

POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR A BETTER 2023 AND THE FUTURE



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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR A BETTER 2023 AND THE FUTURE

THE CHARACTER OF OUR POVERTY

The majority of our **Rated learned or best knowledgeable** are not guides of wisdom.

The majority of our **Leaders** are neither embodiments of discipline nor tools for discipline.

The majority of our **Richest people** are not backed by any history of economic struggles or material hard work.

You cannot expect livelihood that is generated by these characteristics setting to be orderly, sane, consistent. For any or a combination of these to aspire or offer to serve ALL, it will largely and strongly be either at the risk to take advantage of all of us (by them); or at the risk of being consumed or overwhelmed by any naive ones from among the few that positively differ.

It should therefore be ordinarily foolhardy to volunteer to LEAD without being forced.

The prospect of finding leadership to be a challenge is very slim.

You must therefore expect whatever is worse, where either one of the majority in either of the classes is opportune to lead. What then do you expect of one that is ignorant, innocent, or naive?

This explains why hypocrites and hypocrisy are pervasive in our history and culture. This is why extremism is a popular inclination.

This is why it has been painful and difficult to produce the right combination of leaders across the classes, at any time, in the past governments, to steer our country and history.

This is why fairly good combinations are vulnerable to failing.

This is why it was an intelligent decision of Aliyu Dangote to decline the temptation to fly the flag of the PDP in 2029.

AND WE CAN NEVER EXCUSE WRONG DOING NOR CONDONE IT AS A CONVENTION, BECAUSE WE HAVE NEITHER COMPLETELY LOST OUR MINDS NOR OUR CONSCIENCE NOR OUR FAITH.

This is why Education for reorientation is the best, cheapest and most effective means of improving our setting with minimum pains.

THE REAL MEANING OF POVERTY AND THE SOLUTION FOR NIGERIANS

The rich who are committed to getting richer are now less able to continue doing so reasonably and sensibly because it is getting more expensive and risky.

As for those who want to be contented with moderate comfort as against amassing wealth, they are increasingly failing to either reach that safe level or in sustaining it, just as those at the safe level are continuously dropping.

And those below, that are struggling to make the two classes a reality and add to the second class, they are critically faced with basic existence challenges and a rising frustration/hatred/jealousy for both classes, dotted with negative relief outbreaks in the forms of suicide and crimes.

The solution is definitely not with exchange of handouts between the classes. Everybody, everyone, every class is now **more** a victim, in this our historical process. This is why **reliefs are not standard solutions to livelihood.**

This is the **right feeling of our ongoing history, irrespective of all bias statistical juggling.** Anything to the contrary is for make-belief. The outline of daily/running costs of food items, clothing, kerosene/cooking gas/electricity, petroleum, transport, accommodation, school fees, drugs for primary and secondary health care etc. is superior to covert statistics of inflation and forex or outline of infrastructure strides, to everyone that casts vote.

The dislocation points across the classes are rightly what need to be fixed. **BUT WE HAVE IGNORED THE PRINCIPAL ONES AND THE RIGHT CONNECTIONS AS THEY FALL DUE.** The more time eats into the process, the worse the effects or impact.

Insecurity, economic corruption and inefficient management still remain the principal bridges **for crossing.** And they have grown stronger and complicated than prior 2015.

THERE IS THE INESCAPABLE CHALLENGE OF POVERTY AND THE WORSENING OF THE PROCESS IF NOT CHECKED

The stinking scope and depth of corruption in the oil and gas sector is the **first** target that will determine the collective success or failure of securing our common source of commonwealth.

The radical correction of the free, isolated, nonchalant, inefficient and extortive power sector is the necessary path to boost the massive production of goods.

The overhauling of the bureaucracy that is the inevitable instrument for governance operations, is the singular means of establishing a bedrock for continuous responsible governance.

2023 is in view and they have become a more complex weave of obstacles to good governance and will worsen if not checked.

THE IMMEDIATE NECESSITY OF CONTINUING WITH IMPROVEMENTS, CORRECTLY OR WRONGLY.

Time cannot be brought to a standstill and so with historical process. What must therefore be done immediately **must be tuned or directed to TOTAL OR WHOLESOME RECOVERY**. Partial, sporadic or selective attention or approach **will not help**.

We had faith in the present leadership and government **but we are crying even before we face the full consequences**, like when the debts mature and the increasing damaging strength of the commanding heights of corruption, combined with the degenerating efficiency and increasing cost of governance.

Being a tough or kind person is **not** sufficient. Past impressive records are fine **but not sufficient**. Every eligible voter and political party members have personal, joint and collective responsibility to pursue **more informed decisions and actions**.

This is because we will still have political parties and candidates to vote, delegates have candidates to present, elections to hold, campaigns to participate in or be affected by, and another government to be produced.

THE MEANINGLESSNESS OF RIDING ON PROMISSORY PROJECTS AND SERVICES FOR GUIDANCE IN CHOOSING LEADERS

NO PROSPECTIVE naive, innocent, ignorant or ambitious **LEADER** can guarantee fulfilling any governance promises because the **POSSIBILITY SQUARELY RESTS ON THE PRESENT STATUS** that is more than bad

enough. Debts, poverty, corruption, crime, poor organization and inefficiency along with increasing costs **are a dangerous foundation to build on easily.**

Any serious intending volunteer should rather state a fair sincere understanding of how bad things are (from outside, before the real details are opportune), the difficult huddles to necessarily cross, the minimum time required and the pains to bear, according to culpability for the present status. **RESPONSIBLE STATISTICS WILL BE COMMON FOR REFERENCE BY ANY VOLUNTEERS IRRESPECTIVE OF PARTY.**

If you crave to **school every child of age**; if you crave to improve the **health status** of the pregnant, infants, children, the elderly; if you crave to generate employment and skills etc. you will definitely require **resources. With a bedrock of debts, principal systems inefficiency and high command corruption** in the revenue generating, power production and government bureaucracies, **HOW TO ENABLE THESE IS MOST IMPORTANT AND IS BEYOND PARTY FAITH** if we are genuinely committed to moving forward.

The leader must personally **accept** and demonstrate the **understanding of these phenomenal challenges** and offer his take.

THE UNRELIABILITY AND NON GUARANTEE OF CONSIDERING THE CHOICE OF A PARTY AS A SAFE TALISMANIC ANSWER

All Classes of Nigerians are victims of the present degenerative process. **No one is in a better position to do another, any favours. And no member deserves to suffer more or less in the required recovery process.** The interest should be **how to adjust everyone for everyone. The greater beneficiaries of the damaging process must lead in the sacrificial recovery process.**

The political parties with delegates have been functioning fully throughout the 1999 to 2015 hazards and the embarrassment we have become engulfed in, post 2015.

Every individual, every group, every organization, has the primary responsibility and duty, to understand and act differently from the 1999 to post 2015 orientation, if we care about our future.

The **educated and disciplined** (out of politics and in politics) have the primary moral-cum-political **responsibility to bear understanding this and spreading this, to help enable better actions for making 2023 process.**

This is the priority challenge of the youths with the responsibility of corrections, for our continuous and future good. It will cost **investing TIME and EFFORT of UNDERSTANDING.** The duration of three quality weeks will be comfortable. And **one will be moderately and responsibly equipped to participate in possibly igniting a better future for all of us.**

This is far beyond listening to candidates like a music concert and choosing without evaluations.

Visit **www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org** for basic reflections on the character of our total challenges and the path to our collective safety and prosperity .

WHAT WAS BUHARI AGAINST WHAT HE HAS BECOME?

He was a mature elder with personal sterling impeccable integrity, to **most** Nigerians. Some who had genuine and respectful reservations for him, expressed it succinctly, but did not weigh it enough, to prefer another candidate.

Most Nigerians believed in him because they felt his sincerity by simple connections. He stopped attending Council of State meetings and justified it with the **unacceptable** disability of the government in crushing Boko Haram, the

indefensible economic boil of petroleum subsidy and that the government was **refusing** to listen to what is serious, common knowledge and failing to act, thus allowing general destruction.

Those who had a **WRONG TASTE OF HIS MILITARY REGIME** were shocked with considering such a man. He required to apologize to those of them maltreated, before they could give in. And there were those who were convinced that although he acted militarily, his couple of attempts to politically return may have civilized him. Tinubu played the Osinbajo card and it reduced the scope of readily opposition, for Buhari. Those who believed that they **KNOW HIM AND HE WILL MAKE THEM HIS TARGET** solved the challenge of the great likelihood of his getting the mandate by getting a promise from him, that, they will be safe if they support him. He knew that their support is **critical in sensibly enabling him to get the mandate** and agreed.

His reported performance in the military, as minister of petroleum, as Head of State, as the czar of Petroleum Trust Fund; his emotional sharing of the pains of high prices of basics and unemployment during his campaigns; his publicized simplicity in what makes his tea; and the clearance-cum-clean certificate of assurance by Obasanjo, on his qualifications and allegations of corruption in PTF made him the tallest. Indeed, at his party primaries, he offered that, against **dollars**, he has service to give.

But today, if Buhari is to go to the polls again, most Nigerians will genuinely be in a dilemma **even though he cannot personally be pinned as a thief or denied as not better in projects offerings**. And the simple truth is that the basic conditions of most Nigerians is worse. The masses enjoyed his probing of **especially big** thieves for some time. But it was only entertaining. They have turned to ask for the benefits of the recoveries. The powerful felt embarrassed and turned against him in self-defence.

The personal reverses include **not being accessible, not taking advice from those who succeed in having access, not open to new people, stopped being explanatory and connecting to the feelings of Nigerians.**

If the **best** can turn this problematic, burdensome and escapist, **our next consideration will not be responsible if we do not care to evaluate beyond personal fair credentials.**

WHAT WAS THE ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS AGAINST WHAT IT HAS BECOME?

This political **platform** was **one** that **understood the drawbacks, the ills and risks of seeing the continuous rule of the People's Democratic Party.** Their responsible identity is a singular commitment to **reverse the unnecessary, avoidable and irresponsible negativities of the PDP to positivities.** TO CHANGE the nature, character and order of governance and thus, the impacts.

The **APC** Leadership, the Government and Party submitted to Nigerians that, the realities of what they understood to be inheriting turned out to be **worse.** The system was simply resources bankrupt. Making history is an empirical challenge and they are not magicians. They **demand**ed for patience and perseverance from Nigerians.

Majority of Nigerians **granted them the benefit of the doubt** for four years and **returned** the mandate to them.

But the Leader was not being supported or followed. The micro formations that **melted their identities to become ONE APC** became alive again. The basis was in the opportunities **and real shares** of the commonwealth of Nigerians. Key members ganged up to resist, oppose and possibly disgrace the same leadership, government and party. The most civil among them expressed disenchantments and walked away from the APC.

The leading **opposition** became noisier as the ruling party and government became more stressed and weakened.

The **dividends possible from this development inevitably becomes WHATEVER WORKS OUT OR IS FOUND TO BE FEASIBLE.**

The future of Nigerians is certainly deserving of an arrangement and relationship that will make **possibilities possible as against becoming probable.** The APC experience has failed to establish a quality difference with the PDP leadership, government and party **with its evident identity inconsistencies and practices.**

WHAT WAS OUR SECURITY AGAINST WHAT IT HAS BECOME?

The take off point was **resistance to the use of head helmet** as a legal civil requirement for the personal safety of motorcycles riders in Borno. The intellectual collapse in the ability of the scholars and the authority to correct this feet-over-head resistance ignited the opportunistic syndrome characterized by luring the poor and ignorant to form a group in pursuit of wealth and fame **WITHOUT RULES OR RESPECT FOR OTHERS.**

This thickened with time by membership, strategies, possession of weapons and supporters with **funds, food, equipment, arms** etc.

But they suffered a **technical defeat in good time.** From the perspective of the Chief insurgent (**Islam**), dying by suicide qualifies him for eternal damnation. This is apart from the full responsibility for the harms his men have committed.

But, they have not been silenced, even with regional support, international support and provision of more men and resources. Indeed, other forms like banditry and kidnapping have erupted. The herdsmen and farmers' wars have been rekindled. Miscreant regional cults are bubbling to create responsible identities.

A few of the **powerful** who are on the course of retaliation or self-defence against their **exposure** suffer the suspicion of **evil sponsorships** allegations. Indeed, the allegations mentioning strong citizens by apprehended bandits; the mentioning of children or close associates of strong citizens; the reported submission of a list of such sponsors by the Governor of Zamfara to the President before the promissory list of such criminals by the Federal Government **are pointers to negative internal resistance to good governance.**

Anyone committed to a sane, safe and prosperous Nigeria will give a **serious attention to what went wrong or extreme in the relationship between those who believe that Nigeria belongs to them, with the capacity and willingness to destroy governance and the citizens if it is not respected/obeyed by any Leadership, Government and Party.**

WHAT WAS OUR ECONOMY AGAINST WHAT IT HAS BECOME?

The economy of Nigeria is reasonably **oil dependent**. The most reasonable and sensible strategy of optimizing the use of this resource that is export oriented, is to diversify the economy, with the income. This should go along with locally building the oil and gas sector.

While the previous governments either didn't understand this or did not appreciate the gravity of not making it a priority, this was **offered** by the present party from its campaign days.

It specifically promised to conclude the **PIB** and put away the fraudulent **subsidy payments.**

It took it from May, 2015 to September, 2021 to conclude the PIB by producing a **PIA**. But the subsidy payments have quadrupled. The expression of the intent to remove the fraud **became an unacceptable threat of death to the accommodating**

citizens. It was quickly and straightly **reinstated.** Indeed, funds to enable updating the fraud are being processed.

For electricity power, the simplicity of setting aside the pack of rubbish called privatization was nursed. But the dynamics of the built up structure and system of corruption and influence compelled the options of moderation or giving up. It explains the stubbornness of late Bola Ige, the expenditure of billions without power and the rumoured collapse of late Umar, when he was advised of the required sums to make good Saudi equipment gesture, to improve power supply in Nigeria.

To make more resources available, internal and external loans have been massively resorted to. The formally employed class and across all of those using formal financial services have been **recreated by the taxes to pay** with a newly improved law.

We cannot deny the **building of new and massive infrastructure by the APC** leadership, government and party across the country and in states. The PDP governments in some states are not different.

But **livelihood is hard, costly and worsening** at a greater rate and scale against **employment, empowerment efforts of the government. Most and more** Nigerians hate the continuation of this process. But **any improvement is not even probable IF WE HESITATE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT HAVE REALLY GONE WRONG, beyond the mechanics of governance like statistics.**

WHAT WAS OUR MANAGEMENT AGAINST WHAT IT HAS BECOME?

The bureaucracy symbolized by the Ministries, Departments, Agencies, Parastatals and their operations by the personnel, is the singular principal instrument of government for governance. The size and quality of both the personnel and processes **reasonably determine both the capacity of any political leadership to**

move with optimal success in governance or the huddles to cross, to secure the collective interest of Nigerians that it is meant to constantly represent without negotiation.

Abacha recognized the **welfare challenge** of the personnel that breeds corruption and provided non accountable night duty allowances and a secure pension management system. Obasanjo built on this with a **reform attempt** and establishing the **contributory pension**. Jonathan combined **more** recruitment (which was more negative) with the idea of strengthening the justification for merging ministries. Buhari fancied the idea of merger and attempted operating it but reverted and really built on more recruitments.

Executions by **consultancy** is now pervasive, non-**payment of salaries** has grown to a threatening status that has informed possible **downsizing of staff**. If politicians are thieves, their capacity is limited to **budgetary provisions for their works and services** in the legislature to the constituencies. More than seventy-five percent of **corruption losses in governance process are engineered and enabled by the bureaucracy and its key drivers** along with political leaders.

A star reference is **why and how** realizing the Petroleum Industry Act took more than two decades to produce **and subsidy payments are wagging stronger**.

Any Leader, Government and Party that will **offer, promise or desire good governance for Nigerians must clearly provide or define the bridge to cross the present challenges to have a service that symbolizes our nationhood with integrity**.

THE INEVITABLE INCREASING NATURE OF OUR SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The **quality** of schooling is at a low ebb and **education is worse**.

Strikes by even teachers, doctors, oil workers have seemingly become necessarily regular.

The disconnect between knowledge and policy making commanders has become a widening gap. Universities don't initiate contributions to good governance and the visitor limits himself to individual members he comes across.

Unemployment, crimes, population increase are not helped by non-increase in needy goods and increasing costs.

Entertainment industry is more ahistorical than reflective of building our culture. Indeed, it is growingly becoming destructive with the introduction of modern violence into it.

Journalism is growing to be **more** reporting without discrimination because of the bankruptcy or weakness of **driving ethos or philosophy**. Where **one** can be defined, **it can be jumping between strengthening our unity and weakening it**.

A society in which its knowledge and resources instruments, drivers and media are **carelessly managed or allowed to grow and expand free from consistent ethos, civilization gradually drops as barbarism shoots out**.

TO REMOVE THE WOOL OVER OUR EYES, IN OUR EARS, THE FOG IN OUR HEADS, IN ORDER TO TAKE CONTROL OF FEELING BETTER, reflecting on the characteristics of our ruling past is necessary. The understanding of these and finding a way to move beyond, is the responsibility of every citizen. Visit **www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org** to share in an attempt.

CAN TACKLING CORRUPTION BE A CONCERN TO BE BRUSHED OVER?

From the past seven years and more, it is clear that the vision and mission of the leadership, government and party of All Progressives Congress (on corruption) is both absolutely justifiable and has not been reasonably achieved.

The strategies of central payment of salaries did reveal criminal excesses that were saved. But, there appears to be no faith in it because the universities resisted, without **helping** to fit in properly. The acclaimed autonomy of the institutions does not apply **totally different** from any other organization with a law establishing it. And the level of compliance has not reasonably **excused** stealing more of the funds by the trustees.

Petitions, whistle blowing, probes, forensic audit, prosecutions, arrests, convictions, voluntary returns and recoveries, have produced impressive statistics. However, for governance, it has not made a positive **recovery impact** on the citizens. Indeed, recoveries from outside the country were sensitive to this dilemma of the risk of losing the sums to smarter thieves. And the agreement to tie these specifically to **legacy projects** was not just the outcome but has **proven to be ahead of going through independent budgetary and procurement standard processes**. This informed following calls to use the other recoveries to execute specific projects.

The real **pain** is that all of these wouldn't have become priorities **if the inbuilt routines of procurement, internal/external audits, visitations etc.** are very much alive and yielding positive results for governance. But even the budget process is weak **in the quality of results for governance**.

How then can a seeking leader **ignore providing a superior understanding of these challenges and offer what is more prospective?** We have a system of

institutions, processes, and operators that are **giving more and more questionable results, at the cost of the general safety and prosperity of those who own and give the mandate.**

The simple package of a **leader, a party, forming a government to ride this problematic machinery for assured good governance CANNOT BE A GUARANTEED.**

Education for reorientation is **one way of building a more sensitive and responsive electorate.** And this is the **responsibility** of those who will care to understand and contribute or even lead in this requirement.

WHAT IS INEVITABLY POSSIBLE WITHOUT DIRECTLY AND SQUARELY ESTABLISHING WHAT TO DO ABOUT CORRUPTION AND HOW THE IMMEDIATE NECESSARY PAINS CAN BE SHARED.

Will a **seeking leader and party** pay lip service to this challenge or be **neutral**, with all the indicators before the public, **until they** assume office?

This **option** has the **risk of continuing with the way things are.** If after two terms of a visionary and missionary leadership this challenge has not only refused to be degraded but has developed complexities, the consequences of neutrality can only be imagined.

This is now most critical, because both the leading opposition and the present ruling leaderships and parties have not made a quality difference.

The **delegates** to consider **suitable candidates**, the **parties** as the **responsible platforms** and the **electorate** have the **JOINT AND FLOWING RESPONSIBILITY** to strive and attempt making our collective future better and away from the present degenerating course.

The meeting point can be reached with **deliberate care to educate for a superior orientation.**

THE RELEVANT ASPECTS FOR CONSIDERING OUR FUTURE THAT WILL BE SO ONLY WITH ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OR CONDITIONS

A physical person who volunteers to lead, that is likable is not sufficient.

There is no previous one that was in hatred view. The age of the person cannot be less than what the constitution provides for. While it is sensible to give strength to chronological age, our history of the young ones that dominated our leadership (who are now aged) indicates that age is not sufficient, because of the extended duration of some and the second coming of others. Academic credentials are attractive but not a guarantee for any quality difference. We have had non graduates and graduates. What the particular person had been able to do in a different position, at a different time and circumstance may be inviting but do not necessarily assure that leadership in this time, in the present circumstance and at any of these levels can assuredly guarantee our expected goodly governance. **All of these will need to be consistently keyed into the present arrangement DEMOCRATICALLY. This requires transparency characterized by sharing of understanding the nature of the problems, including why efforts to solve them have been resisted and the workable solution.**

The set of supporting leaders of a party, behind or selling the leaders at different levels.

Like the Leader will be recognized with the basics above, the supporters and the other leaders to be lined up behind the Leader (like candidates for governing states and legislators for the state and nation), are better and safer **recognized to have the**

same qualities of belongingness. An extreme situation of a thief promoting a non-thief requires evaluation for acceptance. This is because the thief may be playing a goodly card to continue and strengthen further stealing. Over-sighting this logical possibility can be damaging. Where a non-thief presents a thief to the electorate for their mandate, it points at a psychological challenge that will be burdensome for good governance. **The character of the support structure and members is therefore more important than their figures as humans.** The challenge of education and reorientation need to impact on the character of this formation. Neither any leader nor supporters can give what they do not have.

Having been in leadership for a long time, that has landed us in this matrix is not a straight credit.

This is easily applicable to legislators who have no limit of tenure. It is therefore not consumable to have been an active participant in these years of dropping governance benefits **without demonstrating what is amiss and a considerable difference, for positive change.** This requires **definitions** and not promises.

Promising works and services will be misleading, when the specifics of available resources are not known and the burdens of loans that are maturing are known.

We have learnt that, **if there is no problem to fix there will be no need for governance.** It will therefore be too ambitious to assume that a leader to be succeeded **simply refused to do what appears to be necessarily right.** The experience of 2015 to date is a clear indicator. **It is therefore (especially now) more critical to focus on ATTENDING TO CORRUPTION differently and superior to what have been done and failed to give quality results in the form of IMPACT ON THE CITIZENS.**

THE IMMEDIATE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE BENEFITS MEASURES

Those who are **literate** will volunteer to **read, write, discuss** these challenges for the **benefit of all of us**. This is the foundation level of leadership **to recovery** – to know, understand and share **with the objective of acting out for our better wellbeing**. There is equality here, for seeking and pursuing the truth. This should **transform our thinking, perceptions and evaluations, that will inform our actions, for the better**.

The confusing and frustrating psychology of citizens on **good governance** can get transformed. The misguided interest that Buhari is the most suitable to **deal** with the elite that are seen to be the **cause of** the sufferings of the masses, or the belief that, with the failure of Buhari, good governance is hopeless, will be **corrected**. A really rational and sensible understanding backed with renewed actions of hope and commitment will be ignited.

All strata of citizens and leaders will have a common or shared paradigm for **defining** our activities, for **evaluating** them and **commitment** to them. The **constituents or ingredients for our nationhood will be clear, as well as the path to it**. For example, leaders shall be welcome and supported **on the basis of their fitness for our cross identities, regardless of where the person is born or his mother tongue**. The sense of rotation will be made rational because **it is impossible not to have such fitting persons at any time in every scope or level of our political formations** – the local, state and federal levels. The challenge and fear of **supporting on the basis of irrational sentiment** or the **irrational ambition of taking a turn** will all be melted by **common acceptance of fitting into our common paradigm**.

Political parties and leaders will go out into the society to invite credible quality members to build the party. This will have the further effect of finding politics and political parties attractive for **more** quality and principled citizens to join. Indeed, it should encourage seniors to support younger ones, contrary to what we cannot **dream of today**. How many seniors can **step down** or **financially sponsor** any person from within or outside a party? The tons of money required for campaigns or millions for picking forms **are problems because those who have it are in double bankruptcy**. They cannot trust the safety of anyone that is **not their own by submission**. They do **not understand that the prosperity of the general is a better and greater security for their own prosperity and advancement**.

Accordingly, our collective resources and those of advantaged individuals **will begin to be invested in ways and places they will enhance our collective safety and prosperity without harming the rational and sensible differences between citizens**.

The more these begin to happen the greater or higher, the hope for a **better 2023 and the future**. This will be because **we will begin to live our beliefs consciously and with respect**.

Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada

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CHAPTER II

CONCERNS AND ANSWERS RELATING TO OUR PRESENT PROCESS: ON POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR A BETTER 2023 AND THE FUTURE

WE ARE NOW CONFRONTED BY RESOLVING THE AGE FACTOR FOR SUITABILITY TO LEAD

The age of a volunteer candidate may be diversionary. Everyone including the naive, the ignorant and the mischievous can drum choices.

But for age to be worth considering, it must first be applied to specific volunteers with registered political parties. We have over fifty. Our genuine commitment to solve this concern is **feasible, if we care.**

It is impossible that **if each of the parties scout for a suitable candidate, we shall not come up with groups of good, better and best candidates.** And between these, gambling will be less. But the parties have already failed (in what they have no legal inhibition), by **surrendering this critical role to a few and is self-defeatist.**

Each has suitable Nigerians within or between **any political parties and outside political parties,** to engage.

This failure is a **first win** for those who have come up. Nigerians have therefore already been hoodwinked for the same few by majority of those (the other parties) who give the impression that they are committed to making a **difference.** On a different basis a few had in the past intelligently come together to produce Buhari **although they later failed to really melt into one, to provide us with the needed leadership and governance.**

Reading between the lines, it is either because of the lack or very low level of **their real commitment to our collective safety and prosperity by all of them, or ignorance.**

It is political rascality to lead Nigerians to **any probable dubious choice of preferred aged candidate ESPECIALLY BY THOSE WHO SEE**

THEMSELVES AND WANT TO BE SEEN AS THOSE COMMITTED TO HELPING SOLVE THIS CONCERN, when they can influence and even sponsor OTHER PERSONS FROM WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES OR OUTSIDE. The NPN in the past drafted late Shehu Usman Shagari.

The **ELITE** knows and plays the card of a **fairly clean candidate** to the electorate, to enable it continue. This was why and how Obasanjo was pardoned and became President. His succession by Umaru, followed by Jonathan were good calculations. And this is really why Obasanjo discovered the real problems and sought for third term and he was kicked out. Umaru lost out by early call back by God and Jonathan was rubbished. This self-undoing was **really the basis for giving support to Buhari who is a clearly a bad player but has been gradually effectively customized.** Age was not the issue.

We are therefore left with **TWO CHOICES.** Between those that have come up from the elite parties or **the other parties go out alone or in groups to provide additional options.** And the ease of this depends upon the genuine patriotism and selflessness of those to engage in this. This is because some of them may be funded by **ambitious elite only seeking to replace the senior ones.** And they can technically **NEVER,** because only common but different ideas can beat the seniors, who are **ALWAYS leading the electorate to where money will play a key role alongside business as usual intent veiled with palatable common good,** that is never achieved.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT STATUS QUO PATTERN?

To begin with, it is necessary to firstly appreciate that we are in this political trap **because of pervasive political ignorance and the political parties have either**

deliberately or ignorantly failed in this necessary education, for themselves and all of us. No one can give what he does not have. But because living is a continuous process, **we can start this lately** (no matter how poorly) **and build up to near perfection or satisfactory level.**

If the political parties therefore **start filling this gap now**, the delegates will probably act better than in the past, to give the electorate more responsible choices.

It is noteworthy that it is ideas that drive the delegates and the electorate to make leadership choices. The exploitation of the poverty of delegates is therefore prospective **only along with ignorance.** This is why people have evidently collected money and other things **without either sharing it as arranged** (by ground commanders) **or collecting the gestures and voting for a different candidate by the electorate.** But this percentage is very insignificant because, more people are ignorant and hooked up by their basic needs and morality, **even for thieves and oppressors.**

If the politicians, the political parties, the literate/educated, the electorate **refuse or fail to care about this education, to drive political actions, we are bound to remain in the same pit and only sink further.**

But if we **care and strive**, the political parties will **adjust for the better**, because the quality of the political actions to be taken by delegates will improve. Indeed, the sponsors of the delegates and the parties will be **more understanding.**

If the political sponsors, the delegates and parties **gravely refuse to adjust**, the electorate can **react by largely not voting.** The stones that will still vote **will not enable attainment of the minimum requirement for winning.** The electoral

institution funded by the taxes of the citizens will go back to the table, because that is the decision of the electorate.

However, if the politicians, the political parties, the literate/educated, the electorate **remain dead, careless, carefree and unconscious, in the main**, 1999, 2015 and the present trend of challenges will **deepen and widen**.

WHAT KIND OF MATURITY IS CONSIDERABLE GIVEN THE INTOXICATING POWER OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT?

After crossing basic credentials like basic age prescribed by the constitution, senior public or private service exposure with credible performance records, a clear and strong philosophical orientation, **he should be capable of helping himself with little or no supervision and also be open to being helped and bearing full responsibility**.

More than previous presidents, Buhari has been accused of nepotism. But the real justification is **in the feelings by the ruled from the governance**, because the details of his appointments are not absolutely so.

This is not to dispute that with time he appears tempted into the pattern as a safeguard against political and security embarrassment. The latter is heavily established by not personally attending any federal university convocation, even though he is Visitor to all of them. But he attended discharge ceremonies for uniform services.

This has given negative credit to his **personal kitchen cabinet**. While every leader will have one and previous ones all had, **he fell into the hands of mischievous confidants**. The naive and ignorant **blame the covert members**. But because the mandate and burden is his to bear, those who know and understand what is right have excused them like he personally did. And the shift by the naive and ignorant to

join those who know and understand, to place his burden rightly on him **has generated the effect that he is a greater problem than a solution to our challenges.**

This is very limitedly right. If Nigerians have been getting fairly served, his kitchen cabinet will not come into public view to the point of identifying members with responsibility weights.

Therefore, the degree of this challenge is a mixture of the capabilities of the person of the president and the machinery of the State House/Presidency. Where the institution is weaker than the individual, the weaknesses of the individual will rule. Where the individual has to fight or submit to a strong positive institution, the individual's weaknesses will be fairly checked. A fair reference is the star performance of Obama against that of Donald, in the relationship of each with the White House machinery. Both had weaknesses and strengths but the institution enabled above average governance cruising for both.

In our case, the institution or machinery is a **strong problem** for even a strong personality like Buhari. When you combine this with the greater challenge of the larger government machinery and the increasing negative challenges of the ruling elite class, **it is for Buhari to bear all the brunt and also for him to establish the mislead or exploits of his kitchen members and deal with them.**

A successor should be **able** to handle this (by rising above) with the experiential alert of Buhari experience. This is because the successor will definitely have evil suggestions, to do as Buhari or more, because Buhari did a thing.

WHAT ABOUT THE CHALLENGES OF INCUMBENCY, THUGGERY, VOTE BUYING ETC.?

No amount of laws, preaching and appeals can possibly check overt, covert, direct or indirect efforts in these forms. This is because **poverty** is pervasive. It is very tempting to **listen**, and **cooperate** with those who are willing to solve **immediate problems** of the poor, the needy. But this does not mean that the poor have completely lost the **will** to be different. It was under poverty and crisis Nigerians voted PDP out for APC. There were dollar rains in APC primaries of 2015 and PDP primaries of 2019. The delegates of APC chose service and Nigerians abandoned the choice of PDP in 2019. Indeed, Nigerians bore the pains of another increase in the pump price of petroleum, inflation, insecurity etc. for their **choice**, for more than four years before a turnaround.

Education, that is consistent with checking or solving the pains they feel, **superior to what they are used to hearing will be understandable and given an honourable chance.**

THE ZONING PRINCIPLE OR CONVENTION CAN THEN BE ANOTHER DIVERSION

There is nothing inherently wrong in practicing zoning, at federal, state or local government politics. The present state of pervasive ignorance is the opportunity for active mischief, because of poverty of political education.

