

THE NATIONAL QUESTION, HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGIC ISSUES, IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

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Abstract

This paper looks at the interaction processes involved in the national question and pursuit of sustainable national development and argues that there are challenges posed by the structural defects in the processes. These challenges come in form of human rights violation and they have some socio-economic implications on the nation's quest for development. The paper looks at the strategic issues involved in human rights protection and the national question in a plural society such as Africa. It opines that life in any society that is characterized by incessant human right violation is worthless. This distracts development and underscores nationalism and identification as national consciousness is replaced by we-feeling and setting of component groups against each other in matters of joint response in state determination.

Key Words: National question, Human rights violation, National development, strategic issues, implications, challenges, globalized world.

Introduction

The right to life is both inalienable and legal. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and, indeed, the constitutions of all democratic nations, the world over, provide that every person has the right to life. The right to life shall not be deprived intentionally except in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which an individual has been found guilty (1999 Constitution of FRN, Sec. 33 (1)). The human rights, classified under the:

- (a) civil and political rights;
- (b) social and economic rights; and,
- (c) environmental and developmental rights, derive their strength from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10th December 1948. Till date, this international document' has remained "a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations". Essentially, these rights and dignities, as provided for in this international document, remain a foundation pivot and standard that every nation and every person should strive to achieve.

It is disheartening that ever since the end of the Second World War when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted this guiding document that most nations, especially those who were signatories to it, have consistently involved themselves, directly or indirectly, with the . violations of human rights (Iheriohanma, 2001). Reasons for this involvement have discomfortingly become unexplainable.

The engagement in this act of violation has devastating effects on world peace, dignity and growth of the persons. The violations and consequences call attention to world peace, development and a revisitation of this international document. It appears that the custodians of this document consistently falter in their duties regarding the preservation of the human rights. The explanation is that, with the universal declaration of human rights, there should emerge for all peoples, "a common vision for a newly just, peaceful and responsible world despite imperfect communions and still fractures relationships ..." (Echoes, 1993:40). However, this was not to be. Again, it is expected that all nation-states that were signatories to the document, and invariably the emerging nation-states after 1948, will respect the contents of the universal document as a guiding principle for living as well as promulgate their constitutions in quest for national unity using the

document as a reference base. The hasty conclusion is that the strict observance will uphold the common vision for a just, egalitarian, free and peaceful world. One then wonders if the defects in the conscious struggle for independence (and in the case of Nigeria, struggle against colonial domination) and the structures for the quest for national unity and sustainable development have not detracted the expected observance. It could be that personal desires may have been the cause or effect of this distraction or both. Worse still, the vigour in the application and execution of laws, given the peculiarities of these nation-states could have necessitated trampling on human rights.

The unexplained reason has posed a problematic challenge to explore the interaction processes and interrelationship involved in the pursuit of the national question aimed at establishing a sustainable national development. The problem has challenged the attendant fall-outs in the process that has crystallized in form of human rights violation. This is precariously necessary, especially in the Third World countries, of which Nigeria is included. The spate of ethnic and religious violence, number of citizens applying for political asylum outside their countries (A. I. News, 1999), arson, incessant attacks and violence on public offices, kidnappings, African leaders' disobedience to court orders (Ugwuegbulcm, 2006), clamp down on people's right to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly and association, anti-trade union laws (Jordan, 1997), etc. witnessed in these Third World countries and Nigeria in particular since the democratic rule 1999, direct attention to the structures and measures aimed at achieving the national unity. Also, these call attention to how governments of these countries observe the provisions of human rights in their constitutions, particularly in this era of globalization.

The Objectives

This exposition explores the interaction processes involved in the national question, pursuit of sustainable national development and the challenges posed by the unfolding socio-economic implications attendant in human rights violation arising from the structural processes. In essence, this work aims at:

- a. examining the strategic issues involved in the pursuit of national unity and sustainable development and how these are attenuated by human rights violation, especially in Nigeria.
- b. examining the socio-economic implications arising from the interactive processes of national question, national development and human rights violation;
- c. suggesting ways, of handling the challenges in order to mitigate their effects on sustainable national development, especially in the era of globalization.

The methodology adopted for this work is primarily library research. These library materials that constituted the secondary data for this work provided the foundation block for the analytical and exploratory posture adopted in this exposition.

