not merely paid to lip service, peace after justice, may reign.

With this in mind, President Good luck Jonathan inaugurated this conference on the 17th March, 2014 and it is intended to deliberate and submit its report within three months. According to the website of the National Conference on its aim, it is clearly articulated that "the National Conference is a national project, a sincere and fundamental undertaking, aimed at realistically examining and genuinely resolving, long-standing impediments to our cohesion and harmonious development as a truly United Nation." The National Conference in the words of Kunle Oderemi and Femi Ibirogbra (2014:internet) is as follows: "it is assumed that delegates to the conference would have fully and critically identified, analyzed and come up with what they consider as realistic solutions to the avalanche of challenges that slowed down the true glory of Nigeria."²⁹

At this point again, the crucial question of whether Nigeria is a truly United Nation comes to mind. We shall deflect this question to the next section. With the conference, chaired by rtd Justice Lebo Kutigi, about twenty committees were created to look at the problems facing Nigeria in that committee, analyze it and come up with a concrete solution. The members of these committees (492) are Nigerians from all works of life, who assumed to be versed in the sector of committee they man and representatives of the diverse ethnic sects canopied together by the British colonial interlopers. The twenty committees are as follows: committee on devolution of power; committee on political restructuring and forms of government; committee on national security; committee on environment; committee on politics and governance; committee on law. Judiciary, human rights and legal reform; committee on social sector; committee on transportation; committee on science, technology and development; committee on agriculture; committee civil society, labour and sports; committee on public services; committee political parties and electoral matters; committee on foreign policy and Diaspora matters; committee on land tenure and boundary issues; committee on economy, trade and investment; committee on energy; committee on religion; committee on public finance and revenue; and finally, the committee on immigration and related matters.

The aforementioned twenty committees makeup the entire committee on difference sectors of the National conference. Due to spacio - temporal limitations and what this essay

perceives as unnecessary, the conclusions of these committees, this paper shall concern with the following committees:

- A Committee on devolution of power;
- B Committee on national security;
- C Committee on political restructuring and forms of government;
- D Committee on religion; and
- E Committee on economy, trade and Investment.

This paper has tried to be limited to these committees simply because if matters of these committees are set right, the conclusions in the committees left out shall become feasible automatically. This paper shall deal with the conclusions of each of the committees to be treated. The paper also relies on the authority of some Nigerian dailies on the subject. Without much ado, we proceed to the submission of the first committee:

Committee on Devolution of Power:- This Committee in the National Conference was saddled with the responsibility of examining the crucial question of whether Nigeria should remain as it is or part ways. It is already implied in the name of the Committee that there is no parting of ways. The matter was merely raised to make some Nigerians who prefer to break away think their thoughts were well considered. This Committee was co-chaired by Obong Victor Attah and Alhaji Ibrahim Coomaise.

The Committee then agreed that that Nigeria should remain united but that there should be devolution of power (from the centre to the federating units). Members decided to discuss resource control independent of the Legislative list. They agreed that each member of the Committee should be given an opportunity to discuss each thematic issue.

The committee agreed that there was a great need for some kind of Liaison or interface between the committee and any other committees of the conference deliberating on thematic issues that are closely related to that of the committee.

Most members of the Committee made contributions to the discourse on resource control. Some members were of the opinion that the 13% derivation formula as contained in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria be retained while some drew the attention to the fact that the Constitution states "not less than 13 %, and therefore suggested that it be increased to 50%.

Views were varied on the issue of resource control. While some members insisted that resources belong to the constituent states in which they are located; others claimed they belong to the Nigerian sovereign nation; while others believe that mineral resources belong to the communities in which they are found.³⁰

It is not surprising that the aspect concerning resource control would generate heated controversies. The next committee is the one national security,

Committee on National Security:- Security has become of the major obstacles in Nigeria for some years now, it has reached an alarming peak. It is not awesome that such a matter must gain for itself a committee in the conference, This committee was headed by Muhammed Gambo Adamu Jimeta.

Highlights of the Committee's recommendations touched on the need to set up a National Guard Force that should be responsible for border protection, internal conflict and special operations.

The Committee also recommended creation of the Ministry of Homeland Security Services to replace the existing Ministry of Police Services. One recommendation that would lead to further debate was that of the serious need for community policing. Some members believe if accepted, it would pave the way for creation of state police.

- It also recommended welfare and disciplinary commission which it said should be created to handle issues of motivation and discipline among personnel of security agencies.
- A chain-link form of security operations from bottom to top and vice versa was recommended to enable everyone in a position to know to have access to required information that would ensure effective performance of security functions.³¹
- Bello was confident that if what they submitted would be accepted by the Committee and the Conference in plenary and eventually implemented by government, it would solve 90% of the security problems in Nigeria.