It's most unlikely that, at any of these levels, suitable candidates will be unavailable, in any zone. However, the value or weight of the contribution of the practice **must not exceed giving political practice the colour of the zonal origin of the candidates.** Anything beyond this will be veering from our common or collective interests and therefore damaging and unreliable. It will amount to political rascality

to make it valuable beyond mention. It is not the physical zone or the origin of the candidate that will serve or guarantee the requirements for a mandate. It is the **credentials of the candidate along with what his platform will sponsor, that will be available for the consideration of the electorate.** This is because it is the electorate that require to be **rightly served** and members of the other zones are not required to play passive role in the process. The challenge of the aspiring candidate will be, to be **recognized and admitted as suitable for all the zones applicable.**

The collective safety and prosperity of all cannot be automatically assured by **merely volunteering in turns.**

This is inevitably playing out in the PDP. Atiku rightly won the presidential ticket on the ground that the solution to the challenges of leadership and governance is not tied to any necessary zonal formula. No intelligent and patriotic person can dispute this. And the persistence of Wike who bitterly swallowed the first failure (enabled by the better understanding of Atiku and support given by his regional colleagues), because there was a deliberate notorious tacit agreement to support a southern candidate, is strengthened by the claim that he was doubly denied becoming a running mate. This scandalous mess is bordering on leadership irresponsibility. The response with demanding for the resignation of the Chairman after the Board of Trustees Chairman had bowed out to save what was left of his honour, is not only cheeky but logical with the threat of mobilizing members for another candidate.

These developments would have not been opportune, if the leaders and members are positively educated with the orientation of serving Nigeria along with party discipline. However, because ignoramus of our identity and discipline have been the ones ruling the party since its creation, the very seniors who benefited most from its past leadership and governance damages have turned back and those within cannot

help matters. This inordinate greed to take turn has therefore degenerated to **my turn as against that of any other suitable member.**

IF ENERGY, TIME AND MONEY INVESTED ON THESE ARE A WASTE, WHAT SHOULD BE?

We all know by experience that the history we have been making between 1999 to date is generating less than satisfactory results and worsening further. And this applies to all levels of our politics, leadership and governance.

It is absolutely impossible to make today better, in isolation of yesterday. And for tomorrow to be made better, today must not be ignored.

Between yesterday and today, Political Education hooked to National orientation, has been low and negative. The clear pointer is that not even political parties care about political education, in office or out of office. This is a most critical need and it is not under the control of money owners.

Energy, time and money will be more responsibly invested, **if volunteer prospective candidates, the delegates, the political parties and the electorate attend to four levels of our collective challenges.** The first is to **KNOW, ADMIT AND DEFINE THE PRINCIPAL CHALLENGES.** The second is **TO PROVIDE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHARACTER OF EACH OF THE PRINCIPAL CHALLENGES.** The third is **TO EXPLAIN WHY AND HOW EACH OF THE CHALLENGES HAS FAILED TO BE OVERCOME.** And the fourth is **TO PROVIDE WHAT ACTIONS WILL ENABLE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE, ALONG WITH THE COSTS TO BE BORNE,** for the electorate to **evaluate, in making a choice.**

This is why promises of **works, services and manifestos** on these are of secondary value in our circumstance, where the polity is weak in a knitted set of ideas that will drive political actions, the institutions are disoriented and the operatives are safely corruptible.

WHAT BENEFITS ARE TO BE EXPECTED TO FOLLOW THIS NEW APPROACH?

Politics and governance will be provided on a common standard that will serve the electorate irrespective of party, leadership and government.

The parties and members will adjust more responsively to be responsible. This will compel them to refine what identity will differentiate one from another.

For example, the identity of being conservative will focus and strive on making commanding heights of the economy, society and politics **work by public drive**. The liberals will make the private outfits work better. None of these will obstruct differences in classes or strata. But no citizens will be left uncared for.

To be specific, the ruling elite will become more humane and responsible **against being at war with everybody in the bid to survive, which is really unnecessary and self-defeatist**.

Then, as leadership and governance rolls out, the security networks around the highest leader will not need to disappear but will be much less visible, from time to time. He will freely socialize. This will be against increasing withdrawal and protection **from the electorate**. The electorate can generally count what they will miss after his tenure. This will be against our heightening **disgust and eagerness** to have a leader leave. It was with Obasanjo, more with Jonathan and pitiful with Buhari already.

WAS THE 2022 COMMITTEE OF LEADING POLITICIANS TO SALVAGE NIGERIA FROM TOTAL COLLAPSE A SIGN OF HOPE FOR A BETTER 2023 AND THE FUTURE?

The members have the potentials because the very few among them that can be credited with more responsible leadership than a questionable one by neutral assessors, are not any spirits among them. They are fellow men of blood and flesh.

But the concern is right because majority of them are not just part of, but instrumental to the challenges they have expressed concern for.

What is left to unfold is if those among them that can be witnessed as positive contributors to the weak solutions we have felt, will be the drivers of the group. This will require the modesty of self-evaluation, admission and asking those among them who have been more responsible in their leadership to lead the way.

For example, will the powerful members melt into a new formation like the experience of the failed coalition?

Will the results of the shared assignments become freely available to the contestants among them, of different parties, which may include additional prospective contestants from among them? This is because the DIFFERENCE they can make is NOT LISTING OUR NEEDS, WANTS AND FANCIES projects. We have heard and have had more than enough of WHAT TO SPEND OUR COLLECTIVE RESOURCES ON. It will be even more embarrassing to talk of services, when the present constitution suffers for insufficient funds and corruption.

There is also an identity challenge they cannot escape from. And no one or group can possibly achieve anything with sincerity and commitment without a clear and consistent identity.

The sacrificial pain of such transparency will open the free windows of patriotic contributions to flow. This will have the effects of boosting the morale of the aught leaders, transform the consciousness of those who made mistakes unknowingly and Nigerians will forgive and welcome a better larger group of prospective responsible leaders.

It will therefore be irrational and senseless to be hopeless about the move. This is because we cannot expect angels or people from the moon or other countries to solve our problems. It is our first burden. And wrong doers can turn right, with right people given an upper hand.

Those who will still differ will not be out of place. In a large society like ours, a few insane or wicked cannot be ruled out. These are usually helped with applicable laws. They may not be given mandate or after the mistake, they will be charged, convicted and sanctioned.

At the close of the campaigns, we should be able to plot the relevance any member, part of the group or the entire group has made.

IS THE FUTURE OF THE GOVERNANCE OF NIGERIA NECESSARILY GLOOMY FOR US?

We are together, though differently responsible for the present state of things.

Some of us have been actively involved in the destructive process.

Some of us have been neutral with the implication of permitting the enhancement of the destructive process.

Some of us have been insufficiently critical by disagreeing and not providing solutions or optional windows for the solution.

Some of us who have cared to be positive in making contributions fail to sustain it because the sacrifices are either unbearable, the amount and level of resistance required against the other groups is turning risky or it is more rewarding to back off.

Our consciousness will shape our commitment that will determine what we make of our future. For example, if those who steal public resources with the consequences of destroying our educational system, will know that using the resources to train their children in highbrow institutions in Europe is more defeatist, they will do less of it. How will a first class from Oxford university fit into graduate assistant role in teaching a class of three hundred students with some hanging on the windows?

WHY AND HOW ARE OUR CHALLENGES PECULIARLY COMPLEX?

A good person can go into leadership and achieve very much less than minimum expectations. A good person can go into leadership and turn into an oppressor and a thief. A bad person will go into leadership and destroy the system by disorientation and corruption.

Each of them will continually roll out statistics of governance improvements.

The supporters of each cut across government and non-governmental operatives and organizations.

The majority of the electorate resort to seeking to be favoured rather than fighting for what is right.

The bad and the turned-bad increase while it gets more tight, unattractive and costly to remain good or support the good, even though everyone is arguing for more good.

WHAT REALLY IS DEVELOPMENT, THE OBJECTIVE OF GOVERNANCE?

Those who are alive are to be made to feel safe and be prosperous in livelihood relationships, with minimum pains. This means that the cost of livelihood will be within general convenient reach, whether one belongs to the formal or informal sector. And those who join (as they become adults) easily fit in to add value to the process without disorienting the stability and progress.

In relation to government and leaders, those who are in disagreement are neither at disadvantage or risk of losing out. And those who are in support are not in monopoly of determining what drives the common history of the society. Leadership and government is constantly able use positive disagreements to enhance good governance. The majority who are neither in strong support nor clearly against, do not get hurt or crushed by the excesses of either or the conflict between the two.

Governance is for the benefit of all, without exclusion. Development or safety and prosperity and the expansion and building of these across the society are the ultimate objectives of governance. It's people who must feel enveloped in these in the experiential process. This is why white elephant or abandoned projects are irresponsible attributes of any leadership and government.

WHY THE CONTINUOUS SCREAMS EVEN WHEN POSITIVE STATISTICS ARE NOT TOTALLY ABSENT?

Statistical records may or may not reflect real life impact status of the citizens. Moreover, the items may stand aloof from the basic needs and wants of the generality of citizens. The improvement in the measure of things is not always in itself sufficient.

For example, the price of petrol is easily more felt by a larger proportion of the society, in the event of changes when compared to exchange rate. This is in spite of the fact that we are a more consuming nation for our needs, wants and fancies than a producing nation. In the same term, where the production of goods are not rising to warrant distribution by transport and trading, development of cheap passenger trains will not be sufficiently felt. This is the condition that warrants the preference of developing cargo vessels because of superior impact value than those of passengers.

With health, specialist hospitals are less impactful than primary and secondary health facilities. This is why high environmental sanitation standards that prevent waterborne diseases is more impactful and cheaper for basic health services than drug warehouses. The less people have to see a doctor, the healthier they are rather than the number of doctors, nurses, hospitals and drugs consumption.

Where university graduates cannot write formal letters, the society will not feel better with many of them. The impact of quality primary and post primary products will be superior.

Similarly, in a setting of a pool of thirty-seven million unemployed persons that increase at the rate of one million yearly, it will not make five hundred thousand openings impactful, even though it is positive.

It is even more tricky, where the costs are both unreasonable and senseless. For instance, it requires an ingenious leadership to develop road infrastructure in most of our townships. The inability to reasonably absorb existing settings is really a greater failure in service than development. Development must be of and for the people with minimal crush. This is why in more responsive societies even a railroad can pass through a crowded market. But where structural developers are bankrupt in fitting into cultural settings, instead of expressing creativity in virgin areas they turn more destructive of existing settings. Achievements lists are therefore not necessarily of governance relevance. The amount of money spent have to be right in in relation to the state of matters and the items. The timely relevance of these must connect to the impacts made on the direct livelihood of the majority of people in the society, consistently and growingly.

This is why the electorate gets confused as both non impactful and impactful leaders roll out performance reports.

WHAT ARE THE SHADES OR CHARACTERISTICS OF POVERTY THAT WE HAVE TO OVERCOME, THAT ARE NOT QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF GOODS AND SERVICES WE OFTEN MEASURE?

They essentially rest on our personalities and relationships, in all spheres of life.

The direction or orientation must be that: good factors are pooled together.

Those who have should readily give to those who require it for general good leadership and governance.

For example, those with ideas that will transform society need to be supported by those who have the means. But those who have the means require to appreciate, understand and have at least equal commitment to the benefits of the ideas, to general societal uplift. In the early communist history, Fredrick Engels supported Karl Marx. In the history of Islam, Muhammad (SAW) was supported by Abubakar and Umar. And these produced lasting and expansive results.

In Nigeria, the disconnect or weakness is at the level of ideas for transforming society. Military coups were financed in this country to enable change of government by business persons not belonging to the military. Political leaders have patronized select individuals to become multimillionaires and billionaires. Godfathers have sponsored their lackeys into powerful determining offices. The singular exception is late Fela Anikulapo Kuti who purchased truck load of Walter Rodney's HOW EUROPE UNDERDEVELOPED AFRICA and dumped them in university campuses. He appreciated and was committed to the idea of understanding the exploitative relationship between Europe and Africa, as a foundation for moving forward.

The most popular trend is to build relatives, clansmen, colleagues to amass money. This was observed by EFCC when it said a high percentage of stolen money is invested in estates.

Those who have are often wretched in appreciating ideas. They and their associates that can help them are afraid of poverty and are not contented with their level of safety and prosperity.

Beyond individuals, not even the heads of organizations or political leaders are rich to support the enhancement of our collective safety and prosperity. They will rather support ad hoc projects that will give immediate IMPRESSIONS that will get re-consumed or overwhelmed by the larger trappings of our negativities.

Until leaders in common ideas, leaders in business, leaders in politics and the royal club build the care of patriotism (that will cover our collective safety and prosperity beyond families or sectors or groups or regions), or the same arises from their folds, transformational ideas will be suspected, feared and ignored, if not resisted.

Unfortunately, we are even in a worse state because, these leaders are continually failing to develop others of their choices (enough) to make them feel more secure and boost their prosperity. They are now living in greater fear and suspicion in relation to the larger society because they do not support what will effect a society-wide impact, but will help with relief gestures for existence (not survival).

This is why we have numerous charity organizations gifting surpluses without qualitative improvements in the society.

The interest, taste and commitment to our collective safety and prosperity by the elite, our leaders, is low. Some, out of ignorance and more out of hypocrisy, to guard and sustain their inordinate greed.

WHAT WINDOW OF SOLUTIONS AND APPROACH MUST WE USE TO GET ON THE PATH OF RESPONSIBLY ATTENDING TO OUR CHALLENGES, IN THE IMMEDIATE AND FUTURE TERMS?

With the present status of true lacks and oppressive debts, the unintelligent and backward approach of replicating (wholesome) Dubai or United States in our environment must be adjusted.

The optimal use of internal resources with minimum money for benefits across the society should be given more attention. For instance, it will cost much much less money to use our agricultural nurseries to massively establish the basis for regular fruits supply and checking desert encroachment in two years.

The health of Nigerians will have a basis to improve with fruits and combining this with vigorous environmental sanitation will check waterborne diseases infections. Large scale farming is good but NOT AS BUSINESS COVERS FOR HEINOUS ECONOMIC PRACTICES.

The same principle and approach can apply to housing challenges.

These will involve employment expansions.

The participation, control and flow of immediate benefits from these examples are more certain and superior to minerals that require external hands to verify their useful existence, extracting them and processing them. Another logical condition is that they can only partner with elite individuals and the government that have sunk us this down.

The principle and approach of suspending their status of priority for attention and dependence by the larger society is key to disciplining them. This means that their activities will be highly limited to absolutely controllable levels.

WHAT CAN BE THE STRONG ATTRIBUTES OF A PERSONALITY FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THIS CRISIS RIDDEN COUNTRY, TAKING OFF

FROM WHAT WE SHOULD NOT OVERSIGHT, FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI?

Femi Adesina had defined one of these (of Buhari) as the ability to proceed with his resolution regardless of bickering, insults, threats etc. This should have rationally and sensibly compensated for his being tagged to be slow. This is very desirable. However, there is the challenge of further ensuring that such resolutions have credible value and the impact is felt. He was able to get the Petroleum Industry Bill signed after six years of consistent resolve. But the systematic process and efforts of resistance that rubbished the end is a pain that is most unpleasant. This is because, like the removal of the subsidy has collapsed, the same resistors can recover their previous status of raping our common wealth in a more sophisticated fashion. The law can turn into the penal code provision in Northern Nigeria prohibiting taking of alcohol, which has lost its spirit. No police officer will arrest persons taking alcohol, in the North, today.

Through a promotional documentary on Muhammadu Buhari that sought to impress that he is like any other person, Fashola made the critical revelation that, Muhammadu Buhari does not commit the authority entrusted to him, until he clearly understands the submission. To his credit will remain, the specific assignment of some funds recovered to the legacy projects – the second Niger bridge, Lagos-Ibadan express way and that of Abuja to Kano. This very same applies to specific loans to reactivate some aspects of the railways across the country.

But the corruptive machinery and operations of achieving these have taken questionable tolls on our future safety and prosperity. Moreover, governance is not the ability to execute turnkey projects, in isolation of the systematic corruption environment that is the primary challenge.

Garba Shehu had, in contributing to the continued superior suitability of Muhammadu Buhari to lead this country from 2019 submitted that, he remains clean from corruption. And the president had during his 2015 campaign submitted that he has not been found to have stolen anything from public trust. For 2019, he told the electorate that they have the choice of replacing him with thieves. And in leadership, attributes like this need to rub and transform those who are thieves to be repentant and those who are yet to be, to be proud of avoiding.

But neither the operatives of the government machinery, his lieutenants, his aides nor his close associates can largely be certified similarly. This is the sense of the common blanket allegation that he is running the country with more thieves than his predecessors, as irrational as it sounds.

These clear commendable leadership attributes that we require must not be lost or overlooked, but not in themselves. The personality will require to further, be able to impact these on the system and operatives for better positive leadership and governance results. If this fails to drive the leadership and governance, we will be left with only statistical differences and far less impact.

WHY OR HOW DID MUHAMMADU BUHARI FAIL TO MANAGE THE FEW ANTI NIGERIA POWERFUL PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, THAT ARE ALLEGED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR CONTINUOUS PROBLEMS? THIS MAY BE A HELPFUL ALERT TO THE ELECTORATE IN EVALUATING THE PROBABLE ABILITY OF ANY PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE.

There are critically two categories of these people. The first include those who will cherish to be identified as concerned critics of his leadership and governance. These are stand-alone individuals. There are professional groups that believe that they have

the best spectacles for viewing his leadership and governance. And there are the rightly opposition platforms. The opportunists of this umbrella are sectional/regional groupings that contribute physical disorder by their actions.

This category made a high level of negative impact on the society though the target was the person of Buhari first, his leadership and governance. And the greatest reason is that the level of our general political education and positive orientation for our collective safety and prosperity is very low. Both the ruling and opposition parties are the greatest failures for this. Since 1999, political parties will either justify what the ruling party is doing or condemn if they are not in power, until another trumpet for partisan activities is blown by the electoral commission.

This is therefore a limited personal failure as a leader of his own party. If the parties and especially the next leader to get the mandate cares for this, it will be more responsive and responsible.

In addition to ignoring education, the leadership and government was almost always, more defensive or even dangerously ignored even positive criticisms. While there is no intelligent justification to respond to every disagreement or criticism, it is more required to respond to criticisms that have fibre value to leadership and governance. And beyond answering, it should recognize (better than the critic) the value of the criticisms and act or educate or both. A fair example is the eventual handling of the allegations against the head of his ministers.

The second category are not really outside the government. The members are better defined as beside or aside the government. This qualifies them to be really more dangerous than the first, because of their effective negative impact. They have the resources of built up wide influence that is largely resting on previous or running handouts to their agents for loyalty. It is really not based on any set of shameless

ideas or principles, because they don't grant even material benefits beyond their circles except as charity – when they choose. They have built up financial resources with the obsession of increasing it by easy but most yielding engagements than by investments and economic activities. They also have built up interests in the manning and operation of key public organizations and even ownership. They are economically not close to being as useful as the volume of finances they control. They often have a reasonable clout in offerings – to determine economic, financial and political decisions because of their spheres of engagements, readiness to pay or cushion their lackeys. Accordingly, no government fails to see and feel them because they can initiate new useful agents, handsomely reward casual agents and threaten a whole leadership and government.

The drawback in the handling of this category is in the form of underestimating their capacity to harm, disorganize, disorientate or even bringing a government down to disrepute and confusion. Ordinarily, government has the best and final ability to deal with any wrongs and the doers. Unfortunately, this has limitations, where the functionaries are not fairly catered for and a culture of alternative resort has been growing.

The approach of starting off with the objective of destroying or disgracing them has not only failed but has ignited the response of strengthening their resources and fighting back. The consequences of this relationship are more negative than positive. Indeed, prospective potentials for leading the reduction of our disintegration have been reduced between being cut down or absorbed into the same fold of those that are our principal challenges. The next leader must be conscious of this and adjust positively. This is possible and better because, as evil as they are, they are equally entitled to rational and sensible safety and prosperity. The dividing line of the limits of their excesses must be better defined to reasonably retain their ability to positively

contribute to the general good. This will indeed attract responsible repentance by some of them. And this will build up the power to compel the remnant resisters to come on track or be sanctioned.

THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO BE STILL SUFFERING FROM THE INEVITABLE COSTS OF ONE TRUSTWORTHY SUPPORTED BY MORE THIEVES. HOW CAN THIS BE IMPROVED UPON?

Let's not class the suspects as thieves, because those that have been caught have been presented for sanctions just as some are being questioned. It does not matter whether the scope meets our expectations, interest or not.

The first concern should be retaining what we believe and remains true. This will be to have the trustworthy person to lead. The dilemmas here are that, they are not easy to get even if you know them, because they will require acceptance and presentation by the sponsors – the party and bankrolling the logistics of their campaigns to win. The experience of Buhari that is now a problem is a warning to the prospective sponsors, not to make the same level of mistakes. That is, one who is by records clean and will enjoy cleaning. If they have to be checking Buhari to the point of discrediting him, they will better have one with a clean record that is either willing not to enjoy cleaning or will fear the cost of cleaning and give up early to fall in line. This is easier and more probable because no one deserves to be assigned trustworthiness before he is entrusted with what he dearly needs, which he does not have. Another option that the sponsors may not be too comfortable with is one of them that is clearly a repentant. But such may be the next best bet for the electorate. Clear untrustworthy persons have a slim chance even though, the disappointment in

Buhari has catapulted many to the hasty opinion that a generous thief is now considerable.

Therefore, do not be swept away by the academic qualifications and even cognate public service experience that a candidate will be hanging. Not even his personal disposition to management of trusts is additionally the sign of hope. It will be what the sponsors calculate as feasibly welcome by the electorate. No crook wants to spend more on rigging than enabling the preferred choice voluntarily. It is cheaper to spend on protecting the voting process and the votes compared to rigging and violence to ensure a more questionable results.

There can be one slim exception to these options. A repentant sponsoring himself and ready to play dirty against those who will resist or obstruct him, because he is unlikely to fear their threats or submit because he will have a need or favour in their monopoly.

As for the team, the lieutenants and aides, whether the leader is trustworthy, a repentant or a clear thief, if they are not transparently reasonably and sensibly catered for, they will help themselves by informally or formally abusing their trusts. And the government bureaucracy and the leading operatives are a fair pointer to this, in governing along with political leaders.

IS THIS TO SUGGEST THAT THE PROSPECT OF DEALING WITH CORRUPTION IS SLIM?

I would not say so. But I must admit that it is close to hopeless or impossible, without a clear identity discipline driving all of us and especially the leaders.

The first level of the solution does not appear to be a serious challenge. This has to do with the twin knowledge that corruption is a problem and being disturbed about

it. Neither the past leaders, the current leaders nor the prospective leaders are unaware or ignorant of this. Whether they scream it or are mute about it, none of them can be denied this twin credentials.

But, understanding the problem or challenge of corruption is **more fundamental to attending to it effectively and successfully**. If it is merely known and concerned about, less being understood, a lot will be done without succeeding beyond appearances.

As for identity discipline, if a leader lacks a clear living consciousness as a Nigerian or a Believer in God or both, the orientation will be a form of political rascality. The leader will think that attending to corruption is a favour rather than a **responsibility for which he will be accountable**.

A suitable leader will therefore look up to being **questioned** or will not be **embarrassed by any questioning process**.

The logical consequence of this, is that he will not **tolerate non accountable creatures** to get close to dabbling into what they will not answer for. For example, this is the superiority of standing against establishing an office for the First Lady in the presidency of Nigeria or at the state level.

The records we have had, excepting the case of Umaru, whose wife was in court for her right, neither Stella, Maryam, Maryam nor Patience was a good omen. Indeed, the exposures of Maryam and Patience established the absolute justification of closing the office. But if Aisha will struggle and ride on objections to political appointments and a notorious cabal only to later cool off with the reopening of the office of First Lady, the pattern of the previous records can only differ in **forms, while the scope and depth or gravity can be deeper**. These are intelligent deductions because of two factors. The first is that less time is available to dabble

for optimal ‘achievements’ and the forms or styles that have become known to embarrass those visited or exposed, **will be avoided.**

The bankruptcy of identity discipline is what will enable **restraining a thief from driving away with a truck-full of foreign currency only for the same new trustee police to drive it home.**

Because discipline is neither in isolation of knowledge, understanding nor relationship, it is both irrational and senseless to normally expect that **a lieutenant or aide who is connected with ENABLING corruption, will not help himself.** It is therefore not impossible to have a guard over stolen money to pinch his share and disappear. It is not impossible to have padding of budgets **catering for both the bureaucrats, the legislators and the trustees/managers of the funds.**

When the **relationship element of discipline is out,** anything is possible to enhance corruption. This is when **no lieutenant, aide or associates can alert, remind or even challenge any major disciplinary lapse in the form of a process or even the action.** For instance, Nigerians had a relief when the additional tariff on calls and data was dropped. This was a dynamic between the rational necessity for raising more revenue against the additional burden on Nigerians, pursued by the minister of finance along with the minister of communications respectively. The leader then had the discretion to be sensitive to the implications or not.

Therefore, when trusts are personalized against the **first and final identity of the leader, connected and relevant to our collective identity,** the looseness of the leader will enable three kinds, levels or forms of leadership and governance damages. The first is that, the system operators will largely serve the leader and the system along with themselves in a fierce competitive manner. The second is that even if abuses will cross public resources involvement to include personal

prostitution relationship, **no one will care to alert or take action to help the leader.** It will not matter whether other citizens exchange sex for contracts or those close to him. The third is the inevitable degeneration of the society, the polity, the economy and culture.

This is the simple, true and right explanatory basis for **most of the corruption under Muhammadu Buhari that we knew against what he has become.**

Not even Sowore will be opportune to become our president and start with the commitment of **probing all presidents since 1999, the Chiefs of Army Staff and submit to being probed by his successor.** Such civility will not be changed because there is no identity discipline or consistency across the society and leaders. We will not agree that it is necessary for our collective safety and prosperity improvements, even if he undertakes that none of them will be hanged or face (their) remaining life sentence.

If anyone doubts this, let him attempt or sponsor a critical evaluation of our leaders, leadership and governance from Islamic or Christian standpoint. Let even free institutions like the universities attempt it for our good. Moreover, all of them (the leaders) are either Christians or Muslims. None of them will deny that what they claim to be their belief identity is a solution to our security and prosperity challenges. But **none of them will pass.**

This is why we have a salaries and wages control machinery for the public service; we had a PTF with a remuneration structure outside; PENCOM is now being questioned for at least its presentation structure; these two are associated with better performance than the main bureaucracy; workers are never resting on their oars (by strikes) for living wages; and **no leadership has considered the contradictions a serious challenge for governance.**

This identity bankruptcy or emptiness is the explanation for having a fairly groomed manager failing as a governor to be stoned at the end of his tenure. This is the explanation of having a billions worth individual becoming a governor and not being able to demonstrate the ability of adding value to the assets entrusted to him, and looting the resources for self and associates. This is the explanation for having so called experienced leaders in the midst of a society, who freely dabble into leadership and governance matters, and the society will still fail to even stagnate but will degenerate. This is the explanation for Nigeria having a constitutional provision and operation of a Council of States that has not taken us out of our challenges. This is the explanation of having an estate with the landlord living within but the landlord will be competing with the manager in managing the estate; the graduate tenants will not pay services dues, to enable disposal of waste or paying a guard; will be dishonest in financial relationship; basic maintenance roles will not be played by both the landlord and tenants or they will have a borehole but they will be suffering from intermittent water crisis. Indeed, some may be criminal in tempering with electric meter or the electrical wiring system in a house. Indeed, the landlord will not excuse delay in prompt payment of rent and making increases as his rights.

The distinctive evidence of the value of identity consciousness and discipline is that, while some economic growth elements can be enabled, the livelihood of the generality of the society will be stagnant or even degenerate. It is for instance possible to see individuals with new cars or building new houses, but an inordinate rascal will actually be dispossessing house owners by buying off the houses (because of increasing poverty). A whole ward may become the property of a new landlord. It is possible to have all grades of libraries and people have access to them, but the learnings will not have bearing of collective benefit to the society. But charity and

personal generosity relationship between the two classes will be sustained by the opportune leaders while poverty, oppression and exploitation increases.

This cultural orientation and status can however burst, to generate a strange value package for a solution discipline that will not **really serve any of the parties**. A popular inclination is to get extreme, by classifying the opportune who are bankrupt of identity consciousness and discipline as the **real enemies of society**. While they can be, if the society is identity-discipline oriented, they do not have to be because of their wretchedness in the **knowledge, understanding and discipline in what is right and true for all of us**. This is why some hasty societies got trapped into revolutions. In our case, the rational and sensible resistance to revolution has not helped us because of identity unconsciousness.

THIS MAY REALLY BE DIFFICULT, BUT WHAT IS FEASIBLE IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCE?

I believe that something very effective is still possible. The present leader can conveniently assemble at least, his closest influencers within and outside the government. It is impossible for the number to exceed fifteen if they are very large. Normally, three to five of them will be capable of bearing the others. And those who have been responsible for his taking critical decisions on **appointments, contracts award, dropping of pursuing certain alleged thieves, taking loans, fiscal laws** are examples.

None of them **is likely to be an unbeliever, who has recorded his or her identity as being neither a Muslim or Christian**.

He will simply and moderately indicate that he is genuinely and strongly concerned about the cries of Nigerians that entrusted him with the resources and mandate for their better leadership and governance. They are the ones he had listened to and

reasonably obliged, because he believed that they will not mislead him or destroy the trust given to him. He will demand from each to **swear** that he or she had all through advised, acted in his name and influenced his leadership and governance **devoid of taking any advantage to either please him, please himself or herself or what will be unfair to any class of citizens or the entire country. If the person has submitted a lie, may the curse of God be on him or her.**

But **none of them will accept** and he will not insist, because we are really living in the orientation of identity confusion.

You will at least expect non accountable persons to be compelled because they had no business in the first place, to offer directions without being asked to do.

ANOTHER POPULAR AND CRITICAL CHALLENGE THAT MAY HAVE WEIGHED DOWN THE PROSPECT OF BUHARI LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNMENT FROM DOING BETTER IS HIS BEING INACCESSIBLE OR BEING ISOLATED FROM THOSE THAT CAN ADD VALUE TO CARRYING OUT HIS MANDATE. WHAT HAVE MADE THIS SO BAD AND HOW CAN THIS BE TACKLED?

The President and indeed his office, serves as the bus stop for all executive matters. It is therefore normally best, for restrictive access. There is a sphere of limited matters that should begin with him or his office. For example, no trustee in government is rightly in place to commit public resources in billions without the direct involvement of the president or his trusted legally established aide or club – like a Board or Council. And he can question or ask that they are questioned, if he is not satisfied.

This places the burden of responsible redirection of properly advanced matters or persons to the appropriate trustee of the president by his surrounding aides. For

instance, if you have a very beneficial proposal for developing tourism to boost revenue sources and level, there is a minister that can handle it. If the required commitment runs up to a trillion, he will evaluate and process fitness for the attention of the president or otherwise.

This is different from a public figure who declares intent to meet the president on his style of clearing corruption. The president will need to be informed to decide, if the aides are not comfortable with his critical identity. If they decide for the president and further refuse to inform him, they are **misfits**. This is because the president will need to continue building up connecting with those that can add value to his business.

This does not close the window of well-known associates that must not be inhibited (because they are not considered qualified to ease his burdens), without informing him. It is not impossible that such associate may be an effective alert for adjusting what is about to go wrong or has gone wrong.

The dynamics of enabling access to the president is therefore a complex weave of how his personality is perceived by the aides, to use the trust of screening prospective visitors. If he is highly respected, they will play his principles to earn his respect. If they fear him (no one who hates him is likely to be appointed by him), they will make such visitors pay for access – even at the clear detriment of his mandate. In addition, they will take measures to safeguard themselves against exposure, blackmail and sanction.