Human Rights Protection and the National Question: The Strategic Issues.

Eke (1983) and Nwabueze (1999), have variably argued that Nigeria is not a nation but an amalgam of nations, a conglomeration of numerous antagonistic, antipathetic and incompatible nationalities with dissimilar psychological bonding and allegiance that can hardly be traced to any common ethnic origin. Aside the factor of common originality, the primordial factors of differences in allegiance to political monarchs and religious heads, differences brought about by conquest and involvement in wars, trade and economic commonalities, differences in language, cultural contiguity and affinal relations (Iheriohanma, 2003), make the implications of these interrelationships difficult to be fully appreciated in relation to the national question.

According to Nwabueze, the above issues have some cancerous effect and implications to national unity. Thus: ... Nigeria has no citizens, but only a collection of individuals living together in defined geographical localities as members of one country. These individuals are not one people, but different peoples - the Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani and a host of other peoples (Nwabueze, 1999: 1).

Secondly, it implies that Nigeria has no social body or what is called a civil society. He further states:

The various peoples comprised in it are yet to coalesce into one national civil society animated by a common spirit and a feeling of a

common nationality and identity, and propelled by common social dynamics, so as to be able to form a common public opinion in matters of government and to act together as one people against governmental abuses and mismanagement or against the seizure of the state by the military (Nwabueze, 1999: 1).

Even though certain autonomous national institutions of civil society, such as religious bodies, political parties, professional business and trade associations, trade unions, students unions, media organizations etc. are created, they are yet to exert the expected influence in a civil society. Rather, their creation is only meant to reinforce the power of the national civil society that is yet to exist. Nigeria and indeed African states are made up of conglomerate social groups with separate dynamic ideologies, values and norms that militate against the emergence of a commitment to any one set ideology, values or norms as a national ideology. This is because 'the "society" of the state in Africa is an entity separate and different from the sum total of the different groups that make it up', ... 'even those common to them may not necessarily characterize the society of the state' (Nwabueze, 1999 : 2). The existence of these characteristics create a people without a fellow-feeling and have distrust on others for fidelity in a joint resistance and support, yet the strength of none is never sufficient enough to alone resist, for example any (external) aggression or obnoxious government policies. In spite of this fact, each component group reasonably thinks that it consults its own advantage most by bidding for the favour of the oppressor or government against the rest.

The notion of civil society is more or less synonymous with that of a nation or national unity. In many plural societies of the world, African societies inclusive, the creation of national unity raises the same question as generally referred to as 'national question'. National question, in our context, refers to the welding together of disparate ethnic, incompatible cultural, racial and multi-religious groups comprised in the state into one social body or nation. According to Nwabueze (1999) and Naanem (2000), the experience in Africa has shown that creating a civil society has exhumed more challenges and problems that have tremendously truncated any effort in tackling the issues relating to the national question that is hitherto experienced anywhere in the world.

The creations of a civil society, and, in particular, the tackling of issues relating to the national question are buffered by the protection of the citizens' rights. The deconstruction of the often conflicting perception of the national question focuses on all the controversies, doubts, experimentation and challenges surrounding a nation's search for stability, legitimacy and development. In the case of Nigeria as a nation-state, the challenges are on how to ensure equity and social justice among the diverse component parts. Naanem (2000), enumerates the prominent issues to include ethnic domination, regional hegemonism, religious particularism, revenue allocation, fiscal federalism, resource control and military dictatorship. Naanem, went further to argue that the issue of national question has always been central to the polity where the building of a coherent and sustainable nation-state has become a problematic struggle. He referred to the former Soviet Union, where ethnic nationalism by a conglomeration of non-Russian groups that were instalmentally brought under Russian hegemony since the days of Peter the Great, have increasingly challenged their subjugation to the Soviet state. To Naanem, the construction of supra-state in the plural societies in Africa that is so important to the modernization paradigm has been a huge disappointment on the continent. Naanem's submission is that, without the multi ethnic (multi-national) and multi-cultural factors in a state, there-would be no national question. The adoption of a federal constitution in Nigeria is necessitated by the factors of national question to give each region its own political space that makes basic self-determination possible. But this has been attenuated by successive regimes, especially the military that imposed a centralized superstructure on the existing federal system. This rather produced a curious structural amalgam that has left the country federal only in name. It therefore left us to argue that the processes and structures established in the pursuit of the national question have detracted the observance of the universal document on human rights. The use of state structures, social control mechanisms and state machinery in achieving national unity has, formally and informally or intentionally and inadvertently, derailed the positive intent and focus of government processes. In the process, government has trampled on the citizens' right and this has undermined the social contract the people and the state entered into. Instances where this social contract is undermined in consideration of human rights protection-and the national question are detailed in Ikporukpo (1996, 1998); Nwabueze (1999), Naanem (2000) and Dunmoye (2002).