Committee on Political Structuring and Forms Government:- This Committee is co-chaired by Gneral Ike Nwachukwu and Honourable Mohammed Umaru Kumalia. The Committee on Political restructuring, after extensive deliberations, agreed that Nigeria shall retain a Federal system of government. They agreed that the core elements of the Federation shall be as follows:

1. There shall be a central government with States as the federating units;
2. That Local Governments shall no longer be third tier of the Federation;
3. That States that wish to, may create Local Governments, which shall be under the jurisdiction of the States;
4. That the number, structure and form of Local Government shall be determined by the States;
5. That any group of States may create a self-funding Zonal Commission to promote economic development, good governance equity, peace and security in accordance with the Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria; and
6. That without prejudice to States constituting the federating units, States that wish to merge may do so in accordance with the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Provided that:(a). A majority of two-thirds of all members in each of the Houses of Assembly of each of the States, in which such merger is proposed, support by resolution,

the merger, and (b). A referendum is conducted in each of the States proposing to merge with 75% of the eligible voters in each of those States approving of the merger, and (c). Each House of the National Assembly, by Resolution passed by a simple majority of membership of each of the Houses, approve of the merger. The above is the submission of the committee on political structure and forms of government.

Committee on Religion:- Religion is a vital force in the lives of Nigerians. It has generated a lot of problems as a result of clashed between members of different sect who thought and felt their religion is better than the others'. This is why a crucial matter as this also has a place in the National Conference. The following is the committees' submission:

"Government shall discontinue the sponsorship of official government delegations on any pilgrimage, for the same reasons as stated above.

"Government in the exercise of its oversight responsibility to the citizens of Nigeria, shall provide normal consular services for the pilgrims through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the established foreign missions in the relevant destinations".

Similarly, the recommendation to establish an independent Religious Equity Commission is "to prohibit all forms of religious discrimination, religious victimization, religious harassment, hate speeches and for matters connected therewith."

Committee on Economy, Trade and Investment:- The Committee on economy, trade and investment, made very good recommendations, which could catapult the country to greater heights if implemented with sincerity and determination.

The delegates to the conference resolved to have the clause removed as they adopted the amended report of the Committee on Economy, Trade and Investment. The conference also resolved that the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) should be made to pay prevalent interest rates on duly delayed remittances to the federation account.

The delegates to the conference also adopted that government should release in its entirety, the N100 billion budgeted for cotton, textile and garment revival scheme through the Bank of Industry. The conference also accepted that local textile manufacturing industries should be exempted from paying Value Added Tax (VAT) for three years. IT also agreed that imported textile products should attract not less than five per cent levy.

To attract patronage for Made-in-Nigeria products, the conference urged the National Assembly to enact a law that would prohibit government from going abroad to source for goods that were available in Nigeria.

It recommended that the Federal Government should send Anti-Trust Bill to the National Assembly for passage into law to prevent monopoly in the privatized sectors of the economy. The conference also adopted that government should provide a special fund for interest-free loans to women farmers, marketers, traders, transporters and owners of rural cooperatives. It was also agreed that all banks should establish gender desks to ease the stress of borrowing for

women.

It however rejected a proposal for the establishment of a special Bank for Women. The committee also recommended 50 per cent reduction in the cost of tuition, books, equipment and hostel for all female students in secondary and post-secondary institutions. It also accepted that Nigeria should not enter into any partnership/trade agreements that could be detrimental to the current efforts at industrializing the country.

The delegates also recommended that the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) bill be enacted into law. The conference also accepted that government at all levels should invest more in agencies for mechanical and technical education to target out-of-school and unemployed youths. The conference, however, rejected the recommendation that the National Planning Commission should be converted to Federal Ministry of Planning and Economic Development.

It also rejected recommendation for the establishment of National Fashion Council to facilitate the development the fashion industry and the National e-Commerce Council under the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce. The conference accepted that government should formulate a policy of low tax on food and heavy tax on luxury goods. It however rejected the recommendation for a certain percentage of pension funds to be dedicated to mass housing.

The conclusion arrived at by some of the selected committees at the National Conference,

This study has been able to explore the five key committees among many others of the SNC 2014 to show that the quest for political justice where no one will be left out has been the crucial matter at hand. As a result, the SNC needed to make justice sail through the Nigerian polity and sanitize the various disgruntled voices that had made the country both unjust and undeveloped. Unfortunately, this dream was cut short a year later when president Muhammad Buhari-led administration which assumed office on 29th May, 2015, not only claimed to not recognize the proposals of the SNC, but that it will not affect their conclusions in his political spectrum. Consequently, the unpleasant and unjust state that is characteristic of Nigeria continues to persist nearly unchallenged. It is therefore clear that when justice is a key proposal for the survival of any polity, the avenue for its realization was tossed off by the present administration and it is no longer difficult to grasp why national development continues to be a mirage. Justice underpins efforts to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. Access to justice programs give marginalized communities the tools they need to improve their tenure security, which has been shown to lead to more productive investment. Similarly, the ability to access and enforce regulatory frameworks helps to determine whether contracts and labour and environmental standards are respected in practice: all of which are critical for fair development outcomes.

Conclusion

The interplay between justice, national development and the SNC are the triad preoccupations of this inquiry. Whereas we have argued that for the sake of any meaningful development to surface, justice across the relevant sectors must be given critical examination. In contemporary Nigeria, the country is bothered in the North by the deadly *Boko Haram* and ravaged by the South by pipeline vandalism and Niger Delta militia. These groups are responsible for several instabilities that vitiate the quest for national development in the country. Owing to the lackadaisical or lips service of the sitting government which has done nearly nothing to improve the status quo, this research submits the urgency to return to the articulation and implementation of the outcomes of the SNC for a just society that will in turn mediate national development for Nigeria. Unless this is done, the realisation of national development may be pushed farther and further into posterity.

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