This is more probable when they have any or a combination of three negative attributes. The first is ignorance or false consciousness of the purpose of their engagement, to enhance his ability to fulfil his mandate. The second is miserable conditions of service that fixes their aspiration to physiological needs against

supporting the self-actualization of the president. The third is the basic competence for the status and roles of their placement. Therefore, if any is very skilled but has the orientation of really playing a small president, the president is finished. The more of the aides that have this attribute the more, people of value will be scared away, leaving only those that they will really be modest with. If the challenges that stare at them are eating, drinking, sleeping well, they will build these up with extortions, expensive lifestyle, loose morals cushioned with audacity, impunity, haughtiness and highhandedness. This can water down the possibility of positive orientation, regardless of competence. And if an aide is not basically competent, he cannot even learn on the job.

It will therefore be too ambitious to expect a formula or package of guaranteed suitable handlers for the president. This is why he has the close to absolute liberty to constitute his body of personal aides. All a president must know is that, the aides will definitely reflect their perception of him and what will make them continue in their offices, by their actions and orientation. It is entirely his personal responsibility to check and monitor their service suitability, beyond seeming loyalty to him. Any president that accommodates boot licking and praise singing as the regular product of his aides, will be turned blind and deaf to the distinction between what is right and wrong.

Outside this circle (of immediate aides), this can explain why and how a Minister who fits into a rental accommodation graduates into possessing a multimillion plot of land in an elite enclave and freshly building an elegant property. And you can hardly pin him on theft. In both cases, serious damage is done to the moral fibre of the leadership and governance.

WHAT ABOUT A LEADER'S CHALLENGE OF TIME MANAGEMENT?

Practically, timeliness is the only thing responsible because it amounts to responding at the best time. The closer you are to an activity is, in meeting this twin faced historical requirement in satisfying any needs, wants or fancies, the more **efficient**. This is why payment of pension is measured by **as it falls due and not after the death of the beneficiary or a day, weeks or months after, like many Pension Funds Administrators. In arbitration, justice delayed is justice denied. The same applies to the performance of handsets, bandwidth, cars etc.**

However, when it comes to decision making by a leader in the course of making history, it is more dynamic. Late action can be compensated by **right action, provided the stretch of delay is ordinarily responsible, given the resources at his disposal**. And it will be easier to forgive, understand or tolerate, where not too perfect decision is taken in good time, against taking a clearly irresponsible decision or not taking any at all.

In our circumstance, for a president, he has an equal twenty-four hours to live in every day and night like every single Nigerian. But he is required to reasonably and sensibly attend to our collective safety and prosperity in every **one of the** twenty-four hours, above average level. It is therefore only fools and the mischievous that live in the pump or game of leadership responsibilities that talk of, too much work for the president or governor or chairman etc. And it is worse if he is the one making such complaint. There is no excuse whatsoever for being very busy, too busy etc. This is because, that is **the right calling**.

This is why he is cushioned with **larger than life conditions of service**. The test of his **immediate leadership in his social surrounding of lieutenants, associates, aides** is in their regular submissive **usefulness** to enable his increasing the quality of

his time. And this is measurable by the effective outcome of resolving matters that reach him directly or his assigned representatives. He cannot be a performer while his lieutenants, aides and associates are **useless or even harmful**.

The factors that combine to enable this requirement include **the knowledge and perception of his person and identity by the lieutenants, aides and associates; the basic competencies of these people, in relation to his mandate; their legal scope of welfare; their life maturity for handling trusts that can consume them or serve them beyond ordinary; and personal sincerity or integrity**.

Any level of misgiving in one of them or in their overt or covert relationship, by outright approval, instructions, pretence or ignoring what is wrong, **by the leader or any of them, will inevitably subtly generate a culture of opportunistic service or exploitation. And the more the culture grows or bubbles, the greater the weakness and loss of leadership. He will then be building his own irresponsiveness and irresponsibility**.

This can be inevitable where the leader mistakes certification or skills as sufficient. The herd of leaders and the Leader will waste the lives of the citizens more than protect them, because works, services and welfare of the society will at best be attained at highly irresponsible costs of time, resources, safety and prosperity.

And the only guard against this, is the conscious direction of leadership and governance to increase general safety and prosperity, driven by identity discipline.

WILL IT BE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE STATES HAVE STOOD THE CHANCE OF BEING BETTER, COMPARED TO THE CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE PRESIDENT?

There are a few critical challenges or issues that they (Governors) share, because of the similar executive responsibilities. But then, at the state level, the impact is homelier. For example, if the state fails to pay its workers' salaries, it is more and faster felt than federal employees. If the governor is a failure even in improving positive statistical governance indicators, it is felt quicker and more. This is informed by the closer jurisdiction of a state, to the citizens. This informs the higher argument that the local government is closest to the people.

You will therefore appreciate why it requires a higher level of emotional intelligence and discipline to do the right thing most of the times, at the state level. The easiest escapist option for a caring leader, is to build the landscape anew, even if it is at the costs of lives and livelihood means of the citizens that gave him the mandate. You can therefore have nice markets and roads along with deaths, increased psychiatric challenges, loss or relocation of businesses to other states because of economic suffocation and liquidated or collapsed businesses. It makes rational and sensible people to wonder: for who is any development meant to serve?

The second experience to this is consistent irresponsible carelessness, where no committal attempt is made, to improve even the statistical record. But, these options are more applicable to states with real limited resources.

Those with comparatively more resources will attract less impact consequences because highly inflated projects or works costs can be easily committed.

Again, while in some states a clear consistent group sucks the resources with no productivity, in those where the sucker group expands to have more people into the fold, the negative consequences are measurably less.

This is why the peculiar challenges of governing Niger state have historically been playing out differently from the sudden drastic break and the costs in the case of

Kaduna. Borno presents yet another colour. Ekiti process is not like what Kogi is striving to become. And Enugu or Ebonyi are not what Imo is becoming. Between Akwa Ibom and Rivers, Bayelsa is a middle player. Lagos has been sniffing to turn but is more ambitious compared to unwinding Ogun.

The challenge of access to the bus stop is similarly more frustrating than the character of the federal setting. This is because poverty is more realistically appreciated and the culture of thievery is less resisted, in the making of the government. This double negative character still often fails to generate corresponding level and quality of positive objection because of pervasive poor political education and the negative supportive psyche of believing that it will soon become our turn. This is why the wool-covering of zoning is easily accommodated as rational and sensible.

But at the federal level, honesty is a greater demand for safety because of the wider jurisdiction and distance of reaching it. Accordingly, zoning is more fiercely defended even though it is not a rational guarantee. And all the elite wars for resource control, restructuring etc. connect to the same essential corruption and backwardness in political education and governance.

The electorate, the elite and the leaders all need to be woken up by a new turn in political education and orientation, to realize the required leaf of disciplined leadership and governance for our collective safety and prosperity, at all the levels of government in this country. I mean, the politicians, the formal operatives in the formal sectors especially the public, the political parties etc.

WHAT DOES THE PROSPECTIVE LEADER NEED TO KNOW, UNDERSTAND ABOUT THE FEELINGS OF POVERTY BEYOND FISCAL DEFINITIONS, BECAUSE THE FEELINGS ARE WHAT WILL MAKE

WHATEVER RESPONSES MATCH FISCAL RESPONSES TO REAL IMPACT?

I agree completely. For instance, fuel subsidy is draining our capacity for livelihood in fiscal terms and livelihood impact. The pump price that transporters add to their profits along with the cost of especially goods (like food, drinks, clothing, building materials, vehicles etc.), are eventually borne by the consumers. This is even more irrational with services. For instance, the cost of air flight, costs of products available for online purchases, health and schooling. This is the relationship between fiscal capacity and the ability for livelihood.

What this means is that, the challenge of fuel subsidy requires the leadership and government to cut down on the required fiscal capacity of the citizens to enable basic livelihood and building upon this. The logic and justification of increasing subsidy arising from the volume of fuel consumption and smuggling have turned irrational and senseless for our collective safety and prosperity.

Whatever a prospective leader understands to be the best, better and good responses to this double jeopardy, must not isolate administration and management of this resource that we depend on (more than most others), from the implications of impact on our collective safety and prosperity, that is the primary purpose of our leadership and governance.

The time required to effect relief from the pains is therefore critical. It is therefore understandable that the time it has taken for all the governments to produce the law considered to be the first solution step, is not responsive. The mystery of the difficulty of laying out all the cards and sorting out the contradictions in the administration and management of this resource, by resorting to only further fiscal burden is a build-up of negative response.

The challenge is critically not engineering. No engineering competence is therefore necessary or even required for the leadership out of the present economy quagmire. Those who have championed that choice are ahead with production challenges and behind with responsiveness to the leadership and governance responsibility to our collective safety and prosperity.

It is grievously wrong and hopeless to either uphold or continue in this course. This is because the only increasing beneficiaries of the present solution are the subsidy payees.

KADUNA STATE IS A FAIR EXAMPLE IN OUR RECENT HISTORY OF A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE RESOURCES AND PEOPLE FROM GOVERNANCE DEGENERATION. WHY HAVE THE POSITIVE PHYSICAL IMPACTS BECOME AN INCREASING REGRETFUL BURDEN ON MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE?

I agree completely. For instance, roads, street lighting, drainage, markets, taxation, muscling of administrative processes of procurement and execution of works and services, raising of quality teachers, dropping of redundant and unsuitable staff are impressive markers. But loss of businesses, loss of houses, loss of jobs, relocation of businesses, irrational delays and non-payment of entitlements under the cover of screenings, political disorientation etc. are far from or opposite of responsible governance, that requires the matching of the two.

This is logically and sensibly inevitable because of the double poverty of the knowledge and discipline of the required matching relationship and the knowledge and discipline of personal morality relating to the primary protection of the identity, safety and prosperity of citizens, as the foundation to build on.

No leader can give more than what he has along with what he either refuses to get or is denied, because of his audacity. No leader can have it all and can only make up with as much as his humility and accessibility will attract. It is these shades of bankruptcies that are more responsible for the gap, regardless of the very good intentions and optimal efforts of the leadership and governance.

This is why the most foolish, misleading and destructive beginning of a prospective successor will be, the undoing or just continuing with the present leadership and governance characteristics and approach.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT FAITH, TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE FAILURE OF MOST LEADERS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THIS COUNTRY?

There are either very few or no unbelievers in most of the leadership positions in this country. It is therefore worthy of asking, whether belief in God is really inconsequential or it is the believers that are faulty.

The first impression is that since virtually all of them identify with God, then, religious beliefs or believers have failed. This will be a rude mix up, both irrational and senseless. They are Nigerians, does that necessarily amount to the failure of Nigerians and Nigeria?

If, as they bear the identity of beliefs related to God, they are at least submissive in the basic requirements of consciousness and discipline or drive, the situation would certainly be far better than the present.

Take a leader who has taken an oath. He knows that this life is as transitory as the defined tenure for his service; that he will be accountable to the people by the system entrusted to him; he will be finally accountable to God for the same for salvation;

and that he will share in whatever consequential good that he adds or bear whatever consequential wrongs that build up, along with those that follow in his path, he will minimally commit what is out rightly wrong or doubtful, **deliberately**.

In addition, he will neither welcome nor be approached by any believer aides, associates or lieutenants, in that direction. The discipline will be consistent. Indeed, those who are not in any of these relationship will be better able to remind, alert and criticize them.

The identity of being Nigerians, believers, will positively serve Nigeria for Nigerians.

This will be regardless of strictly private drawbacks in the submission of the leaders to God. For instance, they may be poor in performing religious rites like prayers, which should add to their ability, comfort and attraction of the special intervention of God.

The same with social discipline like in marital or extra marital relationship.

It is therefore clear that the leaders have failed mostly and will undoubtedly account for it, because they were/are entrusted with the collective safety and prosperity of the electorate. And the other formal and informal contributors to our pains will accordingly bear along with the leaders, to account. Is this not reflective even in our setting, making an accomplice liable along with a convict?

The faith in Nigeria or in God or both are necessarily fitting for both unbelievers in God and believers in God, for our collective safety and prosperity by leadership and governance. The challenge is that especially our leaders, followed by their aides, lieutenants and associates, have been unconscious, untrue and are not excusable.

These leaders include the pushing supporters outside the government and political parties.

For a leader who is a believer (especially a Muslim), he must know that he is not only responsible and accountable for every citizen under his jurisdiction, that goes hungry or gets oppressed, or gets his livelihood with questionable difficulty, but more so for real complaints that reach him or are stopped from reaching him, on time or at all. The activities in hotels and night clubs or gambling are not different.

This is because the leadership we are operating in modern times is institutional. Therefore, in a society of ours, where we can rightly differ, it is **entirely his personal responsibility to know, understand, live and lead, within the limits that are safe for the differences.**

OF WHAT VALUE IS THE GUIDANCE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS, GIVEN THEIR IMMEDIATE RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR REAL IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS?

Let me begin with pointing out that, religious leaders in worship houses or more or less, political organizations, are not **necessarily useful in making useful suggestions.** This is because they may not also qualify as scholars (who know, understand and live the guidance), who may be **useful if they are accordingly disciplined for our constitutional citizenship.** This complex web of requirements is informed by the fact that religious ambition must be with respect for those that differ. Anything to the contrary will amount to rascality.

The implication of this is that, every believer has a personal responsibility to learn, know and live as is right and true for whoever so identifies himself. This will safeguard against a sweeping mislead leaders in the canons by ordinary church/mosque goers who are empty in the guidance of the faithful and necessary

discipline. Ignorance of what will be right and true in matters outside canonical rites can get the innocent or naive canon leaders swept away by flashy but bankrupt members, in the discipline of the faith. This refers to ignorance of the relationship between the faith and its practice to non-canonical matters. It is therefore possible and welcome for religious scholars to make analysis, comments and suggestions **for sharing and consideration**. Non scholars have **equal responsibility to enable them evaluate the wisdom, foolishness, safety or risk of any suggestions**.

Neither Islam nor Christianity admits or promotes driving members like a herd of sheep.

There is nothing religious or right and true about **non constitutional leads or suggestions**. This is why the subjects of zoning, federal character, running mates have either wasted our time or have been used to manipulate the ignorant, without benefit.

The Ignorance of believers makes it easy for self-acclaimed or opportune members among them, with inordinate ambition, to take the members from where they stand to where is unknown to both parties.

WHAT CRUISING OF THE ECONOMY QUESTIONS WILL YOU LOAD FOR A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE?

How will we pay for example **Five billion dollars** yearly in servicing loans along with the following?

- **Growing population** that is supposed to be an economic advantage but is now a challenge to our economics and economy.
- **Growing underemployment and unemployment** with the increasing discharge of youths by schools, training institutions, the dropping quality of

these products, along with the epilepsy of teachers and non-teachers' services that inject resources waste (by building unearned entitlements) and extending the graduation time of the products, before they are qualified to add economic value to the system.

- **Growing, expanding but weakening** bureaucracy that is the only tool available for governance.
- **Growing power and influence** of those in control of oil and gas as well as electricity, that have the penchant for irresponsible behaviour to enhance their corruptive hold on our politics and economy or disorient the politics and economy.
- **Growing and expanding** capital and recurrent needs for infrastructure, health, bureaucracy, education, governance, etc.

How can we **build agriculture, industries and refineries etc.** with the above deepening incapacities that may not change in the next one year?

Having all the debts forgiven does not excuse these challenges, because the under running factors that enabled the debt traps **remain to be attended to.**

WITH OUR HIGH DEPENDENCE ON THE OIL AND GAS SECTOR THAT IS ALSO MOST CORRUPT, WHAT SAFETY VALUE WILL YOU SUGGEST IN THE INTEREST OF ALL?

I will certainly **not exclude accountability.** The reported pursuits by the President and the National Assembly should therefore **yield results.**

But this is absolutely insufficient because several past efforts have not produced the impact of dealing with the complaints. The explanation is that, neither the leadership, governance nor the polity is driven by a clear and consistent identity

consciousness and discipline. This is reflected in the confusion and contradictions of current understandings and solutions.

Like the investigations, the audits, the probes have not been impactful, the solution of petroleum industry Act is both far from being **really of different relevance**. After two decades of eventual birth, the questionable subsidy has multiplied, in the interest of saving a riotous polity. Removing it is the most rational but implementing it is the most senseless. The present government came in with the solution of attending to the refineries that are a clear technical excuse. For over seven years, it has not completed the repairs. It is clear that the technical and operational arrangements for lifting crude oil is humanly perfect. But the amount of losses is beyond bunkering records. Bunkering and wilful vandalization challenges have increased and expanded even though security cover, surveillance and technology facilities have consistently been provided. Indeed, another set of facilities, contract to an individual and discovery of nine years old leakage points are now the concerns. The explanation that the officials are the thieves in exclusion of licensed bodies is not only immature but negative or the corporate body and records of operations that we are questioning. The claim that oil belongs to the occupants of the areas negates the reality of the legal and historical existence of Nigeria just like the dream of making billions by agricultural production is naive to be land laws in Nigeria. This is why the Petroleum Industry Bill took years with by-products of easy millionaires and more oil businesses and the Petroleum Industry Act cannot help more leakages, losses, questionable/sharp practices and reorganized corruption.

The system of everybody taking advantage is building up helplessly because of the combination of real material poverty combined with poverty of identity consciousness and discipline, of all the parties and the citizens. The opportunity cost of such is socio-political negative superstructure of self-serving elites and youths

being really destroyed in the name of community interest. But all of them are outside the confines of law.

WHERE WILL YOU PLACE RESTRUCTURING OR RESOURCE CONTROL?

Indeed, **nowhere.**

The questions of who will they serve and by who, cannot be met with any change or difference in the bankrupt identity orientation by which the polity is being milled by the same leaders.

This is why the Federal Character principle has not served us, **for better unity, safety and prosperity.** This is why we are still wallowing in **frightening zoning or rotational** tacit agreements or conventions. This is why the change of giving responsible mandate from Peoples Democratic Party to All Progressives Congress **should teach us**, that the identity of a Party is **not a sufficient criterion** for attending to our challenges.

It will therefore be foolish to ignore education for reorientation on a continuous basis, to begin to **check the rot that we have to take off with.** It should be rough in the beginning. We can have at least a better collection of credible individuals from different political leaders, who will be more conscious of Nigeria and will realign for better structural developments, as against the present experiences that are driven by **opportunities for sharing.**

THERE IS THIS ASSERTION THAT WE ARE NOT A REAL NATION

The assertion is an inevitable but logical product of our cultural confusion in understanding, because our knowledge and discipline of what is true and right is empty in relation to our identity.

Anyone who comes up to say his real, true and right nation is a tribal enclave or a portion of Nigeria's geographical jurisdiction, but has been **living and prospering as a Nigerian since independence**, is a hypocrite and a fool. He is like a local tourist presenting himself to zoo guards, to be caged. Another example is a convict for assassination picking and completing a political party form to express the interest to contest for the office of a governor.

Each of these is unrealistic and unacceptable for rational and sensible development. While there is nothing wrong in making drastic changes in the course of history for our collective safety and prosperity, the basis must be the **failure of the best application of the present arrangement**.

This kind of rash orientation was responsible for evaluating **why and how public assets were no more serving the objectives of establishing them, before plunging us into privatization that was unknown**. Today, we have discovered and rediscovered that, worse than not being different, the cooperation between the neutral trustees and the private lords is more responsible for more expensive facilities and less service. In addition, the private lords are getting stronger in strangulating any government that will not sacrifice collective interest for their inordinate greed. The Petroleum and Power sectors are good examples.

The rot of our destruction by the elite has been this deepening and widening because of our identity consciousness and discipline challenges.

WHAT ABOUT THE LEGISLATORS?

The first challenge is the nature of the deceitful relationship between the prospective legislators and the electorate over time.

They are supposed to be seen and presenting themselves as those who have equal insight into the realities of the electorate, like the political leaders, but unlike the political leaders, they are to demonstrate ability to enable the realization of the safety and prosperity of the electorate by connecting with immediate relevant and related laws making or unmaking.

It will be empty of any prospective legislator to offer, suggest or promise to provide boreholes, roads, electric power, schools, hospitals. It will be insufficient for even a prospective leader to promise so. And we have experienced the emptiness of these over the years.

Both the executive and legislators require time to realize the dreams of the electorate.

While, for the executive, it connects to availability of resources and ability to achieve the projects, for the legislators, the time is, for how long it will take to roll out a law that will check abuse of pooling and utilizing the resources for the same projects.

No prospective legislator can therefore intelligently proffer more than one to two well defined improvements, based on an above average understanding of a relevant law. This nature of elitist role is what justifies the universal welcome of returning to the house for unlimited tenures.

And it will be wonderful to find different candidates suggesting the same things, because the needs, wants and fancies of men are the same. This is more so with a country like ours that is still battling with attaining the control of basic needs.

It will therefore be fundamental to know from a prospective legislator, one or more of the following.

- what will he stand for where the choice of decision is more political than scientific or moral? This will definitely arise in the choice of their leadership. This is a regular challenge in the processes of legislative activities, like scheduling of plenaries, adjournments, breaks, etc.
- what specific law will he pursue to make a difference to the present set, to ensure availability of agricultural inputs, long before the rains? We have seen how long it has taken for the legislature to learn that passage of a budget and allowing for approval before the end of a calendar year, is the only rational and sensible thing to do. But none of them had offered to initiate that, to the electorate.
- the same applies to the subjects of debts, unemployment, non-marital and extra marital sex, orphans, labour strikes, housing, corruption, government highhandedness, education, health etc.

And these cut across all tiers of governance because the electorate are the same, spread across, that give their mandate to both classes of leaders.

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF THE RELIGIOUS (Muslim/Christian) TICKET BALANCE?

The real misgiving is the deep and wide ignorance of both sides. It is in principle, a shameful contradiction because, they constitute the majority of Nigerians, and have been the ones leading at different levels of government, either as Muslim/Muslim, Christian/Christian, Muslim/Christian or Christian/Muslim.

The deepening and widening mess and crisis we are in, is not the greater handwork of either party. They have together managed the system to general greater dissatisfaction.

And the root of this, is the identity crisis we are enmeshed in because of pervasive ignorance and hypocrisy of the tenets and the practice of the same, by respective parties.

This is why the benefit and comfort of the prohibition of a state religion has been eluding us. Whereas, leadership by any or both identities should be to our general advantage, by safety and prosperity, we are either baselessly afraid or victims of our identities.

The identity of a Muslim or Christian in leadership is recognized to the point of protecting and enhancing both practices by individuals and groups along with building the material safety and prosperity of all Nigerians without hurting the permissible limits of either.

This is why a Priest or Imam is not necessarily suitable, because the first burden is not to convert others. And a morally bankrupt believer is not good either.

Unfortunately, this weakness has been building up, to the disadvantage of both parties. Both are against nudity and violence but personal use of hijab will ignite legal and physical violence. A leader will violate the free identity of the different group and will aspire to lead more of them. We are against theft but collaborate in budget padding or inflation of values or destruction of records.

The education on our identity and positive conscious orientation for the collective safety and prosperity of all Nigerians is the key to getting out of our present confusion and crisis.

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF PURSUING HAVING A PARTICULAR SUCCESSOR AS AGAINST BEING NEUTRAL?

Neutrality is seemingly superior or more honourable. But certainly, not negative neutrality. No responsible leader will comfortably watch a destructive leadership succeed him. This means that, no leader can be absolutely neutral about who succeeds him. This is because, there is a standard procedure for succession. This experiential gap is what Ibrahim Badamosi is still being questioned over, for his cancellation of the June 12 realization, in spite of all his submissions.

The fault inevitably arises because the leader had failed more than succeeded in making the succession less stressful. This is most important because, a chosen or aided successor is not an assurance that the right things laid down will not be affected or that the preferred wrong things will be continued.

It is therefore more intelligent to lead by building the system rightly and later make it easier for a seemingly competent person to be a suitable successor, through the system. The benefit of this is that, any improvements will be shared and failures will be limited to the successor. However, if he was made, the process will be painful and wrongs will be more associated with the predecessor.

WHAT THEN SHOULD BE THE BEST LEGACY FOR A BETTER 2023 AND THE FUTURE?

The best legacy should be **the quality of leadership and governance**, and not structures or services achieved. This is why it is foolhardy to swallow the philosophically bankrupt pill, that the worst democracy is better than the best military rule or dictatorship. History has proven that no particular set of structures, processes and orientation is **right and all others wrong**. What matters is the twin related factors of **a fitting orientation to the identity of a people and optimally**

serving them with safety and prosperity. The presidential system of the United States of America, the parliamentary system of the United Kingdom, the communist system of China or the monarchy system of Saudi Arabia are all pragmatic.

Buildings, laws and services can be submitted as legacies but they are secondary to the quality of leadership and governance in managing and administering the standard rules, regulations, processes, institutions, workers, citizens etc.

Consequently, if a leader leaves behind the best forms of rules, organizations and buildings with no added value to the quality of leadership and governance he is still damaging, because the cost of leadership and governance will remain or increase, without matching benefits or impact.

HOW CAN THE BENEFITS OF TRANSITION FROM ONE GOVERNMENT TO ANOTHER BE ACHIEVED?

This is undoubtedly a difficult challenge because, it requires super human courage and humility, over and above knowledge and competence.

In the first place, the leader has responsibility for all the citizens within his jurisdiction and more, irrespective of the pattern of voting. This means that, he will require to rise above his partisan identity. This is particularly so, because the successor may differ from his party or geopolitical identity or both. The service for the collective safety and prosperity of the citizens should be his interest and barometer.

In the second place, because leadership always has both formal and informal aspects, it requires courage to share especially informal challenges that should help the successor transit easier and faster.

Thirdly, the matters that require greater sharing are not the successes but challenges and possible explanations of the causes of failures that were later understood.

Fourthly, keeping honourable distance from interference and the willingness to listen to the successor in the event of interest for advice.

This means that the responsible benefits that can and ought to be shared between the outgoing and incoming leaders are the true knowledge and difficult experiences of the outgoing, that the incoming should beware of. These are things that may include what are recorded but certainly include those outside the books.

THIS REQUIREMENT REQUIRES A PEACEFUL CHANGE OF BATON, WHICH GIVES THE NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE A LAUDABLE ROLE

What real laudable role with what status?

The principle is laudable. But the reality of peace that connotes non-violence necessarily requires to be constituted by other critical elements or factors. The leading one is that the common definition of peace **must be the paradigm that assures the equal protection of citizens for their prosperity.** This is not possible without a set of common beliefs and values of identity discipline.

In our case, this is a great need. We are neither conscious Nigerians nor Believers in our livelihood.

Following this, is the logical necessity that the members of the committee evidently **live the identity and have real honourable recognition for this, by the generality of Nigerians.**

In our case, it is confusing.

For instance, it is easy to recognize Bishops as leaders, scholars who live an identity with which they can be evaluated. But being part of this train is not any opportunity for adding value to our historical wellbeing in the continuous process. Their respective churches are by far better and most suitable. The other members can only be accorded the respect of being good people **independent of the kind of identity the Bishops hold**. They can be individual good Muslims or Christians. Indeed, unfortunately at least one or more are of questionable integrity. And the headship of an organization of a religious group does not make the leader or members religious guides or references.

This is why Kukah Centre is the **cover grace** for the committee, Kukah is the **active Convener** and **author of one its two publications**.

Thirdly, because Peace is really necessarily a definition and state of a total relationship network of a people, the people can go to war, to achieve or keep peace. The Federal Government invests money, men and equipment to forcefully deal with **insurgency, militancy, secession, kidnapping, robbery etc.** to restore peace. This is why religious leaders are called upon to restrain from inflammatory guidance.

This is not the case with the committee.

What the committee does is to make visits, hold meetings and asks political leaders to sign agreements against violence. This is based on the negative assurance that the leaders (at least some of them) are animalistic in relation to their followers and those opposed to them. That they are less capable for civil orientation and will not on their own make amends. This goes to further entrench the culture of accommodation in the relationship process of change of leadership.

And peace is not a stamping affair, like applying a seal to certify or guarantee. It is therefore not a right or responsible approach to building real peace, over time. The

star transition role played by Jonathan in 2015 **was a matter of the personal discipline of Jonathan.** He had no obligation whatsoever to any club of volunteer well-wishers, who do not symbolize or represent a superior discipline to him.

Another misnomer with the identity of the committee is that, no voluntary non-governmental body should legally be **National.** It has no **Responsibilities or Authority** assigned to it in the interest of Nigeria or Nigerians. You cannot be self-accounting and **assume the status or identity of a legal trustee.**

In our setting of identity unconsciousness that breeds confusion, such over ambitious initiatives can be opportune with the risk of consuming even good people who have no contradictory livelihood history.

They have claimed enough credit on the platform of our identity unconsciousness and will do better to transform into what will **add real value** to our historical process.

WHAT IS THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP IN RELATION TO SKILLS FOR GOVERNANCE?

A leader can have whatever honourable skill and of whatever level. For instance, he can be a Senior Advocate of Nigeria. He can be a barrister in the Chamber of an Advocate. He can be a General of any of the Armed Forces or of the rank of a Sergeant. He can be a Director in the bureaucracy of government or a senior officer. He can be a Professor or an Assistant Lecturer. He may be a banker, a broker or an entrepreneur.

The requirement for leadership can be helped by any of these but none of them fits better than the other.

What is necessary and highly required of a leader is evident livelihood driven by universally tested morals that give him his primary identity. In Nigeria, it will be attaining any of those levels with the identity attributes. This goes far beyond professional ethics or code of practice.

And the justification is simple. The meeting between his entrusted resources and the electorate is by the measure of what is true and right for all, driving his management and administration. This trinity is what and how leadership can generate governance.

A fair reference is that, when miscreants increase and organize at the cost of general reasonable peace, beyond routine standards of check and control, the Executive or Legislature introduces, debates and passes a befitting law. It can classify the group as terrorists. This is not a necessary initiative of any barrister. But barristers with the special skills of drafting laws will be engaged and the approved documents signed, for use by the judiciary.

Leadership is therefore far beyond individual expertise or specialization in any particular field. It is more of organizing and driving skills to serve the generality of the electorate, according to what they believe and know to be right. He must therefore be an embodiment of the beliefs and knowledge of what is right across the electorate.

WHAT CAN BE THE CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO CHECK VULNERABILITY OF DELEGATES?

The concerns here relate to the manners by which they become and their relationship with prospective contestants.

But they are products of the same system and not foreigners. In our setting, it will be exceptional for poverty stricken individuals or dependents of those who nominate

them, to resist goodly gestures and instructions respectively. In the same vein, it will be utopian of a prospective contestant to expect his acclaimed integrity and promise of a good service will be sufficient. These will be difficult in a history where the experience of the leadership by a crook has not been made different by a saint.

The over expectations from the delegates to resist the temptation of selfishness; the expectation of hesitation from crooks to handout gestures for the risk of losing or embarrassment of being ignored; and the expectation of having a relationship driven by knowledge of the integrity of the candidates, have to be built as a culture.

All the parties and especially the electorate, will require the education and orientation that drives good governance.

WHY DID WE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE OF TENS OF CANDIDATES PICKING FORMS OF INTEREST TO CONTEST?

Free or irresponsible democrats will say, it is democracy.

Serious democrats will acknowledge that it is embarrassing. This is because, it reveals that the members are not working enough to know one or two or even three that should be considered and supported.

The burden of being a President or Governor is normally not one to be jumped for. This means that, whoever sticks his neck out to bear it, should have calculated that he does not require to start convincing especially those who know and understand the system, that he can be tried. This is especially so, for the presidency.

It was therefore logical to see over ambitious candidates putting in reasonable efforts and failing. It was expected that those who rightly read and understood the setting, joined the race as critical investment in the process. This is specifically applicable

to those that stepped down for the winners. The three classes would have been unnecessary in a polity where the same positive orientation drives most citizens.

So, it was simple, contestants were like delegates. The winners were clearly ahead of their parties. The chieftains were outplayed.