Tacitly or otherwise, every citizen has entered into a contract relationship with his state

(Obasi and Erondu, 1999). Having recognized the need for unity, security, harmony, collective wills, etc. the individual ceded some aspects of his freedom to the state and obliges to abide by this contract. In its place, the state accepts certain responsibilities to its citizens, one of which is the protection of basic human rights of the citizens (Laski 1967). Nigerian federation is a peculiar one. The Nigeria in question is a creation of the British where unrelated independent groups were amalgamated in 1914, for economic benefits of the British government. The constitution provided for human rights. There is an understanding that for every right, there is a corresponding duty or obligation. Where, for example, one's right ends another person's right starts. In order to preserve and enjoy one's right to safety; one ' has to respect another person's right to safety too. The government of a state, within the limits of state structures, builds the environment under which the human rights culture should thrive and within which a person's right to dignity, security, privacy, equality etc. is respected.

It is worthwhile to mention here that where such environment is not provided, what obtains in that society is a history of injustice, anarchy, denial, wild cat life, discrimination, abuse of basic rights, inequality of all forms, violation of right to dignity, torture and cruelty. The citizens of that society are faced with inhuman and degrading treatment, punishment, detention, imprisonment, etc.

In effect, the apartheid history of South Africa (Echoes, 1993), the climate of terror regarding independence of trade unionism in Ghana and Togo, between 1992 and 1993, (Trade Union World, 1997), the government of Indonesian clampdown on Free Aceh Movement (GAM) (Al News, 2001) and the various dictatorial military regimes in Nigeria, 1966 - 1999 typified nations where human rights are violated. The 1996 Mayhem in Owerri (Iheriohanma, 2001), the situation in the Niger Delta Region in Nigeria (Naanem, 2000; Dunmoye, 2002), and a handful of internecine wars, ethnic rivalries, sporadic killings and terrorist activities in Africa (Naanem, 2000) are typical reactions to these violations of human rights. These present life characterized by brutality, brutish militarism and primitivity.

The argument here is that, the typical reactions to the series of human rights violation reflect oppositions to the inability of those vested with the 'acquired' frightful power to dispense justice, egalitarianism, etc. in the process of creating national unity. These have socio-economic consequences.

Government and Agencies Involvement in Human Rights Violation and the Pursuit of National Unity

While the government of any state provides the environment for the cultivation of Human Rights Culture, the constitution of the state provides the legal document where the human rights of the people and other derivative powers could be cited (Iheriohanma, 2001). Among other things, the constitution remains the body of principles for the protection of all persons (Obasi and Erondu, 1999). It contains the Bill of Rights. It also specifies the relationship between the citizens of the country and the government as well as the projected driving wheel for achieving national progress.

The Bill of Rights contains the list of all enforceable rights that have legal status. Enfringement of any of the items necessitates a court process for redress. The purpose of the Bill of Rights is to ensure that the individual is protected against the abuses of the authority of the state. It also imposes a duty on the state to provide the citizens with certain civil, social, economic, political and developmental rights. It acts as a set of checks and balances on both sides - the government and the people. The Nigerian state (see The 1999 Federal Constitution, Chapter IV: Sections 33 - 46) and all democratic governments, the world over, have entrenched in their constitutions this Bill of Rights. It is this Bill of Rights, to my mind, that gives impetus to the mandate of Amnesty International, the ' Civil Rights Organizations and other Liberation and Freedom Fighter Movements.