WHAT KIND OF CREDENTIALS SHOULD A PROSPECTIVE PRESIDENT HAVE, THAT WILL BE OF DEFINITIVE VALUE TO THE BETTER LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF THIS COUNTRY?

Well, we already have sounding candidates presented by their political platforms. We should therefore try to appreciate what have been provided.

I believe that it is inevitable for the candidate to know, understand and relate with the key challenges to our leadership and governance that have been resistant to solutions. In this respect, there are challenges of economy, management and security.

Atiku cannot be denied knowledge and understanding of the economic aspect, with specific reference to the oil and gas sector. He has bursted a few times with the solution of selling off the refineries, to deal with the endemic and growing corruption in the sector. His solution may not be the best, but he understands the scope and gravity of the challenge. His principal had expressed the regret of leaving office without balkanizing the NNPC. And the credit Buhari should have gotten for the PIA, is still more nonsensical, against the rationality. The multi folding pattern of subsidy payments, the reversal to contracting pipelines surveillance to a private body and increasing pump price do not make sense along with loss or unexplained expenses and remittances shortfall. The rationale of incorporating a new oil company

and the prospect of stopping importation of refined petroleum are therefore not connected to our real prosperity.

The PDP candidate therefore has a relevant trait. This is less than the management and security aspects. This is more critical than having a Committee, Panel or Economic blueprint, because you require reasonable safety of resources for realizing any blueprint IF the escapist strategy of basing it on loans is not the choice.

Sowore will therefore not be evil in opting for **not removing the subsidy**. Technically, it is both rational and sensible to support citizens with subsidies because they will be required to bear only a partial cost of that aspect of livelihood. However, the challenge is frighteningly messy when the goods or services are not actually produced or provided and the subsidies are paid. While Atiku is scared away by the realities still building up, Sowore prefers to stick to what has been failing.

Both ways are **really feasible responsibly**. Privatization is not inherently evil but we are still swimming in the furnaces of privatizing electricity supply. Command control and management is not necessarily evil because our challenges with the oil and gas sector are really, like privatization failures, inevitable costs of identity neutrality or unconsciousness.

Better than other candidates, Al-Mustapha has devoted quality time, to connect security challenges to corruption and management. This is not surprising and is reliable because of the vantage position he occupied and the roles he played in the comprehensive regime of Late Sani Abacha. Any discerning mind will appreciate why maximum effort was made to possibly eliminate him by daft who had nothing to offer, everything to lose and tools for those who stand to lose more than money and integrity, if Al-Mustapha comes to limelight. As good and deserving this trait may appear, if it cannot combine to strengthen Atiku's, the electorate may still risk

distance to better leadership and governance. Indeed, Atiku may be part of the problem to be solved and Al-Mustapha cannot go through with just the electorate.

Like Atiku, the APC Tinubu is tolerable to the status quo, because he knows and understands the economic challenge. Better than Atiku, he has the record of making a difference to a complex Lagos and has been mentoring its development. No other candidate has his strength in leadership and governance history. His history is also an indication of why he has not been talking about corruption as a challenge, which can be frightening. His greatest weakness that is inevitable, is that his history is of a regional characteristic.

The rational and sensible challenge for anyone who will jump at the admiration of Tinubu credentials is that, Lagos **is not a total or holistic goal that is worth replicating WITHOUT IMPROVING ON ITS DRAWBACKS.** Lagos is only **liveable because it enables livelihood without serious care for our identity.** This is bad enough for whoever cares.

Peter has to his credit the modest experience of having been a fair governor, that happened and passed, in his state. He can therefore not be denied the ordinary knowledge of the challenges. However, understanding and providing solutions to them are superior requirements. It is a more serious affair than saying farmlands will be turned into oil fields or that transformational leadership is a solution. The characteristics of a failed Nigerian State is the most elementary knowledge required of a prospective president. An experience or involvement that informs an understanding of our challenges is more critical, for connecting to any sensible solutions.

Given our setting of having evident players who believe, are believed and make deliberate efforts to determine a better Nigeria for all of us, competing with dreamers

that are naive of the complexity of the challenges and a largely poorly educated electorate, swayed by the identity confusion of the elites, no credentials of any candidate makes him safer and better for the prosperity of Nigerians.

This is critically the case because Buhari has at best, been badly devoured.

The attempt to hook up Adesina, Jonathan and Osinbajo in the main structures collapsed. The game of age is not good enough for Peter. The fear of Action Alliance candidate is checked by the slim chance of overriding any or both the main parties. PDP has thrown discipline to the bins and not attractive for proud support.

It will therefore appear more intelligent to compete in HELPING the APC candidate to FIT INTO a better frame of leadership and governance for Nigeria. This will be more realistic. And the APC failures of disabling Tinubu should lead the course. This should open up the wounds of the leadership and governance challenges of the APC for early treatment, in the interest of all Nigerians.

IS THIS TO SUGGEST THAT THE PRESENT PACKAGE OF THE PARTIES STRUCTURE AND MEMBERS ARE NOT FAIR ENOUGH FOR THE DESPERATELY NEEDED LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES?

It is clearly more so than less so.

The PDP candidate did exit to APC and later returned back home. He had responsibly left with his honour because he was openly denied a basic support he expected from the chieftains.

This became clearer after his return, because the same chieftains defined him as a poor product for marketing. But he has established beyond reasonable doubt that, the party is MORE of him than the pretence of the chieftains. The present crisis that

rides on seeming regional identity is only more damaging to the future of the party and a clearer indicator that Nigeria has never genuinely been the interest and commitment of the party, to which members submit. Whatever the leadership had achieved was by chance, gamble or the singular struggle of the leader.

Al-Mustapha is a new creature that is very crystal clear about the unfitness of at least the PDP and APC. In addition, he absolutely stands no chance to be sponsored by any of them. His identity is clearly frightening. But, why not with the PRP? The PRP is in comatose because of abandoning ideological identity and consistent commitment. May be joining hands could have provided a fresher window for the electorate. But in a society swimming in identity crisis, it's most unlikely. Indeed, the Labour Party that sleeps over continuous ideological education to wake up only when it is time to change leadership is the explanation for Adams leaving it to APC for good and its admission of Peter from PDP to fly its flag. No party discipline will breed such creatures. With the right intellectual leadership ruled by a clear identity, the LP, the AA and the PRP would have discovered each other and melted into one.

This structural feasibility that has failed is less foolish and disturbing than the utopia of changing a full-fledged government and Party leadership by media coalition. These can only happen in a polity in identity crisis.

In the case of the APC, it is still claiming to be a party, when the parties that formed it are still retaining their identity for safety against the members in government. The leadership and party has failed more than succeeded in building an All Progressives Congress. The most intelligent and strategic difference is the Tinubu party. He has consistently accommodated the challenges and it has paid off. Not even his ambitious betrayers have found their betrayal to be safe and honourable. The APC

is therefore equally defective in identity discipline that cuts across. The next risk is replacing one form of real nepotism with another.

DOES THIS STATUS DISCREDIT OR DOWN PLAY THE RELEVANCE OF A STRUCTURE?

No please. Indeed, not at all. What it means is that the structure is grossly underdeveloped.

It is absolutely true, right, rational and sensible, that only a political party with an evidently built structure, **should and is more responsibly positioned to serve us if it wins.**

The historical logic is simple. A Leader **needs to be able to rightly direct with little or no supervision or support.** If a Leader cannot reasonably and independently be atop, there will be problems. You cannot give what you do not have.

If you become the President elect and you are constitutionally required to appoint at least a minister from each state, the real requirement is to get the **right** hands that will help you bear your burden.

You are personally unlikely to **know such persons across the country** without any help. This is especially so, because where there are two or three right hands, you should go for the better or best.

Therefore, if as a party, you do not already have such persons in your fold, that will reasonably meet the understanding and acceptance, toleration or accommodation of the people he will be representing, there will be problems. The requirement is more than being a card carrying member.

If the electorate **gambles** into such choice, it may not be impossible to form a government, but it will either be of largely non-party members with different identity or more trial competencies from the party or nominees of party members that will adopt membership or ignore their sponsors later. Discipline will be difficult. And in our state where identity consistency is low, governance is liable to be worse.

The present unfortunate experience is between not even interacting with prospective appointees a leader knows (who are members of his party), on what specific values can be brought to support him and not knowing the nominees, who are equally not interacted with, by the parties that have made leaders across the tiers of government.

This is why it is both discouraging to be attracted to parties weak in this fundamental requirement and embarrassing to see aught seniors attracted or leading innocent and naive citizens to such. The only explanation for such justification is **the mischief to serve themselves by eventually manipulating the government and governance.** It is certainly not in the general interest of the polity, immediately or in the future.

If the care for our collective safety and prosperity is genuine, they should be better committed to correcting the shortcomings of established structures and members by even sponsoring good hands. But they are selfish and identity bankrupt.

WHAT CAN BE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHALLENGES OF A SUCCEEDING LEADER?

As an individual, along with the immediate associates of a new leader, there can be the temptation to do certain things as the predecessor did. It is never a concern, where the things are clearly right.

It is however, a challenge, where the things are wrong or more wrong than right or controversial. The new leader can be personally inclined without any aid. It is easy,

if there is no real difference between him and the predecessor. The consequence of this is that the particular aspect of leadership will be widened or made worse. It is also not impossible to be under pressure to build on the wrongs of the predecessor, by associates and aides that relate with him in tacit trust.

This hurdle can be crossed, depending upon two factors. The first is the familiar disposition of the leader to the associates and aides. If he is known to be weak enough to be tossed, he will get tossed. But if he is known to be strong, he will be helped to check or clean up the wrong. Anyone who mistakenly suggests continuation with the mess, will either get corrected and placed on the right course or he will be sanctioned as an example for others.

The responsible challenge of every leader is to build on the good that is right, for the electorate as against misusing the opportunity for self-advantage or vengeance against another.

FROM THE HIGHLIGHTS SO FAR, WHO CAN BE SAID TO BE THE BEST CANDIDATE OR MORE REALISTICALLY, AT LEAST BETTER THAN THE PRESENT LEADER?

Well, this concern is historically critical because, regardless of whatever, we need to and will indeed, inevitably continue. So, if we understand the matrix of this comparison, for making responsible choices, it will be helpful.

The first leg of realistic comparison, is between the contesting candidates of greater attraction. With the exception of Al-Mustapha, who intermittently expresses that, if given the opportunity, he will lead to some leadership difference, **by the grace of God**, without impressing any strive to state religion (that is unconstitutional), **all the other candidates have not come close to brushing us with the identity that we really share.** This is a positive departure and difference. It provides a genuine and

safe platform for evaluating him and his probable leadership. Any leader who will consciously be aware of his responsibility to guard our identity will be easier to check and will not abandon governance to the wishes, wills and caprices of lieutenants and aides that are **identity unconscious** like a bag of potatoes with a single tie that cannot hold the content. And worse still, with or to some rascals that are not accountable.

This has been our identity challenge as a polity and has become most revealed with even Buhari that has suffered the mischievous label of being a religious bigot. We have suffered the rascality of demolishing a mosque/church and getting praised. Buhari has a cabinet member who is not ashamed of his admiration of at least the Shi'ite system, because it works. But the governance of Buhari has definitely not evidently benefited from that identity variance, that is not illegal. It has become more concerning because we have Nigerians that claim that identity. The sociological alliance (of such members) in the governance of Buhari, by subtle commitments can therefore not be ruled out, even though an umbrella of the party suffered confrontations with the government. This culture of unconsciousness and confusion is inevitable in our setting. Buhari also has a prominent Saudi focused cabinet member. Buhari is certainly closer in real identity to this orientation than the Shi'a. But the governance challenges of Buhari have shown that the focus has neither been beneficial to Buhari nor Nigeria. And the two are senior cabinet members. It clearly shows a gap between knowledge/understanding of their identity and the application of this for the security and prosperity of Nigerians through better leadership and governance.

Below Al-Mustapha expression is the **showings** of Obi. He has appeared in worship houses or centres but never expressed the connection between his identity and the governance he seeks to be entrusted with. The clergy chiefs who blessed/endorsed

him did not add value to our identity expectations because no explanatory statements of identity were shared. Indeed, if the United States based Priest and Bakare (Presidential contestants) would leave with no vote, it is a goodly bad telling of our identity consciousness. Not even the Professor, Vice President and Priest candidate demonstrated any difference. They are afraid or ashamed of the identity that we can better share.

In the case of the APC candidate, having a Christian Priest as his partner that may stand him out as a model has been checkered with a weak disciplinary history to enable it. And his submission that they have not experienced the Qur'an and Bible fighting sealed it. His running mate is not different. Even though he comes from a consistently strong Islamic environment, he submitted that, they are not for building religion but governance. They can therefore not be expected to be evident primary defenders of our identity.

The PDP candidate will appear to be even more frightening. He is recorded to have expressed doubt, if God still accepts the pleas of Islamic scholars. On the surface of it, he is worse. However, he is just better expressive than the others. After all, his perception of the relationship between God and the scholars is that of His serving them. And as a needy who approaches the scholars, he expects miraculous response from God.

Those who have not expressed it in these terms are however of the same consequential orientation. One should just oblige the religious rites and proceed to do whatever will enable one achieve his goals.

The carelessness with the rites does not really distinguish any difference between the two classes.

Therefore, they cannot attract those driven by our identity for principal support and their lieutenants/aides are more unlikely to be different from them.

This goes to indicate that there is no responsible difference between our past leaders to the contestants, including the present.

After this, comes the perception of what consists of governance. With Buhari, we have found what you may define as avoidance or escapism, to continue to make history. This is characterized by not really bothering about the impact of leadership and governance on the quality of daily livelihood of the citizens, as long as gigantic infrastructure projects can be achieved. Thus, the cost and means of fiscal policies and financial arrangements to **heap on the citizens** will not matter. This explains undeniable physical projects achievements along with increasing taxation and loans. The arrays of strike/labour/industrial actions are only an aspect of inevitable consequences.

The asking leaders are aware of the negative consequences and cannot afford not to relate to them. But, like Buhari came with promises to deal with them by employment, diversification of the economy, entrepreneurship etc., none has made his primary focus, the dying instrument of governance - the public service. Indeed, on corruption in the oil and gas sector, it is either avoided or it is believed that a lot can still be achieved along with the corruption.

The best reference we can make that is realistic, is for the APC candidate to lagosnize Nigeria. This may not appear to be terrible because of the present level and scope of poverty across the country. The other candidates do not have as fitting reference to be associated with their competence for the level and complexity of federal leadership.

This is why the first step of wisdom will not be casting aspersions on other candidates or relating dreams for Nigeria, but genuine appreciation of Buhari efforts and a critical understanding of why and how we are here.

WHAT IS THE PROSPECT OF GETTING THE BEST, GIVEN THE RIGHT TEMPTATION TO RELATE THE SUITABILITY OF A CANDIDATE TO HIS PERSONAL HISTORY?

You are right to say that no candidate should be excused his history. In reality, it is inevitable. Supporters will always appear to prefer and give weight to the positive aspects. The competitors will prefer the negatives. Every individual has both.

Even Buhari that came with a most sterling qualities like being financially clean, disciplined, incorruptible and iron firm with collective interest had the empirical drawbacks of questionable detentions/jailing, suspicion of association with fraud in PTF and allegation of theft when he was Minister. But the negatives were related to official trusts and were easier to deal with. He was excused and given another benefit of the doubt by those who demanded for at least, his apologies. He did not deny or regret that the decision or action as wrong. He was cleared by Obasanjo who ordered and is accountable for the visitation of PTF records. No loss of resources was established against him.

But the trappings of the present main candidates are different. The Labour Party candidate has not been associated with official theft though this has not been loudly sung as a credential. He however has circumstantial negative allegations that are personal, unavoidable, have not been established but can be very damaging. He has been alleged to be the Ibo project. He is an Ibo man and will actually be competing for the votes of Ibos, specifically the south east. Those who are drumming regionalism across the regions will enable him only a paltry regional support from

south east and denial from those across other regions. He has also been alleged as not minding the secessionist movement in his region. The combination of this to his management of Bakassi boys' era does not play well into positive security management. But he is not one of them and needs their votes too like the other candidates.

The complexity of the case of the PDP candidate is unique. His alleged identity as a thief has not been fully established. His former Principal who committed into writing, his strongest objection to his financial reliability later forgave him and indicated him as one, who would have done better than Buhari. This can be more confusing because his Principal cannot be denied right knowledge and better guidance on him. And his personal expression of his negative understanding of the value of pleas by the Muslim scholars he associated with is badly entangling and trickier to deal with.

The APC candidate has his own colours. The peculiarity of his is that both the positive and negative aspects generate obsessive stands. Even those who have attempted to rubbish or play down his values addition to the realities of Lagos have only succeeded in making them controversial. It is therefore more intelligent to admit the positivity of his contributions. He had related with the Economic Financial Crimes Commission and mentioned in a court of right jurisdiction for allegations of trust abuses, but was not convicted. The other angle of negativity is to go personal. The extremisms are between relocating out of the country if he becomes the president and veiled allegations of his questionable respect for human life or cultism. But none of these have been defined for rational and sensible evaluation. Yet he has another suspicion hanging on him, that is both complex and unavoidable. The one angle is so called religious. Some Christians have expressed the fear of marginalization because he is a Muslim. Some Muslims have expressed discomfort

with his reliability because of what his Christian wife has achieved in his orientation. The other angle is the fear that he may really transform into a more regional president. This angle is circumstantial because he cannot change his region.

The subtle truth in this case is really informed by the size of the citizens in this region, their competencies and mono-cultural impact on others over the melting of the others among them.

Therefore, to answer your question, the prospect of getting the best from this necessary temptation rests on the greater rational and sensible evaluation of the case of each person. And the orientation must be more positive than negative.

For instance, established wrong commitment can be forgiven as may have informed the decision of Obasanjo to forgive Atiku or the pardoning of Obasanjo by Abdulsalami. Again, people may have changed over time or undertake to be different. Indeed, even if this is not expressed, the oath of office and allegiance should be sufficient **if the candidate or person is now recognized as identity conscious**. This is because even commendable persons can turn into different creatures with time. One factor that can enable this is the size of trust against previous exposure. This is because you cannot become trustworthy without a trust. The second factor is the environment. If you have never experienced the exposure to affluence and developed disinterest, when you are entrusted with it in the environment of thieves, there is a greater probability that you will adjust, by giving in.

This is why Education and reorientation for Identity discipline is the only and best solution for all of us.

ARE THERE OTHER THINGS OUR LEADERS SHOULD BE INTERESTED IN, IN OUR COLLECTIVE INTEREST?

My immediate response is that, except and until the identity challenge becomes the basic starting and revolving point, many interests cannot be catered for.

We currently have three related challenges that will be in the interest of the leaders because it will ease leadership and governance. And it will be in the general interest of the polity.

The first is that we are living in a flux of sociological disconnect. This is best observable in urban areas and especially the popularly labelled Government Reserve Areas. The relationship patterns in these environments are **free from any responsible restrictions**. They are loose mini societies where no member cares for the other beyond what is casual, conventional or compelled. They are safe grounds for loose relationships. The same applies to quarters or estates. Unfortunately, the members are largely the elite, upon whom the burden of building the future revolves. Because identity consciousness is on the low ebb, it is only in very accidental or exceptional cases, people can be supportive of one another for the collective good. You can therefore find it easier to raise charity sums for harmed persons than for education of the healthy. They will only cooperate to deal with issues of physical security and disperse, if they care. How can such arrangement help disciplinary growth and development of the younger ones, over free deviance away from the parents?

This translates to financial carelessness or discrimination against anyone that is not a member of your immediate family. At best, festival handouts that are seasonal can bring people close for a while. The preference will be distant persons for good name and praises. Because the people are identity unconscious, the interest of the

collective, in wherever environment one finds himself, the future and indeed being accountable in the hereafter, take the back seat. Investments and beneficiaries are therefore in a skewed pattern. Indeed, support for leaders becomes rational and sensible only if you have a superior beneficial relationship with them. A chief executive will therefore have the covering of his contractors.

All of these go to generate a confusing knowledge and scholarship pattern in the society. The scholars will either be in competition or at each other's throats, for recognition and reward instead of service, as if what is true and right is neither discoverable nor recognizable.

If leaders are to take interest in these forms and levels of wreck, it will certainly be better for them and all of us.

GRANTED THE CRITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR IDENTITY DISCIPLINE, SECURE AND PROSPECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE, WHAT MUST ANY CARING LEADER TAKE NOTE OF?

Any leader who is a believer, must know that he is not excusable on the ground of ignorance for **responsibility to protect the positive sustenance and flourishing of the faith of citizens, within the confines of what is constitutional.** This means that the **limited commitment of public funds to enable the Abuja Cathedral and National Mosque** is within limits. The same will apply to corporate organization of pilgrimage. It is equally **within limits** to observe free work on religious rites days **but not penalizing individuals who do not perform canonical rites.**

However, the leader **is squarely and roundly accountable, if he leads and governs WITH THE CONSEQUENCE OF SUCH POVERTY THAT, BELIEVERS BEGIN TO THINK OR LAX IN THE BELIEF THAT GOD CARES.** This is because the body and the spirit go together and he has responsibility to optimize the

security and prosperity of the body, for all citizens. This is understandably, **within the scope of the resources entrusted to him to manage.**

It is therefore clearly contradictory for the leader to be singing progression while the citizens are singing regression. And citizens here, covers **everyone, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO CANNOT REACH HIM BEYOND PARTICIPATING IN GIVING HIM THE MANDATE.** This logically excludes all of those he sees regularly, all of those who advise him, all of those who work for him or with him.

If he is a Muslim, he is greatly **unsafe, because the mandate is FIRST THE TRUST OF ALLAH. SECONDLY, HE ASKED FOR IT AND ALLAH ENABLED IT WITH THE CHOICE OF THE CITIZENS.**

Identity discipline is the only principle and orientation that serves and protects both the leader and citizens responsibly. Where and when Identity is not shared and deliberately cared for, either confusion or identity degeneration will be inevitable. And both the leaders and citizens will be losing by loosening identity, regardless of appearing growths.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF EDUCATION, REORIENTATION AND POSITIVE PRACTICE?

The citizens that care will begin to lead by active participation.

Partisan politics will become more truly honourable for responsible citizens to join.

Political parties will be formed and become attractive to those who care to serve as a burden.

The delegates to be generated or formed, will be consciously more representative.

The candidates to be presented for leadership will be better evaluated.

Leaders, their lieutenants and associates will be more responsive and focused, for our collective safety and prosperity just as the polity will be more supportive or critical.

Our democracy will be on the course of our rule by ourselves and for ourselves.

And as believers who aid one another in sticking to His Course, His Guidance, He will support our leadership and governance against a greater hijack by Ignoramus, Hypocrites and similar creatures.

Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada

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CHAPTER III

AN IMAGINARY INTERACTION BETWEEN ME AND THE ALL PROGRESSIVES PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AS A REAL EXAMPLE

THE CANDIDATE

Good day my brother. I have decided to pay you a personal visit, in order to sound your mind on my pursuit to ask fellow citizens for the mandate of the office of the President. I am aware that you are not a card carrying member of any political party. I also believe that our interaction will be straight.

JIMADA

You are welcome. I am not sure if I should feel honoured or embarrassed by this grand objective of yours. All the same, let me say that: I am open to believe in you, like any other prospective contestant, because you are a full citizen of this country, you are not on tour in another country and in the hobby of wishing us good or even here and committing yourself to only commenting, devoid of guidance participation or worse still, utopian participation or contribution.

I will therefore not be excited about any candidate with several citizenship status even though it is not illegal. I cannot be sure of such a person in commitment or even respect for our difficulties and failures. I can only be sure of him, in the event of success. In addition, such a candidate in my opinion, may not fairly understand the peculiarities of our trappings for a more realistic leadership. It may be like guaranteeing good governance by a Professor of political science. And for those who are qualified because they are living here with us, our solutions are superior to our drawbacks. A fine regular or professional critic is thus not sufficiently attractive. He or she must be similarly known and seen to have attempted commitment to real solutions or consistent suggestions that are understandable, admissible and sufficiently serving.

My brother, I am similarly not with anyone who genuinely shares our challenges and cares for a solution but is utopian. This can be characterized by assuming the position

of having the authority to commit us to a solution that is short of passing through our realities. For example, only a person of inordinate greed and hypocrite will aspire or accept to pursue your kind of ambition outside a political structure that is established and the culture of the members. I believe that there will be the need to connect such commitment to our immediate realities.

THE CANDIDATE

I believe that I have come to be more characterized with what you will welcome. I am much less characterized by what you have outlined as your objections. But, what is your position on the appropriate age of the person with my ambition?

JIMADA

In our present circumstance, I sincerely believe that the provision of the constitution is reasonably and sensibly sufficient. It will not require any irrational and senseless adjustment. This is because age is only one of the attributes that is measurable for considering the choice of a leader. It has also been most intelligent to provide for a modest level of schooling. This combines with the claim of any basic age to serve two objectives. The first is that it secures our communication line of literacy across Nigeria. The second is that it admits the necessary transitory requirement for both the old generation that have had less schooling and more real life exposure along with the young generation with high and loads of schooling with less real life exposure – regardless of skill or professional competence. Real life exposure that is total or wider in scope, is the basic requirement for leadership.

It appears to me that for a few terms to come, no political party has yet evolved to be cultured with the capacity to sponsor the young that utopians have been dreaming of. If a party starts to work towards it now, it will be fine.

For that reason, it is a realistic challenge and responsibility on the part of those that are now suitable, to commit themselves to the sacrifice of special health care. And this I know, to be very possible. In summary, age naturally comes with autoimmune challenges. The diagnosis by facilities provided by science should be able to establish, where to start from. And there is probably no health condition of a serious and support deserving candidate that cannot be sufficiently overcome in a generous period of six months, with disciplined attention. Let me also quickly add that only alternative medicine can do such.

The leaders that have been falling sick or becoming problematic have not taken this advantage. They have largely lived on orthodox medicines like occultists or idol worshippers. And their number is still less than those that have served well. Indeed, some countries have experienced rascals in old age.

There is no old or aged person who will not appreciate resting and even enjoying it. But it is unintelligent to send all old or aged persons to rest, when the conditions or environment that will enable resting are not in place and the most competent and feasible hands that can put it in place are the old. This is why it is a rational and sensible policy provision in some societies for the young and old to enjoy tours or foreign holidays. But in our case, those who ‘enjoy’ such are either the thieves of government, private successful individuals, the royals or those engaged by international organizations. For collective Nigerians, these persons care less.

Consequently, the age that will be inhibitive is to be determined by the specific trappings and capacities of a political party. I am almost certain that no individual of the age of ninety will present himself or be admitted as a flag bearer by any political party. And it is tolerable to attain such age in office. Moreover, only a foolish leader leads alone or fools get led by one.

THE CANDIDATE

I believe that this interaction will help me in any probable debate on my suitability along with any other candidates.

JIMADA

Well, this is not a coaching relationship for any debate. I believe that it can be fanciful. However, if we are to concern ourselves with meanings, I am of the opinion that it is more meaningless than useful. It can be an orator's opportunity against the discerning. In our setting, it is more of an elite affair. An independent national address by each candidate flying the flag of his or her party will be more meaningful. They can equally be provided with the slot of a day, an hour on National Television and Radio. Those interested can indicate to be slotted and citizens that care will hook up to listen.

What is meaningful for sharing is not the summary of the party's manifesto or a list of condemnable actions of the leadership to be succeeded but the candidate's identity in relation to our collective identity and a simple demonstration of understanding WHY the incumbent leadership has problems along with the realistic solutions. This is because no amount of promises will be realistic while in the darkness of the actual status of affairs like resources.

THE CANDIDATE

Please excuse me in case you consider my next question to be immodest. From your personal knowledge of me, will you recommend me for consideration?

JIMADA

I do not see anything immodest about that. The only correction I have to make is my personal knowledge about you as against of you. I mean, I am not in your class by

political, social or economic status. But because of your status up there, my sincere knowledge of you is informed by what have been made available to us and my personal evaluation of those.

You certainly have moved from your place of birth to a more open and competitive location. You have struggled and registered yourself with a good number of people as a successful person. Indeed, you offered yourself to lead and got the acceptance to do so. I personally admit this as a credit to you. This has its historical drawback but a superior opportunity was not available. That cannot be your fault.

You have certainly been associated with being a remote factor behind probably many new or additional props for public service and leadership, that are neither your birthplace relations nor of your declared identity relations. A few have become prominent and independent enough to disagree or even challenge you. This is certainly a special credit, because they have become accepted by others according to what they have made of themselves. Many have passed with a few becoming an embarrassment. This is out of your control. If they have cared to do better than you by crossing over to more different locations, it would have been better today.

I have also specifically observed your patient perseverance in order to possibly achieve a superior future. The pains of remaining as against sacrificing immediate investments by moving away is commendable. Only persons of foresight insist on not abandoning a project they are part of building. This will inevitably be characterized by betrayals and even support with diplomatic denial of evident mess. The greatest challenge in this respect is to resolve not to do the same or what is similar because it is wrong, if one is faced with the same challenge of trust. And the greater challenge is to understand why the betrayals and evident mess were consistently or severally committed.

I expect that any intelligent person that is committed to our collective safety and prosperity will welcome any persons with these credentials. I think recommending you will be partisan and I am not in a position to monitor or oppose you to continue on this course. But any individual can weigh my basis to decide on you.

THE CANDIDATE

My brother, if I may ask again: what is the big deal about recommending me?

JIMADA

I do not think that we need to go into any deal. Having fair credentials is good but not sufficient or any guarantee. The credentials need to be consistently kept and built on. Over time, you need conscious and deliberate support to maintain or achieve the present rating.

You have practically experienced betrayals overtly and covertly over time by a very credible partner. This is with someone in the same boat of struggles with you. This is why it will be over ambitious of me to go into recommending you. It is safe for both of us and especially for me, to clearly indicate non objection to you. I cannot predict some things about you for the reason that they need to be lived.

Let me take the example of your family trappings. I will certainly not consider a candidate who is not married. Not even one in separation, divorce or a widower. And you will appreciate that the various experiences we have had with married leaders makes both the leader's partner's involvement in any form or level of leadership a concern. Indeed, most have been to the discredit of monogamy. A partner doing her own things or directing the leader or differing from the leader are all negative contributions. So, if there are children that will be playing leadership along with the parents, it is bad enough for a support colour to become an issue. No one can tell of your capacity to handle this, because we have had bed mates that are not even in

wedlock with leaders, actively involved in leadership. What of relatives, friends and associates? We have suffered more than irresponsible consequences of such.

Another example is psychological. It is impossible to live long without getting offended and seriously too. What is your disposition to your enemies? Do you get obsessed with seeking to get at them, regardless of whatever? Take a painful case where one's mother was raped by a very prominent man who has reasonable control of the economy and is busy raping it along with political and militant stooges for 'security'. If as a leader, you fail to place the collective interest entrusted to you above such painful personal grudge with belief and knowledge, you will get disoriented. You may spend all your time wasted, instead of focusing on leadership that will better affect them too, for transformation. If you lack the knowledge and discipline to handle those who had offended you, when you get into leadership, the test will be between the assumption that you can deal with them alone and return good for their evil and watch their submission to you, with humility. No amount of undertaking will be sufficient until you get the mandate.

Yet another example that relates to your personality is, if you are incapable of keeping your good words with people, especially if you are able to establish that they are of sincere value to you and your leadership. The weaker you get in this, the more you stand to lose their support by negative neutrality or opposition. And since a leader has the great responsibility of catering for those opposed to him and a greater responsibility to possibly convert them to his side, you will drop to belong to praise singers in self-isolation from those who gave you the mandate. And the indicator will be the growing amount of unreasonable and senseless time it will take to make positive decisions.

THE CANDIDATE

I will make deliberate efforts to live above these including accommodating those who will help me to keep me on track. I also ardently hope that the security challenges we are now facing will become history, long before the present leadership leaves.

JIMADA

As for the first, time will tell. As you very well know, except they have access to you or if you have the humility to remember to reach those you know and invite those with such credentials that you later discover, you are liable to avoidable captivity and isolation.

In the case of security, I expect that you will give it a more and deeper understanding than what are being bundled around. Security is a comprehensive concept for TOTAL SAFETY. It must not be limited to safety of the physical body and resources. This is why security operatives can be rightly involved in financial matters relating to fraud as well as rape. They can also be engaged in clamping down miscreants or arresting them for prosecution. Food security does not involve operatives but is critical against famine. A leader committed to security must hence be committed to production of goods and services for the safety and prosperity of the society. The health of the physical bodies of citizens, their education, provision of electric power, housing, employment and beliefs are all aspects requiring to be secured.

You will further appreciate that BELIEFS are the FOUNDATION upon which all the other aspects rest. There is necessarily a limit to which all the other aspects can be achieved with little care for the firmness of the beliefs foundation. In our case belief in Nigeria is fundamental. And belief in God should strengthen this. Where

both are not firm by growth and development like the physical and services processes, where there is no connection between them – to advance and expand together, any and most of the others will suffer and begin to collapse. A naive observer will see them as competitive needs or challenges.

Unfortunately, in our case, the poverty of beliefs foundation is at such a low level that ANY MEANS OF SECURING SELF AND POSSIBLY IMMEDIATE ASSOCIATES IS TEMPTING, INVITING OR JUSTIFIABLE – regardless of the belief that they may be wrong. This is why believers will get engaged in killing other believers. This is why those entrusted with custody of arms and ammunition will trade them. This is why public resources are reasonably managed to disappear. This is why the development of infrastructure is slippery and difficult. This is why assassination is paid for and agents can be gotten to execute them. This is why arson and destruction of public assets are targets of protesters.

And there is the historical aspect of the challenge which must be put into consideration, in order to realistically attend to it for a lasting benefit. If the loyalty of the custodians and legal users of the instruments of coercion is divided, between the Commander in Chief and others, this will need to be corrected. If with these services there are characteristics of financial corruption, prejudicial postings and even professional sabotage that cost the loss of marksmen, delayed payment of entitlements or non-provision of equipment or leakage of strategic information etc., they will need to be checked and restored.

THE CANDIDATE

Your exposition is frightening. This gives me the impression that my expectation is not likely to be achieved. It means that we are already in such a hopeless state that recovery in the near future is a dream. This is because, now that the physical bodies

of Nigerians have to be secured as an urgent priority, the instruments cannot be competent in the present state.

JIMADA

That is the real challenge that requires sincere understanding and responsible resolution in the shortest possible time. Nigeria is not the personal property of the leader to manage anyhow. All conflicting parties are entitled to responsible attention based and driven by uniform beliefs. So, wherever the present leadership stops, the successor will require to finish – to the level that will enable other aspects have safety to prosper. No amount of impeachment and restructuring can achieve this.

Take the approach of dealing with the threats to the safety of physical life by bandits, kidnappers, armed robbers, assassins, insurgents, militants, etc., the lousiest, costliest and bound to fail solution will be a revolution. In our setting, you will really only ignite violence for the large extermination of the masses and giving fresh air to the very elite criminals. A revolution requires the backup and motivation of a rational and sensible explanation of our challenges and specific identification of at least the character of the system that is oppressive and examples of the personal identities that operate it. While most people will require to understand and commit themselves to it, the solution should be clearly defined by an intellectual leadership, for massive execution **BECAUSE OF THE INEVITABLE COSTS THAT WILL ARISE FROM RESISTANCE**. It is not just abusing an incumbent leader or criticizing his governance and seeking to personally replace him, that is a revolution or will solve the problem.

Similarly, the approach of using superior armaments may serve insurgency better, where they have no slim connection with internal factors for sustenance. But where there is some connection and internal violence colours are blossoming, the

information of the identity of the factors and putting it to positive use is cheaper and more responsible. This is why some of the attempts of negotiations gave results. But the value will remain peripheral until the creatures behind them are reached. Unfortunately, while superficial gains can give some relief, it is costly, risky, temporary and lacks the capacity and responsibility to provide a lasting solution.

And to be frank with you, sincerity waters down when a leadership that has tried to exterminate powerful wrong doers suddenly calls for adjustments. The level of sincere belief after one year of chase will be higher than after five years of chase.

Given the width and depth of our history of elite ignorance, corruption and hypocrisy, especially where the leader cannot commit class or belongingness suicide, a more complex and subtle approach will be most rational and sensible against personally replacing him, to qualify as a responsible revolutionary.

And in my opinion, your identity and characteristics may qualify you for a benefit of the doubt relationships with the rotten elite and the ambitious but less cultured members of the young generation.

THE CANDIDATE

What is the character of the width and depth of our challenges that make straight and simple solutions difficult for application?

JIMADA

I may not be in the position of giving you a definite rundown. But let me give hypothetical scenarios that will at least give you an idea or a close impression.

Take the political level. You assume office and you are called upon by a responsible citizen. He congratulates you and adds:

I pray that you will quickly recognize your limits. A respected predecessor avoided being poisoned by shopping from different places. Another was given a benefit of the doubt as he was naive. He blocked any audience with an elder who sought to personally warn him. But he walked into his office and found the elder. The elder exchanged pleasantries and left. And his own armed confidant advised him to treat the elder with respect, otherwise, they will take action. He died with poisoning. Yet another tried to continue with the ambition of his predecessor and was expressly warned against following his predecessor faster. Another one battled, even with the support of a miracle.

A friend you have not met for three decades then visits. He advises you not to put off an election, even in a state of war. That your predecessor considered getting the Legislature to approve such. He then had a dream: leaders of the National Assembly were at a lunch. The host then told them that the details of financial gestures made to them was available to him. And he closed by indicating that their heirs may enjoy the gestures if they considered any delay. He woke up in freight and confided in him, as to why he abandoned the idea.

Take the economic angle. You call on the head of oil and gas industry to instruct him that, subsidies must begin to decline and services must keep improving. And he keeps quiet looking at you for understanding. You then ask him to sit down and confide in you. You want to rely on him and will extend his tenure to achieve your goal. He sits down and submits:

Sir, Chief Sarki Oba Obong Tor is the main challenge. He is the smuggler, pipeline vandal, pirate and a licensed distributor of petroleum products across the country. I succeeded my predecessors with some of his cares. Myself and family are attended to by his doctors, hospitals here and abroad. He pays for my overseas private and family holidays and shopping. My children attend Oxford and Harvard at his cost.

He had called me yesterday to say, he has been trying for me. He expects that I will not betray him. He has seven agents tailing me and my family members for the past three years. Sir, please pity me and help me.

Then you receive a modest customized congratulatory card from the Chief the following day, with a strong commitment that he will help you to succeed in his small capacity.

Take the electricity power. You invite the private beneficiary owners. Before the date, your aide tells you that you should be very diplomatic and cooperative with them, because they can sabotage your government. They are in one club or cult with one Chief Sarki Oba Obong Tor. On the day of appointment, you find yourself sitting with representatives of quality professional identities. The real owners decline attending.

You call on the Head of Service and Secretary to the Government of the Federation. He comes over to report back on his assignment: Sir, the reform by Obasanjo did more harm than good, because of our unemployment status. I think you should better consider a cushioning policy for upcoming graduates from tertiary institutions, to reduce the rate of government employment. Right now we have seven million on board. Some three hundred thousand leave every year. The previous government employed two million over eight years. We can control it NOT TO EXCEED one million eight hundred and fifty thousand.

And you come with the manifesto of Probes, Visitations, Audits, Investigations, Arrests, Prosecutions, Convictions, Sanctions for recoveries and governance.

THE CANDIDATE

What? I am discouraged because, the chance of even doing my bit will be slim. If the leader is not reasonably free, the economy is virtually in servitude, electric power

is untouchable and the machinery of government is helpless, dividends of democracy will be difficult to optimally realize.

JIMADA

That is exactly what others had been doing to get us in this thick and complex history. Your duty will be to do better.

THE CANDIDATE

My brother, what will you consider to be the suitable driver for a leader of this country?

JIMADA

Let me repeat the obvious. Belief in Nigeria as a system and people. If you believe in God, it should be a bonus for you to Nigeria and Nigerians. But this will be beyond lip expression to knowledge, understanding and discipline of what is right and true. The spirit will be opposed to ignorance and hypocrisy. This is why I have in my submissions to Nigerians suggested a practical process for nationhood by providing for top echelon retirees, housing in distant different geopolitical locations.

And because they will always be many, an open lot will be a perfect means to determine for each person.

The absence of beliefs that connect our personal and collective identities to our present and future will always generate challenges of confidence, sincerity, prosperity and safety. And our Constitution is good enough. The Qur'an, Hadith and the Bible are bonuses.

Let me recall the practical example displayed by Abacha. A supposedly interest group in Kano approached Abacha to replace the Governor with a Muslim. He gave

a date to both parties and asked the Governor, if he knew why he was assigned to Kano? He replied NO. Abacha then said, “it is for me to see if you will be watching to see my people kill Ibos.” The meeting then dispersed on a responsible note.

And this is a MUST for whoever will become a responsible leader in this country. His identity and ours cannot be reduced to one or three governance policies or manifesto dreams.

THE CANDIDATE

I admit this. Doing so consciously has been on a low ebb. Building it can gradually melt down the iron walls between tribes and regions.

JIMADA

Thank you for the understanding. But if you are the particular person, there is a peculiar mountain challenge you will need to flatten. This is logically necessary because you belong to a stock that rarely appreciates that others are their better mirrors.

Nigeria and Nigerians should be opportune to enjoy the large and advance attributes of your professionalism and education for others, less of taking advantage of others. We should gradually cease from competing, when cooperation will advance us better and faster.

The tricky challenge will be to have a crop of the best of your stock, to live and demonstrate this to the level of evident disregard of their stock identity. This is HOW we can cross the bridge of nepotism to the nepotism we do not lose sleep about because of its benefit and positive transitional impact.

Similarly, any candidate from another stock with peculiar positive credentials should do the same.

We are lucky to be many and various or different in positive credentials. This is what the concept or idea and pursuits of secession, regionalism and tribalism are bankrupt of. Every large or major stock in this country has something to give all of us and something to save all of us from.

The seeming minorities do not deserve the majorities lording matters over them. Are we not witnesses enough with the cross fighting between the majorities that have led us nowhere?

THE CANDIDATE

Mnh! I sincerely want to thank you for your time and sharing. It's now clearer to me, why party manifestos do not have different meanings in essence. And success is really the opening to the problems. I will go back to further digest your materials on nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org that were the impetus of approaching you for refreshing understanding.

JIMADA

I cannot thank you enough. You are welcome and I wish us all the best that should follow our sincere commitment to knowledge and discipline for our collective safety and prosperity.

www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org

A PERSONAL LETTER TO MY DEAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

My Presidential candidate,
Your geopolitical zone,
Your state,
Your local government area,
Your town,
Your ward,
Your house of residence.

PEACE BE UPON YOU

I hope that this letter does not come to you as a surprise.

My last interaction with you was inviting and ended on a responsible positive note.

I am reaching back or further in the tradition of responding more or better to a good gesture or relationship. In this case, it is cheap because it involves ideas, in the relationship.

And more importantly, it relates to making things better for all of us by someone who offers to bear the burden. Finally, if I am in your shoes, I will love that any further support from anyone to help my course be offered me.

You will however forgive me for being impersonal. This is inevitable because you are aspiring to play a super citizen role and will require every sense of humility and modesty to succeed. This is why characteristics of selfishness, impunity, and arrogance are more generative of oppression and destruction.

The most important note is that, the leadership of this country means caring and taking responsibility for every and all citizens of this country with respect, for

the prosperity of each and all citizens according to differential needs, wants and fancies, without discrimination.

It is therefore impossible to fit in, with your personal accidental identities. It will be an abuse of your leadership responsibility and duty to admit and act against any other accidental identity or a number of these by the measures of your identity. As in ideas, so will it be irresponsible to engage **ANY** persons of your identity as the right and consistent instruments for your leadership.

This means that where persons of your identity are involved, they must have “lost” such pure identities as the **MOTOR** that drives their livelihood. This will be beyond the expression of willingness to be driven by superior principles to their personal accidental identities. In our history, it may not be really outrageous to have a chunk of such persons to be less than all the different identities **BUT ALL WILL BE SEEN TO BE EVIDENTLY SERVED EQUALLY AND SUFFICIENTLY**. This is an inescapable transition challenge or bridge to be crossed. And the justification is that the duty of leadership is rational and sensible service, defined and driven by principles and practices committed to collective safety and prosperity.

Your personal ability to measure and manage the responsible and necessary limits of the personal accidental identities of such persons across all the different identities will be your constant challenge. This is because majority of men are not given and driven by the best ideas for their (collective) safety and prosperity. And in a large society like ours anything can get support or following, even at the cost of personal life and property. It is very much so, due to the level of ignorance that is widespread, of the content of the knowledge and discipline of what is right and true.

The best results you should be achieving will be developing a citizenry that strives towards optimal collective safety and prosperity irrespective of the weight of

seeming colours of the accidental identities of the drivers. This is intelligently superior to having an absolute equal number of colours irrespective of their living orientation of their “loss” of accidental identities. Society is not like a Ludo or Chessboard with dead members that lack inherent dynamism.

Your personal greatest challenge or requirement is to see you **PERSONALLY LIVING A COLLECTIVE IDENTITY** that is welcome and safe for and by all the different identities. Those who will not welcome this will easily be seen and defined by overwhelming majority as foolish and inconsequential, deserving necessary sanctions, to safeguard corrupting what is welcome, safe and prosperous. This will be because of the culture of transparency symbolized by the leader and his leadership.

The summary of this faith is belief and commitment to all the identities of Nigeria and our future by safety and prosperity. This is of non-negotiable status. Any individual, group of the members or identities that seek to or pursue the contradiction of this faith, in any form, will justify imposition of necessary sanctions on them, immediately and heavily enough to seal reoccurrence and deter prospective deviants. The sanctions can rationally and sensibly include sacrificing the body and soul of the persons that have become rotten.

This principle and practices are expressly and simply entrenched in our constitution. However, because of our level and scope of identity poverty, we are turned into victims of this poverty despite the clear definition and provision. This is appreciable on observing that our knowledge sources have not developed these. It explains the failure or dumbness of our shades of scholars in leading the discourse on our unity. For example, neither social scientists nor their associations nor research centres are forthcoming. And the government does not find them worthy of reference. Not even the lawyers who specialize in the end product as against the social scientists have

been consistently helpful. The constitutional lawyers have more often made it only a pastime. But the ideas, faith and practices of our unity needs to be consistently built. This gap is indicated by the confusing pronouncements of those who ought to know and lead us. It is therefore both a contradiction and inconsistent for an official on oath and application of our constitution to shred it. This is why our polity and leaders are historical creatures by our own failures.

This caricature will need life by a soul breathed into it and a body formed, by you and your leadership. There is no society or history that can be made without ideas of identity, faith in it and practical commitment that generates physical and non-physical culture. The national anthems, the pledges, the flags and constitutions of many countries make meanings and impacts only on the reality of a soul and body given to them. This is what we are bankrupt in but not because we are wretched. Thus it is not unexpected to have a variety of contradictory and embarrassing shades of ambitious pursuits by a combination of the ignorant, the hypocrites and the confused, in our society.

This faith of our identity and the superior form of our unity organization is the key to everything for good governance. We already have a crystal clear definition and course of actions to attain a meaningful livelihood or nationhood. And we have benefited from it only as much as our careless faith and practices will permit because of our non-commitment. And the consequences of growing ignorance and inordinate greed of the elite that are largely naive with the leaders who are hypocritical, we have bred auto-attackers of our faith and arrangements. They are like believers in a scripture asking for amendments when they have not lived the scripture. As a result, you will inescapably be faced with operating in an environment where the “faithfuls” are often only good at singing lines of the scripture but are really ignorant and non-symbolic of the content.

This has been our consistent oversight or failure since 1999. The amount of education and reorientation that will be required to have a more relevant or consistent polity is enormous. A special commitment can genuinely be commenced by the present leadership and Government. In the event, this is not done, as critical as it is the necessary foundation for our historical identity, you may not be able to make it a campaign point to win. Ambitious politicians on the train of the current thuggish course will strive to trivialize the noble course. And the burden of starting it will be heavier than continuing if the present leadership cares to start it.

The best and evident reference for this negative characteristics or attributes of our citizens, especially public leaders, is indicated in the identity of beliefs in God, a revealed scripture of guidance and strict accountability as the bridge to salvation and eternal life. These beliefs are roundly inconsistent with their livelihood and records of managing public trusts – in more cases than less. The greatest shame before us, is the pervasive culture of hypocrisy in the faith of our country and unity for our collective safety and prosperity along with self-deceit in identifying with God. But bands of prayer chanters and religiosity is not godliness. God has nothing to gain from our believing in Him and obedience. God has nothing to lose from our disobedience with sins. But with Nigeria, if we fail in having faith and keeping it, we will continue to be the losers. Here, where belief in God is not a political or state matter, it is for everyone to answer for himself before God. It is therefore contradictory to have bunches of believers in constant ordinary crises of corruption, violence, poverty and non-performance before the eyes of men. Nonetheless, to the discerning, belief and compliance cannot fail to produce positive results. This is why the provision of the freedom of religion and prohibition of state religion is the most intelligent arrangement in our collective interest.

You should therefore save yourself from the confusion that your personal identity will necessarily boost a faithful commitment to the positive leadership of our country. It does not have to. You should save anyone who is confused and suggests the same or the superiority of any accidental identities, by education. This is because, whereas the identity of sincere belief in God and responsible keeping to the guidance of the scripture should be a plus in the orientation of collective livelihood, confusing the relationship by an ignorant or hypocrite will be disorienting.

This leads to a second note. The definition or understanding of the logical right or wrong relationship between the status or character of our faith and the regular pursuit of our basic, increasing and expanding needs, wants and fancies. In our unfortunate circumstance where the faith in our country, our unity, our constitution is not consistent with our orientation and commitments, corruption, manipulation, distrust, insincerity, hypocrisy, confusion and even violence are inevitable. Everyone is on his own while public and even private resources are the target of all – according to opportunity or the tool at your disposal. Consistent morality has collapsed.

I am an experiential witness to the grave and pervasive state of this poverty of philosophy and therefore livelihood, that we are in. In the realm of knowledge, I have related with a few respectable Doctors of Philosophy in their fields on this subject of our faith bankruptcy. The best I got were responses of disinterest. The worst was meeting a wall of non-response. The mid response that were very few, were a mixture of diverting me to the priority of pursuing good life and those acknowledging the value of our faith. Indeed, it was worse with people who are recognized to be grounded in the faith in God. Access was between impossible and difficult. And more embarrassing is that, they will offer to support and will fail, even after a firm promise and more than reasonable follow up. These are people of ideas and knowledge and the support I asked for was for these. Ideas and knowledge are

not lost by sharing and are subject to improvement by sharing. The state of our weakness in this respect is therefore great.

I have understood that involving people of monetary power to be attracted to my trade is more ambitious in a state where, whatever they give will be a “loss” and even the torch bearers of knowledge are either following them for money or competing with them for more – for the fears of poverty.

But the most shocking is that, the political leaders I connected with were worse. This is because they were avoiding even with employing their goodwill for my trade. But they are the neediest of my trade. And the identities of these people cut across our six geopolitical zones, major languages and conventional centres of learning, business and leadership. Poverty, bankruptcy, wretchedness across the country and citizens includes most of the elite that have between reasonable to unnecessary material security.

A good cousin of mine who is a Professor of Business and had struggled to become what he is had assured me that people are more attracted to be committed to benefits of HERE AND NOW. This summary is the best definition of our orientation that negates struggling for tomorrow or the future (which applies to all of us irrespective of accidental beliefs) and the hereafter for those who claim to believe in God. Beliefs are meaningless without being acted out by bearers. This is why we are where we are, against our declarations of identities.

It will therefore be really too ambitious of anyone to expect that given any imaginary resources any empirical achievements can be made. While you will be extremely lucky to find the resources, it will be foolhardy to expect that professionalism can guarantee results. The professionals are systematically part of the web of challenges.

This is because the practice of professional ethics has no larger value foundation of national identity or faith to rest on. It is like professional practice without regulation.

Leaders from the past to the present have fallen victims of projects for delivery of political promises or dividends of democracy, in the BLINDNESS of the foundation of faith in both the agents and the processes that are wanting. This requires special caution to check and extra skill to manage. You should as a result not be simply or easily get carried away by bearers of competencies. Indeed, your bold or strong symbolism or representation of our national faith and possibly your personal beliefs identity should check those who relate with you. They should know the high and inevitable risk of colouring competence with prejudice.

Accordingly, thirdly, you must appreciate and accept that you are part of the problem BUT WILL BE TRANSFORMING TO BE PART OF THE SOLUTION. It is impossible to be so alone. You will need to carry others along in a sieving process. It must not be being Mr. Clean surrounded by a few charlatans singing and drumming your rightness. No one was born dirty. The duty of leadership is to reduce the dirt by expanding the clean and not the people. Of course, those who vehemently refuse or resist can be sacrificed.

And the only way to pursue this is by making earliest deliberate actions with more immediately available resources of materials and skills to PROVIDE ALL BASIC NEEDS INCLUDING EDUCATION, HOUSING, HEALTH CARE, FOOD AND EMPLOYMENT in a continuous mode WITHIN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME. Everybody does not have to have University education when the quality has even collapsed. And our level of literacy can be raised to at least ninety-five percent in two years even if schools have to be closed down, as against building schools. We do not produce corrugated iron roofs enough to cover the nation in two years. We have other safe responsible means. We do not need three or five courses of meals

like the Shuwa Arab of Borno State but we can work and arrange to enable every mouth eat food thrice daily, in two years. These are possible with systematic creation of employment.

As a believer, if you work with God, you will get His support from where you do not expect. Certainly not by bringing you strange citizens from the moon.

O ye who believe! give your response to Allah and His Messenger, when He calleth you to that which will give you life; and know that Allah cometh in between a man and his heart, and that it is He to Whom ye shall (all) be gathered (Quran 8:24).

This means that He may favour your leadership efforts by touching the hearts of those you are striving to improve, to support your course. These will include the top beneficiaries of the rotten status quo and prospective members aspiring to join them. This is feasible if you adopt His terms. His terms are defined by the fact that all citizens are equal, each has the right of improvement or adjustments. Repentance and change of course by accepting the faith of our collective unity for safety and prosperity is welcome. Forgiveness of minor mistakes or even commitments is considerable where only a few are chanced to be fair. In other words, the strategy to transforming will be from the status and circumstances on the ground.

My Dear brother. After a successful passage through the needle's eye of political party primaries, elections and you make the required undertaking with our constitution, you must be sensitive to rascals and rascality from across the country and especially those who share similar accidental identities with you, for help with love. It will be your sole burden to bear with no one sharing it with you in this world and in the hereafter.

Throughout the course of your opportune leadership, you must avoid wasting your time and the time of others with efforts even in achieving what is good. You have

no certainty or control of how long you will live or that of others. For instance, you will not find a concluded matter for action that is good and right and start spending years to change it simply because you do not know the person involved, or you prefer your own person. That will be anti-state. The root of such is avoiding the truth, covering what is a lie, pretending to be committed to what is good, etc.

Hypocrisy is the greatest and worst burden you can impose on yourself. If and when you do, you will get isolated.

This is my sincere understanding of the burden you are on the course of offering yourself to bear.

Please accept my personal best wishes.

Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada

June, 2021.

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CHAPTER IV

A LETTER TO ANY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE THAT EVENTUALLY WINS

Saturday 26th March, 2022.

Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada

www.nigerians.sadtayyfoundation.org

My prospective President,
Federal Republic of Nigeria.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DEEPER NATURE OF THE POVERTY THAT SUSTAINS CORRUPTION, WHICH MINDFULNESS WILL HELP ANY GOOD INTENTIONS TO BE DRIVEN BY KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, PUMP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF LEADERSHIP AFTER YOUR CONFIRMATION AS THE WINNER

You will be on the fairest footing if you hang unto and you are seen to be bearing the honourable duty and responsibility of serving all Nigerians without discrimination, as provided for in the constitution that binds all of us together.

However, this is without abuse of responsible attention to the Nigerians that paddled you to success of being challenged with the general burden.

Before you, Mathew and Buhari appeared responsive and sensitive to this, in their early statements. Mathew called on those who invested to his success, to consider it a national sacrifice. In the case of Buhari, he simply affirmed that he has succeeded and taken the challenge for everyone as against anyone.

For you, to continue **better than them**, you should note that **in reality, the principles and practices that will be driving you and make anyone accessible to you and get your attention, will not give anyone IRRESPONSIBLE PREFERENCE**. Party members who are accordingly disciplined, **by knowledge, skills and experience will be optimally attended to**. Non Party members **must be listened to, to enable invitation and involvement of others, including non-**

registered party members, for optimal engagement of available human responses.

FORMING YOUR TEAM

Literally, **nothing stops a principal contributor** to your partisan success from **asking for the FAVOUR of recommending someone to support your leadership**. However, he shall not determine **the number of persons, the specific assignment or even the specific person**. This is because, where the specific person recommended is rated as **totally unfit for any trust**, he must simply be dropped. Where he recommends more than one person, the opportunity will be weighed in relation to the recommendations from the party and specific government.

It will therefore amount to taking off with principal failure, if **the final determination of your leadership lieutenants and assistants are handed over to ANYBODY OR GROUP**. Whatever inputs you may ask for from anyone or group, **MUST HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH WHO IS TAKEN OR DROPPED**.

The only way to sustain this **responsibility**, will be by **personal interaction with EACH OF THESE INDIVIDUALS** because you will be accountable for their partnership. And the guiding principle is **BEYOND WHATEVER SUBJECT KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS** he may possess. The challenge here is **WHAT THE PERSON HAS TO OFFER FOR GOVERNANCE LEADERSHIP**. It is therefore **useless** to have a physician who can only submit to the routine administration and management of health services. It will be **better** to have a clergyman who can clearly live above that. A quantity surveyor, architect or engineer is therefore not **necessarily best fitting** for leading to the **housing of Nigerians**.

For leadership, the machinery and expertise of bureaucratic resources are **FOR USE, TO ADD VALUE TO THE COLLECTIVE SAFETY AND PROSPERITY OF ALL NIGERIANS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.** Resources will never be absolutely enough, it is therefore irresponsible to start or listen to those who cannot go beyond things like **minimum cost of a low cost estate, the required ratio of physicians to citizens, teacher-student ratio or types and volume of contraceptives required to check population boom.**

It can similarly be scandalous to ignore the personal history of the person, in respect to livelihood colours of decent inter personal integrity, exposure and management of trusts etc. You will simply be giving an opportunity to create a thief, if you ask one who has never served in a formal sector to hold the trust of official duties.

This is because **the honour of anyone you decide on, will be AN INVITATION TO SUPPORT YOU IN BEARING YOUR BURDEN TO MAKE THINGS EASIER AND BETTER FOR EVERY AND ALL NIGERIANS.** It will be **wrong to think that you are doing the person a favour. This is what will make it irresponsible of such person to think or act as HAVING AN OPPORTUNITY.**

In the past, the legislature never helped much because, they tied themselves to the fields of study of the nominees for screening. Indeed, we had the experiential confusion of asking for nominations with portfolios instead of asking nominees to proffer leadership policies in any one or two areas. How many times and how rational will it be to have only barristers contesting to be legislators?

The best that can be possible, is to have a specifically trained person supporting leadership in a related area. In the present time, it is a special challenge to ensure that **whoever you consider for such, does not FALL SHORT OF CLEAR**

UNDERSTANDING OF THE REQUIRED LEADERSHIP. And Nigeria is rich enough to have someone fitting in the few tempting areas.

THE REAL MATERIAL CHALLENGE OF POVERTY FOR GOVERNANCE

It is certainly not the mere provision of infrastructure.

For leadership, it is **MAKING EVERY AND ALL NIGERIANS FEEL SAFE AND PROSPERING IN BASIC LIVELIHOOD AND MORE, IN THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.**

With increasing population, for any day **an individual fails, is denied or unable to meet basic needs, governance has failed.** It is therefore worse, where a family is involved. It is irresponsible where a community or more is involved.

The basic needs are, as applicable at every given time. Today, means of communication may not be rated as three square meals of food and drinks, clothing, housing, water borne diseases safety, literacy, employment etc.

The knowledge of inflation rate or level, exchange rate, value of stocks, roads etc. are important, for administration and management. But it is governance folly to assume and irresponsible to take **positive statistics as necessarily implying HUMAN IMPACT.**

The advantage you now have is the evident disadvantage on the ground. Any supporters that will offer you solutions solely on loads of money, is not suitable. The money is not there and there are debts to pay. Indeed, to accept additional loans and even grants as the bedrock for making history will be backward. Financial or fiscal manipulations are therefore not the best and fitting expertise required.

This is why finance institutions are not going bankrupt. They are always **generating and innovating novel extortive means laced with hopes**. There is no difference between the pains added to the poverty of the society by banks or gsm network houses. And taxation is getting better refined as the stock market is resisting collapse.

THE SHADES OF COVERING CORRUPTION GENERATED BY REAL POVERTY

Because of the consistent governance failure in attending to poverty beyond statistics, **while everyone is afraid of falling victim to more or total material lack**, those who already have less are turning into thieves. Those who are yet to have less are turning violent. Those who have more than immediate enough are restrictive or turning away **sharing by long term investments or charities**. Those in formal positions **are turning into opportunists in systematic abuses**. Those in informal but connected to formal positions **are no less primitive extorters**.

The cultural setting of the society, economy and polity before you is characterized by the following:

- **those who are knowledgeable, have the insight into our collective challenges can rarely get any support by either individuals who understand them, institutions that should care or leaders they come across.**
- **the individuals who have the means that can give a helping hand are afraid of losing their resources, just as those who do not have the financial means are spurred by envy that they or theirs should have been the person, to deserve support, or the person deserving the support needs to contribute to reducing his immediate material needs.**

- **the individuals who have non-financial means like the intellectual ability to contribute, consider it a waste of time because it will not generate immediate material benefits.**
- **the individuals with the platform to support such collective needs, like teachers and media men or party chieftains can either not be reached or receive and dump interest.**

This character of disconnects is **the greatest non material poverty that must connect to available material conditions, to effect positive governance.** This is critically a **value or moral challenge** of supporting one another for collective safety and prosperity.

This explains why good ideas may be available only for sale, why those with the most suitable solutions are not leading the course of understanding our challenges and those who are invited and get confronted by the enormous competing factors of equal personal needs for survival and ignominy by the authorities, do not resist or fail to at least help themselves.

This is why **increasing resources are pumped into governance with resulting decreasing impact on the polity and expanding self-actualization of the material beings of the agents and those connected to them.**

The responsibility to **break through this** is **your personal leadership challenge**, in your own interest, that of your leadership and our governance. **Knowledge** is absolutely the foundation for understanding what is true and right. **The Authority of Leadership** is justifiable and right, only if it is driven by true and right knowledge. **Resources** of all kinds are **meant to benefit all of us, with non-stagnating on the level of only basic needs, wants and fancies.** And only the **PERSONAL DISCIPLINE OR THE MORAL OR ETHICAL IDENTITY** of the

knowledgeable, the leaders and administrators/managers of our resources can **engineer our continuous safety and prosperity or good governance.**

If you fail in this, the four outlined cultural characteristics above will widen, deepen and weaken or disable the prospects of your governance success. The more you are able to overcome this, the greater freedom and openings, you will be able to generate, for more **independent knowledge, knowledgeable persons, platforms and leaders, who will not leave unnoticed. If they subject themselves to possible use by mischievous leaders or moneybags, they can be safely withdrawn from any engagement by a leader or government.**

The secret is that, the more a society is able to sustain the **basic safety and prosperity of every and all members**, the greater **the capacity and prospect for positive governance.** This does not have to necessarily eliminate the room for a cluster of those who are aspiring or comfortable with **excesses livelihood. The greater challenge of the leadership and government will then be to check encroachment of excesses into destroying the basic safety and prosperity of every and all Nigerians.**

THE TRAP OF SPIRITUAL RASCALS

This country is entitled to the **identity of a believing majority in God.**

We have not shot our self in the leg by binding ourselves with the constitutional provision of **prohibiting a state religion.**

This means that **no ambitious or irresponsible individuals or groups** have entitlement to audience and safety from immediate sanction **IF THEY IRRATIONALLY AND SENSELESSLY SUGGEST EXCLUSION OF COLLECTIVE ADVANTAGE FROM SOURCES THAT ARE OF EITHER OF OUR BELIEFS IDENTITY.** No more time and attention needs to be wasted

on this form of rascality, because we have records of support from communist countries. They are **secular BUT NOT in our terms**. The seat of the Church of England or America, God's own country, Israel and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia **are therefore all available**.