Obviously, the sincere and religious interpretation and judicious application of the constitution, with particular reference to the Bill of Rights should be in such a way that they promote the values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The provision of these rights in bold letters is not final. Recent developments, the world over, the spate of violence, and the hues and cries for justice depict flagrant violation of human rights (Echoes, 1993; Al News, 2001). The impunity with which human beings, government and or its agencies, dehumanize, met injustice, deny rights, torture, imprison, punish, inflict injuries, kill, incarcerate, hang etc. their citizens in the guise or process of national unity and integration makes arrant nonsense of their constitution, and particularly the Bill of Rights. What is "right to life" to someone who has no shelter, no job, no dignity and no future? In most countries of the world, insecurity pervades. Uncertainty to life, hopelessness and injustice are the order of the day (Iheriohanma, 2001). The list is unending. The famous Oputa Panel on Human Rights Violation in

Nigeria and its counterpart in South Africa have revealed this flagrant violation.

Below presents the minutest catalogue of instances of human rights violation in Nigeria and elsewhere.

- The Media and state owned Radio station have not played true to establishment. Only few days ago, we were informed that the Afghanistan radio station has, for the first time, played some type of music other than Moslem music just because the station has fallen under the Northern Allied forces. In Nigeria, there is the reported close down of a privately owned television station for purportedly reporting and showing to the world some obscene pictures of victims of a crashed airliner in 2005. There have been continuous surveillance, harassment and intimidation of both privately and publicly owned media stations in Nigeria by the state security agents. In Nigeria, public media stations dance to the tunes of the person who pays the piper and as such the media stations are involved in dereliction of their cardinal duties of informing, educating and entertaining the citizenry. Sensitization for positive development is devastated.

Education, especially in an era of technological revolution is knowledge and power. Empowerment remains the ultimate. But this is thwarted through government censorship and gagging of the press and media. This act violates the right of the citizens to be educated and empowered through the institution that is established with taxpayers' money. This stalls individual and national development as-empowerment is hampered through censorship.

- The application of Sharia Laws, that inflict capital punishment and torture to non-Moslems in certain states in Nigeria breed violence of all kinds. The Gideon Akuluka's case and other religious riots in the Northern part of Nigeria are cases at hand. This act infuriates group suspicion of each other while militating against the efforts of government at national unity. The focus of the issues of national question is challenged by the deepening of the 'we-feeling' and escalates the problem of a people without fellow feeling.
- There are uncountable non-confined prisoners of conscience on the streets whose rights to life have been denied by either some persons, government and/or unidentified and faceless agencies of government that are supposed to project worthwhile life to the people. Among the affected prisoners are derelict citizens, whose thirst for justice has been delayed for years. They now languish in hopelessness and helplessness as they turn to God for judgment. Included in the list are those suffering dehumanization but not confined as prisoners of conscience or banished as a result of their belief, ethnicism,

religion, sex, segregation, torture, and deprivations because they are political opponents. Majority of these are found in far remote villages where they have taken refuge by hiding. This breeds rebelliousness amongst citizens of a country, especially where differences in ideology, values and norms undermine national consciousness and patriotism.

- There are extra judicial killings, some of which governments deny and make no investigations. Governments have taken no executive, legislative nor judicial measures to redress the situation or to ensure that those who perpetuated the actions are brought to justice. In Nigeria, government make no pretensions about judicial panels of enquiry that are doctored or do not see the light of the day. This deepens the anger of the people and does not elicit patriotism and national identity.
- The Jos Prison Riot, which was reported on media network on 13th November, 2001 . where four (4) prisoners were killed by warders. The resultant riot took more seventeen (17) lives. Since 2005 till date, there has been countless number of jail breaks, riots and demonstrations by prison inmates; violence against prison officials by prisoners; and, sexual, harassment of prison inmates by officials.
- The Human Rights abuses by the ethnic militia in Nigeria are a smack to our march to civilization and establishment of environment for human dignity. These are exemplified by the activities of rebellious and revolutionary groups and incidences such as: the OPC, Bakassi Boys, APC, Area Boys; the Odii incident, hostage taking in the Niger Delta

region, the recent Benue massacre, the Okirika killings and upheaval, Kaduna police killings; etc. These are extra-judicial killings that have disastrous effects on the dignity of life. They have far reaching consequences on human worth and living and on the socio-economic development of Nigeria since they frighten foreign investors and disrupt oil installations, activities and explorations. They desecrate the sacredness of life.