As a **personality**, the identity of piety should be an advantageous welcome **but not your requirement for our responsible leadership**. This means that pious citizens must not be denied access or audience or even be invited, to add value to your governance. **However, the necessary terms must be material and transparently fitting into the logistics of governance**. Anything short of this is irrelevant and not required, because **the God that we believe in has direct access to you IF YOU SEEK HIM**. If you do not care to seek Him and someone reaches you with the claim of His message, **you will be wholly personally responsible**.

And in a large society like ours, where in addition to believers in God, there are believers in idols, fetish practices are not uncommon. This can be by idol worshippers that are rightly entitled to it or parasites who will overtly claim the identity of Muslims or Christians. These are apart from undeveloped atheists, practical agnosticisms etc.

Like any other person but especially as a leader, **you must know that in the relationship between spiritual powers, neutrality is a foolish victim. Success definitely belongs to being more powerful on the same platform or outside the same platform**.

The person who believes in God should be **more right and powerful against any fetishism**. And the character of this is that, if you **sincerely, in overt and covert terms submit to God, He will lead you as He pleases**. The religious in the specialty of the rites is **not excused from this sincerity**. It is therefore not the attire

or the title of a faithful in an institution that is either a sign or grants the person **superior closeness or representation of God.**

Beware of this characteristics to **guard yourself and our governance** from falling victim of such rascals and rascality. To be sure, like all others, **they can devise luring, hypocritical and evil means to get what they want. NO BELIEVER IN GOD OR NIGERIA OR BOTH THAT IS SINCERE, WILL BE DELIBERATELY DRIVEN BY EVIL.**

THE AMBER ALERT OF FAILING

The Leader of Nigeria is the one who consistently symbolizes the spirit and livelihood of the constitution of the Federal Republic, even though he also has a human name, is one of the millions of Nigerians, comes from a particular region, is a Christian or Muslim in faith identity, a native speaker and is of the identity of one or more of our hundreds of languages.

The governance indicator of failing will be **greater real isolation** from whatever can connect to majority of Nigerians. This can be by either policies or actions or both, that **shrinks the scope of the safety and prosperity across the citizens.** Against the spread of welfare capacities and opportunities, the spread of **equal burdens or pressures with unequal impact** will characterize the leadership orientation.

The partisan indicator of failing will be **ignoring or failing political education within and across the country, for an orientation beyond tribal, regional and religious identity.** This will be revealed by continuous failed **equal responsiveness and responsibility to every and all Nigerians irrespective of the identity of the citizens in relation to the identity of the political leaders.** The effect of the tribal,

regional or religious identity of **the leaders should therefore not be a principal advantage to any other identities.**

The personal indicator of failing will be one or **the combination of difficult formal accessibility and personal withdrawal from reaching out**, to connect with those individuals, groups or organizations that are friendly or critical, **with the capacity or ability to add value to leadership and governance.**

As for the critical, your objective evaluation of their connective contribution to understanding your burden for making it easier, will be your guide. This is because a superior understanding of your burden will logically differ or even pull down your understanding, which makes those who will not tolerate your criticism your real frontline enemies. Praise singing or commendation is for those impacted and not self-appointed defenders bearing the burden with you. Ignoring or educating a valueless critic is a superior orientation. The essence of leadership is continuous correction, improvement, adjustment or discarding of what is wrong or unsuitable. This is impossible without following what is expressed as intended, what is being planned, what is on course or what has been done.

Please accept my personal best wishes.

Muhammad Sa'idu Jimada

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CHAPTER V

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING THE CONFUSION RESPONSIBLE FOR BUHARI LEADERSHIP OPPRESSION AND THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSITION TO POSSIBLE GOOD GOVERNANCE FOR NIGERIANS

The leadership of Muhammadu Buhari, against all the statistics of his achievements remains qualified as oppressive, to the majority of Nigerians who remained loyal to giving him their mandate and every benefit of the doubt, to serve them, by providing them with safety and prosperity. The proof of this is the renewal of the mandate by Nigerians, to continue for a second term. This is aside from the fact that the key or principal achievements flaunted by him and his agents are still questionable.

This oppression is measurable by the statistics of governance templates, of any leadership and government. The ultimate requirement is that governance is to serve men, the humans who gave him the mandate to provide them with a sustained and increasing safety and prosperity. It is therefore contradictory to think and offer that good and incomplete physical projects are in themselves sufficient, even as people lose their lives and means of livelihood increasingly.

The first measure relates to the preservation of the lives of the citizens. The total costs a citizen has to pay for basic foods; clean water; drinks and fruits; shelter, including clothing, footwear, rent or building a house; power, including coal, firewood, kerosene, electricity, cooking gas, petrol; and health services along with medication for first aid, primary and secondary services. Therefore, the maintenance of the summary cost that is regularly committed by a citizen, for these is the minimum requirement, towards good governance. No achievements can be right, for a leader, without a reduction in the costs of this phase, committed by citizens. This means that it will not be qualifying for good governance, until the positive difference between what the summary cost was and any claimed improvement is stabilized, and reflective in the required percentage of average basic income of informally or formally employed citizens, to preserve their lives.

An example for reference, is the damaged buying power of the salaries of government workers for the above, to keep body and soul together, and what

percentage of the income will be left to meet other needs. This history was then further torched with sharp improvements on taxation regime. Even phone calls and data are not left out. Financial transactions are equally fertile for government income. While members of the formal sector can give easy and clear picture of this questionable burdens, the larger informal sector is even worse hit. Add the epileptic electricity service, irrational tariffs along with scarcity and cost of petroleum.

In a situation where the failure in the above is topped up with checkers of kidnapping, banditry, robbery etc., the poor or degenerating capacities for livelihood can swiftly disappear, because of payment of ransom or total loss of a family member, a whole family or a community.

It is therefore not fitting to assume or suggest that, there is no ground for any adult citizen going hungry because abundant land is available. This is because in addition to the fact that anyone cannot just see any space and proceed to use it, many of those who are already farming have faced the risk of either being kidnapped, killed, farming or harvesting for bandits or paying taxes to bandits. When this bad thinking adds up to delayed or wrong provision of farming inputs before the rains, the consequences of inflation, hunger and make up imports are inevitable. Oppression becomes stabilized.

The second measure relates to costs of maintaining and improving upon the first template. These will be by schooling and training; employment; all types and forms of local transport facilities and services. Because history is not static and current citizens get old and get replaced by the younger, and new ones even live longer, the first template will remain meaningful only if this phase is alive.

But the standard of schooling has degenerated so much that private institutions are now at least competing with public ones or claiming to be better. The strikes by

academic staff for more than their emoluments and the quality of graduates from universities are not pleasant. The combination of public officers sending their children to private schools and the submission that private schooling overseas is right for those who can afford it, is insensitive to collective interest. Over this, Government started borrowing to pay salaries and nursed downsizing of staff, after employment galore. Airfare skyrocketed, the roads were unsafe either because an abnormal scope of security surveillance was required against kidnapping or they are degenerating. Not even the legacy projects of Kano to Abuja road, Lagos to Ibadan express way and the Niger bridge, with dedicated funds have enjoyed timely completion.

The operation of private institutions is constitutional. But governance has failed, where the public arrangements that enable the sprouting of private capacities is abandoned to collapse by the Chief Trustee of the citizens.

The third measure relates to the feeling of satisfaction and fulfillment by citizens across the board. The indices for these include the healthiness of the relationships between Parents and Children; Teachers and Students relationships; Employers and Workers relationships; Organizations and members relationships; as well as the relationships between the Leader and Citizens.

For example, the booing of a leader is bad enough at the beginning of his tenure, when he spends forever to constitute his team and most unfortunate at the end of his tenure, regardless of any achievements claims. A history of cultic support for a leader followed by regret and rejection by stoning by the same citizens is not a sign of satisfaction or fulfillment. And for the leader to ask for forgiveness over his oppression, in the course of his duty, along with readiness to leave his country after his tenure, is shameful. An example of the duty is the currency change policy and implementation. Between the time it was introduced and the end of his tenure, it has

been impossible to print sufficient quantity for circulation. Indeed, it indicates conscious oppression by deliberate commitment and omission. The cover up with the objective to transit to a digital economy is hollow, when the larger informal sector is yet to embrace banking culture. The characteristics of partial compliance with court restraints followed by nonchalant compliance to the judgement and refusal to produce more of the new notes were anti people.

The records of active unionism during the tenure of Buhari leadership is the indicator of a combination of the non-transparency of the government, abuse of agreements, struggles to help self, sharp government practices and inevitable use of legal resistance to assist against the derailment of good governance.

Oppression is the deliberate, willful exercise of authority or power that impact negative consequences on the general livelihood of the citizens that have entrusted him with their mandate. This is because the instruments of authority and power entrusted to him are backed by the availability of every and all resources within his jurisdiction and the license to get them, whether they are near or far, within the government or outside, to enable good governance.

Whatever admissible mistakes may be considered, they will be slim or few and characterized by being only insufficient satisfaction of right benefits to the citizens, by fourty percent or less. This is because, ignorance will not be excusable. This is because carelessness will be irresponsible. This is because irresponsiveness or negative neutrality is equally irresponsible. The authority and power over the lives, properties and affairs of the citizens, to enable good governance closes all excusable windows of ignorance and incapacity.

Leadership oppression is therefore worse than physical rape. Leadership oppression is worse than robbery, kidnapping or insurgency. It is a combination of all and more,

for two reasons. The first is that the instruments of authority and power were asked for, to provide good governance and were willingly entrusted. The second is that inflicting of pains on the same citizens is a combination of deliberate or careless betrayal and abusive use of the trust. Those who use illegal force to satisfy selfish objectives or seeming needs are a lesser evil to the society than the trustee with the right to legally use force, to serve, which should also check illegal selfish pursuits. A leader who therefore asks for forgiveness for oppression is worse than all convicts for physical rape, robbery, kidnapping, insurgency, asking for forgiveness. The latter will never get it by judgement but the former expects to deserve it by asking, after maiming the citizens.

But, this does not mean that Nigerians knowingly and willfully imposed on themselves, an oppressor. Indeed, Buhari can still not be totally denied the attributes that attracted the citizens to prefer him, at the 2015 polls.

Muhammadu Buhari was a very critical person, and down to earth about it. A sincere ally of his, Late Lawal Idris, shared this in an interview with the Daily Trust Newspaper, of Sixteenth July, 2017. This was the man who was the connecting instrument in making Buhari work with Late Abacha. He reported that, on asking Buhari on his opinion about the Abacha government he submitted that: “Well it is a thieving government, Abacha steals and the family steals, they are just for themselves.” As for Abacha, Lawal narrated the stand of Abacha: Abacha said he really wanted Buhari to come into his government so that it could be stabilized. Buhari is therefore ordinarily a man of integrity.

His torture record of War Against Indiscipline was not lost sight of by Nigerians, who were fed up with the corruption of the Peoples Democratic Party governance since 1999. His experiential questioning: Fuel subsidy for who? was well understood by Nigerians. His campaign tears against the sea heads of unemployed youths along

with the cost of spaghetti were instructive. This was why key persons Late Lawal Idris met in Lagos and Port Harcourt to support the bid of asking Buhari to run in 2015 was not resisted. They said “we are with Buhari 100 percent but there is a problem and the problem is Mamman Daura. Is there any way you can do away with Mamman Daura?” Lawal very well understood them because ‘... he (Mamman Daura) is a very sneaky fellow. . .’

I was personally sitting with Muhammadu Buhari and a TV news program showed citizens of an African country moving out for reasons of war and hunger. He expressed deep regret that such will happen to the people, in their own country. So, as a retired Military General, when he rejected with disgust, the challenge of insurgents, it was necessary to believe him.

Muhammadu Buhari can still not be denied his distaste for corruption. There was an intelligent question Mamman Daura put to Late Lawal Idris, revealed in the same interview. ‘. . . a week after Buhari was sworn-in, on Friday, we met at a mosque here in Kaduna. I walked to Mamman to greet him; there was this confidence that had taken a better part of him like he is now Mr. President. Mamman told me that he and Mahmud didn’t like Buhari’s presidency. And I said “*ranka ya dade*, you don’t like it?” and he said “yes”. I was surprised and he saw the surprise on my face. He just changed the topic and said “you know uncle (Buhari) does not like politicians and politicians don’t like him”. I said, “sir, but election has been won. Whether politicians like it or not, whether Buhari likes it or not, he has to work with politicians and politicians have to work with him for the betterment of our country”. Politics and politicians have been inseparable with corruption in this country, with the notorious records of the PDP, a repacking of National Party of Nigeria.

When the All Progressives Congress therefore had Buhari to express the promises of dealing with insecurity and corruption, it was believable and assuring that

economic crisis would be easier to sort out. It was unreasonable, senseless and even risky to either object to the reality of these priorities or comparable symbols to the personality of Buhari. This state of reality and spirit were responsible for driving Nigerians to rationally and sensibly give him an extension of the positive benefit of the doubt, for a second term.

Nigerians were therefore not foolish in giving our collective mandate to Muhammadu Buhari. And more importantly, because he decided to ask for it and accepted it under Islamic oath, he neither has any excuse for not performing above average nor deserving any responsible forgiveness for his commitments and omissions. The terms of the relationship are deliberate and conscious. It is also between his person and Nigerians, for his personal objections for Nigerians, for his personal objectives for Nigerians. Leadership is not a game field for success by chance. It is a conscious and deliberate commitment to a defined burden. Fools do not approach it.

Muhammadu Buhari was not expected to be a perfect man. He knew this. This was indicative when he returned to Nigeria after recovery from his ailment. He personally said, he is human and can fall sick. To make up for ordinary natural physical and psychological inadequacies, the commonwealth of Nigerians legally provides him with larger than life superior provisions, to ease the burdens of the mandate. Given his personal material discipline, he will never be poor or get bankrupt, for more than another lifetime of his age, on assuming office. As for his mental and emotional capacities, to minimize his inadequacies, he has collective consent, authority and power of Nigerians, to legally encourage, invite and compel any resource, to enable his positive optimal realization of the mandate. This means that no good resource can resist him and no negative effort can compete with him. Unlike a robot, the minimum requirement here, is to make it easy for himself to be

able to identify the resources and commit them, with respect, to sharing in bearing his burden. This is his personal absolute responsibility. If he shares this with anybody, it is his discretion, to aid or undo himself.

If he assumed office ignorant of this positive trapping, he could still become aware of it and act responsibly, if he is personally open or accessible to volunteers, inviting of recommended persons or newly discovered ones, and responsive to criticisms. It is entirely his misfortune, if he shares this with persons who are either insensitive or careless about his burden. This will be persons who have different ambitions and consider the sharing as opportunity for themselves or are simply ignorant of the purpose of his sharing such trust. It will not matter, whether such persons are family members, associates, aides or lieutenants. This is why he is giving the open or blank cheque or license, to appoint a more than reasonable number of appointees for himself. If he squanders or gambles with this responsibility that is a connective duty to help manage the burden entrusted to him, it is wholly and absolutely his misfortune, no matter how much any other persons may share in it.

Muhammadu Buhari was very much conscious of this burden-cum-trapping. This contributed to the disturbing delay in constituting his team. This made it easy for him to buy and work on the ambitious advice, to freely choose his men just as he will not interfere in the appointment of Commissioners for Governors.

Buhari is personally thorough in getting things certified for himself. He can go extra miles in investigating, even with standing available positive reports. He can be so dogged to the faulty point of repetitive checks by different agents that, they will discover each other. The continuous damaging reference to Jonathan and the Peoples Democratic Party's misdeeds, up to the middle of his second term, is a fair pointer to this.

It was therefore consistent to exceptionally direct Security Services Chiefs to move to the theatre of war to deal with insurgency, as the Commander-in-Chief and they obliged. An acquaintance smuggler visited him to congratulate him. He simply expressed that, he can't understand how the man makes his money, given his spending records. The man relocated to Niger republic for safety. He was not discriminating between citizens, if they get close to abusing public funds entrusted to them. This was why Patience was checked. Dasuki was not sacred. And Obasanjo reassured Jonathan that, he will not need to be jailed. For Buhari to have an operational First Lady was out of question, because it is not decent for the family and records of past histories have been scandalous.

From the above, there are basic but fundamental activities that can dare not approach or get on the path of Buhari, which squarely relate to the integrity of his personality, his burden and leadership. For example, a confirmed corrupt aide who extorts money from visitors to Buhari and was sent away, will never get close again. A close aide who restrains a non-official from accessing official documents will not be sent to a distant assignment. A non-official and non-member of his immediate family will not for whatever reason or sickness consider using any aircraft in the presidential fleet for a weekend or more. A Senior official aide will not be personally assigned to collect and process documents of trust and he asks the source, to do something for the boys. No one or club of officials, relatives, associates or a mixture of these will dare to be holding after-working-hours meetings, consistently, to influence or direct governance matters. Not all consistent critics will fail to be invited to add value to the governance. No consistent or wide criticism will fail to be attended to, to establish and deal with it or discard it. He will not direct to be accompanied by some thirty leaders on his visit to Saudi Arabia and have a hundred to cover family members of aides. No official correspondence from his own minister of state will get delayed or be obstructed from getting to him. No Minister will require to use his

personal access to Buhari, to deal with a serious disciplinary matter because of interference by his aide. No private or official correspondence to him will be kept away or destroyed by any of his aides or associates. No rascal, especially outside the government, that is non accountable, will dare to dabble into government process or activities, in the name of or for close association with the President.

If any one of these happened, it could only be destructive to his integrity, his burden and leadership, that only he is accountable for. The more the addition to one of the above, the more self-destructive the effects will be.

But that is not the worst implication. The further consequence is that the destruction and degeneration will widen and accelerate because, as a good and safe mirror of Buhari, other lieutenants, aides and associates will begin to learn the same while those that were skilled in abuses will ride at highest speed. This is the explanation for the Maina return on pension saga and the smartness of the Accountant General. Relatives then invaded the finance and oil sectors by critical appointments and full participation. Indeed, even licensing was legally watered down at the national cost of allowed non-performance. Competent outfits were merged with carnivorous lackeys to do serious businesses in order to cheat in the profit yields. Restructured official forex operations created a middle tunnel for industrialists to pass through. Not even the private life of Buhari was spared. His rejection of loads of boxes as part of dowry for a beloved daughter was corrected by giving boxes of jewelry for the hand of a very close ally's daughter, in marriage. Portions of three jurisdictions were cut to create one for the chieftaincy of an innocent growing son. How then can 'opportune' aides, lieutenants and associates not subtly transform into business magnates and landlords? And a non-constitutional 'officer' with full government regalia will use state house land to establish a regular office as an achievement. Aides

and citizens considered to be rude or critical can be manhandled and prosecuted, by state security operatives.

When the smart citizen who used marriage to protect his corrupt records was later checked with induced divorce and official chase, it was not impressive. The cover up for integrity was late. The fierce prosecution of Magu, the feared anti-graft chief ended in open shame because his supervisor could not get him convicted. It exposed the bias of objection to an earlier petition by a consultant, who was checked, for reaching to related corruption evidence they were employed to investigate. The favorite now happily retired Chief of Army Staff expressed the opinion that insurgency will still last for another decade. Then, the prosecution of Saraki proved to be a game and not in the interest of our common wealth. The Supreme Court set him free on the technical ground that the dog set against him was wrong. The case was abandoned and he was congratulated for crossing the tortuous experience. For his personal health, his wife went protective, against his aide, who abandoned self-restraint, after visiting a Covid-19 patient.

In an interview with Garba Shehu, the culture of confusion was revealed. He was asked to comment on what to expect, from the in-house fracas on the health of Buhari. He categorically stated that, he will not be surprised if the aide is restrained and he will not be surprised if he is not restrained. Against the protocol of such exposure, he was not restrained. And the President remained fit. The volunteered information about his retirement is not different. He will return to Daura or proceed to Niger republic, to keep away from Abuja, only to be adjusted to returning to Kaduna after six months' rest, closer to Abuja.

No wonder, the economic development strategy reduced to loans taking. And the change of currency implementation displayed clearer confusion, at the pains of citizens and contempt of court. No wonder the fuel subsidy payment quadrupled and

to save face irrationality drove the process of ending it. It was first shifted to June so that he will not be fully blamed, only to hurriedly claim arranging to end it in May, 2023.

In the end, valuable supporters of Buhari for his governance withdrew to save their integrity. Those who have to remain with him saved themselves from alerting or advising him for positive adjustments. Indeed, he closed his mind, his sight and hearing to positive alerts and advice, that cross over his aides and associates who inhibit his access to guidance. Buhari who started with hundreds of millions is leaving really alone, along with the immeasurable pains, disgust and disappointment of more millions. In addition, he has disoriented millions of the mis-think that, no other leader is likely to succeed, because he was the best individual with the best opportunity and all necessary facilities at his disposal.

With the inevitability of his leaving office, his processing of transition has not fared better. He has by renewed pronouncements and even unethically displaying his thumb stamped voter's card, been assuring that he is actively in support of his party's candidate. This is because he came to understand that he was seen in pretense of really being so. The story of irresponsible gangsterism against the candidate neatly but unfortunately fitted into his believed disdain for corrupt politicians. He proved to have disdain for only some corrupt politicians. He proved to be ungrateful to the corrupt politicians he rode on to become President. He proved to be not better than them, because he woefully failed to convert them to be better, throughout his eight-year tenure.

The challenge of transition became reduced to who he believes or can trust, will cover up and even continue with what he believes he has established to be right, as a deserving opportunity rather than a system transformation, to advance the safety and prosperity of the citizens, as a leadership burden. He could not be positively

neutral because his performance had not transformed either his party members or Nigerians, to prop up the kind of right successors in the figment of his brain. He therefore did strive for who he prefers and reversed to save face. But his orientation and culture of leadership and governance couldn't have directed him to knowing and understanding a candidate better than himself. Moreover, who will wish for what is better by his definition or on his terms?

These define the new messy foundation, more worrisome than the 1999 to 2015 regrettable history of governance in Nigeria, to be inherited and worked on. It is bad enough to wonder over, what will make it attractive for another ordinary citizen to seek to succeed Buhari, without an absolute definition of the RULING factor that enabled this culture of indiscipline by a master disciplinarian. This will be aside from a necessary wider scope and depth of superior checks. In Christian parlance, there will be the need for both deliverance and cleansing of the leadership and governance system. And because a fellow Nigerian has to bear this cross, it is most concerning, if we care about the future. This is because like Buhari is now the lead loser, even though the polity has lost by his abysmal performance, his successor ought to guard against the same end as much as the polity needs to save itself from a similar oppression.

It is my candid submission that Buhari got his IDENTITY CRISIS revealed by the challenges of leadership and governance. He did not really KNOW who he is. He did not UNDERSTAND the required relationship between who he is and the mandate he asked for and was given. He couldn't have therefore LIVED a consistent and predictable IDENTITY, which he can be measured by. The polity was not different. The citizens neither knew themselves nor Buhari. The choice of Buhari was therefore really a chanced gamble, that appeared fine. It is worse than mistaking a snake for a fish. However, unlike the citizens, the singular misfortune of Buhari is

that, his ignorance is not an admissible excuse, because he was provided with more than enough, to LEARN, UNDERSTAND AND LIVE for the purpose he was given the mandate. This is more so, because he enjoyed two terms.

Except and until Muhammadu Buhari that I know declines or rejects his identity as being a **MUSLIM** it will be the only and fairest standard for evaluating his person, his family, leadership, his governance, his relationships, his policies etc. This will also be the only and most responsible thing to do, for two justifications. The first is that it is constitutional. The second is that it is capable of enhancing and advancing the collective safety and prosperity of our identity as Nigerians. There is no contradiction between the identity of a Muslim, a Christian or a Traditionalist, in the requirements to serve and be beneficial, without being harmful to the generality of Nigerians. Moreover, because Nigeria is not a particular religious' constitution, the real meaning of its secularity is that, canonical commitments are freely allowed for him, and the benefits can extend beyond himself and fellow Muslims and Christians, who are equally believers, without oppressing Traditionalists. The implications of his non canonical practices are therefore similarly equally welcome and admissible. For example, being truthful or not telling lies to himself, to God, fellow humans and other creatures; keeping promises that are legal, both formal and informal; and non-betrayal or abuse of trust in any form. As a leader, not to approach or entertain or shade oppression. These are great sins that qualify one as worse than unbelievers. These are the primary knowledge and responsibility that are strictly and absolutely personal to him. It is entirely his business and burden to be an embodiment of the knowledge and discipline that defines his identity. The constitution allows it. Nigerians were totally right in deciding on giving him the mandate. Nigerians have no equal responsibility to ensure this for him or to even support him. These are restricted to those better than him, in his family and among fellow Muslims across Nigeria, **IF** he positively associates with them. It is therefore his personal

responsibility to remain, continue and improve as a Muslim, for himself and the benefit of all Nigerians.

It is Nigerian, Christian, Traditional as well as Islamic, to love for your brother, what you love for yourself. In Islam, your faith is incomplete without this attribute.

The standard or knowledge and discipline of Islam would not have enabled the heaps of mess, contradictions, confusion and pains of his leadership allowable. This is because he would have been ruled or driven by the strive to be in compliance with what Allah will approve, because power and rulership actually belong to Him. And the necessary detail accountability for this trust of Allah, on the Day of Judgement, would have compelled utmost efforts, not to end up as a hypocrite, an oppressor or both. As a leader who plays a hypocrite, the risk is as high as being brought to Judgement tied up and swept into the bottom of unbelievers, inside the Hell Fire, in the first round. And an oppressed has no barrier to his plea to God on his oppressor.

Regardless of his level of true and right knowledge, he would have pursued and kept the company of those who combine knowledge and discipline of what is true and right about his identity, with the knowledge and discipline of different aspects of livelihood. For instance, those with the knowledge and discipline of his identity along with the knowledge and discipline of leadership and governance. Where his reference does not combine the two his associates in the knowledge and discipline of his identity will enable him fill up the gaps. This is because his burden is to ease livelihood for all Nigerians without discrimination and without abandoning his identity. If he therefore opts for ignorants, hypocrites, those who are careless and rascals, to enable his leadership and governance, he cannot expect guidance and support based on knowledge and discipline. But things will still happen because history will not come to a stop. And this is exactly what happened.

It is therefore his last priority and duty, to establish why he has failed and save BOTH NIGERIANS AND THE INCOMING LEADER from a repeat of the same experience. From the perspective of his identity, this will be the path to reduce the weight of sins and characteristics of his self-inflicted failure. This is because he will continue to share in whatever sins arising from pains, that will be related to the standard he has left behind, just like he will continue to reap rewards for the ease he has set. If he discovers this and commits himself to it, it is for the good of his soul. If he does not, that is too bad for himself. And if it is brought to his attention and he ignores it, it is totally his burden. If he doesn't love himself so much, no one can help him.

Indeed, as a Muslim, if he believes that he was driven by his identity consciousness and discipline, let him share with Nigerians, his personal understanding of the aid of God for his sincere and utmost commitment to Him, for the leadership and governance of Nigeria. Or did God fail him by not appreciating his correct efforts? He certainly cannot make such claim. He has therefore not helped to protect his own faith and may have battered that of young Muslims who had looked up to him as a model. But in our confusing setting that can entertain religious rascality, some creatures can identify him as a saint or deeply religious.

In Islam, IF he had a taste of his true faith, let him share it with Nigerians, to help increase the faith of Muslim believers and to attract both non-Muslims and unbelievers to the true and rightness of his identity for the safe protection of all citizens as well as expansion of our prosperity. This is no less a challenge to other Muslims in positions of trust with him, those before him and others in non-political leadership positions. Let an adult Muslim child who has a parent of the age of sixty or above, or is retired, put across the same request and see, if he or she will get an inspiring and refreshing answer.

Nigerians therefore still have the challenge of identity consciousness and discipline as much as the leaders. Two experiences that indicate our orientation that reflects our confusion will be enough. A former governor of Bayelsa State was convicted for money laundering that was not unconnected to defrauding his state. On return to Nigeria he got the reception of a hero. When the embarrassment was expressed by a critic, he was advised to appreciate that his plunder was of their wealth and they require no attorney to define their interest. They were happy. The other is more spectacular. The electorate of Katsina State were satisfied with the stoning of Buhari by some of them, because of the shared oppression they suffered from his mislead and bad governance. But on his retirement, he was received as a hero, feasted with a durbar and covered with prayers, by the same Katsina State people.

But it is the greater responsibility of the leaders to ensure that this is overcome. The leaders here include all persons who know and have the intellectual and material means, to reorient Nigerians for identity consciousness and discipline. They can be Scholars, Technocrats, Business Magnets or Political Leaders. But Buhari comes first, to be followed by his successor.

With the other levels of leaders, all of those who believe in God, in our circumstance, Christians and especially fellow Muslims have similar responsibility. It does not matter, whether in individual, group, informal or formal capacities. For example, in the Daily Times interview granted by Late Lawal Idris, it was not Islamic as a Muslim, to opt for not doing anything about the expressed fears of Mamman Daura's association with the leadership of Buhari. He had the responsibility of doing something definite. The first compelling opportunity was his reported encounters with Mahmud and the personal visit to him by Mamman. The second was immediately after Buhari was declared the winner and he met Mamman, who postured as if he was the president elect. The last was after granting the interview,

two years into the first term. He categorically stated that, Mamman was **principally responsible** for all the challenges of Buhari leadership and that he told Buhari that **evil people had possessed him**. This was fair but **not the minimum**.

If his restraint was that the two are blood relatives, for the leadership and good governance of Nigeria, it is not Islamic and not Nigerian. The value of the trust given to Buhari is galaxies away from tribal or religious identity, geographical location or familial differences. And all the leaders who came to know this and had access to him, from the time they became conscious of this challenge remain culpable. This is because they were hesitant, refused or failed to help Allah's course, by helping Buhari or fighting him and the Satans around him, for the good of Nigeria.

This higher level of hypocrisy or ignorance didn't stop their questionable improved safety and prosperity during his tenure. They benefited well from their relationship with him, his office and governance. But Nigerians were generally oppressed. Therefore, his party members, especially the Muslims, his lieutenants, his aides, his assistants, his regular associates are culpable. Buhari couldn't have been able to resist all of them, when Allah would have been on their side.

And the fact that the oppression lasted to the end of his tenure, it is a shame on all of us and especially our leaders. And the weight of culpability will not be the same. The least culpable that can even be forgiven will include those who volunteered to assist but were barred, those who did advise or cautioned but were ignored, those who criticized positively but were mocked and those who would have assisted but were avoided.

The worst were those who simply refused to advise or caution him for fear of poverty or losing his favor, and are comparable to those who either worked with him and were hiding files or monetizing assignments given to them, interfering with official

matters or processes or manipulating him. The Islamic basis is the responsibility of believers who know what is right to individually or jointly act to either correct the wrong, advice against what is wrong or dissociate from the wrong doing and the person or what will promote the wrong. And the terms of defining the limits and strength of this checking response are two. The first is that it will be for Allah, the second will be employment of every legal means to serve the course of Allah. This is how and why positive criticism is jihad.