- There is the ample evidence of child soldiers in Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia, United Kingdom and Afghanistan etc (Echoes, 1993; AI News, 2001).
- There are instances of child Labour/Slavery, Girl and child trafficking from Nigeria to Italy, Girl-child discrimination in education, discrimination against HIV/AIDS infected and affected persons etc. With this, the affected make no contribution to economic development since the human resources involved are not sufficiently and equitably deployed for national economic development.
- There are the reported Refugee Camp Killing and Rehabilitation Center uprising and killings in Sri Lanka, (AI News, 2001). There are secret executions of citizens and these have continued unabated in Iraq and Algeria, (AI News, 1996). There is Human Rights violation against detainees in Brazil and China (AI News, 1999) etc. These explain the misuse of state structures and social control measures in- government processes. It explains government insincerity in setting up peace and conflict resolution centres. These are counter-productive to nation building.

Consequences of Human Rights Violation: The African Situation in Focus

As it has been said earlier, life is worthless if citizens are denied food, shelter, job, dignity, etc. These are basic needs of man. Even when one has everything and has no worth, loses dignity and is insecure, especially in one's own country, one still lives a depraved life (Iheriohanma, 2001).

Human rights is a reasonable claim and an enforcer in the exercise of certain activities. Rights confer on an individual those powers that are necessary for the fulfillment of an individual's vocation as a moral being. As a claim, the rights are recognized by the society and enforced by the state. Laski (1967) posits that rights provide the individual those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best. It is as a result of the recognition of rights as essential feature of life that the state, through its agencies and machinery, entrenches such Bill of Rights in the constitution and attempts to protect the individual rights in search for national unity. The violation of these human rights creates unhealthy consequences, more so when it is located in the context of national question and sustainable development in the era of globalization.

In the first instance, we have argued that a deadly consequence of human rights violation either in form of civil and political, social and economic, and environmental and developmental rights is the loss of dignity, worth, wallowing in depravity, hopelessness and irresponsibility. In a word: any life characterized by the above is a worthless one. At the national level, it creates feeling of unpatriotism, underscores nationalism and identification as the context of fellow-feeling and national consciousness is replaced by a conflictual environment of we-feeling and setting of component groups against each other in matters of fidelity, joint response and joint resistance in state determination. This erodes the foundation for development in a plural, society like Africa. .

Denial of rights and suppression of individuals are criminal acts. These can create a desperate state in one's life and disparate elements in a group of people that are already devastated by different ideologies, values, norms and cultural viewpoints. This state could either be perceived or real. It is worse when it is perceived (Iheriohanma, 2001). Denial of rights is a crime. A consequence of human rights violation is that crime in a perceived situation begets crime, mostly in a violent form. The terrorist attacks, especially the September 11, 2001 on America, Hijacking of planes, kidnapping and espionage are critical examples of the global consequences. It is more detrimental in a globalized world where integration, market capitalization, capital flights and foreign direct investments are pillars of economic development.

Another consequence is that, discriminatory attitude and ethnicism experienced in government processes breed criminal tendencies, vandalism, violent uprising, unpatriotism, disloyalty, hostage taking and terrorism at local levels. The oil pipelines vandalism in oil producing communities in Nigeria, especially in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, are examples of revolts and reprisals against real and perceived deprivation and injustice emanating from government processes.

One disastrous consequence of government flagrant abuse of human rights through the use of "state" structures and profligation of the nation's resources is that two major classes are created - the extreme rich and extreme poor. Within the class of extreme rich are the favoured sycophantic class, the bureaucratic class that is brought to light as a result of their position in government offices and nearness to political power and the privileged and ruling class in Nigeria who loot the nation's treasury. These form a cabal. The mischievous acts of this class anger the lower class, the extreme poor who feel the pains. The consequences are revolts, civic disobedience, arson, looting etc. These do not contribute to nation building.

The euphoria and inability of African leaders to manage the vast territory of African state, the people, resources and things in Africa call to question the reasoning conscience of bringing under one political control such a vast expanse of territory embracing a large number of diverse ethnic groups. This, in itself, brought into existence an indisputably frightful power, certainly one beyond the imagination and experience of pre-colonial African communities; the empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai notwithstanding. It is inevitable to expect that, on the eve of withdrawal of the colonizing powers, the control of this acquired frightful power without established and attendant requisite state, structures and institutions characteristic of modern states, would generate, among the component groups, a bitter struggle marked by violence and even armed violence, to the detriment of efforts at nation building. The various internecine wars, ethnic rivalries etc. in Dafur Region of Suddan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Congo, Togo, Benin etc. explicate this claim. These take their pounds of flesh on the socio-economic development of African states that channel their human and material resources more on contending with violence, wars and crises rather than economic and human development. The establishment of enacted institutions such as ECOMOG, ECOMIL, etc. substantiate this argument.

The existence of cults, terrorist and violent youth militia groups, child soldiers and the extra-judicial killings embarked upon by the non-conventional state institutions call to question the worth of life. One wonders, what will be the occupation of these jobless youths in the event of wiping off criminals in our society, Africa. Again, when one looks at the age of those involved in the killings, the question of what becomes of the dignity and sacredness of life in the future remains an unanswered and unearthed burden in the minds and hearts of well meaning citizens of the continent. The open killings are horrifying and epitomize people still basking in a world characterized by brutish, squalor, nasty and militaristic tendencies; not of the present millennium where all energies and capacities are channeled towards technological development.

Lastly, the continued detention and suppression of political opponents, imprisonment of prisoners of conscience, ill-treatment of prisoners, unconducive states of prisons and torture of prisoners rather than solve the manifest reasons for the incarceration of prisoners infuriate those affected. These metamorphose into clandestine activities of terrorism, cultism, subversive activities etc. These acts breed conflict in the society and implicate the social structure of the society as perpetuating the evil machination. They also raise questions on "the national question itself and challenge our efforts at socio-economic development, particularly in this era of globalization where structures inimical to democratic growth and economic integration are being dismantled.

Recommendations

Based on the above observations, the following recommendations are made.

- The Nigerian slate and indeed African states, are configurations of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural factors, hence the national question. To ameliorate the effects of these factors, a true federalism is recommended for Nigeria in particular to contain the effects of such prominent issues as ethnic domination, regional hegemonism, revenue allocation, resource control etc. The adoption of true federalism will give each region its own political space that makes basic self-determination possible.
- Government and or its agencies should be cautious not to "privatize" the use of state structures and social control mechanisms. This will check trampling on the rights of people and undermining of the social contract between the state and the people.
- The national question process should strive to challenge the deepening of "we-feeling" that is escalating distrust, violence, suspicion and the problem of a

people without fellow feeling. The focus should be on conscious and sustainable national development,

- In a plural society like Africa and in this era of globalization, our leaders should, in the quest for national question and human rights protection, see our differences in terms of ideology, values, ethnicity etc. as added advantages rather than divisive factors that undermine national consciousness and patriotism.
- To restore dignity of life and hope of foreign investors in Nigeria, employment generation should be vigorously pursued to engage the teeming youths involved in the disruption of economic activities in the country, especially in the Niger Delta area.
- World leaders should be cautious of the consequences of human rights violation in a globalized world; the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack is a case at hand.

Conclusion

African continent is blessed with people, groups, NGOs etc. who are perturbed by this sudden outburst on human rights violation. Essentially, The position adopted here is that Human Rights Violation is not African. It is one of those legacies bequeathed to us by colonialism and interactions between traditional African social structure and foreign cultures. We are grateful that there are countless humanitarian and protagonist crusaders against human rights violation. Granted that these organizations have instituted structures for seminars and talk shops necessary to sensitize the people on human rights violation, Amnesty International and other related bodies, have a herculean task of devising strategic weapons to penetrate the brick walls of those who make and protect the laws of the land. This category of leaders are still basking under the euphoria of frightful powers for handling vast expanse of land areas, peoples, resources and things for the benefit of the citizenry. To my mind, these leaders and their cohorts are the human rights violators and the laws they make benefit them most while leaving the villager that has a blocked access to justice vulnerable. In pursuance of the national question, these leaders, especially African leaders, have derailed and have rather personalized the state structures instead of using them to institute processes and policies for enduring national unity and sustainable development.

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