As for the Christians who are equally believers and share closer identity attributes with Muslims, their culpability is less, but more than the rest of other Nigerians who are neither Muslims nor Christians. This is why in the history of Christianity, deviants who turned apostate were excommunicated. The three faiths that were rooted in Abraham are one. None of them differs from the resistance to associating anything or anyone with God, Who Alone deserves worship. And this worship covers canons and livelihood.

Believers must recognize that the identity consciousness and discipline of members is the only path to having members of living values attending beautifully designed and expensive worship houses, to be truly and sincerely godly. The trooping of dangerous hypocrites and oppressors is not the requirement of God for worship. The leaders who are materially well to do must learn that the quality of those sponsored for Pilgrimage is best, by closeness to God. It is beloveds that first deserve to pay visits. The true and right reorientation of believers is therefore a topmost priority over, pitiful routine gestures of charity. This is what will make the method of sourcing of the wealth, its use and commitment for expansion cleaner and blessed. And the political leaders can mill the resources of the society easier and better for our collective safety and prosperity.

You cannot actively be feeding fat on the person and system that is known to be systematically oppressive and be excused by the lame and callous excuse that, it is his burden, when you have the intellectual, financial, social and political opportunity and resources to correct him, as a fellow leader. And to be sure, this is far from ambitious irresponsible protests that boarder on sedition or secession or revolution. While these are not Islamic, Muslims are not to be sheepish in response to civil oppression.

The ignorants, the naive, the hypocrites who had access to Buhari and abandoned their identity discipline to play and swim in rascality, will do themselves good to revert to him with confessions and undoing as much as possible of what they did, as they live the rest of their lives in painful regret. Enjoying the evil fruits after office along with seeking for the forgiveness of God and philanthropy, is neither fair nor just, to themselves or the oppressed. This is because, if any is a Muslim, his path and role was a cursed one in Islam, not Nigerian and unconstitutional. He will along with Buhari continue to reap the sins of oppression as long as the effects last.

For example, if a suitable person entitled to an appointment is denied by manipulating the process or sharp replacement or unofficial interference, it will last until it is corrected, by the removal, resignation, retirement, death or replacement of the person. It is not different with cornering property for public auction or participating in forex trading or procurement. Those who participated by not delivering messages to him as at when due or cunningly denied those that could be genuinely helpful access to him are no less unfortunate shareholders. Not even negative neutrality is excusable. The discipline of Islam covers not just the nature of a thing, but the process of its acquisition and the use it is put into. They are all thieves, armed with trusts or opportunity.

Association with a leader in any form and at any level that will impact negative consequences for or on the members, is this protected and risky. How foolish then is it, for one who has no direct business with the affair, dabbling into it? This is why family, tribal, religious or geopolitical prejudice is neither Islamic, Christian, Traditional or constitutional. It will be irresponsible.

The superiority of identity consciousness and discipline over any skills and professional ethics is that, the latter is and will remain INSUFFICIENT in driving Nigerians of our identities as Muslims or Christians, for a consistent positive orientation in the livelihood that will be beneficial to us and without harming others. This is what explains budget padding, values inflation and manipulation of processes for objectives outside the defined ones. It does not matter, whether it is in procurement, electioneering, investigation, employment, production etc. Professional ethics in skills or competencies practices are therefore managed as much as they will serve self-pursued objectives. Moreover, only those who get caught will have to revert to legalistic resistance. Our system is therefore booming with corruption along with legalistic struggles, growing investigations, checks and controls mechanisms as well as frustration and confusion, because our morality is collapsing. In other words, our livelihood is missing our real beliefs. This is the real root of our growing, expanding and deepening dissatisfaction, in spite of our optimal efforts and achievements. The real orientation of our livelihood, leadership and governance is therefore reducing to taking the best advantage of opportunities with what means become available to anyone or group. The principle and practice of catering for others is turned into a favor rather than a responsibility or duty. Any efforts to imbibe this ends up to be only fanciful for those who are secure and prosperous. Catering for others is seen as a favor, out of pity. As for the majority of others, UNTIL THEY ATTAIN MATERIAL SAFETY AND PROSPERITY. This is the principal explanation for why the democracies we are copying are

‘progressing’ with ‘satisfaction’ against our experience. But they are watering down the similar identity attributes that we share. This is the principal explanation for why our citizens move there and excel. They get cultured into a livelihood system that is more insensitive to the identities we bear. You can therefore become fine physicians, engineers BUT NOT AS WELL AS BEING MUSLIM OR CHRISTIAN. In addition to that being a strictly private affair, the system is open to even adjusting it. This is why no church in Nigeria can yet understand admitting gays as priests. No one needs to argue that LOVE covers them. No Muslim Imam will yet or any Court, wed same sex parties. No one will dare to consider any adjustments in the Bible or Qur’an, to express a unisex gender of God.

This is why it is possible for a questionable character to describe another person as deeply religious, when neither his knowledge nor livelihood depicts positive religious identity. It is also possible to have eight years of confusion and oppression to be followed by request to forgive and the support that Nigerians are large hearted and will forgive. This will be consistent with considering the expression of carrying out an assignment, with God as witness, to be religious, just as one will take a religious oath for an assignment and not care about the religious terms all through. Worse still, the person will not comfortably admit that a religious curse be laid on a liar. In our political transition, the story line of being uncomfortable with one corrupt person and considering a worse corrupt person by a failed corrector of corruption is not unlikely. This is the inescapable reality of confusion, generated by identity crisis.

Therefore, there will still be transition along with citizens who will question its credibility, even when their own credibility is questionable. This is because even the polity has no consistent identity consciousness that drives its choices. But in the end, the arbitrator will still have to decide on how to close the matter. The Supreme Court is the last point of call. This explains the non-difference between winners of elections

and losers, except in the case of Jonathan whose justification was within-party crises and his early admission of defeat. This is why Obasanjo had expressed that even if Jesus were to conduct the elections in Nigeria, it will be protested. This is why the post Buhari presidential elections protest is only more confusing. But the absolute truth is that the same terms of the combination of ignorance and false identity consciousness drove the citizens, the parties, delegates, contestants, campaigns, for the electoral body to manage and the judiciary to decide on – as non-different players. The best indicator is that Buhari proved beyond reasonable doubt that the PDP governance since 1999 was more of a scam. And after Buhari, the PDP appears to be better, as the citizens regret their choice of Buhari. The growing percept is that the PDP thieves were better trustees and managers or with the failures of Buhari, it is hopeless to expect any future difference. The indicator for these are the goodly second position of the PDP candidate and the equally fair exuberant performance of the Labor Party.

The difference that the candidate who won the elections has made, is in the package of the manifesto. It logically hooks up to what were intended under Buhari and OVERCOMING the Buhari seeming inadequacies. It is no doubt, superior to the 2015 presentation by the All Progressives Congress. It is clearly informed by a better understanding of the challenges before 2015. But again, the huddles of accumulated loans, higher personal taxes, more sophisticated corruption culture, weak, inefficient but powerful bureaucracy etc. are to be driven by the same false identity consciousness and discipline. His dreams like providing a living wage for workers, disappearance of handouts sales in higher institutions, more involvement of the universities in governance etc. along with removal of fuel subsidies payments and provision of electricity, without a lesser priority to security, are TALL. The immediate response to the declaration of fuel subsidy end, was therefore met with hike in the pump price by the marketers.

The immediate and ultimate costs of achieving these, within a reasonable time will absolutely depend on attention to three NON MATERIAL FACTORS earliest. The first is double transparency. One face of it will be the clear definition of the messy burdens on the ground. Buhari had an excellent understanding of this and spent more than reasonable and sensible time attending to it. He specifically submitted that he will not stop referring to the misdeeds of PDP leadership, as long as they explain his difficulties. And he did, up to the beginning of his second term. He slowed down because he was increasingly failing to show that leadership is more than investigation and recovery of funds and prosecution.

The other face is the required commitment on the part of all citizens, to cross over to the state of normalcy. This is where the creativity and sensitivity to the identity and welfare of Nigerians, by the succeeding leader will be put to test. The option of building infrastructure with irrational loans at the cost of the lives and means of livelihood of the citizens has already proved to be irresponsible. Buhari had more than reasonable understanding and support of the citizens, to increase the pump price. Indeed, he had a whole of his first term accommodated, with the expectation that his second term will give the necessary reward. He now knows better than anybody, that the Covid-19 cover for economic recession was more of a scam. The new leadership will need to prove that similar or more sacrifice will yet be required, but with a more guaranteed benefits to follow.

The second is the commencement of an efficient, massive and continuous informal education for positive reorientation, covering all citizens. This will have to be deliberate and focused on leadership for good governance. And the literate citizens will be the first target. To give it life for the required impact, it must be supported with discussions and commentaries relating to leadership, governance, policies, leaders, processes, projects etc. And those with the right resources for this are

Muslims and Christians. This is because their identity stems from the master morality packaged by God Himself.

The earliest use of these in the process of his leadership and governance, is the third. The litmus test of these will be on members of his team. This is radically opposed to the conventional orientation of sharing favors, having opportunities, instead of sharing burdens. The new leadership therefore has the challenge of reorienting the citizens as well as making it drive his leadership and governance concurrently. Anything less, will be insufficient and dubious.

And the PRESS that has been playing the role of sharpening the degeneration of our unity and strength, given its similar false perception of freedom, in the light of our identity, needs to be clearly in the forefront of reorientation. Because you cannot give what you do not have, the educational roles of especially the private media have often shifted between utopian objectives to fit into the history of other nations and anti-Nigerians, retaining polemic appreciation of our togetherness. The records relating to their management of our history of insurgency, federalism are unfortunate pointers to these. This is fairly inevitable because the managements are equal victims of the challenge of identity consciousness and discipline. The exact opposite but of no better value is what the public media houses have degenerated to. And the citizens are clamped with more uncertainty, temporary relief and confusion concurrently.

To be sure, it is not enough to be a Muslim or Christian or even a scholar or leader of these identities. If it were, we would not be in the kind of state we are in now, tempting the question: IS THE IDENTITY THE CHALLENGE OR THE CLAIMANTS? Moreover, the bearers of these identities are unquestionably the majority citizens of this country and are totally responsible for our national drawbacks and failures. A high level of humility is therefore required for a sincere and positive **SELF DELIVERANCE AND CLEANSING**. We cannot all be

failures all through and begin to take off with foul competition in what is right. Our audacity and inordinate greed for the opportunities of this transitory life and world have logically led us to this degeneration.

Already, the point had been made, that, we have not been lacking in citizens that are well read. Indeed, we have been having a growing number of those who call themselves learned, and Buhari engaged a large chunk of them, to record the embarrassing history he leads. Financial experts are not our challenge, and our organizations have had their resources managed by them. Along with auditors at different levels, we still had a Minister of Petroleum and an Accountant General that plundered our commonwealth, beyond sense. Licensed physicians executed the corrupt management of Covid-19. The leaders of organized labor are not fools. Our Universities are not primary schools. Our research outfits have been producing results. Indeed, a head of a regular bank is the one engaged as the Governor of our Central Bank. He processed the change of currency policy without the participation of the Minister of Finance but with the approval of the president. We have been having political parties and they have been providing us with the candidates that have been our political leaders.

Thus, neither the good intentions of a leadership nor quality skill of a technocrat, along with his code of ethics are SUFFICIENT, for overcoming our real challenges of good leadership and governance, given our superior identity claims.

The logical beneficial consequences of this positive reorientation will include the following:

The citizens will become the real drivers of our social, economic and political history, for the purpose of enhancing their safety and prosperity according to their identity. Our political, economic, social, bureaucratic, cultural, research, political

institutions, structures and processes, will be TUNED to SERVE US. Of principal interest should be the banking system, the insurance, mortgage etc. The current lousy tradition of copy and impose, like the political system are doing the inevitable damage to our real identities, as much as the identity bankrupt elite are swimming in the reaps. Our leadership and governance will be set on the course of giving us satisfaction and fulfillment, because they will not isolate our livelihood from our beliefs. We shall have minimal rascality to manage. For example, the confusion of retorting at the criticism of Reverend Mbaka as dissatisfaction for failing to get a government contract, will be exposed, because contractors are not excluded from helping the government or required to be sheepish. Similarly, you cannot suggest that a pattern of marriage relationship between Christians and Muslims should be adjusted against scriptural provisions to enhance unity. The windows of creativity or innovation will be driven, with respect and protection of our identity. Our integrity will be consistent with our identity. And the greater benefit will be that the old generation will get connected to the young generation in the common and flowing commitment to our collective safety and prosperity. This will be unlike the present state where the older generation is in constant fear of losing out, the old generation is being reduced to puppies, with the young generation over ambitious and the younger generation hopeless. The realities of tribe, religion, geographical identities will become fanciful colors that are not any threat to any group, or the responsible pursuit of our collective safety and prosperity. Nigerians can then mingle well, with whoever chooses to ask for our mandate and is found suitable by the citizens. Even members of the same family can end up to be the choice of Nigerians. And the greatest benefit will be that the connection between believers and God will be strengthened and be obvious to observers. For example, the favors and compassion for us will rise above the common universals. We shall enjoy good rains with less floods. Good yields with less famine. Science will accordingly adjust; the

probabilities will increase because we can only discover what God permits. The culture of doing as we like and expecting God to serve us at will, will continue to destroy our identity and connection. This is why we currently really ONLY STAMP most of our prosperity with godliness, because the connection is fake and artificial if not clearly contradictory. Do people with questionable sources of wealth not enjoy good prayers for more and salvation on death, because of their gestures?

The value and benefit of an institution, a structure, a process, a method, a system, a code or an idea, IS NEVER IN ITSELF OR NEUTRAL. It is their subjection to the clear identity of the creators and users that will enable them become of USEFUL VALUE. If this is not the case, they can be of use but of no value, consistent with the identity of the people. This is the summary of our contemporary challenge and our responsibility is to overcome it, deliberately and consciously, for the objective of serving ourselves. This is what we are missing and is a necessary requirement to enable us transform our present confusion and crisis ridden history to a society of conscious, free and active citizens, committed to our collective safety and prosperity that gives us satisfaction and fulfillment, because it is driven by our identity consciousness and discipline.

HIGHLIGHTS ON THE CHARACTER OF CONSEQUENTIAL GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES TO CONSCIOUSLY ATTEND TO

More and better than Buhari visited the governance of Goodluck Jonathan, the successor has a greater responsibility and duty to do the same. Buhari never meant personal evil in doing the visitation for almost through his first term. It cannot now turn evil to do the very same worthy exercise. The rational inevitability of this is that

the present cannot be devoid of the immediate past. For example, the investigated report of anti-Nigeria findings on the Governor of Central Bank and why oil wells licensees have failed to perform, do not deserve shredding. And the double addition is that, it has impacted more negatively on the evident livelihood of Nigerians than the misdeeds of Jonathan while the driver was Mr. Clean. In other words, more than in the case of Jonathan, the ordinary, routine and inbuilt mechanisms of checks, that sustain the health and sanity of governance, gave in, for our oppression.

These are further strengthened by the sharp body languages of Buhari at the end of his leadership contradictory to the opening ones. The irregular and illegal display of his thumb printed voting slip and his explanation of showing loyalty was consistent with the submissions that he was actually not favorably disposed to his party candidate. And the candidate had expressed that he was aware of the leadership opposition. This was later connective to the sham of currency exchange. The guided tour by his wife to the incoming wife was another strange movement of no purpose that can be honorable. The crescendo was the unjustifiable award of National Honors to the successors. These are honors that are automatically acquired by assuming the offices. So, why the awards? A sociological process for continuity or psychological plea for reconnecting and coverings?

This is a challenge that can ordinarily be dealt with by engaging technocrats. But as feasible as this is, the experience of repeat checks by registered bodies and professional fellows, informs that the outcome may be of only temporary benefit or even prejudicial. The secret is that the actors, the trustees, the professionals are not always driven by identity consciousness and discipline. The results at a given time may therefore only serve the chase objective of the leader, protect the identity of a fellow religious, tribal or regional member.

Governance is always required to be driven by a purpose, directly related to the collective interests of those who gave the leader their mandate. This does not mean that every leader must understand the purpose, beyond the attractive promises he might have made to the electorate. This can even get complicated because, even without a definite purpose, he will inherit a governmental system with defined objectives and direction, that are administrative. Either way, it is generally, to add value to the safety and prosperity of the polity.

The simplest perception of this, by even a daft, is to raise the conditions of living of each citizen towards the direction of what have been provided for him with their commonwealth. For instance, he does not go hungry and can eat and feast others, seven times a day. It will be callous to complete his term with a citizen spending a whole day and night without eating. He is lavishly sheltered by housing and clothing, against personal and corporate shame. He has no justification to have served and leave one person without some shelter and covering. He is able to move more than sufficiently and more than fully engaged. No citizen should be unconnected to responsible employment and reasonable means of transport. He can seek health anywhere in the world. No citizen should lack access and provision of primary and secondary health services. He has more than reasonable means of connecting with the polity, for understanding and necessary actions. No citizen should suffer from basic education and positive identity orientation. Etcetera.

The livelihood of leadership and governance is therefore defined by the continuous provision of these, in terms of covering new members, sustaining those already existing and renewal of these as they wear out. For instance, with schooling, trainings can follow; with housing, renovation becomes due with time even if repairs are attended to; the individual does not just clean his body regularly, his clothing gets qualified for amend or replacement.

A leader who lacks a definite governance purpose, is liable to be consumed by the machinery of administration as packaged by the technocrats and bureaucrats. As much as the principles will never be in contradiction, the real leadership identity that should make a difference, will be lost. This was the trap Muhammadu Buhari fell into, thereby becoming more of one of those and the machinery he should use. This is why building roads, hospitals, schools shouldn't in themselves be impressive. The conception of the Transport University in Daura, is a good example. They are becoming more and more so, because of the poverty of leadership. At worst or in the minimum, the time frame within which all citizens or members become accessible, enabled and provided with basic livelihood needs at negligible costs, is the measure of purposeful governance.

In our present circumstance, the governance challenge is of double face. The first face relates to adding value to the present state of chaotic structure of poverty by reducing its scope and character in a systematic way. The second face relates to achieving this with priority respect for our identity and resources. This challenge requires more creativity on the part of the leadership, because it has been there but either was not understood, unknown or ignored.

For example, nothing inhibits the leadership from providing at worst, more than a quadruple of the housing facilities enabled by governments, since 1999. This means that the methods on the ground have to be radically changed. It is irrational and senseless to expect to house Nigerians through mortgage, when the percentage of the formal sector is less than twenty percent and eighty percent of this are battling with basic livelihood costs. If the growth of private estates, the structural content, designs and locations constitute the achievements, what percentage of the scope of the electorate, their locations and those in need have these covered?

It is not different with the financial development of the citizens. Take the case of insurance, which in principle is protective of the holder. What percentage of vehicle owners have taken comprehensive covers, between 2000 to date? Why is it dropping? Is the mere explanations of personal choice and inability sufficient? If the citizens need it, and the system is not serving, then leadership requires that it is transformed into what must serve Nigerians. The lousy story line that business has gone down is more negative than positive. Indeed, the arrangement may appear to be criminal because, against the dwindling financial power of average citizens, the insurance business is wagging stronger by raising the terms. Unless and until the leadership drastically intervenes, in making the systems serve our identity and needs, we shall continue to have sharp records of growth without development. Increasing money as well as poverty. Is it for instance rational and sensible to entrust a body with comprehensive insurance funds for a year, and lose the entire sum when you have no accident record? That this sleazy arrangement operates in a country is not sufficient to impose it on ourselves without adjustments. At worst, a window of alternative should be created.

The same with banking. A relationship between two free bodies, where a volunteer trustee takes limited or no risk of loss and the funding party takes most risks, is not balanced with the identity attribute of caring for others as you wish to be cared for. So, if this nature of relationship is not Nigerian and Buhari has upgraded taxation regime for the percentage of citizens that use banking services, the burden of creativity will be higher.

It will be like continuing to send Nigerian Defense Academy products without war experience to Sambisa, until the insurgents are crushed. You can only imagine the amount of lives it will cost, that can be responsibly avoided. What if it was actually done? Another crazy example will be turning the army of unemployed youths into

construction workers, without defining the transformation process relating to their civil development. This Stalin style is not acceptable in our times, with our identity.

In respect of Education, a definite orientation will need to be injected into the schooling system, the results of which must be common, known, understood and seen to be serving the protection and enhancement of our identity consciousness and discipline. Schooling is not of neutral effect. It is therefore far insufficient to simply make it generate entrepreneurial products. As Nigerians, we are more than just humans.

The case of health is not different. Hospitals growth, expansion, equipping, drugs, personnel and specialization are very secondary to the number of citizens who do not need to be going to the hospital. A society where fewer people need to be going to the hospital is both healthier and better than those counting the fitting ratio of health facilities to the population. This is impossible, if the leadership direction of agriculture, foods and drinks is not creative.

All the talks about goods and services production boosts will be illusionary if a different approach to providing power is not fashioned out. The lame and corrupt approach of metering every consumer is not enough. Consumers have no justification for buying or contributing to having meters, electric poles, transformers, cables or whatever. There is also no justification for experiencing blackouts without either notice or apologies. The criminal adjustment of either reading standard, tariff or power supply are injection of corruption. The hopeless conditions of service for the staff against the blood sucking nutrition of the managements and boards are responsible for the unethical practices between the staff and customers.

If Jonathan administration gambled with the lives of Nigerians and refused to provide the security operatives with facilities, how was that the only explanation,

against the performance of the same operatives, before Buhari got more facilities? Why is insurgency not a past history, after eight years, while the chieftains of the tools are retiring to either predicting a longer time of the insurgency, receiving National honors or leaving questionable accounts of their tenure or all? The succeeding leader cannot afford to think, trust and operate on the same anti Nigeria terms.

The civil service and the legislature that are easy and popular targets of corruption in the actualization process of governance cannot be attended to as usual, to get different results. For one, they are absolutely necessary and have developed to the capacity of possibly sabotaging a leadership. They are not different from the experience of security agencies combating insurgency. The orientation that drives the current culture must be understood, to be effectively and usefully reversed. They are part of the larger system, following the footsteps of those entrusted with the resources of Nigeria, who act the roles of owners of the resources as against Nigerians. The oil and gas sector as well as the financial institutions of the public have been dictating the style of corruption to the civil service that is the processor of governance. The pointer is the extra governmental roles that they have come to increasingly play, in governance. It is either the Central Bank is supporting victims of bomb blast, the National Oil Company is resettling victims of insurgency or Nigerian Ports Authority is supporting orphanages. Thus, how they use their approved budgets is the example for others. The political leaders and leaders of these organizations set the pace. This explains why a critical organization like the Federal Character Commission has with time creatively keyed into the corruption, with the resources at its disposal. It certifies manning of the civil service by USING its certification powers at the cost of building a service that will OUTLIVE the need for the Commission.

This is exactly the challenge we are battling with, with our political institutions, structures and processes, despite all the University political experts, since independence. In summary, it must not be sufficient for the leader, that something works, it must also require to serve our peculiar circumstantial needs. And the peculiarity is neither less nor more than our identity. It must serve Nigerians. This gap is the real explanation for the difficult-to-understand change of political parties by many members and the mad desperation to bear the burden of leadership that is mostly badly understood, even after someone has been declared the bearer. It explains the craze of wanting to belong in the name of support, by sharing or accepting to melt into another. This also explains intra party crisis. Nigeria is not the focus, no matter how much and well the chieftains sing it. How can you be committed to what you do not know or your understanding is confusing? People have wastefully screamed to the sky, that the religious identity of a leader is the solution or the geopolitical identity of a leader. But these had not served us, this is why they are vulnerable to collapse. With religion, labeling a rock, an animal or plant as Muslim or Christian is not more wrong than a human being who bears the identity and does not live it. This is why delegates will continue to be necessary but do not have to serve. This facet of the challenges is for the new leader to attend to differently, for a better Nigeria.

Personal leadership identity is another. The perception and understanding of the personality of the leader necessarily ignites, strengthens and expands, through his immediate evident trustees, associates, lieutenants and aides. If God and Nigeria ALWAYS COME FIRST in his expressions, actions and orientation, he will generate a team that will push the same as the standard. And it will not matter, even if he was fairly different before assuming office. This is because he is both the symbol and instrument of determining what is right against what is wrong, and what is to be appreciated and rewarded against what is to be questioned and sanctioned.

Therefore, if his family, tribesmen, religious brethren, state or geopolitical relatives, friends, school mates, classmates, course mates, cult members, club members etc. EITHER COME FIRST OR IN COMPETITION TO GOD AND NIGERIA, all others will flow accordingly. This is a critical personal challenge because the leader is one from among us and needs to be different positively. The Nigerian polity is therefore inevitably at the risk of all imaginable consequences of having a leader who is of FALSE IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS. Instead of a growing and expanding discipline driven by our collective identity for our collective safety and prosperity, leadership and governance will be checkered with ignorance, hypocrisy and rascality. This is the real root of the colors of nepotism, intellectual inferiority complex, constantly defensive, self-defeating and new corruption patterns that characterized the Buhari leadership and governance. This is why the OPPRESSION OVERWHELMED all the claims of achievements. If the person of Buhari was different by being consistent with what he expressed and was believed, it could've been much much better. The new leader must therefore be TRANSPARENTLY DIFFERENT. And it cannot be hidden, because his trustees, associates, lieutenants and aides will mirror him as much as his actions, no matter how much they deny people access to him.

Transforming at least his political party for political leadership in the politics of Nigeria. No previous leader had known, understood the importance of this or cared about it. The convention is to disperse after elections and hustle for gains, based on individual strengths. The opposition goes to sleep except for the elite members who intermittently criticize, insult or scandalize the party and its leaders or governance. They reconvene as another election time approaches. This is wrong. This is insensitive. This is not leadership but opportunism. The taste, crave and commitment to the safety and prosperity of Nigeria, should be the culture of the politicians and more so of the chieftains.

This is not possible without regular and continuous education and reorientation. This is the only way life can be given to the deadwood members in our identity consciousness and discipline. Credible and responsible Nigerians will then feel attracted to join political parties. The quality manifestation of this education and reorientation will gradually pool quality and disciplined politicians together, compelling those that are unwilling to transform to either leave to form another league or remain in obedience and be inconsequential. Then we can expect that the political outings that will follow after his tenure, will be more rational and sensible and in tune with our collective identity. The delegates will be more responsive and responsible. The candidates will be more sensitive to accountability. The polity will be engaged in less political gambles.

In the end, the conception of challenges has to adjust with special care for our identity and circumstances. For example, the concept of corruption as misappropriation of funds only, has proven insufficient. The attention to poverty as effective by sharing a few thousands to people haphazardly or extortive system of feeding pupils have to change. The belief that loans are efficient means of achieving economic development in themselves has to change. As a Muslim who is required to love for his brother what he loves for himself, how indebted is Buhari personally at the time of leaving office? What then made increasing debt for the citizens Islamic, Christian or Nigerian?

None of these can be given or guaranteed by the mere combination of fine rules, technological tools and trained technocrats. Do we not note, the strides in the amendment of electoral laws, the digital process and improving competence of the electoral personnel? But the satisfaction with our own progress results has been dropping. **IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE IS THE GAP. EDUCATION IS THE KEY TO CLOSING THE GAP.** The oppression of the

Buhari leadership and governance, driven by ignorance, hypocrisy, confusion and rascality is sufficient for the sleeping to wake up.

CHAPTER VI

AN IDENTITY CASE CHARACTER OF THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP TODAY

A hardworking and fairly blessed man with good witnesses of his generosity, belonging to the older generation was in existence. He lived in Minna. This location was not his native home. But he carved one out of a new and distant community. His survival, prosperity and identity in the neighbourhood affirmed his having developed a fitting identity into his newly found location.

He was a simple Muslim and promoted whatever was not shameful. He lived an honourable life and was accepted in death as he was when he was alive. He was blessed with a family and was caring as a parent and resourceful person. Of the several members, ONE was a trial. This trial member and product that belongs to the old generation, is the example of a trial that has generated a wide scope of challenges for contemporary history.

He FREED himself from the trappings that produced him and the kind of historical experiences of his father. He was weaned as a simple Muslim with social and economic security. He broke the chains of restrictions, discipline and identity for PERSONAL FREEDOM. His parents, the community they fitted into and any form of the extension of these, ceased to be his reference. He became his own reference and whatever or whoever fitted into it.

In a new location like his father left his native home, he found another BUT FREE FROM THE CARE TO FIT INTO IT. He created his own along with fellow allies. Prospering was not a challenge because his parents took care of that too. He got proper training for skill development as well as the identity upbringing his parents fitted into.

But when he became attracted to forming a companionship, it was ON FREE TERMS WITH REFERENCE TO ONLY HIMSELF AND THE ALLIES. He chose

not according to the guidance of his identity. He approved it without reference to other than himself and his allies.

This breakage was not secure even for his allies. Make up marriage was therefore compelled or imposed by the parents of the girl on this trial member in freedom. The girl, product of allies of persons in freedom, was therefore basically foreign to the identity consciousness and discipline of what both her parents and the trial freedom man are bearing.

She was a pleasant pun for the man and a fair tool for the parents to benefit from the prosperity of the man. On her part, her freedom upbringing had enabled her intimate covenant with her own choice. A school mate in the same age bracket.

Thus, in the seeming marriage, they already had children with the man of her parents and was serving both the man and her choice in the matrimonial house. This could not be out of the knowledge and view of the husband. He had to live with it, fighting the covenant partner whenever he returns to meet them and gets physical beating by the wife and her sister, for obstructing her freedom.

The setting was expressed by her repeatedly saying she did not love him; he knew that she was forced on him; they enjoyed the fun and got fruits of children out of it; and he continued doing his best in engaging his resources, to manage her, as a responsible man.

This is the result of abandoning identity consciousness and discipline for SELF FREEDOM that has combined with already FREE fellows, to make history. The attributes of shyness and shame are completely out of their knowledge and livelihood.

As a trained person he established a record of prosperity, with property development and ownership.

Before his death, his freedom from his acclaimed identity of a Muslim, led him to preparing a freedom WILL. Even his death was checkered with confusion. An acquaintance who was told that he was the one, expressed wonder as to why he had not died long before, because of his harmfulness to the environment. And his relatives were not impressed by the wailing and rolling of the beloved wife, because they believed that she was untrue and responsible for his frustrations in life.

After his death, her freedom orientation blossomed. The upbringing of the children could not restrain her from the full resumption of relationship with her choice in covenant. The tasting of other varieties flowed. Alcohol, night crawling and drug became adventured into. And the company of a similarly free identity, with the veils of enterprise and marriage, was a strong motivation.

To sustain the livelihood of collecting money to spend minus its rational making busted her creativity. Assets were sold as the need for money comes up. When none is immediately available she sacrificed her own comfortable ride, which relieved her of the burden of maintenance.

The houses then became the target. The inherited management was disoriented. The manager will not get his dues. Maintenance arrangement was closed. She then became the manager. But she could not keep a guard for the estate even when tenants pay up the contributions. Managing the borehole service was in crisis, even when the tenants accommodate assisting her and getting lower service. They will contribute to replace the pumping machine that is her responsibility. They will bear with not getting water in their flats and make do with fetching from a reservoir point provided by a tenant.

The takeover did not help much. Co-inheritors folded their arms and are watching the freedom in action.

The impact on the development of the children is already unfolding by making one a pushy intruder into the privacy of tenants and eavesdropping. Another is a mercenary by rudeness to the tenants. The relatives of her late beloved, their children and the tenants have all fallen victims of her freedom of indiscipline.

A tenant was approached by an innocent admirer to assist in introducing marriage between him and the free widow. A witness who had been involved in separating her late husband in scuffles with the covenant partner, discouraged the tenant, to save him from embarrassment and regrets. This is a historical case of identity failure across the older and the old generation, that is PRODUCING a young generation of different creatures.

This fundamental failure which is an example that is pervasive across Muslims and Christians gives an insight into the character of an increasing size or scope of problematic old generation that are generating a weaker and worse young generation. This is irrespective of the increasing knowledge and skills for livelihood being acquired by the young generation. The example above depicts a bad old generation producing a rotten young generation.

The best indicator is in the implication of this state, across the society. The numberless professional bodies along with the various grades of members have continued to fail in bailing Nigeria out of both management and governance crisis and degeneration. The failure or resistance to institutional development across private and public agencies is another. The combination of these really defines the corruption we all scream against. In simple terms, THE SYSTEM IS NOT WORKING. This is simply because men are the essential drivers of management, governance, institutions, organizations or agencies.

An example of injecting destructive seed into the system like bearing children outside wedlock is a wrong and prejudicial employment into the public service. When a child or relative becomes the qualifying criteria like in the collapsed Nigeria Railway Corporation or irrationally expensive Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation bloated with agents and loyalists, it is impossible to sustain rational growth and development. Where, the employee is not even qualified beyond marital, familial, tribal, religious identity, the misdemeanour is gradually institutionalized. And the non-performance will continue to be at public cost until they get discharged from the service. But they would have begotten their likes. The prospect of a cleanse up will depend upon the costs of their resistance and the costs of doing away with them. It is like having a vendor of no business reputation becoming a Director in the public service.

It is therefore inevitable to have these characteristics not being reflected in the collective leadership system and process. Campaigns are rarely not checkered with violence. Delegates are rarely free from wrong financial dealings. Candidates are rarely distant from the name dropping of competitors. Results of election are rarely free from being challenged. Indeed, the challenge can last for a tenure of the office and reach the Supreme Court. Even after these, appointees can be questionable. And more seriously, the appointees do not see the leader as better than them or challenged to share his burden of the mandate. As a result, the electorate breaks into clubbing sets to get whatever benefits out of the situation.

The role and value of pressure groups like activists' organizations that are non-governmental is then either non impactful, inconsistent or confusing. How can the dividends of democratic governance be pursued with political crisis ridden processes and active senior advocates bankrupt in identity consciousness and discipline, engaged in good businesses? This is why the labour organizations fight for either the

leaders to be involved, for only the members or to serve payers to frustrate governance. The so called fourth realm of the political state is the worse. The competencies of the few conscious members are gagged into MAKING MONEY for the employer as against informing, educating and entertaining for sustaining and improving identity consciousness and discipline. This owner who pays is EMPTY of identity consciousness and discipline.

Indeed, not even knowledge acquisition and imparting is driven by identity consciousness and discipline. A good example is the gamut of knowledge of politics, political science and practice in the country. The professionals and experts have as a result bankruptcy in identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE THE IMPORTED DEMOCRACY WORK TO SERVE OUR COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND INTERESTS IN TERMS OF SAFETY AND PROSPERITY THROUGH GOVERNANCE. This is why frontline democrats who resist military rule are really a fair laughing stock because they have failed to see the real challenge. Have the military and political contestants not held power, to serve the public for good? The rascality of positing that the worst democracy is better than the best military rule, is irrational, senseless and uncultured.

Therefore, in the end, neither the individual, the family, formal organizations nor the government is a guaranteed platform or source of fulfilling safety and prosperity. Most pursuits produce either partial, frustrating or confusing results, except it is by chance and not long lasting.

In the end, neither military nor democratic leaders are able to serve our collective interests. They are not different from the larger stock, bankrupt in the knowledge and discipline of their identity. Some even lacked the kind of basis that the example above had but abandoned. Some are products of free backgrounds or even runaways. This is why after elections, a winner will be challenged in court for false or forged

certificates claims with participants and institutional witnesses, and the case will cease to be prosecuted to the end. Another form is for equally or even less credible losers challenging the winner. And popular heads of government will become protected like mafia dons after their tenure. The truth is, it out of fear. All the vibes against corruption and the champions will not reach presidents, service chiefs. We then begin to have those who maimed citizens, those who carted away their recovered mass resources and those who systematized corruption, championing democracy, leadership by the younger generation or peace. And they are either Muslims or Christians.

Where is the Identity consciousness and discipline? Where are the benefits of the democracy of the other societies we are copying? WE ARE LOSERS ON BOTH ENDS, of or in what is ours and what we are still borrowing. What a shame? This is the real explanation for the challenge before the Tribunal to adjudicate on the petitions challenging the winner of the 2023 elections. The Judges from their ages and exposure know that justice is meant to meaningfully serve and the general bankruptcy in identity consciousness and discipline cannot be a sufficient excuse for a dry legalistic resolution. But there must be a window of falling short of BEYOND REASONABLE DOUBT. It becomes a game of LUDO, between the two clubs of senior lawyers.

THE LEADERSHIP IMPLICATIONS AS MUSLIMS OR CHRISTIANS IN NIGERIA

An adult of the orientation of his identity consciousness and discipline, has no inhibitions in joining another community and remaining safe and prospering, while keeping his identity. His identity does not inhibit the safety and prosperity of others. This is regardless of tribal and cultural differences, because they are equally subject to being driven by the dictates of the identity. In other words, his safety and

prosperity is not any more or better assured, by joining a community of the same tribe and culture. It also has the superior advantage of strengthening identity consciousness, discipline and development across the tribal and cultural differences.

It is for that reason, BACKWARD to relocate and start looking for persons of similar tribal and cultural similarities as the best safety valve for prospering. Rather, it should be the identity of beliefs. Muslims and Muslims, Christians and Christians or Muslims and Christians, Christians and Muslims. And the simple rational and sensible justification is that the identity of a Muslim or Christian is most and best fitting for our NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PATRIOTISM. It permits respectful relationships with persons of different language, different geographical locations, different religions, different cultures. In addition, it enables responsible development of members and melting of the inferior characteristic differences of tribes, locations and culture. These two dynamic benefits open up doors and floors of more comprehensive historical developments that strengthen the general safety and prosperity of the society, being refined outcome of shared knowledge and discipline.

Consequently, to be an adult without the orientation of one's claimed identity consciousness and discipline, IS THE BEGINNING OF SELF FAULT. For leadership that actually begins with ONESELF, it implies that the person has the negative capacity to generate contradictory and self-destructive ATTRIBUTES, while still bearing the identity of a Muslim or Christian. This is the foundation for the growth and development of HYPOCRITES. For example, the person will not bother about PRAYING, whereas the identity of a Muslim or Christian does NOT require mere symbolic praying. The genuine and right belief connects one to God and submission to His Guidance generates IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE.

Leadership is a RESPONSIBILITY ROLE that commences with SELF, from adulthood. The responsibility role of the parents imparting the IDENTITY KNOWLEDGE FOR THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHILD, is primary, fundamental or the foundation. Where the parent is BANKRUPT and fails to play this role, the children will inevitably be exposed to the gifts of bankruptcy that the parents have to offer. The BURDEN remains on the children to LEARN AND DEVELOP THEIR IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE, as they grow or in adult or old age.

The OPPORTUNITY beyond the parents for this necessary foundation is in group and institutional relationships. These informal and formal openings will be USEFUL to the extent that, their members and relationships are driven by IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE. This is why the stray child from Minna who relocated to Kaduna prospered in his career but not in his claimed identity. And his merger with a product of equally CARELESS IDENTITY PARENTS, established the example of the hopeless and destructive family, he injected into the society.

For any society to establish and develop its safety and prosperity, there must be a clear IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE to drive its history. And the burden rests on each and every family, adult, group, organization, institutions and the government. This consistency is a necessary requirement to minimize irrational and senseless frictions, conflicts, crisis, so that reasonable force can be used in compelling the deviants to fall in or get sanctioned or be sacrificed.

IDENTITY can be wholesome like in our case, who are Muslims or Christians because we believe in this material life and eternal life, with defined code of livelihood. This means that FULFILMENT is attained ONLY WHEN THERE IS NO DISCONNECT BETWEEN THE TWO. Livelihood will be incomplete

whenever, wherever and however ONE ASPECT IS ISOLATED FROM THE OTHER. And it cuts across why and how we procreate, pursue our safety and prosperity to death. NO AMOUNT AND SCOPE OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ONE ASPECT IN DISREGARD OF THE OTHER IS SUFFICIENT AND ADMISSIBLE.

For a Muslim and a Christian, a seeming perfect rational and sensible arrangement at any point in time WILL BE INSUFFICIENT. And it will be WORSE OFF, WHERE A MUSLIM OR CHRISTIAN IS BOTH INCOMPETENT IN MUNDANE REQUIREMENTS AND ABANDONS SCRIPTURAL GUIDANCE. The example above is the kind of animal in human garb you can make. A Landlady who dismisses an Estate manager to do it herself, while ignorant and careless about all of the roles and relationships responsibility for the tenants and the property.

It is not disputable that those with conscious Restrictive Identity Knowledge and Discipline, can make goodly livelihood that is SUFFICIENT for them. Fair examples are Democracy and Communism.

For every modern and organized society, the Collective Leadership has the uppermost and greatest responsibility to consistently ensure THE PERVASIVE IDENTITY KNOWLEDGE, CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE ACROSS ALL LEVELS OF THE SOCIETY. This is an equal responsibility of government whether in Saudi Arabia, Rome or Nigeria. Thus, the Councillor, the Chairman, the State House of Assembly member, the Governor, House of Representatives member and the Senator for the location of this landlady and the tenants, have continuous SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROWING, DEEPENING AND EXPANDING IDENTITY INDISCIPLINE.

This does not exonerate the parties in the Estate from their respective limited disciplinary responsibilities. Between themselves there are the rights and responsibilities of neighbourhood. Neither Muslims nor Christians are exempt from this. The state of dishonest and dubious relationships between them is therefore uncalled for. But it is the case, even when materially, they are barristers, entrepreneurs, engineers, bankers, journalists. This explains why both the Landlady and some of the tenants may be involved in tampering with the meter facilities installed in their houses or being nonchalant about community dues for security.

From the platform of Islam and Christianity, leadership is a responsibility across all strata of intellectual/academic, economic/entrepreneurial, sociological, organizational, institutional and political practice, in the society. The skilled or so called professional bears the very same burden for self, in engagement and relationships, just as an unemployed, a parent, a philosopher, a politician, teacher, researcher or craftsman. This is what properly applies to Nigeria.

The EDUCATION or Knowledge-cum-Discipline that Islam and Christianity provide are thus a fundamental necessity for driving livelihood in all aspects of history, for clear UNDERSTANDING AND FULFILMENT OR EASIER CORRECTION. Anything short of this will consistently evade understanding by any analysis because the characteristics of crisis, frustration and non-fulfilment will remain constant. And in the context of Nigeria, our constitutional aspirations for unity and progress will be diminished or even scuttled IF ANY UTOPIAN TRIBAL OR REGIONAL PACKAGE IS MADE TO COMPETE WITH THIS.

While the scope of this education must grow and develop to cover all aspects of livelihood, it should be the CULTURAL ORIENTATION OF THE CITIZENS in driving every and all aspects of their livelihood, as against how they dress, the language they speak, their specific calling for livelihood or the location they come

from. This is a challenge to every caring and responsible person, according to what you CAN IMMEDIATELY contribute.

This is the TRANSITION CHALLENGE, from or after which EVERY LEADER ACROSS ALL THE STRATA OF SOCIETY TAKES UP THE RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTY OF CONTINUING AND BUILDING ON THIS EDUCATION.

Given the identity of Muslims and Christians both CANONS AND MANNERS OR CHARACTER go together. Because we are not of either religious identity as a secular state, the manners or character aspect WILL NOT BE NEGOTIABLE. The canonical aspect that is the booster for the character and a spiritual bonus to the individual believer is a personal responsibility. This will be the greater duty of individuals, families, groups, and organizations to sustain. And for Muslims, it will include the Shariah Courts.

It is therefore not excusable for a prayerful landlady who is a Muslim to lax or refuse to serve her tenants with water regularly, in order to be careless about pumping water and to always have water to use, by use of stopcock facilities to block the flow at her will. The same applies to a minister who is a Muslim and will inflate the value of works, certify shabby works or pay for works not done. A technician who is a pastor and fails or refuses to reach out to his friend and customer, after repairing a phone or tablet, and adopts it for personal/family use, is equally not excusable. They are all thieves in different forms. Their bankruptcy is in CHARACTER, even though they are qualified for their positions and roles.

And luckily, as believers in God, their victims are not permanent or final losers. Their bankruptcy in identity consciousness and discipline that would have made ACCOUNTABILITY to self, those served and God, one of the DRIVING FACTORS in their livelihood, is responsible for this character. Their seeming

immediate freedom or escape from sanctions is not real. Indeed, even if they are to be sanctioned, it needs to be sufficient. And the logic is that, because time is involved, whatever sanctions may not be able to serve the relief of all of those that would have been rightly and timely served. This orientation of livelihood based on ignorance and hypocrisy is inevitable where a person has the triple misfortunes of not being cultured by his identity guidance, not being able to help oneself and not having anyone to guide one or refusing to take guidance.

This is Leadership. It is all-directing.

It is superior in defining IDENTITY, of the self, the group, the organization and the nation. The essence to enable this, is CHARACTER THAT IS ALSO A MORALITY. It guides, shapes and directs on what is to be admitted against what is to be objected to, how it is to be admitted or objected to, when it is to be admitted or objected, where it is to be admitted or objected to, for what it is to be admitted or objected and to whom it is to be admitted or objected to.

It is therefore not the name that one bears or claims that gives identity. It is also NOT the training, certificate or technical competence. It is the total cultural orientation of one's livelihood, in respect of self, in relation to things and others, that is consistently witnessed. It is NOT the ability for eating, drinking, working, resting IN THEMSELVES. And for believers, IT IS NOT SEARCHING FOR THE PURPOSE OF THESE. This is why Governor Emefiele did not fail to perform, under Muhammadu Buhari and was established as naked by the Special Investigator of Ahmed Bola Tinubu. And the three acted on BELIEF oath and authorized competence. In the present circumstance, Muhammadu Buhari and Emefiele have failed; the Special investigator is not any guarantee and Ahmed Bola Tinubu is on the test. This is because of identity uncertainty with consciousness and discipline.

Knowledge of what is true and right along with the discipline, define the foundation for Muslims and Christians WHO SINCERELY CARE. It defines LIMITS, THAT MUST NOT BE EXCEEDED, FOR RIGHTS, DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

CHAPTER VII

**THE CHARACTER OF THE CHALLENGES AHMED BOLA TINUBU
SHOULD BOTHER AND FOCUS ON, TO GIVE A NEW LIFE TO OUR
LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE**

As a Muslim, Leadership rests roundly on himself as an individual who believes, as a husband, as a father, as a community leader, as a corporate leader, as an elder and as a public leader. There must be more than reasonable synergy or consistency, between his identity consciousness, discipline and the various levels of leadership he is bearing.

The ESSENCE of the challenges is that, it is IMPERSONAL. It is FOR THE SAKE OF ALLAH ALONE AND ONLY. Himself, his relationship with and to things or others, have to consistently be IN CONSCIOUSNESS AND SUBMISSION to this essence, to SAFELY AND GENUINELY PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL, REGARDLESS OF WHATEVER DIFFERENCES AND CIRCUMSTANCES, which will more than adequately cater for his own interests. In Nigeria, this is what is constitutional, right and safe, for fellow Muslims, Christians and non-believers.

This has been the essential challenge with our leadership and governance. This has become most pronounced with the consequences of the leadership and governance of Muhammadu Buhari. It became clear that the identity claim of a leader or the identity stamped on him by the electorate are not the yardstick for his identity. It is the application of his knowledge, consciousness, discipline and the effect or impact of these, that certifies the identity of a leader.

In his case, it was a greater exposure and failure of his claim and what was stamped on him. Moreover, Muslims and Christians have value driven identity. It is therefore both insufficient and contradictory, to lead and govern men for just eating, drinking, sheltering, reproducing, resting ANYTHING, ANYHOW. Leadership and governance must not just meet these needs, wants and fancies in the RIGHT WAY but must in the process and the end, not abuse their beliefs.

A leader must symbolize and act out to protect the welfare and faith of the citizens. Anything short of this is the definition of CORRUPTION, that is objectionable.

Because, it is highly burdensome and demanding, for a president to be close to perfect, his NEED for support to enable responsible leadership is inevitable. This is why he is constitutionally granted a wide scope of liberties. One is by guidance and verification by security agencies and the legislature. Another is without this guidance. These are ministers and special advisers/assistants. He also has the liberty of engaging others at will. For instance, the engagement of a special investigator to check the activities of the Central Bank.

This role and responsibility is logically dependent on the combined capacities of the supporters in helping him to bear his leadership and governance burden, as DRIVEN by him. Thus, the possible or greater inclination of these supporters either competing with him or even taking over his role and responsibility can further be helped by those who care, but are outside, and are none of these. He may know them. He may not know them. They may be his admirers or critics. They may be evidently better than him or appear not to be.

His ability to manage his supporters in harnessing this window of resources DETERMINES HIS ULTIMATE CAPACITIES AND ABILITY. This connects to ACCESS to him and the interest of his burden of leadership and governance. This is impossible where his lieutenants, aides and associates are not seeing themselves as tools and means of helping to bear his burden. For instance, the Buhari groups saw themselves as opportune and Buhari saw them as favourites. The burden of leadership and governance roles and responsibilities were not the driving factors. To worsen it, they were largely either ignorant, careless or hypocritical of identity consciousness and discipline, of themselves and Nigeria.

If a public leader and worst still, a president, cannot be reached or will not be able to respond to a formal voluntary support, for six months, he has no ordinary prospect for optimal achievements. He will require a miraculous intervention or a rare chance of luck, to do so. This means that those that can add value to his leadership and governance but may need to be invited, are barred. It logically means that the resourceful citizens that he will require to go after are lost. This misfortune will be entirely his in the first place and of Nigerians, because his supporters are subject to their perception, interpretation and understanding of his psyche, capacities, abilities, identity and orientation.

Leadership is therefore critically, an example of discipline or restraint guidance based on knowledge, for the sustenance and enhancement of the safety and prosperity of the largest majority, in our case. It is not and must not be associated with the pursuit of the safety and prosperity of one person, a few or a section, as an example for others by the opportune. The first is propelled by justice and fairness, whereas the second is propelled by strength and opportunity. It is impossible for us to attain fulfilment through the second course, regardless of the growth achievements we may make.

As Muslims or Christians, our discipline, restrictions or limitations are already largely given by directive tenants. We shall not associate anything or anyone with God. This means His Guidance. Associating anything with Him is far beyond carvings and covers any and everything that is neither human nor living. It includes physical things, processes, relationships and the ideas that accompany them. Not associating any one to Him relates to oneself (like playing absolute freedom with oneself, by committing suicide), any person, whether a parent, sibling, relative, senior, or master, any group of men, like family, association, tribe, race or nation. Either of these forms of breakage from the limits or guidance of God, will be

exceeding the discipline. And this is absolutely connected to the reality of life after death, that is eternal and hangs on the submission or obedience in this life to the tenets. The two are inseparable.

This is how and why transparency and justice that are impersonal, can be against self, someone, some persons, a thing, some things, and be RIGHT.

The embodiment of our identity and living it, is BEYOND ordinary pragmatism. It is not enough that something works to give pleasant results. It MUST ALSO BE RIGHT.

For example, Tinubu and whoever cares, now RIGHTLY KNOW that, IN SPITE of the catalogue of achievements published by the Buhari government, the leadership and governance was DOUBLE wrong, because of their identity bankruptcy. There is nothing right about entrusting a certified pilot with developing aviation resources, who will mismanage and abuse the resources while performing wonderfully as an anchor of a questionable birthday ceremony. It is equally wrong to have a Senior Lawyer of the State, to either restrain his appointees from excellent performance, witch-hunt a lieutenant to career death or abuse entrusted resources by misappropriation. These have nothing to do with his ability to prosecute or defend. The same applies to a banker. They failed in the identity they claim and failed to serve Nigeria.

This means that entrusting a technocrat with leadership is not any guarantee for good leadership, because his orientation has to be of right identity, that is dependent upon knowledge, consciousness and discipline. It also means that changing the person for another person that is identity bankrupt is not a lesser mistake.

This bankruptcy of identity consciousness and discipline that is responsible for the gross mismanagement, misappropriation and primitive accumulation, at the expense

of our collective resources, that have hindered and disoriented our collective safety and prosperity, is the same essential challenge that has led Tinubu to the confusing selection of his team. Buhari attempted to get clean, known, recommended and trusted parties, in many cases. He watered down to loyal and supportive thieves. And he has ended up with more scandalous history of the corruption he vowed against, from his family members, through his closest lieutenants, aides and associates to technocrats and professional allies. Tinubu has ‘intelligently’ saved himself from such identity discrimination. He has therefore used seeming political expediency and some stint of technocracy to define the suitability for competence. The warning to appointees to perform is therefore not less confusing. Like Buhari, he does not expect non-performance or stealing. But what will enable this, is not known or clear. This explains why he has no choice but to go hard on EXPOSED persons and measuring what to do with PROTECTED persons. This is the difference between his response to the regulation of the banks and the petroleum sector chieftains. In this quagmire, the corruption of the security Leaderships has led to calling on the United States to rise to defend democracy, given the blowing wind of military takeovers. But this is against the new push for independent Africa. If our identity is not cared for and protected by us, who will recognize it to respect?

In the discipline of protecting and enhancing our identity, leadership, management, operations and governance will require to LOOK INWARDS FIRST. Independence negates looking out first, because every conscious identity and disciplined society, seeks and even strives to promote its identity, deliberately or inevitably. For example, you cannot ask for loans from International Monetary Fund of the United States, in Naira. Consequently, you will have to spend it in their currency. It is therefore foolhardy to, expect to develop and meet the challenges of housing in Nigeria strictly and wholly, by the instruments and processes that conform to the United States or United Kingdom. Thus, unlike the careless commitments that

trapped the Buhari solution to housing, Tinubu will require to think and work out of that box. It is the degree of your independent strength in providing yourself with housing that determines the degree of your desperation and self-deceit, that you are progressing, by looking more like other identities. This is a backward orientation. The same applies to education that has degenerated to schooling. And the Buhari governance exposed its ignorance and competence in understanding the difference. This was why it didn't add any value to the existing decadent establishment. Minister Adamu confessed his regret for negligible reduction of out of school children. The peculiar challenge of the Almajiri system was even worse attended to by the All Progressives Congress party. Employers will tell you about the dropping quality of university graduate candidates. And the approach remains budgeting and funding. Our identity is not driving our schooling and educational system.

Similarly, only our identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline can enable our evaluation of whatever we may find attractive, to entertain or admit. Not everything and everyone will be admitted. A good example was demonstrated by Goodluck Jonathan, who signed the law against same sex marriage, in the protection of our collective identity. In the case of Buhari, a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom requested him to consider the rights of gays and lesbians. Buhari did not say that he heard her. But because of our identity bankruptcy gays and lesbians are not just increasing, they are growing into interest groups. We have sex toys businesses. We have had the experience of the groups declaring political support to candidates and some promise of empowering them. So, WHY didn't the same spirit drive the Buhari Government to attend to the corona virus pandemic? The history of managing the pandemic is worse than shameful. But the Secretary to the Government said, **NO ONE WILL BE SAFE UNTIL EVERYONE IS VACCINATED.** Did we get sufficient vaccines? Did everyone who got the certificate get vaccinated? Have more Nigerians died for not taking the vaccines? Do we have responsible and transparent

records of what happened to those vaccinated? Were most of those who got infected treated with anti-corona virus drugs, that did not exist? What was the result of evaluating the Madagascar product, that was reported by its President to have faced the challenge of sabotage? He was requested to provide some quantity which will be injected with poison, to declare it unsafe. What did the Federal Government or the State Governor do about the latter's claim to have recovered, using Blackseed? What records of post Covid pandemic history especially in the United States has our government followed to enable it do better, in our interest? Buhari got confused and declared that he had no more money for the bottomless funding of the pandemic. All of these are less than the financial corruption-cum-professional corruption that cost the loss of lives that were not really infected. An identity driven leadership and management of pandemic would have been positively different.

In the identity of a people, individuals, groups and even nations will be placed on relationship status for the safety of oneself. For instance, when you hear of the presence of bandits on a road, it will be foolish to simply use the road because they are human beings like you. A fellow bandit, a relative of the bandits or a service provider for the bandits or ally should be more right to ignore the risk of difference. Authorized operatives will be very right in going beyond passing the road to pursuing them, with the ultimate objective of correcting them. This can be by arrest, use of reasonable force or eliminating them in self defence. It is therefore a responsibility of the leader to measure not just the things or process of what to entertain and admit, but also, the integrity of the person. This is why the integrity of a head of a finance or investment company matters to prospective partners. If this had driven Obasanjo, Nigeria would not have lost its insurance company and resources, by selling it to a failed businessman. This is exactly why the publisher of Buhari authorized biography did him more harm than the author. But Bill Gates who is a world champion of depopulation and is a principal in funding the development

of contraceptives that can now be remotely tuned for up to a decade of ‘safety’; anti-natural farming and funding genetically modified seedlings, factory production of artificial meat; production of vaccines that have done damages which are still unveiling; and is open to research and development of transformed mosquitoes to infect/vaccinate humans etc. was invited by a Muslim Nigerian to meet Tinubu. And the subject of interest is malaria vaccine. Do they have the challenge of malaria in the United States like Nigeria? What have our health scientists been doing? If Gates is commitment to eradicating malaria, is it best without us? That is how dumb leadership can be, with identity bankruptcy. Of course, Dangote added the statement that the seriousness of Nigeria will depend on how Tinubu commits our Central Bank. The real interest and target. He also recommended stooges moulded by their identity culture for managing our education, health and information technology. These are the required instruments. There is no less need for entertaining, collaborating in anything or admitting anyone as safe and fitting, outside its relationship with an identity. This was why the leader of Kenya explicitly differed with Obama, when he visited Kenya.

As a result, it is necessary to have your identity measure and direct your relationship with individuals, groups or nations. And this is easy in many ways. One is by the history of the party, the specifics and implications of what is at hand and at least being on your guard. This is because, if you have made a history of your own identity, the party will either sincerely respect it or will make deliberate effort to put a wool over your eyes. The best familiar examples are change from family planning to planned parenthood along with some free contraceptives and counseling while they massively pushed the contraceptives into the market.

Ideas are therefore not excluded, along with the history of the other party or identity. Imagine the wind of the superiority of a green environment and the propaganda of

having such wall. What measures has our leadership made, to take advantage of it? How many raining seasons and planting of trees will it have taken us to transform north west to north east and beyond? Do we need to import any seedlings or technology? Indeed, relating this to agriculture and food security, what inhibits our leadership from making a stringent law for planting economic trees in schools, offices and homes? How many seasons will it take to change the face of our land and our health. But we are now running along with even the contradictions of those we are copying. The idea of global warming followed the green and because it is most senseless, the concept has changed to climate change. The bankruptcy in our identity knowledge, consciousness and discipline has degenerated us to become zombies. We are not even taking advantage of the positive resistance within the societies we are obsessed with copying. In the United States, Bill Gates has been buying large land farms to stop natural farming. In California, forests are now being cut down because of global warming. The depopulation of the world is now supported by robots. Former wife of Bill Gates expressed surprise as to why Africans were not dying enough, for not taking their corona virus vaccines. Bill Gates in an interview in United Kingdom responded to the concern that many people were dying from the vaccine with: “with time, people will get used to their own dying”.

The simple difference between us is the principle of livelihood. We both abhor poverty. But while their direction is to cut down on the population, as the solution, ours is Justice. However, our ignorance of our identity will not permit our independence and safety from the harms of blindly copying others.

The President has no less challenge with respect to even the things that appear to have been rational and making sense. A good example is with our banking and insurance businesses. The recent introduction of Islamic banking, that is no less constitutional has revealed how extortive the conventional commercial banking can

be, by absolute protection of itself from the risks of its customers and optimally benefiting from any positive results. The robbery of insurance is more evident. You pay premium for a portfolio. They take the rare risk of supporting a loss. Where most often there is none, they go with every dime of the premium. When they pay claims, you will need to establish it beyond reasonable doubt with all kinds of reports. And they take the yields from investing your premium in addition to the premium. Americans and Britons do it that way. They think the world is restricted to them and stamp it as international standard. We copy and paste without respect to our identity and circumstances.

Development that is relevant and will be fulfilling to a people that have an identity, who have knowledge of it, are conscious of living it and in pursuit of its discipline, cannot be served by any leadership and governance that chokes and fucks them, with just anything that appears to work. The ability of a dog to learn is based on positive and consistent discrimination between what is rewarded and what is not. For our identity, it is defined by knowing and keeping to the limits that define our standard, our difference. For example, we really suffered from poor health services in attending to transplant needs. But it will be irresponsible to approve and welcome the use of special breed of pig organs for humans. This is already the case in Germany. We have already embraced quick poultry production and are enveloped in the gradual resistance to the ordinary benefit of first line antibiotics, because of the amount of antibiotics that go along with quick poultry farming. The fact that it is less nutritious is aside. It is in Nigeria, a Muslim professional who was a minister, certified that 5G wireless service is safe because the World Health Organization wrote so. This is in spite of the growing scientific reports to the contrary. A failure to add any value to what we copy.

The necessary and only route to our real independence is thus identity knowledge, massive education, the constancy development of this, across all facets of livelihood, by the leadership across all strata, with the burden of leadership consciously and sincerely taken by Ahmed Bola Tinubu, EARLIEST. Except and until this is deliberately heeded with utmost discipline, we run the greater risk of discovering that stagnation in where we are jointly now criticizing is indeed preferable to any form and style of desperation to chasing, acquiring, grabbing ANYTHING, ANYHOW, FROM ANYONE AND ANYWHERE, as progress and development. Our collective safety and prosperity will not be safe and prosperous without respect and commitment to our identity consciousness and discipline. It will be akin to satisfactory intimacy without discrimination between connecting with the opposite organ or between when the woman is having her flow and when she is free or between the relationship of the parties, like siblings or between parent and child. The starting point is oneself, ourselves, our things, our environment, our resources, our history AND NOT OTHERS’.

This is the required platform or foundation, upon which real believers, Muslims and Christians, Nigerians, can truly, sincerely, correctly and effectively, begin to race in godliness, according to our different and collective capacities and abilities. This is the nature of the challenges of our different levels of leadership. This is what Ahmed Bola Tinubu must know, be reminded, be supported, be kept in commitment, for our genuine leadership and governance. Any other path is illusionary, insufficient, deceitful and will only compound our confusion, frustrations, conflicts and servitude to others.

CHAPTER VIII

POSTSCRIPT

THE SIMPLE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE: FOR SELF PRESERVATION OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER

Cost of basic foods.

Cost of clean water.

Cost of drinks and fruits.

Cost of shelter - Clothing, Footwear, rent, building a house.

Cost of power - coal, firewood, kerosene, electricity, cooking gas, petrol.

Cost of health services and medications for first aid, primary and secondary services.

FOR MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENTS OF THE THINGS PRESERVED

Cost of schooling and training.

Cost of employment.

Cost of all types and forms of local transport facilities and services.

Cost of infrastructure provision and maintenance.

FOR SATISFACTION AND FULFILLMENT OF ALL MEMBERS ACROSS BOARD

Parent-Children relationship.

Teacher-Students relationship.

Employer-Workers relationship.

Organizations-Members relationship.

Leader-Citizens relationship.

On a scale of ten, between a leader and the generality of citizens and especially between supporters and opponents, the average of 4 in each of the three categories is required, with higher priority equally given to the first and third categories. This means that the scores for the first and third categories must outweigh the second, otherwise, the achievements are not for the humans that gave the mandate.

For any leader or one of his supporters, 50 citizens or opponents across the geography or scope of members' jurisdiction is required for the measure.

And the period of time to measure will not be less than across four years, the entrenched duration of a tenure.